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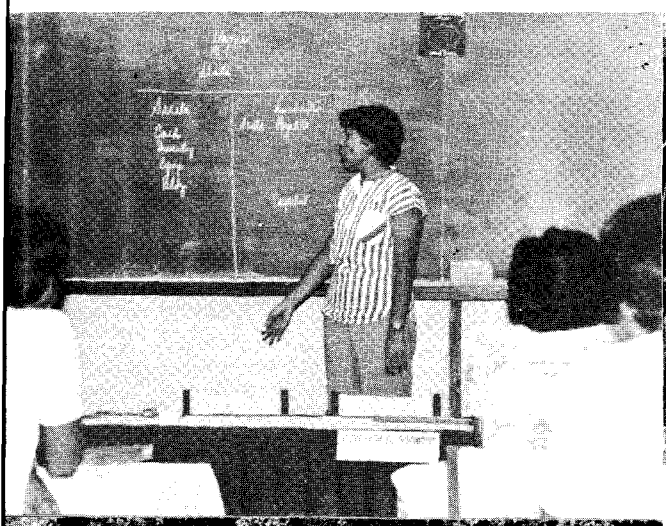

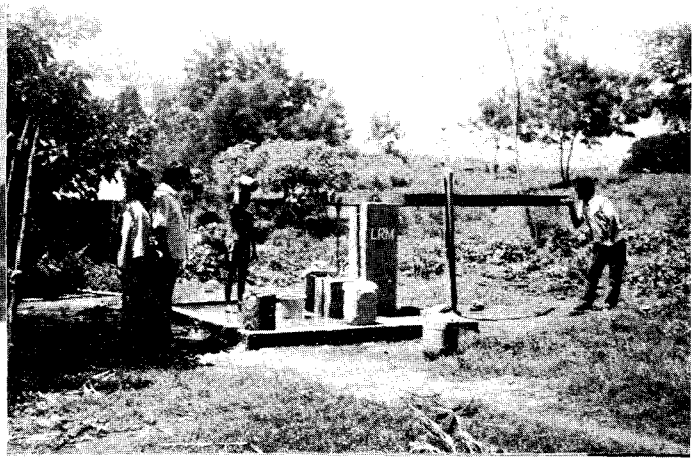

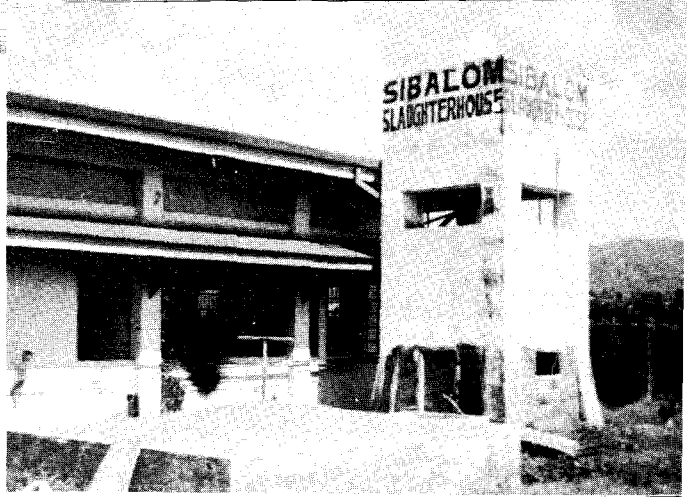

LOCAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

PHILIPPINE PLANNING JOURNAL

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The Local Resource Management (LRM) Project: In Search of People–Centered Planning Frameworks, Approaches, and Methodologies

Cesar B. Umali Jr.

FOREWORD

The Local Resource Management (LRM) Project (1983-91) is an innovative rural development effort which employs what is called the "poverty group-focused planning approach". Essentially, LRM has two complementary prongs: one directed towards "empowering" local communities to achieve sustainable self-reliance, and the other focused on building the development planning and management capability of local government units for them to be able to respond to the needs and demands of what John Friedmann refers to as an "active community".

Throughout its many years of existence as a foreign-assisted project, LRM has accumulated an expansive reservoir of knowledge, lessons and experiences. This reservoir would be valuable for government agencies, the private sector, foreign funding agencies, the academe, as well as students of planning – all those who care about Philippine development –– or the lack thereof. This special issue of the "Philippine Planning Journal" should open the floodgates of the LRM reservoir to as wide a readership as possible. This issue reflects a collaborative effort between NEDA and U.P. SURP to bridge the gap between theory and practice of planning.

Three articles make up this presentation on the LRM Project. The first one provides an overview of the nature, accomplishments, lessons, and evolution of the Project. The other two articles represent the aforementioned two prongs of LRM. The second article discusses the participatory "LRM process" largely from the viewpoint of local government units. The final article rounds up the presentation by portraying LRM work at the community/grassroots level. It is worthwhile to note that the LRM's poverty group-focused planning approach and experiences are herein presented in light of the more traditional sectoral and spatial planning approaches. This style of presentation should very well serve readers who value the historical and comparative dimension of development planning and implementation.

Overview of LRM Phase I (1983-87)

In the early 1980s, the Government of the Philippines (GOP) and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) collaboratively designed the LRM Project as the first phase of a local development program to reorient provincial level planning away from the traditional top-down sectoral or area approach, and towards a new bottom-up participatory approach under the rubric of "people-centered planning." The purpose of LRM Phase I was to identify and test replicable, targeted, and participatory systems and approaches for provincial planning, local finance, and beneficiary participation. Since prototypes of such approaches did not exist, LRM Phase I utilized the "learning process approach" to project implementation.[2] The National Economic and Develop-

[1] This section is largely based on the "LRM Project Paper Supplement" USAID, Manila 1988.

[2] For the learning process approach, see David C. Korten, and Rudi Klauss (eds.) *People-Centered Development.* "Rural Development Programming: The Learning Process Approach" in Kumarian Press, Connecticut, 1984, pp. 176-188.

ment Authority (NEDA) was selected as lead implementing agency for this pilot project.

LRM Phase I had three major components (1) provincial strategy and local project development (Track I); (2) local financial administration (Track II); and (3) beneficiary participation (Track III). The LRM designers anticipated that at some future point, Tracks I, II, and III would converge. The resulting convergence would represent the ideal middleground or "synthesis" between the top-down and bottom-up planning approaches.

Under LRM, provincial governments take center stage. They are assigned the crucial catalytic role in local development —— i.e., to encourage greater participation in the development process by business, civic, religious, and educational organizations, municipal governments; and most importantly, beneficiaries (poor groups) at the municipal and barangay levels. Thus, a sizeable portion of project resources was directed towards building up provincial planning and financial capacity through technical assistance and training.

The Planning Approach

The LRM Project employs the "poverty group-focused planning approach" which can be categorized under the "people-centered planning framework". Poverty group-focused planning recognizes that specific poverty groups have their own *unique* set of opportunities and constraints which are not and cannot be effectively addressed by traditional sectoral or area approaches. Such opportunities and constraints revolve around access to —— and control of —— productive local resources, e.g., the uplands. Poverty group-focused planning advocates that such resources must be controlled by those who directly depend on them for long-tem survival. This planning approach employs tools such as poverty analysis and targeted strategy formulation, and seeks to bring the major disadvantaged groups/communities into the mainstream of socio-economic development. The disadvantaged occupational groups targeted under LRM are landless agricultural workers, upland farmers, and subsistence fishermen whom traditional planning approaches have lumped together into a faceless, placeless aggregate.[3] Taken together, these three groups comprise about two-thirds of the Philippine rural poor.[4]

Phase I Accomplishments

Phase I was implemented in seven pilot provinces located within three regions: Albay and Catanduanes in Region V (Bicol); Antique and Capiz in Region VI (Western Visayas); and Southern Leyte, Eastern Samar, and Leyte in Region VIII (Eastern Visayas). Phase I provided technical assistance (TA), training, and commodities to provincial and municipal governments and beneficiary groups. Project accomplishments are summarized below.

Under Track I, the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP) provided formal and on-the-job training to more than 5,000 central, provincial, and other government officials and staff on the preparation of feasibility studies, project monitoring and evaluation, strategy formulation, social science research, local finance, and beneficiary participation. The first "planning cycle" under LRM was completed in about 18 months. This cycle resulted in 12 "impact" provincial subprojects (primarily small infrastructure) implemented in poor communities in the original three provinces (Albay, Antique, and Eastern Samar). The second planning cycle involved 13 provincial subprojects in six provinces (the original three plus Catanduanes, Leyte, and Southern Leyte). The seventh province (Capiz) was not able to implement subprojects until after the second planning cycle. These 25 subprojects directly affected more than 35,000 rural poor beneficiaries.

Under Track II, the University of the Philippines Public Administration Foundation (UPPAF) provided the seven pilot provinces with financial management assistance. Track II

[3] David C. Korten and George Carner, "Planning Frameworks for People-Centered Development" in *People-Centered Development,* Kumarian Press, Connecticut, 1984, p. 202.

[4] George Carner, "Survival, Labor-Dependence, and Competitions Among the Philippine Rural Poor" in *People-Centered Development,* p. 134.

was designed to enable local governments to generate local revenue to sustain the LRM planning process. Track II activities included: (1) assessment of financial conditions and capacities; (2) drawing up of provincial and municipal financial profiles; (3) analysis of current strengths and weaknesses in financial planning and management; and (4) formulation of recommendations and assistance for local governments to improve the systems, procedures, and processess of fiscal planning and operations. A broad range of functional areas was tackled covering revenue generation, utilization, and allocation; financial control; and organization for financial management.

During the two-year assistance it provided LRM, UPPAF was able to train some 550 local executives, legislators, and staff from the offices of the treasurer, assessor, budget, and planning. All of the seven LRM provinces, including 19 municipalities, were covered. As a strategy to transfer this expertise to the provincial and municipal governments, the UPPAF organized a core of local counterpart staff from several offices of each province. The counterpart staff was intensively trained and involved in providing actual TA to local government units (LGUs).

While the impact of the UPPAF technical assistance was not immediately seen, a strong foundation was built. In addition, local revenues increased in some localities and local executives initiated actions to implement some of the UPPAF recommendations. The UPPAF organized a workshop to discuss financial management policy issues at the national level and to make recommendations for consideration by Congress in the formulation of the local Government Code.[5]

The work of the four Track III private voluntary organizations (PVOs), viz., Philippine Business for Social Progress, International Institute for Rural Reconstruction, University of the Philippines at Los Baños Development Foundation, Inc. and Ilaw International Center was among the most successful components of LRM Phase I. From April 1984 when the first PVO (PBSP) was engaged, more than 100 community organizations were set up in the seven LRM provinces. These organizations have a total membership of about 3,150 households representing upland farmers, landless workers, and subsistence fishermen. Given the average Filipino household size of six persons, LRM Phase I beneficiary organizing activities have directly improved the lives of close to 19,000 individuals. Organizing activities of PVOs included training beneficiaries to identify problems and needs, to tap provincial and municipal planning processes/resources, and to manage livelihood and other types of projects.

Initial implementaion of the Community Projects Fund (CPF) also showed a lot of promise. The CPF was designed to provide funds to poverty groups for income-generating projects and was managed by the contracted PVO. In Eastern Samar, for example, there were 11 CPF livelihood subprojects with a total cost of one million pesos and about 1,260 direct beneficiaries. These subprojects included deep sea fishing, vegetable production, brick/pottery-making, and charcoal making.

Major Lessons[6]

From LRM Phase I implementation experience can be drawn numerous lessons which can be used for re-planning and in the design of future projects. These include the following:

Lesson No. 1. *Poverty group-focused planning. especially poverty analysis, is not simply intended to determine who the poor are but rather, the underlying causes of poverty.*

Korten and Carner called for experimentation with new planning tools that can contri-

[5] See Local Government Center (U.P. C.P.A.), "Proceedings, Papers and Policy Proposals: National Policy Seminar-Workshop on Local Financial Administration," LGC and NEDA, Manila, 1989.

[6] This section is largely based on an article entitled "Planning Frameworks for People-Centered Development: The LRM Case" written in April 1988 by Cesar B. Umali, Jr. (LRM Project Manager, Jan. 1989- present).

bute to a redefinition of the development problem.[7] In this regard, the evolution of "poverty analysis" as a planning tool used in poverty group-focused planning is most noteworthy. In contrast to other planning tools, poverty analysis specifically delves into the causes of poverty, rather than its mere symptoms. Thus, for example, poverty analysis aims to understand why an upland farmer gets only an "x" amount of income, rather than simply saying that he gets an "x" amount of income and that the income trend of upland farmers over the years has been so and so.

As originally conceptualized, poverty analysis was supposed to answer two fundamental questions, the very questions which Korten and Carner draw attention to in their work: (1) "Who are the poor? " and (2) "What are the causes of their poverty? "[8] Over the years, there had been criticism of poverty analysis (and in a broader context, poverty group-focused planning) on the basis of the aforestated first question. It was strongly argued that there is no point in finding out who the poor are because everybody in this nation of 60 million has become poor since LRM was designed in the early 1980s!

Apparently, however, the second question covering the "whys" of poverty remains valid even in a generically poverty-stricken nation. The first question should be answered only in terms of determining the largest poor groups in a planning area for prioritization purposes. This first question can be answered without incurring huge expenses in terms of time, money, and effort associated with large primary surveys. Rather, the question can be and is being satisfied by way of secondary data and "key informant" interviews. Under poverty group-focused planning, the answer to the second question serves as a basis for designing poverty group-specific interventions suitable to each group's *unique* problems and opportunities.

It is striking to note that no other planning tool addresses what poverty analysis does. Thus, it remains useful as a planning tool and people-centered planning remains valid as a planning framework -- to supplement and complement traditional planning tools and frameworks.

Lesson no. 2: *People-centered planning should supplement and complement -- rather than supplant -- traditional planning frameworks.*

During the infancy of LRM Phase I, there was a strong and perhaps strange feeling that people-centered planning is superior to, and should therefore replace, the existing sectoral and spatial planning frameworks particularly at the provincial level. This feeling could have been largely due to the overzealousness on the part of the young but highly capable group of LRM Phase I implementors on the GOP side. Partly, however, the feeling was also borne out of sheer frustration with traditional planning frameworks. Korten and Carner themselves noted that "recognition of the dehumanizing, inequitable, and environmentally unsustainable consequences of conventional development models has stimulated a serious search for alternatives," thus suggesting that people-centered planning can and should replace existing frameworks.[9]

Over the years, however, this feeling of superiority has waned. The change was sparked by a seemingly-passing comment by a NEDA Regional Director: "Why should we limit ourselves to the poorest groups? We also have a responsibility towards other (non-poor) taxpayers! " What emerged was a sense that people-centered planning can fill a yawning gap in rural development planning. Traditional planning frameworks have left and continue to leave the poorest groups out of the mainstream of socio-economic development.

The complementarity between the household-based people-centered planning and the more macro-oriented sectoral and spatial planning had in fact been noted by Korten and Carner. They indicated that "the comparison of the survival strategies of different poverty groups provided an important but still only

[7] Korten and Carner, p. 201
[8] Korten and Carner, p. 202
[9] Korten and Carner , p. 201

(partial view of the causes of their poverty (underscoring supplied). To develop a more complete view, a set of macro-level analyses (e.g., on employment) was overlaid on the household analyses."[10] Here can be seen the complementation between community level planning and regional (and perhaps even national) level planning.

Similarly, the complementarity between people-centered planning and spatial planning had also been noted by Korten and Carner in their discussion of the "functional" versus the "territorial" perspective.[11] Under the functional perspective, an institution (e.g., multinational corporation) has no loyalty to either a place or the residents thereof. Its operations are functionally defined and its purposes centrally determined. Under the territorial perspective, on the other hand, the institution (e.g., a local government unit) is perpetually concerned with the well-being of its constituents. An individual is a member of a territorial unit on the basis of residence rather than temporary economic utility.[12]

In real terms, what the foregoing discussion means is that a people-centered planning process and framework must be added to the existing sectoral and spatial planning processes and frameworks. The provincial and regional plans must be expanded as appropriate. In fact, the current "Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan" already has sections on people-centered planning. So does the Department of Agriculture's "Policies, Priorities, and Medium-Term Program of Action." These are direct outcomes of the pioneering LRM effort.

Lesson No. 3: *The poorest groups cannot be viewed in isolation from the elite groups because all these groups are interdependent.*

One of the major implications of the aforementioned early feeling concerning the people-centered framework's overall superiority was that rural development planning should be focused exclusively on the poorest groups. Thus, initial efforts under LRM Phase I were mainly directed towards poverty diagnosis and alleviation particularly with respect to identifying, analyzing, and relieving resource constraints being faced by the poorest groups. The interdependence *among the different poor groups* was clear from the very start. For example, it was recognized early on that the survival strategies of upland farmers significantly affected the well-being of those depending on resources located farther down the landscape, e.g., the rainfed farmers in the plains and the subsistence fishermen in the seashore. However, the interdependence *between the poorest groups and the elite groups* (commonly known as "patron-client relationship") was downplayed if not left out. Competition between the poor and the elite was hardly addressed. Much less addressed was the possibility of improving the well-being of the poor with the help or active involvement of the elite, e.g., in the case of livelihood enterprises.

Overindulgence in poverty diagnosis could have been the result again of overzealousness about the new people-centered planning framework. Partly, however, this overindulgence also resulted from the way the notion of people-centered planning was originally presented by Korten and Carner, as well as by the original LRM Project Paper. There was just too much emphasis on the poor. The farthest Korten and Carner reached as far as the interdependence between the poor and the elite is concerned was when they talked about "control" of the resource base.[13] They talked about the resource management and territorial aspects of poverty but not of the more fundamental structural or systemic constraints such as the agrarian structure. In fact, agrarian reform-related activities, even simple research studies, had been conspicuously absent in LRM Phase I.

The inter-relationship between the poor and the elite must be explicitly covered in people-centered planning in order to obtain a systemic view of the development situation. The inter-relationship may not necessarily be exploitative as the Leftists claim. Neither may the relation-

[10] Korten and Carner, p. 203

[11] Korten and Carner, pp. 208-209.

[12] Korten and Carner, p. 208.

[13] Korten and Carner, p. 201.

ship be necessarily benevolent as the Rightists contend.

Lesson No. 4: *Experimentation with new planning frameworks (such as people-centered planning) should take into careful account the need for immediate tangible "results".*

To some people, "experimentation with planning frameworks" connotes endless planning, research, and talk——without due regard for immediate improvement in the target beneficiaries' socio-economic well-being. Some extremists in the development community even hold the view that planners who "experiment" actually play with people's lives!

The above view in fact had been used as basis for criticizing LRM Phase I. Perhaps at some point, the critics were right because LRM Phase I implementors were initially too engrossed in translating abstract planning concepts into concrete operational terms. Thus, concern for immediate tangible results (esp. by the foreign funding agency) may have been temporarily relegated to the background.

However, pure experimentation could not have gone on unabated. In fact, LRM Phase I directly impacted on the lives of some 55,000 poor people even while engaged in so-called "experimentation." This seeming paradox is not surprising because the governors and mayors in the LRM provinces and municipalities (or anywhere else for that matter) could not have been expected to "buy" LRM if the project were purely planning-oriented. Governors and mayors expect and need immediate and direct impact on the rural poor to remain politically relevant. More than any central level bureaucrat, it is the governor or mayor who recognizes the urgency of reaching out to the poor. A major implication of this lesson is that rural development projects, whether experimental in nature or otherwise, should be managed and implemented by local level personnel of both government and non-governmental institutions to ensure a high degree of impact on the lives of the target beneficiaries. Phase I provides many lessons on decentralization which NEDA is now using. One lesson is the need to balance "process" with "results".

Lesson No. 5: *Government Organizations (GOs) and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs)/Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) can and should collaborate, rather than compete, in the conduct of development work.*

The evolution of NGOs/PVOs in the Philippine countryside is traceable to the historical inability of government to deliver satisfactorily basic goods and services particularly to the poor residing in the rural areas. Thus, a competitive if not an adversarial relationship between GOs and NGOs was nurtured during the 1970s and in the early 1980s. The mere presence of NGOs in a locality can lead to the hasty conclusion that the government units/agencies concerned are sleeping on the job. Such was the situation when implementation of LRM Phase I was initiated.

One of the basic tenets which LRM has been advocating from the very beginning is that there is more than enough room for GOs and NGOs to work collaboratively not only because more than enough problems exist. A GO—NGO partnership can be worked out based on the "comparative advantage" of each one. The comparative advantage of GOs (esp. LGUs) lies in the provision of an overall planning framework by way of development plans which can orchestrate the diverse activities of NGOs. Without such a framework, NGOs will aimlessly go on disparate ways.

On the other hand, the comparative advantage of NGOs/PVOs lies in their unique ability (by virtue of size) to tailor specific activities to the needs of small communities —— under the planning framework provided by the LGUs. Part of this comparative advantage is the effectiveness of NGOs in implementing livelihood activities which require organizational flexibility and a series of quick actions/decisions which are inoperable under the usual bureaucratic constraints.

Certainly, other specific comparative advantages of GOs and NGOs exist so that their respective resources can be combined to pursue a common vision. What LRM Phase I has done is to provide a common vision and to validate the hypothesis that indeed, GO/NGO/PVO collaboration is possible.

Lesson No. 6: *It is neither possible nor useful to "neatly" classify the poor based on occupation (i.e., upland farmers, landless workers, and subsistence fishermen).*

"Survival strategies" of poor groups are crucial to poverty group-focused planning. One such strategy is to diversify income sources in order to increase chances of survival. Thus, members of a typical small farm household engage in handicraft production, work as hired labor, and do some fishing on the side. Other survival strategies include borrowing money from informal sources; belt-tightening, e.g., reduction of food intake and/or consumption of "inferior goods"; cooperative work; children doing paid work; and migration.

That poor households simultaneously engage in different occupations provide the basis for innovations in LRM Project approaches. First is the application of the concept of "primary occupation" in classifying poor households. Thus, the major source of household income can be used as a practical criterion to classify households in order that the unique opportunities and constraints of each group can be identified and addressed.

Considering , however, the overlap and interdependence among the different groups, a need to shift from the single poverty group approach to a multiple poverty group approach became apparent later during LRM Phase I. Similarly, we can start to see evidence of how poverty group-focused planning can actually blend with spatial or area-based planning. (This will be discussed later in greater detail).

LRM Redesign: Moving on to Phase II[14]

The LRM Project was evaluated in February 1987 to analyze lessons learned in the course of project implementation and to provide guidance for project redesign based on new AID and GOP priorities.[15] The external evaluation also assessed the readiness of LRM to expand to new municipalities and/or provinces. Three overriding themes which served as basis for redesign came out of the evaluation: generation of tangible outputs, decentralization, and simplification.

The evaluation examined the key problems facing the LRM Project as of early 1987. Basically, these problems could be classified either as "external" (i.e., the new policy environment which reflects the changed priorities of AID and GOP) or "internal" (i.e., organizational and management ineffectiveness and inefficiency directly attributable to the way LRM Phase I was set up). These problems are discussed below:

External Problems

The LRM Phase I design was shaped by certain conditions prevailing during the late 1970s and early 1980s:

– During the late 1970s through the early 1980s, the economy enjoyed respectable growth rates in spite of the presence of serious structural problems. The growth rate in many rural areas was encouraging. However, despite massive investments in infrastructure to increase agricultural and industrial output, poverty remained and even grew worse. The poverty group focus of LRM was to help bring disadvantaged groups into the mainstream of socio-economic progress.

– There was a search for alternative planning frameworks that would deal effectively with the poverty problem. There was growing disenchantment with sectoral and integrated area development (IAD) approaches. Most notable were the problems of many provincial IAD projects and quick-release local government funding programs including some which received foreign funding.

– Under the USAID 1982 Country Development Strategy Statement, USAID resources were to focus on three core regions and on the poorest of the poor. Thus, LRM Phase I was implemented in Regions V, VI, and VIII, primarily targeting upland farmers, subsistence fishermen, and landless workers.

[14]The succeeding sections again draw heavily from the "LRM Project Paper Supplement".

[15]See Joseph M. Alabanza, Benjamin V. Cariño, *et. al.*, "LRM Project External Evaluation," Manila, March 13, 1987.

In 1983, the very first year of project implementation, the political and economic environment changed radically. The Aquino assassination in August 1983 greatly exacerbated existing economic imbalances and increased the magnitude of the economic debacle. Growth rates plunged and development resources practically dried up. With a constricted revenue base, the GOP encountered difficulty in meeting its budgetary and counterpart funding commitments for foreign-assisted projects. Meanwhile, as a result of increasing dissatisfaction with the Marcos Government, political confidence fell to its ebb, while the insurgency situation worsened.

In 1986, with poverty becoming endemic throughout the country, USAID dropped the regional focus of the early 1980s and proceeded to give top priority to agriculture and strengthening the linkage between resource inputs and tangible outputs in rural areas. On the part of the Philippines, there was a fledgling, popular government which was trying to make its mark and create stability amid a ravaged economy. The objective was to generate immediate employment to prime economic recovery counterbalanced by the adoption of a democratic consultative process and wise stewardship of scarce resources to reduce poverty.

Internal Problems

The LRM Phase I organization and management were too complex and centralized. The Project's three-track structure entailed separate and unsynchronized implementation arrangements and sources of Technical Assistance (TA). Although these three tracks were anticipated to converge at some point, the project managers found it difficult to synchronize related project activities.

The original design called for Track I (planning) TA to be fielded ahead of or simultaneously with Track III (beneficiary participation) TA consultants. Experience demonstrated that such an arrangement was not workable and must be revised to attain the desired results. The Track I consultant worked at the provincial level without Track III groundwork at the beneficiary level. As such, the outputs that would have been generated under Track III could not be integrated into Track I. Also, many key participants at the provincial level were confused about what working relationship these two tracks should establish.

Track II (financial management), on the other hand, proceeded independently of the other two tracks. Although Track II involved the enhancement of local financial administration at the provincial and municipal levels, its outputs were not effectively used in the preparation of the provincial development strategy. It was evident from the LRM strategies formulated that Track II's effort were carefully considered. For example, the provinces failed to explore outside sources of funds to finance poverty group-focused plans and programs.

The LRM directly involved 18 agencies or committees of government, excluding other institutional participants such as NGOs/PVOs, resource institutions, and cooperating line agencies. Despite project intentions to work through existing agencies, eight of the 18 primary participating units were created *exclusively* for LRM. Many of these special units functioned ineffectively, if at all. As a result of the Project's complex organization, reporting and documentation requirements were overwhelming.

Decentralization is a stated goal of LRM and a policy objective of both USAID and the GOP. Actual decentralization of implementation and funding authority in LRM Phase I, however, had been limited and both the NEDA/Project Management Office (PMO) and USAID retained excessive control over key decisions and actions. As indicated in the external evaluation report, neither NEDA nor USAID is the direct implementing agency and yet, each had a dominant role in project operations, especially through the imposition of strict controls and procedures. For example, all feasibility studies, research, training and TA proposals had to be approved by both the NEDA/PMO and USAID. Thus, the stage for LRM Phase II was set.

Overview of LRM Phase II (1988-91)

The goal of LRM Phase II is to promote greater self-reliance, productive employment, and real income among the rural poor. This goal

is supportive of the "Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan" which highlights an employment-oriented, rural-based strategy in pursuit of the national goals of poverty alleviation, improved equity and social justice, and sustainable economic growth.

In line with this goal, LRM Phase II is pursuing the following:

– Improvement of tested local development approaches and identification of new ones that will help generate productive employment, management of resources, and income opportunities for the rural poor;

– Development and strengthening of the capacities of LGUs in serving as primary agents of the country's economic recovery program;

– Promotion of self-reliant LGUs by improving their capability to plan, mobilize, and allocate local resources to support development activities;

– Developing the viability of rural organizations and enhancing their participation in local planning and development; and

– Strengthening the linkage among the government, the private sector and local organizations in planning and implementing rural development activities.

Phase II seeks to improve the capability of local organizations to plan and implement activities that address the needs of the rural poor. It focuses on the replication of tested local development approaches that emphasize poverty group-focused planning whereby the rural poor actively participate in the local governments' planning processes. The Project continues to implement development activities in the seven original provinces by expanding coverage to new municipalities, and has expanded from seven to 13 new provinces in Regions V, VI, and VIII. In addition, the Project now covers one province each in two new regions: Region IV (Southern Tagalog) and Region XII (Central Mindanao).

A number of new NGOs/PVOs have been contracted. These include the Sarmiento Research and Development Corporation for Masbate and Aklan; the University of Northeastern Philippines/Bicol Small Business Institute Foundation/Bicol (Credit) Cooperative Development Inc. for Camarines Norte and Albay; Rural Systems Development Foundation for Albay expansion municipalities; Kahublagan Sang Panimalay Foundation for Iloilo; Visayas Cooperative Development Center, Inc. for Negros Occidental; Economic Development for Samar; Foundation for Educational Evolution and Development, Inc. for Mindoro Occidental; and Notre Dame of Midsayap College/Community Extension Services for Cotabato.

In the original project design, LRM Phase I outputs were stated in terms of replicable systerms and approaches—e.g., targeted strategy approaches developed and tested." (However, during Phase I there was also significant impact on beneficiaries in terms of employment generated and increased income.) Phase II has shifted the focus from experimentation to increased impact through replication of participatory systems and approaches. Accordingly, primary outputs for LRM Phase II include improvements in the socio-economic status of the estimated 172,200 Phase II beneficiaries, largely through involvement in planning and implementing local development projects.

Refinement of systems and approaches continues to be important project outputs, including the strengthened capacity of government and private institutions to operationalize the LRM planning process effectively. About 10,000 personnel at the barangay, municipal, provincial, regional, and national levels directly benefit from TA and training under the Project during the second phase. At the end of the Project, the participating provinces, regions, and beneficiary groups are expected to be able to sustain and replicate LRM activities on their own.

Phase II can be better understood when compared to Phase I. The major differences between LRM Phase I and Phase II are summarized in Table 1.

In order to enhance the sustainability and replicability of project activities, particularly in light of the usually rapid turnover of GOP staff, lessons and experiences are being documented in "sourcebooks". These sourcebooks provide the gist of the refined systems and procedures, including simple guidelines on the

TABLE I

Point of Comparison	*LRM Phase I*	*LRM Phase II*
Project objectives	To identify and test replicable, targeted approaches to local development	To improve the capability of local organizations to plan and implement activities that address the needs of the rural poor; replicate tested development approaches
Project coverage	3 regions 7 provinces 14 municipalities	5 regions 14 provinces 49 municipalities
Implementation emphasis	Experimentation (process)	Generation of tangible outputs having direct/immediate impact on the rural poor
Focus of planning	Single poverty group	Multiple poverty groups
Project implementation	By track	Decentralized/streamlined
Funding scheme	Funding by component released to NEDA/PMO	Program package released directly to NEDA Regional Offices (NRO)
Source of TA	Primarily Manila-based contractors	Increasingly NROs, provincial staff, and local resource institutions
Project management	Centralized at NEDA/PMO and USAID	Decentralized operations and administration
Management structure	Proliferation of special committees	Maximum use of existing structures
Allocation of inputs	Biased towards institution-building	Combines institution-building and impact generation
Local finance/Real Property Tax Administration (RPTA) Component	Jointly managed by NEDA and Department of Finance (DOF)	RPTA managed by DOF
Phase-out plans	3–4 years	After 2 years, self-sustaining LGUs and resource institutions
Community Projects Funds	Maximum 1 million peso provincial allocation	Maximum 2 million peso provincial allocation

operationalization of the LRM planning process.[16]

Elements of LRM Phase II

Poverty Group-Focused Planning

Project Phase II supports a single local development planning process which synthesizes the three tracks under Phase I. Accordingly, provincial planning and beneficiary organizing have ceased to be independent components and now form integral parts of one "LRM planning process".

In support of the GOP decentralization policy, LRM Phase II maintains the focus of enhancing the planning and development capabilities of LGUs and supports the following innovations in the provincial and municipal planning process: (a) adoption of the poverty group-focused planning approach; (b) re-orientation of development institutions and activities towards embracing beneficiary/participatory planning and development; and (c) promotion of self-reliance and sustainability as basic considerations in local development planning.

However, Phase II includes a major change in the way poverty group-focused planning is applied. Whereas Phase I promoted the targeting of a single poverty group as a focus of assistance, Phase II provides a multiple poverty group focus based on Phase I lessons and as a means of expanding the number of direct beneficiaries. The multiple poverty group approach is being operationalized under a two-stage process. At the provincial level, first-level poverty analysis using secondary data is conducted to prioritize the group(s) to be targeted for assistance. Once choices are made, target municipalities are determined based on established criteria, including pervasiveness and incidence of poverty. Once the municipalities are chosen, the poverty group-focus is de-emphasized. Thereafter, poverty analysis includes an in-depth assessment of poverty dynamics and assistance is provided to several poor groups within the selected municipalities.

Simplified analysis of the poverty situation serves as the basis for provincial strategy formulation. As a means of eliminating the track distinction, community organizing activities are conducted prior to or simultaneous with the provincial planning process, ensuring the integration of beneficiary participation and municipal program planning with the provincial strategy formulation and investment programming process.

Phase II provides a "program assistance package" consisting of TA, training, research, commodities, and subproject funding to support the above-defined planning process. Under this new arrangement, the LRM Phase I planning process has been modified. The planning documents being prepared at the local levels especially the Annual Investment Plan (AIP), have subsumed the Annual Program Plan (APP) required originally under LRM Phase I. The AIP includes livelihood and infrastructure subprojects and other support activities.

While LRM Phase II has adopted the AIP in lieu of the APP, that portion of the AIP reflecting LRM-supported subprojects conforms to the LRM Provincial Development Strategy (PDS). The PDS is used by the NEDA Regional Office (NROs) in preparing the Regional Assistance Package (RAP) consisting of TA and other LRM inputs for their respective provinces. The RAP serves as the basis for the lump sum release of project funds, including subprojects, TA, research, and training to the regional offices of NEDA (NROs) which the central NEDA/PMO facilitates.

Beneficiary participation continues to be a vital aspect of the LRM planning process. Experiences in pilot areas show that the PVOs have been successful in organizing target beneficiaries. Efforts of PVOs in the establishment of beneficiary-barangay-municipal or beneficiary-municipal linkages were likewise successful but not to the extent that such linkages have become functional venues for reforms or program advocacy on the part of the beneficiaries. Owing to limited time during Phase I,

[16]See NEDA/DAP, "Enhancement of Rural Poverty Research and Anti-Poverty Strategy Formulation: The Bacacay Experience (A Sourcebook)," LRM Project, 1985.

the PVOs neither developed nor implemented phase-out plans nor institutionalized their strategies. Such actions would have supported the sustainability of Track III efforts in the pilot areas.

Phase II involves packaging and replicating successful approaches to beneficiary participation in expansion areas. However, because PVO work was terminated prematurely in most pilot areas at the conclusion of Phase I, follow-on TA was extended to the pilot areas to complete the original beneficiary strategies proposed by the PVOs. This approach allows the PVOs to reactivate their work in pilot areas, where momentum and beneficiary interest had waned during the lull between Phase I and Phase II.

Follow-on TA in pilot sites focused on the implementation of phase-out plans for the PVOs. The phase-out plans emphasized technology transfer of community organizing techniques to local-based institutions (esp. community-based organizations and federations thereof) and intensive beneficiary capacity-building towards their securing access and control of productive resources. Capacity-building efforts developed functional multi-level linkages (beneficiary-barangay-municipal-provincial) to serve as venues for articulating needs or concerns. Regional Development Councils, Muncipal Development Councils, and Provincial Development Councils were strengthened and/or reactivated to assume catalytic roles at their respective levels. At the same time, sustained beneficiary participation was also encouraged by developing a federation among the beneficiary organizations and linking it to different development agencies.

To ensure greater synchronization between provincial planning activities and beneficiary participation, a single consultant (PVO) is being provided to handle the TA and training requirements for both provincial development planning and beneficiary participation. Using a single consultant to handle all support requirements also results in better coordinated beneficiary-municipal-provincial linkage. Where the NRO is capable of handling TA requirements for provincial development planning, the option to do so is open.[17]

Provincial Subproject Development and Funding

The Provincial Planning and Development Office and its municipal counterpart, the Municipal Planning and Development Office continue to conduct subproject feasibility analyses based on priority projects identified for LRM funding in the AIP. Simplified LRM subproject feasibility documentation is reviewed and approved at the provincial level. Subprojects proposed for funding under the Provincial Subproject Fund (PSF) must be beneficiary-identified service-infrastructure and public social service activities. No assistance is provided for the establishment of public enterprises which would be government-owned and/or controlled. Beneficiary-initiated livelihood subprojects are financed under the CPF (discussed below) because this type of subproject requires intensive community organizing and also due to the flexible nature of NGOs.

Recently, a new fund release mechanism was adopted in lieu of the Municipal Development Fund (MDF) scheme used during Phase I. Releases under the PSF are now being made by USAID as cash advances to regionally-contracted PVOs, NGOs which serve as fund conduit. This new mechanism is expected to result in much greater efficiency compared to the long-drawn MDF scheme.

Community Projects Fund

The CPF is a grant fund provided under the beneficiary participation component designed to support the organizing efforts of the PVOs. Initially, the PVOs administer the CPF from which loans are made to beneficiary groups. When the PVO phases out, the fund will be turned over to a qualified and capable local PVO, foundation, or federation under a multi-

[17] For more information on PVO activities, see NEDA, "Proceedings of the 3rd LRM PVO Information Exchange Program", LRM Project, 1989.

year Memorandum of Agreement with the province concerned.

A prerequisite for the release of the CPF from USAID to the PVO is the development of a detailed Manual of Operations, prepared jointly by the PVO, local government, and beneficiary organization. This manual describes the lending mechanisms, including the utilization of reflows. The CPF provides "seed" money to develop and strengthen the viability of beneficiary groups organized by the PVOs. The CPF supports financially and economically viable small-scale livelihood projects initiated by the beneficiary groups.

The PVO works to ensure the institutionalization of the CPF lending scheme by developing the capability of a local foundation or federation of beneficiary groups which will ultimately handle the funds. After the Project ends, this local organization will continue the CPF lending through loan reflows to the organized poverty groups. Funds other than the USAID/CPF grant are being sourced by the local PVO/foundation to augment the initial CPF "seed" money.

The PVO, in consultation with the beneficiary groups, determines the interest rate to be applied on loans, provided that the rate is consistent with USAID policy on intermediate credit—that is, that the interest rate to ultimate borrowers covers, at a minimum, all costs of the lending program, including the opportunity cost of USAID-provided funds and the risk of inflation and losses.

During LRM Phase I, the release of the CPF was delayed due to overly complex procedures and the inability of the PVOs to prepare the beneficiary groups to utilize the funds. As a result, most of the identified livelihood projects were late getting started. Thus, important changes in CPF releases have been made, notably building the CPF into the PVO contract from the very start.

Conclusion: The Present and Future of LRM

Project Phase II continues to develop workable planning approaches as well as to generate tangible socio-economic impact in areas covered. Phase II lessons and experiences are being analyzed and synthesized for advocacy and replication purposes. Various individuals and institutions have been engaged by LRM to assist in this endeavor. These include the U.P. Planning and Development Research Foundation, Inc. (U.P. PLANADES) which conducted the study "LRM Socio-Economic Impact on Beneficiaries and Community Organizations", the Development Vision and Strategies Foundation, Inc. which undertook the "LRM Institutional Study"; and Dr. Emma Porio who carried out research work on the "Application of Poverty Group-Focused Planning and Local Resource Management".[18] With the end of USAID funding in August 1991, the PMO has initiated and coordinated efforts to sustain what LRM has accomplished over its nine-year life (1983-91). A "phase-out plan" seeks to (1) sustain the benefits generated under the Project; (2) effect a systematic turnover/absorption of Project resources (including personnel); and (3) promote the adoption of the huge reservoir of lessons and experiences by other government agencies and by future programs and projects in the rest of the country. It is hoped that LRM would have made a significant and lasting contribution to the search for people-centered planning frameworks, approaches, and methodologies.

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Enhancement of Rural Poverty Research and Anti-Poverty Strategy Formulation

L. R. M. Staff

This second article discusses the mechanics of the "poverty group-focused" or "people-centered" planning process introduced under the LRM Project. Essentially, it aims to answer the basic question, "How is LRM carried out at the provincial and local levels?" It describes the simple and yet innovative, cost- and time-effective research methodologies, and skills for poverty group-focused planning at the local (especially provincial) level. In so doing, this article can hopefully make a substantial contribution towards augmenting the local development planner's inventory of usable tools and techniques.

A review of "first round" poverty research conducted under the Local Resource Management (LRM) Project in 1982-84 brought to light issues which are briefly discussed below. These issues will set the stage for introducing LRM's enhanced poverty research and strategy formulation process.

Critical Issues in Poverty Research

Quality of the Data Base. The poverty studies covered only one to three municipalities. The basis for determining poverty incidence was not uniform. All provincial studies made reference to income levels based on the 1980 census without consideration of the 1983-1984 economic crisis; hence, there was a recognized need to update the data base using 1985 as base year and projecting to 1991, LRM's Project assistance completion date.

Comparability of Data. The kind of data in previous poverty studies does not allow controlled comparison of data across poverty groups, across provinces and regions, and from project inception to completion. The value and strength of a document on rural poverty resulting from the LRM Project is premised on comparable information across regions, provinces, and poverty sectors (groups).**

Geographic Location of Poverty Groups. Poverty incidence in the province was not related to spatial distribution and geographic location. An inventory and mapping of resource areas (e.g., fishing, coconut, upland rice) have to be matched with low income of poverty groups which derive income from these resources.

Identification of Poverty Groups. Present categorization and classification of poverty sectors were limited to occupational labels (e.g., subsistence fishermen, upland farmers, coconut farmers). Although this is valid, it does not adequately cover those who may fall under two or more occupational classifications. Furthermore, there are low income groups such as minority groups which pursue occupations specific to a region or area.

Numbers and Trends. There is hardly any monitoring of trends--numbers of poor or low income groups over time--at the provincial and municipal levels. There is reliance on aggregate

* This article is based on a 1985 publication bearing the same title by the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) and the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP).

** In this article, "poverty sector" is used *interchangeably* with the term "poverty group" In either case, the term refers to upland farmers, landless workers, and subsistence fishermen.

figures usually expressed as percentages of population. Trends are established only when the national census is taken.

Poverty Explanation. The previous reports reflected explanations of poverty more *casually* rather than *causally*. Many so-called causes of poverty are offered as self-evident explanations: The lack of certain factors or a combined shortage thereof spells poverty, and conversely, surfeit spells alleviation. Such "casual" explanations are more notable for what they fail to explain.

Survival Strategies and Coping Mechanisms. The previous provincial poverty studies have been rather skimpy on their inquiries into survival strategies of the poor, whether these be accomodation to or escape from the poverty situation.

Poverty and the Social Structure. Discussion of poverty in its socio-cultural and political context has been rather cursorily treated. There is a need to understand the conditions of poverty in social structural terms-how the poor live among themselves and with the non-poor, including value orientations, world views and ethos. The seeming unstated premise in most analysis of poverty is that where poverty pervades, it is on account of socio-cultural constraints and where alleviated, it is because of sound technical and economic measures.

Poverty and Resources Management. The provincial poverty reports show little connection between poverty and management of natural resources. Resources have been used to read "institutional resources", rather than natural and human resource endowments. Where natural resources are cited, these are treated as commodities to be produced, processed, and marketed. The poverty-creating and poverty-alleviating effects of resources utilization and management need more systematic treatment.

Poverty and Public Policy. The provincial poverty studies indicated at various points how the rural poor have failed to benefit from policies designed to protect their claims, or conversely, how their access to certain resources are curtailed by those many policies. Policies governing prices of agricultural inputs and products, credit, and market have likewise been viewed as constraints to economic activities in poor rural communities. But beyond indicating some problem areas brought about by existing policies, the poverty research effort needs to undertake a more systematic policy review and analysis to show how these existing policies have abetted forces which worked to the detriment of poverty groups.

Enhancing Poverty Research. In response to these issues, the "second round" (1985-86) poverty research under LRM was upgraded and updated, with the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP) playing the key role. The procedures and instruments herein described are products of the documentation of the poverty research conducted in the municipality of Bacacay in Albay. It is so designed to enable the Provincial Planning and Development Office (PPDO) of other provinces to replicate the systematic and cost-effective poverty research methodology. Specifically, it aims to:

a. Give guidelines, suggest methods, and provide detailed description of steps to be taken in designing , using, and analyzing results of research instruments and other planning tools as applied to poverty studies;

b. Provide provincial planners with a technical basis for the identification and development of projects using participatory research and planning approaches;

c. Suggest guidelines in formulating provincial anti-poverty strategies focusing on the following options: employment generation, food and nutrition, natural resource management, human resource development, and balanced sub-regional development; and

d. Define roles of the provincial and municipal planning and development staff in the conduct of poverty research within the context of LRM and their present functional responsibilities.

This article constitutes the first attempt at suggesting methods, steps and procedures for

conducting an enhanced poverty study. It is by no means final and therefore it allows sufficient provision for further revision and refinement. It has its own limitations.

1. the poverty research described in this article concentrates initially at one specific area or sector; it assumes incremental build-up of the provincial data base as the poverty research expands to other sectors or areas;

2. the selection of the study area is limited to areas with an LRM Private Voluntary Organization (PVO) already in place for the poverty research to be equally meaningful to planners and target groups/beneficiaries;

3. where anti-poverty strategies demand structural changes, this article is insufficient in suggesting specific guidelines or procedures. In going through the steps of the poverty research, the methodology should not be construed as unidirectional. New information such as national and local policies and priorities introduced at any point during the study generates adjustments that may move the steps backward or forward as may be necessary in an iterative manner.

ASSESSMENT OF DATA SOURCES

The objectives of this first step in poverty research is to determine sufficiency of existing information and quality of data. The specific activities under this step are as follows:

1. Review data requirements of poverty study.
   a. Review the identified information categories and data elements required.
   b. Add, delete, or modify as necessary the identified broad information categories enumerating relevant data elements pertinent to the poverty study;
2. Make an inventory of existing and available provincial data.
   a. Gather and collect published documents from the various government departments/line agencies, Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) and educational institutions, e.g.:
      - Provincial Development Plan (PPDO)
      - Socio-Economic Profile
      - Medium-Term Development Plan (NEDA)
      - Capital Investment Plan (DPWH)
      - Provincial Health Profile (DOH)
      - Grains Profile (NFA)
      - Other literature, plans, surveys
   b. Identify from these documents/publications those data relevant to the poverty study.
3. Assess existing data.
   a. Determine their sufficiency; compare existing data with the data requirements of the poverty study and determine their data coverage (what among the data requirements can be gleaned from the available documents and what data still have to be generated).
   b. Determine quality of data in terms of:
      - currency: are the data too old?
      - reliablilty and validity: comparison of data with other studies (e.g., NSO) derivations; benchmark studies should not show gross deviations across data sources
      - relevance: data should have direct bearing on the poverty study itself that make possible the analysis and understanding of the poverty situation and incidence in general, and are in the form and level where one can make the necessary projections, establish trends, and determine poverty thresholds in particular.
4. Identify the information gap. List all data elements that cannot be found in, or are not available from existing information sources but are important to the poverty study. This may be accomplished through a checklist method utilizing the prepared data requirements as presented in the section below entitled "Poverty Study Proper", and simply putting a tick mark on the data elements that are found in existing information sources. The data elements without the tick marks will represent the "information gap".
5. Determine how the unavailable data may by generated through various methods,

tools, and research techniques which may by availed of or utilized to get the needed information. The nature of the data will determine the kind of instruments to be used.

POVERTY SCANNING TECHNIQUES

Scanning is a rapid process of appraisal of a study area. It involves the gathering and organization of data relative to the conduct of a poverty study.

Scanning is performed primarily on three levels. The first, at the *provincial level,* is where information is gathered mainly to be able to identify the depressed municipalities from which the pilot municipality for the LRM Project is selected. The second, on the *municipality level,* is where data are needed to identify groups with high incidence of poverty and to determine their spatial distribution in the different barangays of the municipality. The third, on the *barangay level,* is where data are sought from the various households belonging to the identified poverty sectors (esp. upland farmers, landless rural workers, subsistence fishermen) to establish their intra/inter-sectoral distinction and linkages, their role within the formal economy, constraints faced by each, as well as future prospects or opportunities open to them.

Scanning, or to use another name RRA (rapid rural appraisal), as a process for quick data generation must be strictly selective of the data to be generated; it must not be encumbered by additional data not *directly* relevant or helpful in the development of a strategy for poverty alleviation. Data sought and data generated should provide the necessary information that can be translated into sensible provincial strategies for assisting selected target poverty groups, given available resources and provincial development priorities.

The following techniques may be used for scanning poverty incidence:

1. Geographic location and priority ranking of rural poverty groups

This is a response to a major question being addressed by LRM: "Where are the poor?" If mass poverty is the reality, where does one start given the fact that at least 50-60 percent of rural households are poor?

An RRA instrument was used as an initial step in locating the rural poverty groups in the province of Albay, using key informants at the municipal level. This instrument, as presented here, is an intercarded or a combined version of several elements, namely:

i. Perception ("folk view") of rural poverty by local key informants;
ii. Location of poverty sectors in a base map (barangay level), and approximate population size of each sector,
iii. Priority rating in terms of urgency of assistance to the group (immediate, medium term, long term);
iv. Description of current situation, or condition of poverty within each sector;
v. Initial designation of project assistance to each poverty group based on identification of assistance needed, justification and prioritization;
vi. Identification and location of notably successful and innovative projects undertaken (outside of LRM) for the benefit of rural poverty sectors.

Selection of key informants must be done on the basis of how knowledgeable the informants are about the municipality. To a certain extent, the knowledge of the respondents is localized or sector-specific. This should be welcomed rather than rejected. For instance, coconut and abaca sectors are fairly specialized. For an area approach, say a municipality, a minimum of ten and a maximum of twenty key informants may be considered.

The questions are designed as open-ended queries which naturally lead to probing. The interviewers should be skillful in probing.

Open-ended questions, given adequate probing, will yield a lot of information. The responses should be copied verbatim and consolidated according to poverty sectors. If classification into subject headings is warranted, then it should be done. A larger number of respondents may be tabulated although this is not necessary.

Listing of places (barangay or sitio, or clusters) where poverty groups are located should be consolidated on a per poverty sec-

tor basis, along with the priority rating given each place.

Such places should be located on the base map, including the ratings given each place. Such a list of places is useful for quick-look field visits.

A description of the current situation will provide useful background information on the poverty-creating and poverty-maintaining factors which hinder the quest for livelihood of each sector. This will also serve as useful information for designing the farm systems and rural enterprise studies discussed below.

The RRA instrument is proposed as the first scan the project team should use, prior to finalizing the other instruments. It is intended to provide an initial exposure and a first approximation of rural poverty, locating the concentration of poverty groups, and knowing how they live. It is suggested that all members of the LRM Project team should be involved in the administration of this instrument and process the results as a team.

The instrument as designed would take one hour to administer.

2. Key informant interviews

Interviews are probably the most used, and abused, research tool. When properly designed/planned, conducted, recorded and analyzed, interviews can indeed be a most useful and effective tool for information-generation in that they allow the posing of relevant questions to respondents.

Key informant interviews differ from sample survey interviews, although both may use similar approaches and tools and cover the same broad subjects. Both have their respective advantages and limitations. The former tends to use semi-structured to open-ended questions, whereas the latter uses highly structured (at times, too structured) and close-ended questions.

Key informants are deliberately chosen for their expertise or knowledge about a subject, whereas survey respondents are chosen randomly from a universe of elements with equal chances of being selected. Key informants often allow ample time and opportunity for probing. Survey respondents, because of the sample size and length of the questionnaire, may allow little room for probing. However, structured and pre-coded survey instruments allow more ease and convenience in data processing and analysis. The format for key informant interviews poses some challenge in the analysis of information precisely because responses are qualitative and open-ended. Because sample survey interview techniques are well treated in research courses and texts, additional emphasis is given to guidelines for key informant interviews in this article. It must be noted that key informant and survey interviews could be used to enhance or support each other.

Advantages

1) Interviews provide a degree of flexibility in obtaining information and generating ideas not likely to occur in impersonal transactions or interaction through mailed questionaires.
2) Interviews allow probing or posing of additional questions to follow up on an earlier respones.
3) Interviews allow clarification of responses
4) Face-to-face interaction tends to enhance rapport and heighten a respondent's interests in the topic(s) at hand.

Limitations

1) Because informants are selected for their expertise on a subject and questions are rather open-ended, responses are subject to the biases and opinions of one person or of a few. This can be verified by a sample survey.
2) Key informant interviewers who can really probe and who do not alienate respondents are hard to find.
3) Where the respondent is not motivated or takes a contrary mood, the responses are likely to be inadequate.

The time spent for the interview may vary according to several factors, some of which are beyond the control of the interviewer. As a rule, an interview which lasts more than an hour results in diminishing returns.

Preparation

Key informant interviews require careful preparations, even if the questions are open-ended. The following are suggested guidelines

in planning and conducting an interview (Delph, 1977):

1) Specify the purpose of the interview.
2) Determine who is to be interviewed. Establish cross checks as to the key informant's knowledge of the subject. Do not go to the interview session blind.
3) Prepare a schedule or an agenda. Write down the main and the probe questions. Determine how the responses will be recorded.
4) Notify respondents in advance (if possible).

The Interview

For the interview proper, some guidelines are offered as follows:

1) Introduce yourself and clarify the purpose of the interview.
2) Get the respondent's name and title (if any) right.
3) Keep the interview to the subject--respect the demands on each other's time.
4) Start the interview with broad questions.
5) Probe for clarification and detail politely and tactfully. The interview is not an inquisition.
6) Allow the respondent to think during the occasional periods of silence.
7) Do not let note-taking interrupt the flow of discussion. Clear your means of recording (hand writing or tape) beforehand. Respect the respondent's preference on whether or not to allow recording of his responses.
8) Conclude the interview with a few minutes of informal conversation and summation.
9) If a follow-up interview is needed, make prior arrangements to visit again.
10) In all cases, a thank you note may be sent to the respondent.
11) Synthesize and analyze the responses. Report the overall results in a form suitable for transmission to others. Consider such factors as anonymity of respondents, biases of interviews, distortions.

3. Development Mapping

The development mapping survey aims to establish the relative level of growth and development of communities/settlements within a geographic area on the basis of the distribution, concentration, and ubiquity of services, facilities and other developmental functions.

It produces a scale showing the hierarchy of settlements within a given province or municipality that allows the grouping of these communities into categories of development, i.e., high, medium, low. As a scanning instrument for poverty research, it performs the following.

1) Provides an intitial identification of poverty areas in the province;

2) Determines the nature, types, and extent of developmental services and facilities needed by neglected areas;

3) Provides a quick appraisal of the adequacy of services and facilities by plotting distribution of functions on a map;

4) Provides preliminary information on possible "packages" of investments appropriate for specific types of settlements identified.

The survey instrument is administered to a panel of key informants, e.g., barangay officials, Municipal Planning and Development Officer, school principal, parish priest. The mechanics for development mapping (esp. the Guttman Manual Scalogram) is discussed in detail in the April 1982 issue (Vol. XIII, No. 2) of the *Philippine Planning Journal* and need not be repeated here.

The significance of development mapping survey for provincial poverty research lies in its value as a rapid appraisal tool for locating poverty areas within the province. It does not require intensive training to understand and interpret findings. With additional relevant information, the scalogram analysis could be further enriched to meet the detailed/substantial explanation of poverty conditions vis-a-vis the developmental situation in the province.

The development mapping survey has certain limitations which must be recognized:

1) The quality of key informants must always be considered in using qualitative information. Cross checking with other qualitative variables can be used to validate information.

2) Definition of development indicators must be clearly spelled out to maintain common parameters. Indicators should be tested for uniformity in definition.

3) The scalogram analysis does not measure efficiency in the absence of quantitative data. It can only be implied in view of qualitative observations.

SELECTING PROJECT SITES

The LRM Project initially, covered seven provinces within three regions: Region V, Bicol – Catanduanes and Albay; Region VI, Western Visayas – Antique and Capiz; and, Region VIII, Eastern Visayas – Leyte, Southern Leyte and Eastern Samar. These regions represent areas where the incidence of poverty was found to be pervasive and severe particularly among the identified major poverty groups.

The selection of a site for conducting a poverty study under LRM proceeds from the provincial level. The choice (and decision) for this provincial focus is based primarily on technical and administrative considerations as well as the strategic political position the province occupies in the government hierarchy. The province is apparently in the most appropriate position and level to actively mobilize local (municipal) governments and actively engage rural communities (the barangays) to strengthen their capacities to help themselves–one of the fundamental premises upon which the case for LRM is based.

The selection of the site(s) represents the first major step towards the formulation of a strategy to enable the province to explicitly establish a framework for project identification and priority resource allocation. Because not all the municipalities in the province could be covered due to resource limitations, a set of criteria was determined to rank and prioritize the sites. However, the formulation of criteria for site selection took into account LRM's focus on poverty groups as the basis for strategy development. Accordingly, given the magnitude, diversity and the location-specific nature of poverty in the country, approaches for site selection took into account LRM's focus.

1. Determining the appropriate approach for selecting sites

In order to address most effectively the problem of poverty at the local level, two basic concerns must be given due consideration in the process of site selection:

1) Focus on poverty groups – The specific beneficiaries of the Project are the rural poor. Selected for targeted assistance are major groups composed of the upland farmers, subsistence fishermen, and landless agricultural workers. In this regard, one approach that may be adopted in site selection would be a sectoral approach where even at the onset, a decision can be made as to what specific poverty group based on local prevailing conditions may be targeted for assistance.

2) Local resource development – The emphasis of the Project is on mobilizing and harnessing existing resources and resource management capabilities within local communities, with government supplementing only those services or resource gaps that are not available or cannot be met at the local level. This premium put by the Project on assisting communities to help themselves is to ensure sustainability. Translated into a selection criterion for a pilot site where greater self-reliance, productive employment, and real income among disadvantaged residents in rural areas must be promoted, consideration must be made of the area's existing or potential resource base – both human and natural. Therefore, it may be important to consider an area approach in the determination of the site.

2. Determine the criteria to be used

The selection of site(s) which will set going a poverty study that will provide the information and insights necessary towards the formulation of a provincial strategy for local development is a process that involves both objective and subjective bases. The nature of the Project is such that it already contains the basic ingredients needed to determine the site; nevertheless, these basic ingredients must be complemented with other considerations to ensure at least that the Project will be implemented.

Some of these criteria are suggested and described in this section and are concerned with what the site must have or can provide to qualify as a pilot site.

1) *Incidence of Poverty* — The site must exhibit a high concentration of poor rural communities considering that the initial objective of the Project is to formulate a strategy for poverty alleviation. The presence of a relatively large population of poverty groups should be preferred to sites with a lesser size of disadvantaged groups.

2) Urgency of Need for Assistance — The target beneficiaries of the Project are generally those that are most disadvantaged, i.e., needing the most assistance. Coupled with this would be the consideration of the urgency of assistance: immediate, medium, or long-term. Priority would be given to sites having immediate need for assistance.

3) *Natural Endowments* — The emphasis on self-reliance and strengthening of local capacities to enable poverty group members to help themselves in terms of the proper management and use of local resources, points to the importance of the availability of natural resources.

While it may be true that communities are poor because either the land or marine and agro-resources is simply absent or extremely eroded to provide opportunities for productive employment, it is nevertheless desirable that the site to be selected possesses at least a minimum of physical resources available for alternative economic activities.

4) *Accessibility* — The proposed site must be accessible and within reach of institutions that will be involved in the Project. It must be reasonably proximate to administrative and service centers and other support systems.

3. Gather relevant information.

The data requirements for the suggested criteria may be gathered using several research methodologies and survey instruments. The use of a particular research method or instrument would depend largely on the type and the level of detail of the data being sought. Discussed earlier in this article were various poverty scanning/RRA techniques which can provide the information needed.

COMMUNITY ENTRY

Community entry is one of the more critical concerns of the Project since this sets the stage for undertaking various activities crucial to the conduct of LRM activities in general, and poverty research in particular.

Since poverty research invokes community and inter-agency participation, emphasis is placed on establishing rapport with the community and building productive relationships with local leaders and various participating agencies.

Participation is defined as the "willingness to support and commit all available resources of and in the community". This has become a precondition to soliciting external assistance for any community-based project. Specifically, participation or involvement would entail an active role of the community in the articulation and diagnosis of pressing needs and problems of the community as well as in proposing remedial measures.

Along this line, the following are guiding principles which may influence the method for community entry:

1) Local residents have and can develop the capacity to confront their own problems. This implies that even in situations in which many people may feel hopeless, attitudes and skills can be developed so as to allow them to work effectively at shaping their community and more adequately meet their needs.

2) Local residents want change and can change. The tendency to assume that people are contended with the *status quo* and will resist change is not accurate.

3) Rural residents can participate in initiating, adjusting, or controlling the major changes taking place in their community. Opportunities, therefore, must be provided to communities to organize and secure their collective goals as well as to plan the adjustments to changes over which they have no control.

4) Changes that are self-imposed or self-developed have more significance and perma-

nence in community life rather than externally-imposed changes.

5) More often, rural communities need assistance in organizing to deal with their needs. While people have resources and capacities, they need technical or professional assistance in finding ways to mobilize these effectively.

6) Holistic approaches must be adopted in coping with problems, rather than a fragmented approach. The effort to work collectively on problems in its total setting may be the most significant step in the solution of the problems.

The general idea of community development efforts therefore is not in doing for or in controlling but in assisting or enabling people.

POVERTY STUDY PROPER

1. Inventory of Resources

A necessary step in the LRM Project process is to undertake an appraisal of the natural resources endowments of a given province or area—the kinds of resources, the volume, the rate of use or exploitation, replenishability, access to and control over these resources by the various poverty sectors. An assessment of resource utilization should include competition over such resources among various sectors and how this affects socio-economic differentiation By focusing on disadvantaged groups, one gets a better understanding of the constraints that limit the effectiveness of survival efforts of the poor majority; in other words, the poverty-creating (or conversely, the poverty-alleviating) effects of resource competition.

Resource inventory occurs at: 1) the provincial level — to show resource base and utilization and 2) the village level — where residents themselves participate in a field workshop in identifying their resources and the uses thereof. In this manner, resource inventory at the provincial level is further enriched with micro-level details of village resource mapping and analysis.

Procedures

a. Gather/review existing information in various agencies at the provincial level.

b. Consolidate agency reports and prepare resource profile and analysis for the province.

c. Conduct a village resource inventory and resource mapping workshop.

d. Conduct ground verification surveys for agency maps and reports as well as those prepared during the field workshop.

e. Prepare resource profile and analysis for province and target area.

2. Socio-Economic Stratification of Rural Households

This technique is intended as a tool for rapid appraisal for classification of rural households in the barangay based on socio-economic level of living indices and reputational social stratification. This instrument adopts the indices and rating scale for classification of Philippine homes designed by the San Miguel Corporation Market Research arm, using seven indices and a 5-point rating scale. The instrument may be administered to a single rater or a panel of (up to 10) raters, each adjudged to be knowledgeable of most, if not all, of the households in the barangay.

The rater or raters may be chosen from:

a) Barangay Captains
b) Barangay Council Members
c) Teachers
d) Midwife
e) Department of Health Technicians
f) Barangay Tanods

The composite level of living score may be computed from the rating scale, and deriving the average scores. Households may then be classified into groups A to E, A representing the upper and E, the lower income groups Each category is then assigned a color code, and the houses indicated in the barangay spot map are accordingly given their corresponding colors. Guidelines for data analysis and interpretation are given below.

a. Barangay Spot Mapping

Each barangay has a spot map indicating all the households and major infrastructure and land features. The interviewer should take along a sheet of tracing paper and trace the map. Most maps have the households numbered.

b. Barangay Household Listing

The Barangay Captains have a total list of households as well as members of their respective barangays. Copy the household list in a 16 column accounting sheet, indicating the num-

ber of each household. Make sure the numbers match those of the Barangay spot map. For accuracy, a random check of 20 households, matching numbers indicated in the map and in the household list may be done.

c. Level of Living and Stratification Scaling

The level of living and stratification scale should be translated and typewritten (preferably large type), on heavy paper. The interviewer should go through the scale, explaining it in great detail to the rater. One rater may be sufficient, but two or more may be used for cross checking. Going through each name of the household head listed in the columnar sheet, ask the rater to assign a rating for each of the households using the seven indicators. At the end of the interview, add the ratings to obtain a composite score, and derive the average.

d. Color Coding and Mapping

Based on average scores, assign a color code to each household and locate each household on the spot map and color each.

e. Occupational Classification of Households

Ask the rater to indicate (to the best of his knowledge) the occupational focus of each household – e,g., fishing, coconuts, lowland rice, upland farming. The first interview session may end here. Make arrangements for a second visit – for data analysis and validation.

f. Data Analysis

This section may be put off for a second session or visit with the rater. The data analysis session will use the map as a reference. The interviewer will focus on the insights and generalizations derived from the first five steps, with the intent of validating the interviewer's interpretation and analysis. The interviewer may elicit the rater's own interpretation.

As a guide, this open-ended interview session may consider the following pointers:

1) spatial distribution and relationships of households of various classifications;

2) distribution of households in relation to community facilities and services like schools, water source, clinic, transport depot, market;

3) kinship (using surnames) clusters;

4) matching of the lower most categories (C, D and E) with occupations and resource areas;

5) Landless workers, who are often missed in household surveys (ask the rater to single out LRM households); and

6) how the rater explains or understands poverty.

This is not a definitive instrument for poverty research; therefore, it should be followed and complemented by other instruments (i.e., household survey). It is possible that one rater may draw a blank on some households; therefore a second or third rater may be used.

3. Household Survey

The socio-economic household survey is designed primarily for verification, not for discovery. Being the last in the series of research instruments administered, it serves two major purposes, namely: to verify and elaborate on the insights on rural poverty gained from the earlier scans, rating scales, and key informant interviews; and to verify poverty incidence by incorporating three standard poverty research instruments for measuring the food threshold, income, and standard of living.

The household survey was designed after the preliminary results from the other instruments were processed, giving the study team a better grasp of the poverty situation in Bacacay. It was on the basis of the initial RRA and "scanning" techniques that the analytical framework for rural poverty was derived, and consequently the data elements included in the household survey were selected in support of the framework.

Substantively, the data elements embodied in the household survey come under the following headings:

1. Poverty Incidence
2. Survival Strategy/Accommodation to Poverty
3. Social Structural Pattern
4. Community Participation
5. Levels of Satisfaction (Perception Variables)
6. Demographic Factors

All the barangays of the municipality were grouped into 9 clusters based on dominant resource base, network of goods and services, transport points and flows, and dominant po-

verty groups based on key informants. Each cluster of barangays presented a picture of a locality whose residents were drawn to common service centers, community facilities and services, and who interacted regularly because of physical proximity. Key informants who verified and validated the clusters included the barangay captains, agricultural technicians, teachers, Peace Corps Volunteers, and other knowledgeable residents.

A total of 180 respondents and 20 case studies were selected from a universe of 7,783 households. The respondents were all household heads. A multi-step pre-sampling procedure was designed prior to the random selection of the elementary units.

Five pre-sampling procedures were adopted:

1) stratifying — urban-rural distinction, mainland-island distinction
2) clustering — poverty sectors
3) total listing for all households
4) reputational ranking — perceived levels of living by a panel of raters
5) segregation — barangay clusters (9)

The random selection of the elementary unit or respondents was done on the basis of the spatial clustering (barangay clusters), matched with the listing of all households ranked by a panel of raters on agreed upon perceptions of levels of living.

The instrument used was in English, except for one section which consisted of open-ended questions calling for probing, and weretherefore translated into Bikol. The interviewers, all native speakers of Bikol, were quite comfortable with English, being teachers, agricultural technicians, midwives and paramedics. Three field supervisors, one each from PPDO, the DAP, and the Provincial Agriculture Office, stayed in the field throughout the survey period to check and edit the completed schedules. Coding was facilitated by the fact that 80 percent of the questions was pre-coded. For the processing of open-ended responses, students from the Divine Word College assisted. Computerization was done in the DAP and the analysis and interpretation were jointly done by DAP and the PPDO research team members.

The interviewers were trained for two days, and given another day or two to interview in teams before they went on their own. After the fifth interview, a review was made on the work done, before they proceeded with the rest of the interview.

FARM SYSTEMS STUDY

This study aims to determine the dynamics of the various elements in agricultural production. It takes into account the inter-relationship of land, technology, the farmer and other socio-economic variables in the production and distribution activities at the micro level (the farm household) and how those factors interplay and influence poverty conditions in the area. Using the case study method, selected farmer-respondents were interviewed representing a cross-section of varied socio-economic levels, poverty sectors, agricultural commodities and geographic locations. The farm systems study is a household level instrument and therefore provides in-depth explanatory information as to poverty factors at the micro level relative to agricultural production such as effectiveness of farm management practices, access to external resources, optimum and complementary use of internal resources and farm inputs.

The following are suggested information blocks for the interview schedule:

1) Basic profile of farm household — household composition, occupation and income, mobility

2) Agricultural production (all types of commodities) — land use, production volumes, farm management practices (pre— to post-harvest activities), spatial organization, problems encountered, credit, marketing

3) Land development history — land clearing, soil fertility maintenance, rotation patterns, site selection

4) Water resource inventory — domestic water supply, water irrigation

5) Aspirations and community involvement — personal goals and aspirations, awareness/perception of and participation in programs and development projects

6) Tenure — tenurial status

There should be a guide in preparing/revising a questionnaire that is appropriate to the

data requirements of the poverty study in a specific area.

The sampling size is determined by the cost and time limitations of the PPDO. The minimum requirement is that at least one case from each cross-section be represented as in:

1) Socio-economic status — high, medium, low

2) Poverty Sector — upland farmer, lowland farmer, subsistence fishermen, landless rural worker

3) Commodity (if applicable) — coconut, abaca, rice

4) Geographic location (if applicable) — mainland vs. island

To select the sample for the farm systems study, the following procedures are suggested:

i) Interview/consult local farm management technician of farmers/fishermen falling under the above-mentioned categories.

ii) Make a preliminary listing.

iii) Select the respondents for the farm systems study based on their cross sectional representatives.

The interview session for the farm systems study may take at least one day if the respondent is available for the whole day. It requires an ocular inspection of the farm with the respondent to be able to map out land uses, spatial organization and land development history of the farm. Hence, it is important that before the interview proper begins, the interviewer should be able to establish rapport with the respondent.

Data processing/analysis for this study will be both quantitative and qualitative.

RURAL ENTERPRISE STUDY

This study is intended to capture the sequence of productive activities from production of goods and services, through processing and tertiary services, to delivery to market and consumer/user outlets.

The study of rural enterprises entails the following tasks:

1) To understand the ways of using rural resources for community enterprises;

2) To know the various ways of mobilizing labor and organizing for work by the rural poverty groups;

3) To assess the appropriateness of technologies employed;

4) To know the various secondary and tertiary services needed for establishing rural enterprises;

5) To understand the patterns of capitalization and credit sources accessible to rural entrepreneurs;

6) To understand the management styles and techniques employed by rural enterprise groups;

7) To understand and assess the market patterns, trends, and potentials of the goods/services produced by rural enterprise groups;

8) To know the value orientation and social institutional basis of rural enterprises;

9) To determine the support services needed to strengthen and sustain rural enterprises; and

10) To determine the sub-regional and spatial aspects of rural enterprises in Bacacay, relative to markets in Tabaco and Legaspi.

The rural enterprise study follows logically from two instruments: the Geographic Location and Priority Rating of Poverty Sectors and the Farm Systems Study. The former scans the geographic location of poverty groups in relation to the resource base which is the locus of their quest for livelihood. The latter is detailed in the rural enterprise study and looks into the process beyond primary production —— that is, once the primary commodities or the raw materials are produced, how does the household production unit process these into marketable goods and services, and how are these delivered to the market or to the consumer? Simply stated, this study is best described as preparing a project study "after the fact", that is, preparing a case study of an on-going project.

The methodologies for this study are varied, but a rural enterprise fact sheet was used as a guide for the researcher. The information may be gathered through key informant interviews, process documentation, field observation and other rapid appraisal techniques.

RURAL ORGANIZATION STUDY

This study is intended to identify the various

attributes, capabilities and potentials of community-based organizations as the basis for determining the most appropriate, effective and viable organization to undertake community development projects. In effect, the rural organization study provides a retrospective view of the success or failure, and the strengths and weaknesses of the development process undergone by these organizations. The results of the study become critical inputs in designing community organization approaches for the various poverty groups.

The basic unit of analysis of the study is the community-based organization. This refers to any community organization wherein the rural residents, composed of the various poverty groups, are predominantly involved as members. Things to look into include:

1. Profile of members – to include income levels, position in the community, occupation, level of education, length of stay in the community, reasons for joining the organization
2. Facilities and finances – to include physical facilities, sources of funds, main and recurrent expenses, and financial control systems
3. Objectives of the organization – to include stated and actual goals and changes therein over time
4. Organizational structure – to include formal structures, organizational charts, functions and inter-relationships, procedures or criteria for recruitment and selection of members, decision-making levels and procedures
5. Goals and ideologies of the organization – to include activities of the organization over time, internal and external support, internal/external obstacles, factors associated with success or failure of organization's plans, extent of organization's ability to mobilize members and non-members
6. Leadership structure – profile of leaders, responsibilities, selection procedures, skills requirements, attributes or characteristics of leaders
7. External relationships of significance to the organization – to include nature of relationship with government agencies, sponsoring agencies, political parties; basis of each of the above relationships; costs and benefits in each relationship; and changes in relationships over time.

Various research techniques may be employed to gather information necessary for the study. These include sample survey with formal interviews, participant observation, interview of key informants and review of related literature.

FIELD VALIDATION WORKSHOP

This activity brings together the various LRM actors, community leaders and residents, and the planners so as to arrive at a common understanding of the LRM concepts and to process the results of the poverty research in general and the development strategy for poverty alleviation in particular. There are three ways in which an anti-poverty strategy may be formulated – people as object, people as subject, and a third alternative.

The first approach, people as object, is the prototypical top-down, technocratic approach which has wide currency in development planning. Researches and plans are started or initiated, undertaken and evaluated by outsiders. The research findings are matched with agreed-on norms or planning standards. Plans are intently made to make-up or fill in deficiencies and gaps.

The second approach, people as subject, is the prototypical bottom-up, people-initiated, "participatory" approach which is currently gaining support as an alternative to the first approach. The point of departure is the felt need of the common man, concerns of the poor majority as expressed by them. Matching of needs and proposed action and resources lead to projects.

Both approaches suffer from weaknesses, rooted in the mismatch between universally accepted norms of well-being (mainly economic) and the people's perception of the good life, how strongly they feel about it, the levels of capability and magnitude of resources they can muster. The case for the latter lies in the fact that people are in a better position to know their problems – "knowing where it hurts." The strength of the former can be traced to the fact that the planners are unique-

ly strong in planning the solutions which tap in outside resources.

In anticipating the third approach, one does not merely join people's problems with planners' solutions – for joining of strengths may as well result in the compounding of weaknesses. The third approach is premised on the very essence of the development process – the "development of thinking human beings who have learned to participate in making decisions that affect their destiny". In its ideal form, the third approach is to let the people lead and the experts follow (Lynch, *et. al.*, 1976:11). What this approach calls for is that control is in the hands of those most affected by the decisions made. The validation workshop is a deliberate attempt to empower the beneficiaries targeted by the Project – with the experts playing the role of an enabler – clearing the stage of the constraints which limit people's options and actions, but enhancing their capacity for participation. Facilitating this participation is more than "tokenism" – informing the people, consulting with them, or placating them (Arnstein 1979; Hollnsteiner 1976:5-36). Field validation is but one of the suggested steps towards the attainment of the third approach – a first approximation, tested for the first time, should be subject to periodic reviews and revisions. Field validation workshops or field meetings are considered integral to the proverty research for the following reasons:

1) they provide an effective venue for encouraging and stimulating local participation in the planning exercises;

2) they yield a healthy combination of folk/indigenous and scientific methods of generating and analyzing the data gathered from various field studies;

3) they encourage a highly participative and interactive process among planners, program implementors, and rural residents; and

4) they provide a logical entry point for the LRM Track III beneficiary participation activities.

Significant features of the field validation workshop are as follows:

1) Identification and prioritization of local problems and needs of specific poverty groups which become the basis for the formulation of anti-poverty strategies;

2) Formulation, together with the community, of remedial measures for poverty alleviation;

3) Collective identification and formulation of community projects compatible with resource endowments, technical, financial, marketing and manpower capabilities of low income communities; and

4) On-the-spot participation of field officers from various disciplines and agencies.

STRATEGY FORMULATION

One major lesson learned from past experience in the development effort is that "development is an imperfect process pursued with inadequate tools, mixed motives, second-best solutions, and unpredictable outcomes". (Carner and Korten 1982:1). Development efforts – planning and management – have been geared towards directing the development process, focusing attention on the expansion of the modern sector, and on welfare measures to redress perceived deficiencies in the needs of the poor majority. Recognizing the inequitable outcomes of conventional development efforts, specifically resulting in the poor majority gaining the least from and paying the most for development, modification of planning approaches has been sought.

There is a call for a targeted approach, meaning, directing development resources, services and investments toward the more depressed sectors. "Growth with equity", the slogan of the 1970's remains evocative, but its realization, elusive. There remains little evidence that there has been any dramatic gains in the equity side of the slogan, even amidst consistent growth. Consequently, there is a call for more people-centered planning approaches, which draw on new concepts and methods, along with non-orthodox handling of conventional tools, which go beyond making up for basic needs deficiencies. Over and above the provision for basic minima in goods and services, the alternative approach calls for action on clearing or relieving constraints that limit the effectiveness of the

self-help efforts to which the poor majority are already committing their physical and intellectual energies (Korten 1981: 201-221). The povery groups, on their part, with some assistance will exert renewed efforts in analyzing their own needs and undertake their own self-help efforts in addressing these needs as well as muster their own resources in a collective effort to protect their interests.

The role of government and private assistance agencies needs some re-orientation from that of entrepreneurs and service providers to that of "enablers". The poverty groups, on the other hand, should exert renewed effort in actively bidding for participation in development, taking control of actions and participating in decisions that affect their lives. The basic needs approach, which remains valid, should be complemented with basic strategies. It calls for more than a matching of the people's problems and planners' solutions. The idea should be that control be in the hands of those most affected by decisions made (the poor), and that planners and service delivery agents play the role of enabler. Let the people lead and the experts follow (Lynch, *et. al.*, 1976: 11).

The formulation of an anti-poverty strategy is premised on an understanding of the problem. For as long as the poverty sectors, targeted as beneficiaries, remain faceless and placeless, the proposed solutions to poverty alleviation become a mere matching game, with little assurance that means match ends. The problem is not simply—that poverty exists and what are its features. More to the point are three questions which are fundamental to the task of formulating a strategy:

a. Who are the poor?
b. What are the causes of their poverty?
c. How do they cope to survive?

An understanding of the incidence of poverty (who, where, how many, how poor), the causes (the factors, the causal relations, the persistence), and the survival strategies of the poor (accommodation to, rejection of, and escape from a situation of deprivation) are preconditions to the designing of a sound anti-poverty strategy. What is sought is less of a methodology but more of an analytical framework which will enhance the understanding of poverty by the people and the assisting agencies.

1. Formulating a Poverty Group-Focused Assistance Strategy

A strategy is a guiding framework for a set of interdependent actions (delivery of services and goods, matching the creative efforts and resources of the poor), phased over time to achieve specifically identified objectives and goals. A distinction must be made between a development assistance strategy, which is the task at hand, and a comprehensive development strategy or plan. The former refers only to those interventions which are appropriate to an assisting agency — in this case the Provincial Development Staff — given its capabilities, resources and comparative advantage in addressing the poverty situation, within the context of the broader and comprehensive, multi-year provincial development plan and the national development plan. The sought-for anti-poverty strategy is not identical with, but is rationalized within, the comprehensive provincial development plan. There is yet no pre-packaged, tried-and-tested, generally acceptable prototype for such a strategy. There are, however, some familiar components which ultimately must be subject to good judgment in matching poverty problems with developmental, political, bureaucratic and budgetary considerations. It is understood that the provincial anti-poverty strategy, in its modest beginning, must continue "to evolve as poverty is better understood and as programmatic approaches to poverty are defined" (Carner and Korten 1982: 12). In formulating the provincial strategy, the following procedures may be considered:

1. *Poverty Analysis* — A logical first step is to understand the problem based on poverty research. There should be an agreed upon, explicit definition of the nature of poverty, the sectors affected, their numbers and trends, the causal factors, the location, and the resources controlled by the groups affected. The provin-

cial poverty research and analysis is intended to verify initial insights as well as to discover in detail the poverty situation.

2. *Strategy Options* – The next step, using the poverty analysis, is to consider a number of assistance strategy options for addressing the needs of priority target groups. Following the broad rural mobilization and employment strategy for the country recommended by an ILO Commission in 1974 (Ranis Report), five options were suggested in a USAID working paper (Carner and Korten 1982: 13):

a. Remunerative Employment Strategy
b. Food and Nutrition Strategy (Food First Policy)
c. Natural Resources Management Strategy (e.g., "Wedge Model")
d. Human Resources Development Strategy
e. Balanced Regional Development Strategy

3. *Formulation of the First-Approximation of an Anti-Poverty Strategy* – This initial approximation of an anti-poverty strategy derives from the choice of the mix, emphasis or sequence of the aforementioned strategy options, addressed to one or a few localities or poverty sectors. The choice of such group or sectors derives from the poverty analysis. Such a framework, its formulation and design, provides a logical entry for an LRM PVO, as it serves as basis for direct dialogue with the beneficiaries themselves. During this incipient stage, the LRM provincial strategy will be sub-provincial rather than province-wide in scope. At this stage, the strategy based on sector-specific or area-specific poverty analysis may appear disjointed, but it should be viewed in the context of using these areas or sectors as learning laboratories for testing and refinement of this initial strategy. The use of the qualifier "provincial" to a strategy which is sectoral/sub-provincial in scope is warranted because it is designed and adopted for implementation by the provincial government.

4. *Testing the Anti-Poverty Strategy* – Selecting the priority sectors is in line with the learning process invoked in the LRM concept. The idea of setting up learning laboratories to test and refine the strategy through continuous feedback and process documentation is deemed to be the most realistic way of turning bureaucratic planning traditions around from the "shopping list approach" to a "people-centered approach" where the people as implementors of their projects learn alongside the service agencies. Project replication and spread of second-generation spin-offs should be premised on the people and the provincial government having proven their capacity in dealing with the initial attempt.

5. *Replication of the Process* – This is an option which the province has, once it gains confidence in the non-conventional LRM approach and concept. A second group may be selected, beginning again with a small area and expanding the effort as lessons are learned from the initial experience. This cycle should be repeated until province-wide programs are in place.

CONCLUSION

The poverty analysis and strategy formulation process, although presented as discrete and sequential, are in fact iterative and continuous. Furthermore, the process is intended to be continually refined and *adapted* rather than adopted to specific planning requirements. Hopefully, this article would have provided not only guidance but also inspiration to everyone engaged in the art of local development planning.

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Ilaw ng Buhay: The LRM Experience in Leyte

Alberto Ramos

INTRODUCTION

Despite myriad programs and projects and lots of money spent for development, the conditions of the poor have not improved. They continue to live in communities that breed poverty, disease, death, filth, illiteracy, apathy and fatalism.

There are three fundamental problems. One, institutions and social arrangements relegate people to their present condition. Two, development strategies fail to bring the intended benefits to the poor. Three, the poor remain passive recipients of government assistance.

Because the poor constitute the majority of the people, real change in society must come from them. The root of change must start from society's basic unit, the individual family. This is where the problems must be addressed. The question, however, is how to win confidence and support of the poor. How can they participate in a change process that is neither *palliative nor exploitative but truly liberating?* This is an important question, because it is only through their participation that institutions are strengthened, services are delivered, communication channels created, and community-government partnership forged.

This final paper describes in detail the "Ilaw ng Buhay" approach, one of the community development approaches used under the beneficiary participation component of the LRM Project. It is intended to address the question, " How is LRM carried out at the community or grassroots level? " The myriad of lessons learned from the trailblazing efforts of the LRM Project in the Province of Leyte should serve to inspire and guide private voluntary organizations, non-government organizations, public agencies, and others involved in similar activities at the community level now and in the future.

NOTE: This paper was presented by Mr. Alberto Ramos in the Third LRM PVO Conference held in Palo, Leyte on April 3-5, 1989. It describes the community organizing approach of Ilaw International Center under the LRM Project.

FORMING COMMUNITY-GOVERNMENT PARTNERSHIP

In 1982, the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) conceived of a development approach to redress poverty in the rural areas. People's participation was the centerpiece of this approach. It advocated people's participation in decentralized planning and decision-making.

The idea took form and substance in a development program that came to be known as the Local Resource Management (LRM) Project. Leyte became one of its pilot provinces.

To set the stage for desired changes, NEDA contracted three NGOs namely: UP Los Baños Development Foundation, Inc. (UPLBDFI), Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP), and UP Local Government Center (UPLGC).

The UPLBDFI assumed the responsibility of organizing the poverty groups and building their capacity for self-reliance. The DAP assisted the provincial government in formulating an anti-poverty strategy. The UPLGC prepared local government units (LGUs) for effective management of their financial resources.

The Community Resource Management Approach (CRMA)

In November 1984, UPLBDFI started to implement the beneficiary participation component of the LRM Project in Leyte. Its task

was to involve project beneficiaries in local development efforts. For 29 months, it worked in 8 barangays of Tunga and in 4 barangays of Matalom. It applied a development scheme called Community Resource Management Approach (CRMA). This approach introduced four major strategies: 1) development of natural resource-based economic projects; 2) strengthening of the Barangay Development Council as a channel for social and technical services; 3) internalization of CRMA by line agencies through the development of planning and management skills of their personnel; and 4) introduction of community based monitoring systems.

The UPLBDFI organized what is now called Community Beneficiary Groups (CBGs). These were interest groups composed of 7-15 members which carried out livelihood and community projects using locally available resources.

A total of 39 beneficiaries were organized in Tunga. They engaged in a multi-cropping subproject. They were federated into the Tunga United Entrepreneurs, Inc. In Matalom, 46 beneficiaries were organized. They engaged in hog breeding/fattening, fish vending/processing, and corn-peanut-mongo multicropping subprojects. They were federated into the Matalom United Entrepreneurs, Inc. Both federations were duly registered with Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC).

With technical assistance from UPLBDFI, a survey of the two municipalities, called Participatory Rapid Rural Appraisal (PRRA), was undertaken by members of the Barangay Development Councils (BDCs). The appraisal served as the basis for BDCs to prepare barangay profiles, which in turn served as inputs for barangay and municipal planning. The appraisal also enabled UPLBDFI to make a socio-economic classification of the population, leading to the identification of beneficiary groups, of which there were three: a) Category I, the "poorest of the poor"; b) Category II, better in living condition relative to Category I; and c) Category III, well-off. Those belonging to Category I were earmarked for immediate intervention.

Members of the barangay and municipal development councils of both municipalities were given formal training to strengthen and activate these councils. They were mobilized to plan and coordinate various program undertakings. They were also involved in data gathering and collation. In addition, selected members of the MDCs, together with the Leyte Provincial Development Staff (LDS) were made to constitute the Project Support Staff, organized to oversee the implementation of LRM projects and activities in the pilot areas.

The UPLBDFI hoped to institutionalize its community organizing approach in the locality through indigenous community organizers, called Barangay Integrated Development Coordinators (BIDCs), trained in community management.

At the municipal level, UPLBDFI mobilized selected personnel of cooperating agencies to act as development advisors whose task was to provide technical support to projects and conduct project monitoring.

The success of CRMA as a development strategy was short-lived. When UPLBDFI left the area in late 1986, its approach failed to sustain itself. The interest of the beneficiaries waned and the CBGs rapidly disintegrated.

Those who stayed on a bit longer were primarily interested in the financial aid to their proposed projects. These were financed by the so called Community Project Fund (CPF) which LRM instituted to bolster the self-help initiatives of project beneficiaries. It was meant to create, in USAID parlance, the necessary "impact." The fund supported infrastructure and income-generating projects identified by beneficiaries, but it failed to put UPLBDFI's community organizing effort on the desired path.

The beneficiaries were loosely organized. Among members, there was no manifest sense of belonging to their organization. There were no group activities and projects. They seldom met. Each time they met, their number decreased. Group membership varied from time to time. Even the officers kept changing. There was no group cohesiveness. Each was working according to his needs. There was only a desire to receive, not to give.

Apparently, pecuniary interest was the primary factor that induced organizing. When it was clarified that loans and other aids will be made available to organized groups only, economic groups emerged in no time. There was a carabao group, a hog group, a store group, a corn-peanut-mongo group, a peanut-pineapple-cacao-stringbeans group, and a camote group. Each group expected that LRM would finance their project.

For some groups, the money never came. Disappointed, they withdrew their membership. Others continued to hold meetings, but only to discuss the status of their proposals.

When the money came, only four groups were accommodated. The 39 beneficiaries from Tunga engaged in multi-cropping. In Matalom, 26 members engaged in hog fattening and breeding, 12 in multi-cropping, and 8 in fish vending and processing. They carried out the projects individually, each to his own. There was no supervision from officials of the organization. The result: some diverted their funds for other purposes. Knowing the funds came from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) they interpreted the loan to be a "US aid," a grant which will not be paid back. The rate of payment, therefore, was dismally low.

The BDCs themselves were contaminated by the financial motivation syndrome. The Barangay Development Framework Plans which they formulated contained infrastructure projects that required external financing which LRM could not support. In addition, the needs identified were sectoral in nature, which means they required commodity or financial assistance from technical service agencies. With limited, pre-programmed funds, the technical agencies could not accommodate their requirements. The BDCs, therefore, lost interest in carrying out their plans and in making new plans. Thus, the tedious effort of developing their planning capabilities went to nothing. The leadership of the BDCs weakened. By reflex action, the once active CBGs became passive.

In the area of inter-agency involvement, however, UPLBDFI was highly successful. It was able to mobilize government agencies to deliver services to the organized CBGs, but even this failed to sustain the participation of CBGs.

To institutionalize CRMA in the operational areas, UPLBDFI relied heavily on the BIDCs, but the BIDCs themselves have become inactive even before UPLBDFI pulled out.

Upon phase-out of UPLBDFI, the commitment of the development advisers vanished.

Overall, the LRM Regional Staff summed up UPLBDFI's intervention thus: "Little headway had been made in directing the attitude and activities of project beneficiaries toward self-help. . . . The CRMA design itself was flawed since it put a lot of emphasis on economic activities, linking community organizing to possible availment of loans. . . .Since community organizing was achieved almost solely for the purpose of utilizing LRM funds, the organizations formed were weak and loose, with the members unable to internalize. . . such basic LRM concepts as self-reliance and productive utilization and management of existing local resources."

The Ilaw International Center (IIC) Contract

In February 1988, NEDA engaged IIC to implement the beneficiary participation component of the LRM project in Leyte. The engagement provided an opportunity to test the efficacy of IIC's "Ilaw ng Buhay" approach as a tool for enlisting people's participation in development.

At the time of IIC's engagement, LRM was in the final stages of redesigning the project and redefining its direction. Its systems and procedures and technical support mechanisms were being overhauled. In the interim, IIC was tasked to consolidate whatever gains were achieved by UPLBDFI and to resuscitate the initial beneficiary organizing work undertaken in the pilot areas. In addition, IIC was to expand its operations to a new municipality, San Miguel.

Ilaw's Conceptual Framework

It is Ilaw's position that in order for the poor to have a better life, there must be change, but this does not simply mean changing the system, or the social structures and arrange-

ments. Most importantly, the individual man must change.

Ilaw believes that man can change. All he has to do is be conscious of his full potential through the use of his God-given reason and common sense. Since social systems are created by man, it follows that a change in man will bring about changes in the things he creates.

The Ilaw approach focuses on the most basic unit of society, the family. It exhorts families, especially the poor, to improve their conditions by motivating them to use common sense in identifying and eliminating the root causes of their problems.

Ilaw recognizes that before the poor can receive the benefits of development, they must be organized. Thus, the poor are encouraged to join a traditional aggrupation, the neighborhood association. Once organized, they are trained and prepared for responsible positions. They learn new skills and to accept the responsibilities that go hand-in-hand with the power to decide.

Part of Ilaw's strategy is to link the development efforts of the local government to the efforts of the organized communities. Development requires the active participation of the people. This is the idea behind Ilaw's "Jawbone Approach," in which the strengths and resources of the government and the private sector are used in a mutually beneficial arrangement.

The "upper jaw" represents the government, and the "lower jaw" represents the organized citizens. In digestion, the food must be chewed well in the mouth before it enters the digestive system. The upper and lower jaws must be pulled together to enable the teeth to chew the food. Similarly, development problems can be addressed through the "jawbone approach."

Ilaw strongly promotes citizen-government cooperation. It emphasizes organizing both the people and the local governments to become partners in development.

The Ilaw Process Matrix

IIC views the social development process as consisting largely of three phases: 1) social preparation, 2) pre-consolidation, and 3) consolidation.

The *social preparation phase* lays the groundwork for developing community-government partnership. It takes considerable time and effort. The basic tasks are undertaken during this phase. Viable community organizations are established. A strong local political will is cultivated. Certain conditions are created, such as decentralized decision-making to facilitate bottom-up planning. Services that match community-identified needs are also delivered.

Mobilization of both the community and the local governments is intense during this phase. A series of sequential steps are carried out to generate awareness and action.

Ilaw trains local government leaders to appreciate statistics, examine available information, identify problems and do something about them. Development strategies and plans are developed with the organized community. Government personnel are asked to integrate their services and carry out a plan based on a common perception of the people's requirements for development.

The social preparation phase involves organizing communities into manageable structures. Community residents are grouped into units, with each unit consisting of 20 families. Three units comprise a neighborhood chapter. Then all the chapters in each municipality are federated into the Ilaw ng Buhay Association (INBA). This is registered with SEC to assume legal personality.

Training is held at all levels of the organization—from the family, to unit, then to the chapter, and finally to the municipal federation level. Ilaw gives motivational trainings to induce action. It develops the people's skills to enable them to face various tasks. Through training, the community's perspective of value is raised towards self-reliance and interdependence.

Other forms of assistance are given as the needs are identified by the organized communities.

At the end of this phase, the following should have been achieved:

1) adoption of the Ilaw approach by the

Sangguniang Bayan and the Municipal and Barangay Development Councils;

2) commitment of the local government to allow organized communities to participate in data gathering and analysis, and in planning, identifying, implementing and monitoring projects;

3) formal representation of the organized communities in local development councils;

4) presence of development/action plans at the chapter, barangay and municipal levels;

5) implementation of individual family and chapter projects; and

6) existence of functional municipal and barangay development councils and INBAs.

The *pre-consolidation phase* further strengthens the relationship between the partners in development. The organized community ventures into more complex projects with the help of the local government.

The *consolidation phase* firms up the social development process. Assessments and replanning are done in this phase. Systems and procedures previously installed are refined. The community organization becomes an independent body interacting with the government for the satisfaction of the people's identified needs. The local development councils and the community organizations plan and manage development programs. The community network functions as a civic arm that verbalizes the people's aspirations. It also serves as a channel for delivery of government services.

Gaining Entry to the Project Areas

On Valentine's Day, 1988, IIC began its work. It quickly formed a project team composed of experienced community development officers, a researcher, a training and project specialist, and an administrative staff.

The team arrived on March 7 in Tacloban, Leyte where the team leader gave them pre-service orientation. For one week, they discussed, listened to lectures, and studied documents. They familiarized themselves with the philosophies, principles, processes, and activities of LRM and the CRMA.

This act of calling is very important. It is the first vital step towards creating a harmonious relationship between the team and the authorities.

The INB Process in Matalom

On March 14, the sub-teams proceeded to lay the groundwork for the inception of the Ilaw process. The Regional Project Management Office Staff (RPMO) and the training specialist went to Matalom; the rest went to Tunga. Aside from introducing themselves, they also conducted focused group dialogues (FGDs), invited FGD participants, and prepared the municipality for the secondary data gathering.

The Matalom group was lucky because they found the mayor in his office and there was a Sangguniang Bayan meeting in the afternoon. They took the opportunity to explain to the assembled leaders the Ilaw-LRM development frameworks and strategies.

The mayor and the majority expressed support and promised to give attention to the program. Through the mayor, a focused group dialogue schedule was set. The Department of Local Government (DLG) officer was assigned to prepare and issue the invitations to the participants. Secondary data gathering and ocular surveys were allowed to proceed without delay.

Assessment of Community Needs and Potentials

From March 17-25, the team conducted an assessment of the needs and inventory of the resources of Matalom. The data gathered from this activity became the basis for their training and technical interventions.

Relevant secondary data were gathered from the files of technical agencies and municipal offices. At the same time, the team conducted on-the-spot surveys to gather information on the needs and potentials of the locality. From this method, they gained added benefit: they got acquainted with the people, especially with the past program beneficiaries. The people provided supplemental information not usually found in the files of technical agencies. The inventory of resources included both the indigenous and those that came from outside through the technical agencies, LGUs and

private organizations. The team established closer relationship with people from various line agencies and municipal offices. Most accommodating were people from the Treasurer's Office, the Assessor's Office, Integrated National Police (INP), Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS), Department of Health (DOH), Department of Local Government (DLG), Department of Social Work and Development (DSWD), Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP), and Population Commission (POPCOM).

To quickly generate information on the past technical assistance intervention, the team used the FGD method. An FGD was conducted for a half day for each group. The participants were grouped by levels. Members of the BDC/BC, CBGs, and BIDCs composed level 1; the mayor and MDC members, SB members, MPDCs and CRMA teams composed level 2; and the Leyte Provincial Development Staff, who were involved in the previous project, comprised level 3.

From the FGDs, the team was able to determine 1) the extent of LRM Phase I operations, 2) the degree of delivery of government services, 3) the status of structures installed, 4) the responses of LGUs to the program, 5) the discernible attitudes of officials and beneficiaries, and 6) opportunities and trends that can be used to improve the current situation. The team also gained insights into how the participants understood the LRM program, their perception of their roles and functions, the benefits they gained, and the gaps and problems encountered in the implementation of the program.

The information and data gathered were used to prepare the municipal profile which served as a framework for training and operations activities. More importantly, the data formed the basis for local-level planning. From here on, the stockpiling of data became a continuing part of the Community-Based Monitoring System (CBMS).

The Social Development Seminar-Workshop

On April 28-29, the team conducted a Municipal Social Development Seminar-Workshop (MSDSW) to gain the commitment and support of the town's key leadership. A total of 58 persons participated. The mayor, vice-mayor, the treasurer, assessor, and secretary, all the SB members, the local INP chief, the Association of Barangay Councils president, and the barangay captains represented the LGUs. From the technical agencies came the chiefs and key staffs of DECS, DOH, DLG, DSWD, Department of Agriculture (DA), and National Manpower & Youth Council (NMYC). There were also participants from the CBGs and the youth, civic and religious sectors.

A problem-oriented profile of Matalom was presented to the assembly to set the tone for the seminar-workshop. This was the team's first crack at integration of the "upper jaw." In as much as development activities in the municipality have not been carried out in an integrated manner, the seminar was an occasion to strongly promote it.

The participants reacted to the profile with shades of embarrassment and disbelief, but at the same time they realized that something must be done about the problems.

After presenting the municipal profile, the team explained the Ilaw-LRM concepts, philosophies, and strategies for participatory development. They also explained some practical ways by which the poor can extricate themselves from the poverty trap. Topics discussed ranged from environmental protection and conservation, health and nutrition, food production, family planning, and education and culture. The presentation made the participants feel that they have the power to make the right decisions and set the right directions, that the solutions to poverty lie right within the munipality, not from the outside.

A Municipal Action Plan for Social Development was produced on the last day of the seminar-workshop. The participants were divided into five workgroups: 1) the mayor with the SB members; 2) the chiefs and representatives of the different technical agencies; 3) the barangay captains with the BDC members; 4) the civic, religious and youth groups; and 5) the existing CBGs. Each group indentified community problems emanating from the

municipal profile and from what they perceived. The problems were matched with resolution strategies that used locally-available resources.

The major problems identified by the different groups included: deteriorating peace and order situation; destruction of watersheds, coral reefs, and mangroves; low family income; low food production; illegal fishing; rapid population growth and large family size; low participation and survival rate in elementary education; malnutrition; poor sanitation; poor attitude; juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, alcoholism; vandalism; and superstition.

Rather than be overwhelmed by the list of problems, the workgroups identified a number of strategies to resolve them. Among these were: massive campaign and information drive against crime and insurgency, imposition of a curfew ordinance and intensified apprehension of criminals, faithful implementation of Presidential Decrees Nos. 705 and 1153 and applicable marine laws, massive educational campaign on environmental conservation and protection, formation of community organizations, conduct of Ilaw-LRM trainings in all barangays, intensification of food production programs, utilization of vacant lots for food production, responsible parenthood education and campaign against early marriages, implementation of health and nutrition programs, self-awareness and value formation educational programs.

The plan served as a framework for anti-poverty action by both the government and the private sectors.

Organization and Deployment of Volunteers

After the seminar-workshop, project volunteers were organized for training and deployment. They have been previously identified through the so-called "Arrow Connection," in which the team asked responsible persons for acceptance or rejection of recommended volunteers. Acceptances were indicated by arrows. Those with the most number of arrows were tapped for volunteer work. Through the mayor and the MDC chairman, the volunteers were appointed to constitute the Development Core Groups (DCGs) and Development Trainors (DTs).

The Municipal Planning and Development Coordinator (MPDC), a SB member, the Municipal Assessor and the DLG's Local Government Officer (LGO) finally constituted the DCG that underwent intensive training at IIC in Tagbilaran, Bohol in early May. After that, they conducted a series of training activities together with the IIC staff. They were also involved directly in assisting CBGs on project identification, planning and implementation.

In the pilot barangays, the staff reactivated the BIDCs. The team saw the need to remotivate these indigenous volunteers and re-equip them technically for their tasks. They were trained at IIC in Tagbilaran also in early May.

As in the case of DCGs/DTs, the appointment of BIDCs was based on the need to link the community organizations with local government units. The IIC staff deemed it wise to recruit those who were readily acceptable to the local officials. Appointment papers signed by the mayor indicated firm working relationship. The appointments served as incentives for the BIDCs to tackle their tasks vigorously.

Structure Formation and Linkaging

Upon return from Bohol, the DCGs/DTs and IIC's Field Program Officer banded together to form the Field Operations Team (FOT). The FOT embarked on groundworking to create the structures needed for developing community-government collaboration. This was necessary because the CBG structures left behind by the previous PVO (i.e., UPLBDFI) were found wanting in two critical aspects: 1) sufficient number, and 2) provisions for formally bringing the beneficiaries into relationship with LGUs.

Apparently, the CBGs were left to slug it out among themselves. They were not represented in any BDC. Their federation has no representative in the MDC. With only 46 members scattered in the four barangays of Caridad Norte, Caridad Sur, Itum and Agbanga, it proved difficult to get the Councils' attention to their plight. A technical move had to be made to locate CBG concerns within the in-

terest of the Councils. The beneficiaries, therefore, agreed to expand their membership.

Expansion meant inclusion of the remaining Category I who were not given primary accommodation under LRM. Categories II and III were to be included in the federation. Tactically, the move opened the door for all poverty groups to participate in the program, and paved the way for getting the commitment and support of the elite. The aim was to marshall the resource (financial, time, talent) of the rich and place them within reach of the poor under a social arrangement that is mutually beneficial.

Immediately, the FOT set to work in two directions: toward the community and toward the municipal and barangay governments.

1. Community Organizing

The FOT started organizing in the four barangays already mentioned, then expanded to barangays Bagong Lipunan, San Salvador, Elevado and Zaragosa.

Each FOT member was well-rounded in his or her tasks. The BIDCs, in coordination with barangay officials, moved to unify the barangay, announcing schedules and issuing invitations for the conduct of the Family Ilaw Orientations (FIOs). In general, they were effective in coordinating barangay activities. The DCGs/DTs conducted FIOs, Chapter Officers Training Courses (COTCs), and BDC Orientation Trainings. They supervised the conduct of chapter and federation meetings. They assisted in planning and in carrying out socio-economic projects by the organized groups. This facilitated linkages between organized communities and LGUs. On the other hand, IICs Field Program Officer (FPO) provided on-the-job coachings and cliniquing during the conduct of field operations.

By August 1988, a total of 1,255 families had attended FIOs in the originally covered barangays and Family Ilaw Trainings (FITs) in the expansion Barangays. Since the original barangays have undergone the social preparation process through the previous PVO, IIC decided to give FIOs, the shorter version of FIT, to the barangays' families. The FITs were held for three nights, at four hours a night. Both the FIOs and FITs contained basic Ilaw-LRM concepts, philosophies and processes, as well as sectoral messages on health and nutrition, food production, family planning, environmental management, education and culture, and community-government linkages.

The FIOs and FITs were designed to sensitize the families on their problems and motivate them to take collective action to solve these problems. Ilaw encouraged them to believe in their own capabilities to solve their problems with the use of available resources.

After the training, chapter officers were chosen in a "Synod" type of election. This method allowed everyone to be a candidate for any position in the chapter. Each officer, therefore, was elected on merits rather than on patronage.

At present, there are 23 chapters with total membership of 1,255 families in 8 LRM-barangays. A family is the basic organizational unit. Adult members serve as "change agents" to bring about desirable changes within family units.

To govern activities at the barangay level and provide a structure for linkage with the BDC, all chapter presidents were made to compose the Barangay Committee whose chairman was elected from among themselves.

At the municipal level, all barangay chapters were federated into the Matalom United Entrepreneurs, Inc. (MUEI).

With the community network in place, the IIC team took a look at the government structures next.

2. Strengthening and Mobilizing the Government

With the community network established, the IIC team focused on facilitating the reorganization of MDCs and BDCs to ensure the existence of a mechanism for the delivery of services that matches community-identified needs. It also made sure that existing government structures were well-grounded on their roles and responsibilities.

In late May, the MDC and BDCs in Matalom were formally organized, in conformity with Executive Order No. 319. The president of Matalom United Entrepreneurs, Inc. (MUEI) was conferred formal membership in the MDC. At the barangay level, the Barangay Committee chairmen became members of BDCs.

The team proceeded to strengthen the structures that were established by giving municipal and barangay council members the necessary skills and knowledge on project development and management. Largely through the efforts of the local government officer, the MDC and BDCs became familiar with their roles and responsibilities as mandated by EO 319.

In the organized community, chapter and federation officers received practical lessons on management, leadership, project development and management, bookkeeping and accounting, and development communications. A total of 115 chapter officers finished the Chapter Officers Training Course, and 12 MUEI officials attended the management course. These activities were highlighted by the formulation of chapter plans and MUEI support plan.

Installing the Mechanism for Participatory Planning

By July 1988, everything was ready for the formation of social structures vital to the establishment of the participatory planning process. The community had formed and trained its own multi-level network. In the local government, the MDCs and BDCs have been reorganized, made functional and sensitized to respond to the development initiatives and needs of the community. However, both were distinct structures, standing apart from each other. To effect participatory planning, it was necessary to install a mechanism for convergence of the two networks, one in which the representatives of the organized community sit in government planning bodies at municipal and barangay levels.

The organized community in Matalom has been conditioned to plan activities and projects. Plans for such activities as backyard gardening, water-sealed toilet installation, and fencing, were made at the family unit level. Communal undertakings such as plant nurseries, communal gardens, tree planting, and artificial reef installation, were contained in Ilaw unit and chapter plans. At the MUEI level, plans included canteen construction, popularity contests, and the like.

As long as the projects were self-help, the community itself undertook them. But more complex projects needed outside help. At this point, the linkage mechanism ensured that community planning need not face a dead end. Beneficiary representatives who sit in the BDCs and MDC were able to present community plans and programs to the Councils. At the barangay level, convergence planning workshops were held to integrate chapter plans into the MDC plans. From there, the people's plans were integrated into the government's regular planning process in a bottom-up direction.

The Community-Based Monitoring System (CBMS)

In May 1988, a quick inventory of local resources and a survey of the socio-economic status of all families in the LRM-covered barangays were conducted with the participation of LGUs, civic, religious and youth sectors, and teachers. The DCGs/DTs supervised the conduct of the inventory. The information gathered formed part of the Central Data Bank, a critical component in the installation of the CBMS. In addition, the survey provided the basis for program and project planning and development. It was intended to validate the preliminary survey undertaken by IIC, which was based on secondary sources.

The survey was completed by end of August. Unfortunately, the information gathered were unreliable. Many items were left unanswered. Items calling for quantified answers were filled out with check marks. Quite a number of households did not respond. The IIC team decided to repeat the exercise, this time with a difference.

Because the networks had already been installed, IIC relegated the task to the MDC and the Ilaw network. The MDC agreed to work it out not only with the organized communities but also with the remaining 22 barangays which

are not part of LRM coverage. Began in January 1989, the survey is now nearing completion.

The action taken by the MDC was significant on two counts: First, the data gathering process was participatory; the organized community was mobilized to do it. Second, the MDC had been primed to appreciate facts and figures, and it had taken the lead to obtain them.

Some Community Initiatives at Self-Help

What took place in LRM-covered barangays confirmed IIC's belief that if the "process" is right, projects will naturally follow. The different chapters have generated various projects and activities which indicated that the motivation for joining groups ceased to be anchored on loans. The initial success in collective undertakings was important enough to sustain the groups' interest and to place their organizational structure on firmer foundation.

Here are a few examples of those successful undertakings:

In July 1988, chapter Kalampusan in Caridad Norte and chapters Puting Baybayon and Kauswagan in Agbanga constructed plant nurseries and seed banks. These projects supported an intensified backyard production of nutritious vegetables and fruits.

Chapter Sangpita of Caridad Sur spearheaded a continuing rehabilitation of the destroyed mangrove stand in the area. Families planted "bakaw" tree-seedlings in a half hectare coastal land.

Employing the traditional "Alayon" system, chapter Camia of Itum launched a beautification program and fenced individual houses. It also conducted "Operation Timbang" and "Pagpapakaon sa Ilaw ng Buhay" projects, which initially served 110 children aged 0-6 years.

In August, chapter Puting Baybayon planted 2,000 seedlings of "pagatpat" and "bakaw" as part of its mangrove rehabilitation project.

Chapters Candibar and Lakas ng Buhay in San Salvador built nurseries for their backyard vegetable production and reforestation projects.

All the three chapters in Agbanga jointly sponsored a benefit dance in cooperation with the youth on the occasion of the Feast of San Agustin, locally known as "Mais-mais" (or Corn Harvest Festival).

The two chapters of Caridad Sur jointly sponsored a raffle draw. Prizes included one sack of rice for first prize, one sack of corn grit for second, and a half sack of rice for third, plus consolation prizes.

In Itum, residents of two warring sitios were reconciled through the communal projects. Up until the July 13 barangay fiesta celebration, the two sitios have remained at odds and have celebrated the fiesta separately. But when chapter (sitio) Nonoc asked for help in the repair of its San Pedro chapel, chapters Camia and Gabi (of the other sitio) volunteered. Returning the favor, chapter Nonoc volunteered to watch the artificial reef project installed by chapters Camia and Gabi. Now the residents of the two sitios are imbued with the spirit of "Alayon" and are fully reconciled.

September 10, 1988 was memorable for Matalom residents. It was declared Ilaw-LRM day. Spearheaded by MUEI and supported by the municipal and barangay governments, all chapters in the LRM-covered barangays collectively launched the artificial reef project. Without exception, they vigorously participated in the construction and installation of the fish-aggregation devices in the deep sea.

The day was capped with the launching of MUEI's popularity contest dubbed "Mutya sa Ilaw-LRM." Eight candidates were presented. The goal was to raise funds for the federation's various socio-economic projects and activities.

Installation of reef modules became a continuing activity. In Itum, the chapters constructed and installed 7 reef modules; in Agbanga, 5; in Caridad Sur, 9; in Caridad Norte, 8; in Elevado, 13; in Bagong Lipunan, 8; in San Salvador, 9; and in Zaragosa, 15. The MDC, together with the non-LRM barangays of San Pedro and Sto. Nino, installed 3 huge reef modules.

The reef modules were made of bamboos and old automobile tires. Largely through the efforts of the Leyte PDS, some 200 tires were collected from different provincial offices and technical agencies and delivered to Matalom.

In October and November, the chapters in coastal barangays continued to construct and install reef modules. The Leyte PDS delivered 80 tires.

The MUEI constructed its canteen through the "Alayon" system. All the chapters took turns providing free labor and whatever available materials. The municipal government provided space within the municipal grounds and donated all the wooden posts, sand and gravel. The DLG allocated funds for the purchase of cement. Nipa shingles were purchased out of borrowed cash (pooled cash from DCGs), to be repaid from the proceeds of the MUEI's "Mutya sa Ilaw-LRM" contest. The project was supervised by the MUEI president, with assistance from all chapter presidents.

Chapters Kauswagan and Banag-banag in Elevado undertook fruit tree planting. Some 1,225 seedlings/suckers/seed pieces of bananas, jackfruits, santol, kaimito, macopa, cacao, coffee, avocado, ipil-ipil, molave and baganga were planted.

A total of 25 families put up their own kitchen or backyard gardens.

In December, MUEI netted P12, 000 from its popularity contest. Its canteen became operational and catered to the needs of municipal employees, church-goers, students of a nearby high school, and children from the municipal day care center.

Subproject Development and Implementation

The provincial government was very supportive of the LRM Project. Its concrete support took the form of a 20 percent counterpart fund for subproject implementation.

In November, when the subprojects were being hamstrung by an acute lack of technical manpower, the provincial government instructed its PDS to form a task force that will complete within 30 days all feasibility studies of identified subprojects in the three LRM pilot municipalities, so that the subproject funds could be mobilized immediately.

In March 1989, the long-awaited carabao dispersal project in Matalom was carried out. The "basnig" fishing project and the Spring Development (Level II) water system project were planned to start in April.

Community Projects Fund (CPF)-Assisted Project Implementation

The IIC team constantly watched the growing capability of the community structure it had installed, in preparation for the inception of the CPF credit assistance program in the locality. In its entire organizing effort, IIC never mentioned the existence of CPF for obvious reasons. Initially, it was enough that the groups were organized and the community network installed and linked with government structures, and that both were primed and mobilized to undertake self-help activities. But somehow, the poor must have access to some form of credit assistance, so IIC later moved toward that direction.

To avoid the pitfalls of the previous credit assistance, IIC devised a credit scheme featuring the following:

a) The barangay and municipal governments are the owners of the CPF fund. It is their responsibility to ensure the wise use of the fund.

b) Administration of the fund is the responsibility of the federation of beneficiary groups. Therefore, a rigid screening process must be devised and observed. In essence, it is the people's organization itself that will carry this out.

c) Credit committees are to be formed to enforce financial control systems designed to prevent fraud. In Matalom, the MUEI and the chapters' Livelihood and Credit Management and Monitoring Committees were already established and trained for the job.

d) Technical trainings are provided to beneficiaries for their identified credit-assisted livelihood projects.

In Matalom, it's all systems go. All the participants have been oriented on the mechanics of the CPF program. Identified projects were subjected to feasibility studies. Implementation started in April 1989.

The INB Process in Tunga

The IIC team pursued community organizing in Tunga using the same approach as in Matalom. It had a framework for catalyzing people's

participation in development, but was prepared, if necessary, to innovate and adapt to particular conditions in the locality.

On March 17-25, 1988, the team conducted a quick micro study and analysis of the municipality. As in Matalom, the activities included Focused Group Dialogues (FGDs), "walking-the-sites," and secondary data gathering. The FGD involved the CBGs, BDC and MDC members, BIDCs, the mayor and SB members, and the MPDC and technical agency representatives. From the FGDs, the team was able to determine the extent of operation of the previous PVO, the status of the structures it has installed, the attitudes of officials and beneficiaries, and the degree of service delivery.

In collecting secondary data, the team found line agency personnel most accommodating, especially those in the Rural Health Unit. The team used the occasion to get closely acquainted with the chiefs and personnel of the mayor's office, the assessor's and treasurer's offices, the INP, DECS, DOH, DILG, DSWD, and DAF. The MPDC almost immediately became a close ally.

From the information gathered in FGDs, it became clear that the linkage-building aspect of the program suffered from lack of emphasis. The barangay officials claimed their involvement was confined to the initial data-gathering activity. They came to know of the loans released to the 39 subproject beneficiaries through the grapevine. As a result, they gave less attention and support to the Project. The new set of elected municipal officials assumed no responsibility over the Project in trouble. It was apparent they were reacting by reflex. Since they were never part of the Project's conception, they were reluctant to have any hand in its resurrection. On the other hand, the beneficiaries by themselves constituted a class, doing their own thing and mindless of others.

It was difficult to expect that the indigenous volunteers (BIDCs) could still establish the CRMA approach under such circumstances. The development advisors, composed of selected technical agency personnel and personages from the academic sector, did little to correct the situation. CRMA failed to be established and, thus, floundered.

In response to the situation, the IIC team took a course of action geared towards: a) locating the concerns of the 39 beneficiaries within the sphere of interests of local government officials, b) forming a network of beneficiaries and linking it with local government development bodies, c) tightly organizing the beneficiaries and erasing the vestiges of individualism among them, and d) upgrading the systems and procedures, structures and arrangements for assisting poverty groups.

Election of CBG Federation Officials

In early April, the IIC team began the social preparation of program beneficiaries. At that time, the team had identified the 39 beneficiaries and had started to slowly integrate among them. Conscious of the beneficiaries' terrible track record in managing the credit assistance, the team was careful not to embarrass them.

When the team attended the federation's annual election of officers, it was careful not to mention anything about the unwise use of credit and of poor repayment rate. Prompted by PDS, the Tunga United Entrepreneurs, Inc. (TUEI) held its first election according to its by-laws on April 9. The occasion was good enough for the team to deliver its messages. The team dwelt on what makes an organization survive or perish, on the obligation of leaders and members to their organization, and the qualities of a good leader.

The team also used the occasion to try a first crack at instilling among the federation members the spirit of cooperation. They were told that their organization is an important vehicle for satisfying their needs and attaining their aspirations, that if only they stayed organized, friends, allies and people from the government and the private sectors would give them support. As proof of the willingness to support them, the team pointed to the presence of the new mayor, the PDS, and the personnel of DA's Marketing Assistance Center.

Immediately before the actual election, the PDS politely reminded them of the organization's lapses and gaps in running its affairs and in carrying out its projects.

The team introduced the synod-type of electing their new officers, who were freely and voluntarily chosen by the members. A new hope dawned on the organization with its new president, though most of the previous officials retained their positions in the organization.

The Social Development Seminar-Workshop

The MSDSW was held on April 25-26. The timing was perfect. The federation of CBGs has just elected its new officers, and the seminar was designed so that the federation members composed the majority of the participants. The seminar provided occasion for the CBG leadership to rub elbows with the municipal and barangay officials, technical agency personnel, and leaders of NGOs.

Forty-six participants attended the two-day activity. The municipal government was represented by the mayor, the vice mayor, all the SB members, the municipal secretary, and chiefs of the INP, treasurer's office and assessor's office. The barangay captains represented the barangay governments. The technical agencies—DECS, DOH, DLG, DSWD, and DA – were represented by their chiefs and staff members. From the private sector came the CBG leaders and members of religious organizations and of the "Guardians," an influential private group.

The inter-related problems of the community were explained to the participants. The municipal leadership responded by expressing willingness to do something about the problems through collective efforts. The workshop came up with some anti-poverty strategies which rely mainly on using locally available resources.

The highlight of the occasion was the recognition conferred on the CBG federation by the participants. They agreed that the federation was to serve as an umbrella organization of poverty groups that will work closely with the MDC in carrying out anti-poverty activities and projects.

The seminar called attention to the existence of inaccurate and conflicting data on the municipality. The participants recommended the conduct of a survey and the installation of a central data banking system. The mayor gave strong support to the inventory of resources that can be tapped for the benefit of his poor constitutents.

Organizing the Project Volunteers

After the MSDSW, the IIC team organized the volunteer workers as a means to increase its members and trained them in community organizing. Through an appointment order signed by the mayor, two SB members, a school principal, the local government officer, the municipal planning and development coordinator, and the municipal secretary became members of DCGs/DTs.

At the barangay level, the BIDCs deployed by the previous PVO were reactivated. Those who dropped out were replaced. As in the case of DCGs/DTs, the BIDCs were commissioned back to voluntary duties though an appointment order from the mayor.

Together with their counterparts in Matalom, the DCGs/DTs and BIDCs undertook formal training at IIC in Tagbilaran on May 6-13, 1988.

Structure Formation and Linkaging

From Bohol, the DTs/DCGs, BIDCs and IIC Field Program Officer were constituted to form the Field Operations Team. To hasten the setting up of community network and the training of families, the DGGs/DTs were split into two sub-teams, one with the two SB members and the municipal secretary. The other sub-team was composed of the school principal, the LGO, and the MPDC. Each sub-team was assigned four barangays as areas of operation.

The BIDCs utilized the barangays in preparing for the conduct of FIOs and in informing the families of the schedules. The two subteams conducted separate FIOs in their respective areas. By June 1988, a total of 574 families from barangays San Antonio, San Roque, San Pedro, San Vicente, Balire, Lanawang, Sto. Niño and Astorga have been trained and organized into 16 chapters. Only the Barangay

Committees, to be composed of chapter presidents, needed to be formed in order to complete the installation of the community network.

The approach designed to strengthen the CBG structure began to be confronted with an ironical problem. The attitudes of the 39 CBGs themselves posed a threat to the establishment of the network and to its eventual linkage with government structures. The approach required expansion of membership of the federation. There was immediate resistance from the group. The initial resistance was triggered by an insidious campaign against expansion waged by one or two influential federation officials. It became obvious they wanted to maintain an unattenuated access to the remaining loanable funds. Any expansion in membership was construed as spreading program benefits too thinly. Maintenance of *status quo* in the leadership was preferred by the shrewd among them. The president fitted well into their scheme—he was too timid and unobtrusive.

The team, however, persevered and exerted more effort to change the attitude of the 39 beneficiaries. The FOT held successive meetings with them, and each time appealed to their sense of fairness. Morally they were not justified in limiting the membership among themselves when a lot more needed the program's intervention. The appeal paid off. At a general meeting of the 39 beneficiaries in June, a slight majority agreed to amend the federation's by-laws to expand the membership.

The team proceeded to promote the program and synchronize the program messages to be imparted to target groups. In late June, teachers and extension workers of technical agencies and private organizations were oriented on the program and encouraged to assume advocacy roles. The BC/BDCs also attended the program orientation with renewed interest and enthusiasm. Together with key municipal government officials, their involvement became visible. Thus, things seemed all set for linking the community network with the local government structure, but trouble at the "lower jaw" was detected.

The chapters were lagging behind their counterparts in Matalom in undertaking group activities and projects. Only a few chapters held regular meetings, and attendance in these meetings was dismally low. Prominent among their reasons were: 1) the meetings interfered with their earning a living; b) no loans were discussed during meetings; and c) the meetings do not start on time and were not presided properly, usually resulting in "a waste of time." The 39 beneficiaries were still shying away from group activities. The federation officials, all coming from the 39 beneficiaries, were inactive and were not leading the organization.

The situation was ironical. At that time, the FOT has already finished orienting the BDCs on the program and has reactivated them in preparation for linking with the chapters. They have been told the chapters were tightly organized and could take initiative in leading such government programs as the LRM. In reality, however, the chapters were slowly disintegrating.

The town fiesta that followed in August further lulled the chapters into inactivity. Weeks before the festivity, local officials, leaders of civic, religious and business sectors, professionals and employees--in fact, practically everybody--became wrapped in planning and carrying out fiesta-related activities. A pause in LRM-related activities was unavoidable.

After the fiesta, the entire IIC team moved from Tacloban and established its head office-cum-quarters in Tunga. It was a deliberate move to engage the team in softening up the Tunganon's resistance to change. Organizing the people in Tunga had proven to be a lot more difficult than in Matalom. The Field Program Officer assigned in the area had to be reinforced.

Based now in Tunga, it was no longer difficult for the team to discover the reasons behind the beneficiaries' resistance to change. Politics was playing a major factor. The wounds brought about by the last elections had not healed completely. Servile dependence of some people on defeated candidates was causing the resistance. They were hesitant to help boost the image of the current administration. Since LRM was being promoted as the local administration's program, these people did not want to

participate. Of the 39 beneficiaries organized by the previous PVO, only three voted for the incumbent mayor.

Some chapter officers and members resented the attention given by IIC to the federation officers. They criticized IIC for featuring the federation officers on two occasions. One was when the federation officers led the chapter delegations in a parade held in commemoration of Tunga's foundation day. The other was when the federation officers led the chapter officers during the induction ceremonies in November 1988. To them, the federation officers did not deserve any special treatment. IIC was faulted for what appeared to be giving premium to the fraudulent acts committed by these officers in managing the credit assistance before.

Another reason for resistance was the use of the word "poor." Non-attendance at meetings was traced to the emphasis given by the IIC staff and volunteer workers on the "the poorer sector" of the chapter. Poverty embarrassed them.

Strengthening the Organized Group

Intense groundwork was undertaken to heighten the organized groups' appreciation of the "bayanihan" spirit and participation in group activities. The IIC staff attended every chapter meeting to hammer down messages on cooperation, selp-help, neighborliness, unity, love and participation. The IIC office was made accessible to local officials, volunteers and organized communities for transacting LRM-related businesses, such as chapter meetings, BIDC and BCG conferences, informal discussions with local officials and chapter members and the like.

In early September, the DCGs, chapter officers and members and other volunteers were brought to Matalom to observe a demonstration of the bayanihan spirit and collective self-help undertakings by the organized community.

In the same month, the MDC was formally organized. The federation was formally linked with the MDC through conferment of MDC membership to its president. The Barangay Committee chairmen were also considered membership in the BDCs.

Before September was over, the 39 beneficiaries reaffirmed their consent to amend the by-laws and expand the federation's membership. However, they opted to defer the election of federation officers.

It was clear that basing the IIC team's entire operation in Tunga itself helped hasten the pace of social transformation of the organized groups. Encouraging signs began to appear. The people were changing their slow pace. Meetings began to be held regularly by a growing number of chapters. They made plans, which were integrated to the BDC's plans during the Barangay Convergence Planning Workshops.

The first test of their viability and functionality came when the municipal government engaged the chapters in collective undertakings. In preparation for the Foundation Day in November, each chapter was tasked to accomplish three simple projects, namely: 1) beautification which involved lining and whitewashing of stones along the road shoulders and constructing trellises in front of each house; 2) food production through conversion of idle lots into communal gardens and backyard growing of nutritious vegetables and fruits; and 3) sanitation project involving installation of water-sealed toilets in every home.

An evaluation committee was formed with representatives from the Sangguniang Bayan, religious sector, DECS, IIC, DOH, and the "Guardians." They rated the chapters as having performed beyond expectations.

Setting Up the Community-Based Monitoring System

The quick community appraisal undertaken in Tunga during the initial months of IIC operation was a failure. Survey returns were either incomplete or inaccurate. IIC decided to repeat the survey through the chapters, using volunteers identified and recruited by the chapter officers. Conducted in December, the survey was completed in record time of one week. The data provided the basis for establishing the central data banks at chapter, barangay and muni-

cipal levels and for formulating the municipal development strategy.

Installation of the Central Data Bank included training of federation and chapter officials in the uses and appreciation of information. With the survey completed, the chapters were able to complete their family index cards, spot maps, and statistical briefing folders.

Subproject Development and Implementation

Two subprojects--establishment of the Tunga Livelihood Resource Center and construction of an irrigation dam were approved and implemented in April 1989.

Preparations have also been made to carry out the CPF credit assistance program. The system had been installed, and concerned entities were oriented about their roles and responsibilities. The Livelihood and Credit Management and Monitoring Committees at federation and chapter levels were formed and trained. Feasibility studies of some proposed projects were conducted.

Some Community Initiatives

If the Republic had the EDSA Revolution, Tunga had its revolution in February 1989.

Despite efforts to build their capacities and strengthen their commitment, the federation leaders miserably failed to live up to expectations. They did not lead the organization. The chapters performed well without guidance from the federation. If not for the interventions of local officials and DCGs, the chapters probably would have disintegrated a long time ago.

Finally in Fegruary 1989, the chapters decided to remedy the situation by calling for a "snap election" of federation officials. Amando Aumenta, a head teacher and former seminarian with good influence in the municipality, became the new president of TUEI. His election was greeted with silent jubilation.

Days after the election, the chapters began to undertake activities and projects collectively. In barangay San Pedro, chapters I and II carried out their communal gardens. In San Vicente, two chapters embarked on the same undertaking. In San Roque, members of chapter I finally completed their communal garden. In Astorga, chapter I put up one of the largest communal gardens in the municipality. In the poblacion-barangay of Sto. Niño, the chapter also put up a communal garden.

The chapters began to update and complete their records: spot maps, index cards, and statistical charts. Meetings started to be held more regularly by almost all of the 16 chapters. All chapters have paid the federation their charter fees of fifty pesos each. Chapter members have also paid their membership fees of two pesos. There was manifestation of growing confidence in the leadership of the organization.

The new federation officials have met eight times in a span of one-and-a-half months. They were able to set up headquarters in a building provided by the municipal government. Through the president, TUEI managed to lease two doors in the commercial establishment owned by the municipality to house the cooperative store which was put up in April. The store will cater to the needs of the chapters for consumer goods and agri-vet products.

A new hope for TUEI has began. There are encouraging signs that the new leadership can lead the organization toward its avowed goals. There are already manifestations among members of a growing sense of belonging to their organization. TUEI has no other way to go but forward to greater achievements.

The INB In San Miguel

In August 1988, the provinial government, through the Leyte PDS, flashed the go signal for IIC to expand to a new municipality. Provincial authorities chose San Miguel to come under LRM coverage since it ranked number two among the depressed municipalities of Leyte. For the IIC team, the social preparation of San Miguel was a race against time since IIC was scheduled to leave Leyte by February 1989.

Together with the staff from the RPMO and PDS, the IIC team went to San Miguel in mid-August to introduce themselves to the local

leadership. The municipality was subjected to the standard Ilaw activities. As pre-arranged, the mayor, the SB members, and the key personnel of line agencies were present to receive the team.

With assistance from the RPMO and PDS staff, the team proceeded to orient the municipal officials about the LRM Project and the Ilaw ng Buhay approach. Unlike in Matalom and Tunga, this activity preceded all other operational activities. It aimed to gain the support and assistance of the municipal leadership in the conduct of other ensuing activities.

A challenge was posed to the local leadership: that if they adapted the Ilaw-LRM approach to alleviate poverty in the area, they must not only talk but act to help the poor. The local leadership, headed by the mayor, accepted the challenge and gave all-out support.

Micro Situation Analysis

A rapid micro situation analysis of the municipality was undertaken in August. The IIC team formed a task force composed of volunteers from the technical agencies (DLG, DECS, DSWD, DOH), personnel from the mayor's and assessor's offices and the MPDC, and two SB members. They gathered relevant information from secondary sources, particularly from the files of technical agencies, the socio-economic profile of the municipality, and records from the assessor's and treasurer's offices.

This activity gave the team an idea of the local problems and how these were perceived by the government and the community. The team identified the groups most affected by the problems, the available resources and their status, and the constraints in service delivery. A problem-oriented profile of the municipality was prepared based on the survey data.

The Social Development Seminar-Workshop

Equipped with the problem-oriented municipal profile, the team conducted the MSDSW on September 3-4, 1988. It was attended by 71 participants composed of the mayor, vice mayor, SB members, chiefs of technical agencies, private and religious sector representatives, and barangay captains.

The IIC team led the participants to a common understanding of the problems of the community and to ways of resolving these problems. The Ilaw-LRM philosophy and principles of development, as well as messages on environmental mangement, food production, health and nutrition, family planning, and education and culture were thoroughly discussed.

A highlight of the occasion was the promise made by an SB member to withdraw his lease application for fishpond construction. He also exhorted the assembly to act against the destroyers of forests and the illegal fishers.

The activity resulted in a draft of a social development action plan based on the problem-oriented profile. The plan served as a framework for action by all sectors represented in the workshop.

Organizing the Project Volunteers

The IIC team moved next to multiply themselves. Through an order signed by the mayor, six DTs/DCGs and five Barangay Development Volunteers (BDVs) were appointed. Before September was over, these volunteers have received formal training necessary for an intensive volunteer work. The DTs/DCGs were tasked to conduct municipal-wide program activities while the BDVs were tasked to operate at barangay levels.

The volunteers worked impressively. Within a week, the BDVs have completed the initial process of uniting their respective barangays. They conducted spot-mapping operations and came up with the spot maps that clearly located each family in the units and chapters to be organized. Boundaries between units and chapters were defined and drawn for convenient identification.

The DTs/DCGs, on the other hand, devised a single survey instrument for establishing the profiles of the LRM barangays. They conducted the survey themselves and prepared the different barangay profiles which served as the basis for the conduct of the Ilaw training for families.

In early October, the DTs/DCGs received training on how to conduct barangay level training activities. They were trained to become development trainors. They were constituted into sub-teams and were assigned to cover specific barangays.

Immediately after their training, community organizing shifted into high gear. Heads and adult members of individual families in covered barangays were called to attend the Family Ilaw Training (FIT). Depending on their availability and preferences, the FITs were conducted at night or day time.

Each family was trained on decision-making and encouraged to unite with neighbors in solving family and community problems. They were urged to rediscover their sense of neighborliness. They were introduced to the urgency of forming neighborhood associations and of selecting leaders who could lead them to a better future. They were taught how to formulate a simple family plan.

Before the end of a FIT class, families were organized into units and chapters. In a "synod-type" election, they freely chose their leaders.

After several floods and typhoons, a total of 410 families were organized into nine Ilaw chapters composed of about 60 families each. Early November, the nine chapters were federated into the Ilaw ng Buhay Association (INBA) of San Miguel, Leyte, Inc. With it, the installation of the Ilaw ng Buhay network had been completed, from the family unit to the INBA federation level.

To strengthen the newly-installed community structures, the officers of the neighborhood associations were given Chapter Officers Training Course and other forms of assistance. The training was designed to make them internalize their roles and functions and prepare them to lead their respective organizations toward their goals. A total of 72 chapter officers attended this five-day training on fundamentals and functions of management.

Data Banking and Chapter-Based Monitoring

In December, the IIC team engaged the different chapters in a participatory data-gathering process in an effort to establish a central data bank and the Community-Based Monitoring System. A simple survey instrument in Waray dialect was devised. Chapter officers and members were mobilized to conduct the household surveys.

Each of the five top officers of each chapter-president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and Public Relations Officers—was told to recruit four members to join in the conduct of the survey. With 60 families in a chapter, each volunteer enumerator was made to interview three families. Before that, the IIC researcher taught them the rudiments of conducting interviews and the use of survey forms. As a practicum, the trained interviewer was asked to start with his own family. Then he was asked to interview two other neighbor families. Each chapter completed the survey in five days.

The study was found to be accurate, less time-consuming, and less costly.

The information generated became the basis for the Family Index Card, an instrument devised to monitor every semester the status of each family. They were also used to complete the chapter spot maps, which present geographically the problems obtaining in each household. To complete the monitoring system, each chapter was made to keep a logbook to register its guests and the purpose of their visit.

The survey data generated were also raised to the municipal level to constitute the Central Data Bank under the care and maintenance of the MPDC. These data were opened for access and use by all agencies.

Local Level Planning

The IIC team promoted the use of KKKKK as a planning device by the families. The K's stand for kasilanganan (environment), kusina (kitchen), kahimsug (health), katre (bed), and kahibalo (culture). It is a listing of simple activities that a family can undertake. There is a box before each item which can be marked if the family wants to undertake it. There are also two boxes after each item to indicate whether the item was carried out or not. For example, an item under health is "deworm children." If the mother plans to deworm her children, she checks the box before the item. If the plan is

carried out, the box marked "implemented" placed after the item is checked.

KKKKK is also a recall instrument. It contains the messages discussed during the FIT. KKKKKs are collated by unit leaders and submitted to the chapters, which integrate the information into the chapter plans. Through the convergence planning workshop (held in each barangay with members of the BDCs), these chapter plans will be integrated into the BDC plan.

When the BDC plans and the INBA plan are integrated into the MDC plan, the process of bottom-up planning is effected.

Linkage Building

The IIC team started to build effective linkage between the government and the organized community through the Ilaw network. At the barangay level, a community representative sits at the BDC as regular member. At this point, because of the recent barangay elections, the BDCs have yet to be organized. At the municipal level, the INBA president represents the Ilaw community at the MDC as regular council member, by virtue of an executive order signed by the mayor. This way, the Ilaw network becomes an effective channel of services from the municipal government and the technical agencies.

The Fruits of Labor

Efforts to strengthen the organized groups and put them on a more solid foundation has started to bear fruit. The viability and functionality of the different Ilaw chapters can be gauged by the activities and projects they have undertaken on a purely self-help basis. Here are some examples:

Chapter Lacastina in barangay Cayare fenced houses as part of its beautification program. The streets were repaired and cleaned up. Sanitary toilets were constructed. Only the toilet bowls from the rural health unit are needed to complete the campaign for sanitary disposal of wastes. The chapter had also constructed a communal garden. A majority of the households have started to engage in backyard gardening.

The only chapter in barangay Patong constructed a communal vegetable garden. The streets were cleaned up and freed of weeds. Home yards were fenced. Holes were dug in preparation for the installation of toilet bowls.

The chapter in barangay Canap had repaired all streets. Canals were dug on both sides and the main road was smoothened. To identify the roads, signs were put up. Communal gardens were also constructed, and families have engaged in individual backyard gardening.

In Malpog, the chapter put up a communal garden, fenced the homeyards and cleaned streets.

In Bagacay, the chapter started a mangrove replanting project, put up a communal garden, fenced the houses and cleaned the streets.

Practically all the chapters have their own plans. They keep records and report to INBA the status of their activities and projects.

INBA has launched a popularity contest aimed at generating funds for self-help undertakings. INBA and all the chapters conduct meetings on a regular basis. Attendance rate is high and very encouraging.

CONCLUSION

Ilaw ng Buhay seeks to change the ugly face of poverty by changing the individuals. Ilaw believes that unless man changes, nothing will change.

Ilaw encourages individuals to commit themselves to the basic principles of life, growth and development. It inspires individuals to use their "common sense" in doing things and in dealing with others, motivates them to use their inherent talents and creativity to translate principles into social and economic programs.

To carry out its mission, Ilaw has to influence people in government and in the private sector. It has to create social structures and a network of people and organizations. Each individual and organization must work in harmony with others.

Ilaw has unshakable faith in the capacity of individuals to unite with others for the

common good. It relies on traditional harmony and unity existing in a heighborhood. Therefore, its organizing effort is focused on this compact geographical area. Units of 20 neighbors are formed, which are federated into Ilaw chapters. The different chapters are brought into relationship with one another in the Ilaw ng Buhay Association at the municipal level.

The people's organizations are also linked with friends and allies. These are people and organizations , both government and non-government, who also believe in Ilaw's philosophy and principles of development.

In building the network, Ilaw applies the chain reaction principle. Ilaw starts with the volunteers--the DCGs, DTs, BDCs, unit leaders, chapter officers, etc. Then, each touches the lives of others, multiplying themselves in a chain reaction process.

The Ilaw process adapts to prevailing conditions. In Leyte, it has been applied in a variety of situations, like in areas where social preparation has been undertaken by an academic institution, and in areas where Ilaw was their first experience. On the whole, the Leyte experience proves the efficiency of the Ilaw approach and its adaptability to varying conditions. By being sensitive to the approach's application, the project team can further refine it by matching specific needs with relevant social preparations.

The Ilaw approach is replicable. In the survey methodology, the process applied is simple, people-based and participatory. Most important, it lays the groundwork for integration. The municipal government and technical agencies can deliver their services in an integrated manner, using the survey as the starting point of action.

The people are capable of planning, and this has been proven in the program areas. What is needed is a simple planning instrument hospitable to genuine community and family concerns.

The community-based monitoring system is replicable. The community was able to install it at no cost to the government.

To be sustainable, community projects must be simple. Projects beyond the capability of the people to implement and manage must be avoided. In Tunga, for example, the trellises and the stone lining and whitewashing projects are maintained because from time to time there are visitors and the projects are regularly evaluated by a committee. The attitude is feudal, but as long as there is feedback given to what they are doing, their interest will be sustained.

Close follow-ups and informal approaches are effective methods of knowing the community. Intimate knowledge of the community could enhance organizing. This was proven when the team opened up its offices and quarters as forum for all sectors, and the team was able to obtain information vital for reviving dying chapters.

There are many things to learn in community organizing. Ilaw is still learning. But there are already some important lessons that can be applied to encourage and actualize people's participation in development.

Local Resource Management: An Approach to People-Centered Development—A Summary

Cesar B. Umali, Jr.

INTRODUCTION

The Local Resource Management Project was launched in 1983 by NEDA and USAID as a 10-year multiphased program designed to help local governments become responsive to the needs of their more disadvantaged constituents. It is an offshoot of a rural development strategy which espoused the concept of "people-centered or "poverty-group focused planning" as a viable alternative in addressing the poverty situation in the Philippine countryside. Poverty-group focused planning confronts the issue of poverty quite differently form the way other conventional planning approaches do, i.e., strengthening the participation of the poor by increasing their control over, and maximizing their resource bases. Furthermore, it attempts to reorient the planning process from the traditional top-down approach to the bottom-up approach.

Phase I (1983-1987) of the LRM Project was geared towards the identification, testing and development of innovative, replicable, participatory and cost-effective approaches to local development. Seven (7) pilot provinces were originally involved: Albay and Catanduanes in Region V (Bicol); Antique and Capiz in Region VI (Western Visayas); and Leyte, Southern Leyte and Eastern Samar in Region VIII (Eastern Visayas). Because Phase I implementation experiences showed that poverty-group focused planning is more promising than the traditional planning approaches, NEDA and USAID have mutually agreed to embark on LRM Phase II (1988-91) which expanded the Project's coverage to an additional five provinces in the three (3) pilot regions, as well as to two (2) other regions (Southern Tagalog and Central Mindanao) in the country.

The LRM Poverty-Group Focused Approach

The concept of poverty-group focused planning was developed in the early 1980s to fill the gap brought about by conventional planning approaches to address inequity and poverty in the Philippine countryside. Although conventional approaches earlier adopted in the country were associated with "growth" models, the basic problems of poverty continued to persist in the rural areas. In particular, there were major occupational groups which continued to be disadvantaged, e.g., landless agricultural workers, upland farmers and sustenance fishermen. Taken together these groups comprise about two-thirds of the country's rural poor.

Poverty-group focused planning was developed in order to bring these disadvantaged group into the mainstream of socio-economic life. Associated with what may be called "equity with growth models", poverty-group focused planning recognizes that specific poverty-groups have their own unique sets of opportunities and constraints which "de cajon" planning approaches could not effectively address. Such constraints and opportunities revolve around access to and control of productive local resources, e.g., the uplands. Poverty-group focused planning advocates that such resources must be controlled by those who depend on them for long-term survival. This planning approach employs such tools as poverty analysis and targeted strategy formulation which focus on specific communities in the locality.

Characteristics of Poverty-Group Focused Planning

The major concern of LRM is to address

inequity and poverty by transforming the country's disadvantaged groups into self-reliant and active members of society. The following are the basic features of poverty-group focused planning.

a. *Poverty-group focused planning is targeted.* It recognizes the set of opportunities and constraints unique to specific socio-economic groups. Poverty-group focused planning treats each group separately - as well as in relation to one another.

b. *Poverty-group focused planning is time- and cost-effective.* Government can no longer afford the luxury of detailed, time-consuming data generation in planning for urgently needed development activities since there is also the serious "money problem". Planning approaches and tools must not be capital intensive or else these will not be replicable; approaches and tools must maximize the use of available resources.

c. *Poverty-group focused planning is participatory.* What sets apart "poverty-group focused planning" from conventional planning approaches is that ". . . it looks to the creative initiative of people as the primary development resource and to their material and spiritual well-being as the end that the development process serves." The participatory outlook is based on three very practical considerations: 1) nobody can understand local opportunities and constraints better than the local residents themselves; 2) nobody is more interested in understanding and managing local affairs than the local community whose survival and well-being are at stake; and 3) people are the country's most abundant and valuable development resource which should be harnessed and developed.

d. *Poverty-group focused planning is done in an iterative fashion.* Poverty-group focused planning is an approach which is neither complicated nor comprehensive, and can be done very quickly and efficiently. It can be updated, refined, and/or expanded as new information becomes available.

The LRM Planning Process

1. *Problem Identification*

In order to clearly understand and effectively address the aforementioned "unique set of opportunities and constraints" of specific poverty-groups, poverty-group focused planning —just like any other planning approach—starts with problem identification and assessment. However, it does not confine itself with the symptoms of poverty as reflected by statistics and socio-economic studies. This planning approach utilizes poverty analysis as a planning tool which delves into the causes of poverty. It answers two basic questions: 1) who are the poor—for the purpose of determining the largest poor groups in the community for priority assistance; and 2) why are they poor—for designing poverty-group specific or targeted strategies and interventions suitable to the unique constraints and opportunities of each group.

No other planning tool addresses what poverty analysis does. It strengthens the framework of poverty-group focused planning as a viable approach to rural development. The current "Medium-Term Development Plan (1987-1991)" and the "Policies, Priorities and Medium-Term Program of Action" of the Department of Agriculture (DA) can attest to this. These documents contain elements of poverty-group focused planning which are the direct outcomes of LRM's pioneering efforts.

2. *Selection of Poverty-Group*

After a careful analysis of the poverty situation in the entire province, the next step to be undertaken is the identification/selection of the poor groups and the areas where they are located. Conducting a comprehensive poverty analysis is the main concern of the provincial government through the Provincial Planning and Development Office. It is at this point where poverty groups are classified according to their needs and problems as identified.

3, *Formulation of Provincial Development* Strategies

The formulation of provincial development strategies is two-pronged, i.e., two simultaneous activities are undertaken—at the provincial and community levels in addressing the needs and priorities of the poor groups. At the provincial level, the PPDO further disaggregates the clus-

ter of poverty groups initially identified at the same time that indicative strategies are formulated to address their needs. At the community level, groundworking activities are being undertaken to organize the poverty-groups into self-reliant and active beneficiaries. Although these two processes are supposed to proceed independently from one another, it is assumed that they will converge at some point in time thus complementing the activities of one with those of the other.

4. *Macro-Micro Linkage*

Advocating the learning cum action approach, LRM has allowed the provision of Sub-projects and Community Projects Fund as a strategy to test the planning approaches developed in each level of project implementation. The primary purpose of sub-projects is to determine whether the strategies identified by the provincial planners realistically respond to the needs of the identified poor groups. In the same manner, community projects are undertaken to support the community organizing efforts of the private voluntary organizations. While these components/processes are undertaken at two different levels, it is expected that the learnings generated at the provincial and community levels will merge, consequently, reorienting the traditional top-down into bottom-up planning.

5. *Expansion*

As mentioned earlier, poverty groups are further disaggregated to identify the poorest group within the same rank of poverty groups for priority assistance. As learnings are generated, other members of the same group are expected to be assisted.

6. *Replication*

This is the stage where a second iteration of the processes of poverty-group focused planning is undertaken. The second poverty group in the priority list is now included for targeted action. The sequential activities of the planning process are undertaken until such time that all poverty groups in the province are covered.

Application of Poverty-Group Focused Planning

The application of poverty-group focused planning therefore, is two-pronged. The first is direct work with poverty/community groups designed to empower the poor by helping them to organize and build their capability to help themselves. The second is institutional reorientation wherein the capability of local government units is enhanced to enable them to plan better and carry out programs and projects which effectively respond to the needs of the rural poor.

The LRM Poverty Groups

Since 1982, LRM has worked with several poverty groups across five (5) regions in the country. In Region 5, LRM initially worked with the upland farmers, small coconut farmers and landless agricultural workers of Albay; in Catanduanes, the project worked with the coconut and abaca farmers and sustenance fishermen. In Region 6, the provinces of Antique and Capiz were initially involved. Project intervention in these areas focused on sustenance fishermen, lowland farmers and the landless. In Region 8, LRM assistance was also given to sustenance fishermen, landless agricultural workers and coconut farmers in the provinces of Southern Leyte, Eastern Samar and Leyte.

LRM Learnings About the Poor

1. The different poverty groups are confronted with different problems. For example,
   a. Sustenance fishermen, with very limited technology, confront problems of seasonality of harvest, depletion of marine resources due to the destruction of coral reefs through dynamite fishing, competition from big commercial fishing ventures and a limited market. A considerable percentage of the proceeds from their catch goes to the middlemen.
   b. Upland farmers, which include the group of kaingineros, rice/corn and coconut farmers, are confronted with the prob-

lems of soil erosion and declining fertility coupled with the seasonality of their economic activities and lack of rural credit and other basic services. Because of soil erosion, they are compelled to become heavily dependent on the use of fertilizers for their crops. To save on labor costs, they usually practice co-operative work among fellow farmers. This, however, displaces the landless agricultural workers.

c. Farm labor is becoming increasingly competitive for the landless workers. With an inherent lack of access to any other productive resource, except their own labor, and the seasonality of the demand for their services, they are left with very limited economic alternatives.

2. Because of their preoccupation with the survival of their families, the poor do not generally participate in community activities nor take interest in issues beyond those that concern their families and friends. Thus, they are not likely to link their personal problems of survival to larger issues like the government's concern with improving access to resources and services.
3. To cope with their marginal existence, most poverty groups engage in alternative economic activities, such as handicrafts, tuba gathering, charcoal-making and tending small sari-sari stores. Usually ineligible to receive credit from the banks, they resort to borrowing at usurious rates from other sources. Migration is also a preferred alternative.
4. Each of these groups demands a different set of interventions. The province, as the lead agency responsible for local development, must have the capability to respond accordingly to each of these groups needs. The strategies that it develops and the programs and projects that it should pursue for each of these groups should be different.
5. Research has shown that the capacities of the poor to participate and take advantage of any assistance differ according to their relative economic status. The poverty groups can further be stratified according to the following levels: presustenance, sustenance and potentially entrepreneurial. Poverty-groups likewise demand different strategies and techniques in mobilization. Planners should not expect that the poor who marginally survive on a day to day basis can become successful entrepreneurs. Nor should it be expected that a landless worker who has not even handled five thousand pesos in his lifetime can immediately be transformed into an effective manager of a twenty thousand pesos livelihood endeavor. Development workers must learn to plan according to this differentiation; and plans must be based on a very detailed understanding of the dynamics of their poverty.

   For example, in an island in Eastern Samar, a group of fishermen with whom LRM had worked with decided to undertake a deep-sea fishing project. Under LRM financing, boats and other fishing equipment were procured. They also decided that they wanted to do away with the middleman and assigned the marketing to their wives. It was found out later on that by doing away with the middlemen, they did away—rather prematurely—with their traditional source of ready credit. Not only this, the middlemen is valuable to the fishermen because of his marketing network, which their wives lacked. When the middlemen (lab-asero) was dispensed with, the existing relationships in the community was also disrupted.
6. In areas where there is relative success, research has shown that the local government units had essentially contributed to the success. They had high visibility in the pilot communities. In the past, LRM intervention was heavily focused at the provincial level. However, the critical role of municipal governments as an important link and a key actor in the local development process has emerged. The local development planning process does not only start, nor end, at the provincial level with the preparation of planning documents. The LRM experience strongly suggests that the municipal government provides the linking capacity for the integration of village-level plans at the provincial level.

There are LRM municipalities which have taken the initiative and provided their own resources to support the work of community organizers. There are also Municipal Development Councils which have given a seat to representatives of LRM organized beneficiary groups. These are the kind of results which LRM hopes to generate as a result of its intervention.

7. Development workers must be very sensitive to community dynamics. Local governments must increasingly build their capability to respond rationally to the development needs of their constituency. Project interventions likewise, focus less on projects *per se,* but more on the very process of development. The poverty groups have their own way of reformulating plans according to their needs. Oftentimes, what is otherwise carefully planned out is disappointingly transformed into a useless project because of the failure of planners to seek the active participation of the poverty groups. The experience of LRM has strengthened the need for local planners to sit down and discuss with the poverty groups the many options for development.

Notes to Contributors

1. The Philippine Planning Journal publishes articles which contribute to the body of knowledge in the fields of urban and regional planning. Papers for publication should be sent in duplicate to:

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9. Authors will receive ten (10) copies of the issues which contain their articles.

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LRM STAFF refers to individuals in the LRM National Project Management Office (NPMO) who are responsible for the technical and administrative coordination of project activities in five regions and 15 provinces. The NPMO is headed by the Project Manager and is accountable to the Project Executive Director and Deputy Project Executive Director at the NEDA central office. The list of staff is provided in this issue.

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