Community Capacity and Governance – New Approaches to Development and Evaluation

By
Cindy Lyn BANYAI
61107008
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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Full Name	Description
A-A-A	Attributes-Agents-Actions	Cycle of community capacity
AFMA	Agriculture and Fisheries Modernization Act of 1997	Agricultural development legislation in the Philippines
BWI	Bretton Woods Institutions	World Bank, International Monetary Fund
BHW	Barangay Health Workers	Local medical personnel
CNN	Cable News Network	International satellite news network
CSD	Commission on Sustainable Development	Organization created at the Rio Summit n 1992 charged with monitoring Agenda 21
CSR	Corporate social responsibility	Responsibility of business to promote sustainable development or mitigate their negative effects
DAC	Development Assistance Committee	OECD forum of select members to focus on aid, development, and poverty
DHAN	Development of Humane Action Foundation	Community development project in India
EU	European Union	Assembly of European states
FPQ	Focal Point Questionnaire	Community capacity survey in Pagudpud
FPTCA	Filipino Parent Teacher Cooperation Association	Parent-teacher association in the Philippines
GMA	*Ginintuang Masaganang Ani*	Arroyo's addition to the AFMA
G-7	Group of Seven	Association of the dominant global economies – USA, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom
HDI	Human Development Index	Quality of life indicators rendered by the UNDP
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus/Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome	Diseases
HPCC	Himeshima Prawn Cultivation Company	Prawn company on Himeshima island, Japan
IDI	In-depth interview	Interview technique used in Pagudpud case study
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural	Organizations that promotes rural development

	Development	
IMF	International Monetary Fund	Bretton Woods institution overseeing the global financial system
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency	Japan's agency for overseas development
JTB	Japan Travel Bureau	Travel agency in Japan
LGU	Local Government Unit	Municipal administration in the Philippines
LMS	Localized Monitoring System on the Millennium Development Goals	EU project for evaluation localization in Bohol, Philippines
MDG	Millennium Development Goals	Internationally set goals for development to be achieved by 2015
M & E	Monitoring and Evaluation	Shorthand for all activities involved in monitoring and evaluation
NDI	National Democratic Institute	International organization that promotes democracy and elections
NGO	Non-government Organization	An entity that is outside of state control
NPM	New Public Management	Public administration reforms to make governance function more like business
ODA	Overseas development assistance	Term for formal nation to nation aid
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development	Multinational organization of big economies focusing on economics
OFW	Overseas foreign worker	People who leave the Philippines for work
OVOP	One Village One Product	Develop initiative originating from rural Japan
PATODA		Tricycle drivers' union in the Philippines
PLA	Participation, Learning and Action	Fully participatory rural planning and appraisal method
PM&E	Participatory monitoring and evaluation	Using participatory methods for assessment
PPE	Participatory photo evaluation	New form of participatory evaluation introduced here
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal	Participatory surveys of rural poverty
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers	Documents required by the IMF and WB before debt relief is considered
PTCA	Parent Teacher Cooperation Association	Parent- teacher association in Pagudpud
PTM	Program theory matrix	Policy management tool
PVE	Participatory video evaluation	New form of participatory evaluation introduced here
PVP	Pagudpud Volunteers for	Civil society organization in Pagudpud

	Progress	
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal	Surveys of rural poverty
SANJERA		Farmers' group in the Philippines
SCOR	Sense of community, commitment, ability to set and achieve objectives, ability to recognize and access resources	Community capacity attributes
SEP	Socio-Economic Profile	Pagudpud government report
SK		Youth organization in the Philippines
SMART	Specific, Measureable, Attainable, Relevant, and Timely	Australian evaluation indicators
SME	Small and medium enterprises	Businesses that are not large firms
SMES	Strengthening of Monitoring and Evaluation Systems	JICA-Nepal project to develop Nepal's evaluation system
TQM	Total Quality Management	Management strategy that emphasizes quality at all stages
TWG	Technical Working Group	Implementing body for the Jagna MDG localization project
UN	United Nations	Supranational governing body
UNDP	United Nations Development Program	Agency of the UN in charge of development programs
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Education Fund	Agency of the UN devoted to children's issues
WB	World Bank	Bretton Woods institution overseeing banking for development
WTO	World Trade Organization	Bretton Woods institution overseeing trade
10-Ks	10-K Initiative	Pagupud local program

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<u>Abstract</u>[1]

This work looks at the concept of community capacity and how it can be advanced to improve governance. The main concepts explored here, related to community capacity, are community, social capital, and community capacity building.

The importance of broadening the view of development beyond economic development is discussed in this work as being both a moral imperative to reduce poverty and a smart way to approach global and local governance. The areas of economic development and poverty alleviation are addressed, as well as alternative development with a special focus on rural and community development. The main concepts are discussed in context of their relationship to human development and poverty alleviation, being most closely associated with the paradigm of alternative development.

Major components of public administration are also addressed in this work, focusing on decentralization, localization, democracy, and participatory governance. Tools to improve governance are also discussed, including the logic framework, the policy management cycle, and evaluation.

The epistemological approach employed here focuses on post-modernism and post-positivism and focuses highly on qualitative research. The research contained in this work is mostly derived from case study analysis and employs data gathering techniques such as interviews, surveys, focus groups, and various forms of observation.

The academic contribution of this work is twofold, concept progression and method development. First, this work develops the concept of community capacity that was introduced by Chaskin, Brown, Venkatesh, and Vidal (2001) by amending and clarifying the terminology in the framework and employing a more useable and easily understandable model called the A-A-A framework. The A-A-A framework is developed through case studies on rural revitalization in Japan and the assessment of community capacity using the framework in Pagudpud, Philippines.

The definition of community is expanded to include the local government and all stakeholders, as well as to define the parameters of larger communities, such as the international community. Additionally, two newly adapted concepts are postulated to further address alternative development and community capacity building. They are community-driven economics and community leadership.

The concept of localization is also clarified, particularly in terms of the localization in evaluation. This is done through the analysis of various efforts to localize evaluation through JICA trainings and a project for MDG localization in the Philippines. Issues with evaluation in developing countries are surveyed through analysis of the technocrats that were involved in evaluation training in Japan. The identification of these issues led to some proposals for improving evaluation including a focus on assets, qualitative measures, participation, and guiding concepts.

Regarding method development, two methods of non-traditional participatory evaluation, participatory photo evaluation and participatory video evaluation, were created to further explore community capacity. Using trial cases in Pagudpud, the methods were developed to ensure proper data gathering and to render information that is useable for local public administration. These unique methods combine action research, participatory research, concept-driven

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evaluation, and the use of non-traditional media and have the benefit of providing data for better local governance and being a community capacity building tool.

1. Introduction

In the wake of the industrial revolution, a vast discrepancy emerged between developed nations and those who were yet to be developed. This ever-growing discrepancy has been the source of strife and conflict across the globe and has garnered a call for the development of all nations. Development is no easy task and its paradigms, financing, and practical execution are constantly under scrutiny and up for debate. However, the demand for peace and harmony, as well as for human progress and the continued success of global economics has not ceased; thus development is continually pursued on multiple levels.

Through the pursuit of global capitalism, entrepreneurs are constantly seeking innovative products, new markets, accessible labor sources, and readily available resources. This is taking business out of the modernized world and into places that are yet to be developed. In regards to both ethics and sustained profitability, it is of interest for global capitalists to promote and otherwise be involved in the development process. This is because if a community of interest has a poor infrastructure, political strife, issues with human rights and social freedoms then extracting the desired resource, product, or service becomes difficult and ethically questionable. Therefore, business and political actors alike have an economic and moral imperative to be committed to development.

A new outlook on development began to emerge in the late 20th century, when a shift from an emphasis on economic indicators to a more comprehensive vision of social development emerged. Standard of living began to play a more important role in the formulation and execution of development initiatives at the local, national, and international levels. Examples of this trend include the adoption of the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) multi-indicator Human Development Index (HDI) and various commissioned Human Development Reports (HDR), as well as the ambitious and multi-sectoral Millennium Development Goals (MDG) (Anan, 2000). As Amartya Sen (1999) argues, development cannot simply be assessed by economic measures alone, and specifically not by aggregate economic figures.

Social capital can be thought of as the 'missing link' of development (Gittell & Vidal, 2002). It is a key component of capacity and capacity development strategies for the betterment of the community and to facilitate participatory governance. Community capacity is one way that social capital within a given area can be identified, explored, and promoted. Through identifying the characteristics of community capacity and devising strategies to build community capacity, communities can better reach their potential, leaders and residents can be better informed about their community and ownership of the community situation begins to emerge to facilitate further development.

1.1. Research Problem and Questions

The main issues that have been identified in this work include the growing discussion on community capacity in development dialogue, a greater emphasis on a more holistic approach to development, the lagging questions about the concepts of social capital and community capacity, and the greater responsibilities for service delivery and development strategies that are being undertaken by decentralized authorities. These problems are explained more fully in the following paragraphs.

The change in development paradigms, more notably seen since the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Development Action Committee (DAC)

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agreed to the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) and the 2008 DAC High Level Meeting where donors agreed to use local goods and service (see Managing for Development Results, 2007), has brought about greater emphasis on capacity development and localization. This work proceeds with the shared problem in mind of the international development field; there needs to be more emphasis on partnership and ownership for capacity building and the necessity for a more holistic approach to community capacity development. It is unlikely that only one universal model of poverty alleviation can be formulated (Paugam, 2002, p. 94), but the assessment of community capacity and the design of contextualized strategies to build it incorporated into local policy structure can add to the effectiveness of development and poverty alleviation policy.

Although social capital has been identified as the missing component of development, there is little understanding of the ways in which social capital and capacity can be identified, built, and sustained. Some progress was made by incorporating social capital considerations into a relational framework for community capacity, as seen in the book Building Community Capacity by Robert J. Chaskin, Prudence Brown, Sudhir Venkatesh and Avis Vidal (2001). However, the framework has not been fully explored in relation to rural development and its relevance in developing communities has yet to be identified. Additionally, the concept of neighborhood, the unit of analysis for community capacity for Putnam (1993, 2000) and Chaskin and colleagues (2001), is too limiting for the framework to be widely utilizable. Therefore, an expansion of the concept of community is necessary in conjunction with clarifying the components of the framework to improve its ability to analyze a community in context.

Decentralization has made the role of the lower level administrator more important, especially in relation to the involvement of the community and participatory practices. The government partnership activities that accompany participatory governance and decentralized authority rely heavily on the ability of the community to respond to these activities, indeed, it relies on the capacity of the community. According to B. Guy Peters in The Future of Governing (2001), participatory governance requires a population of clients who can articulate their demands effectively, a collection of organizations that are concerned with delivering holistic services, and relies on the willingness of the citizens to become active participants in the political and administrative processes. Building community capacity can help a community to identify the assets that they posses and facilitate participation, effectively communicate their needs and desires, provide better services, and overcome adversity.

Furthermore, decentralized authorities have a need for consistent administrative and evaluation systems in order to better serve their constituents and meet their policy outcomes. It is clear the many evaluation systems are in need of reform; however there is no consistent way to identify issues in evaluation systems.

In order to examine the problems the following questions are posed:
1. What are the conceptual components of community capacity and how can they be further developed? (Chapters Two, Chapter Five)
2. What is the relationship between community capacity and human development and poverty alleviation? (Chapter Two)
3. How is a community defined and how can it be understood practically? (Chapter Five)
4. What are some of effective strategies for community capacity building? (Chapters Two, Chapter Five, Chapter Seven)
5. How can community capacity be identified in context? (Chapters Five, Chapter Seven, Chapter Eight)

6. In what ways can the community capacity framework be refined to better fit the situation in developing communities? (Chapters Five, Chapter Seven)
7. How do community capacity attributes contribute to the cycle of community capacity? (Chapter Five)
8. How do community agents and their leadership contribute to the development of community capacity? (Chapter Five)
9. What is localization of evaluation and why is it important? (Chapter Six)
10. What are some ways that localization is being undertaken? (Chapter Six)
11. How can community capacity building strategies be integrated into a community-level policy structure? (Chapter Seven)
12. What does community capacity mean in the context of a developing community? (Chapter Seven, Chapter Eight)
13. Can the community capacity framework be developed into an assessment tool? (Chapters Seven, Chapter Eight)
14. How can evaluation be more participatory? (Chapters Six, Chapter Eight)

These questions are addressed throughout this work; however the most relevant chapters are noted after each question.

1.2. Objective

The objective of this dissertation is twofold. The first goal of this work is to fortify and expand some concepts related to community, development and public administration. The main focus is on the progression of the concept of community capacity, particularly in terms of its relevance to developing rural communities in Asia. Other concepts that are expounded upon here include community, community leadership, community-driven economics, localization, and evaluation. The second aim of this work is the introduction and conceptual design of the methods of participatory photo and video evaluation, as well as the incorporation of the concept of community capacity into an assessment.

1.3. Significance

The significance of this work in relation to its contribution to conceptual development lies in the importance of incorporating the concepts of community, community capacity, community leadership, community-driven economics, and localization into public management through evaluation and intervention strategies. By doing so, poverty alleviation, rural development, and community development initiatives become more effective and sustainable.

The contribution of this work in terms of the development of the methods of participatory photo and video evaluation is significant because of the uniqueness of combining non-traditional communication mediums with an evaluative framework and purpose, as well as their practical applications for public administration and community capacity building.

Furthermore, this work adds to the dialogue on action research, community capacity, community and rural development, evaluation, governance, and participatory methods.

1.4. Conceptual Framework

The two main objectives of this work are interrelated as the revamped concepts lay the foundation for the development of the new methods, forming the guiding framework for their execution; thus examining them in context. Community is the unit of analysis for the case study and evaluation projects, while community capacity is the analytical framework.   Below, in Figure 1, is a model to help illustrate the overall conceptual framework for this dissertation.

Figure 1 - Conceptual Framework
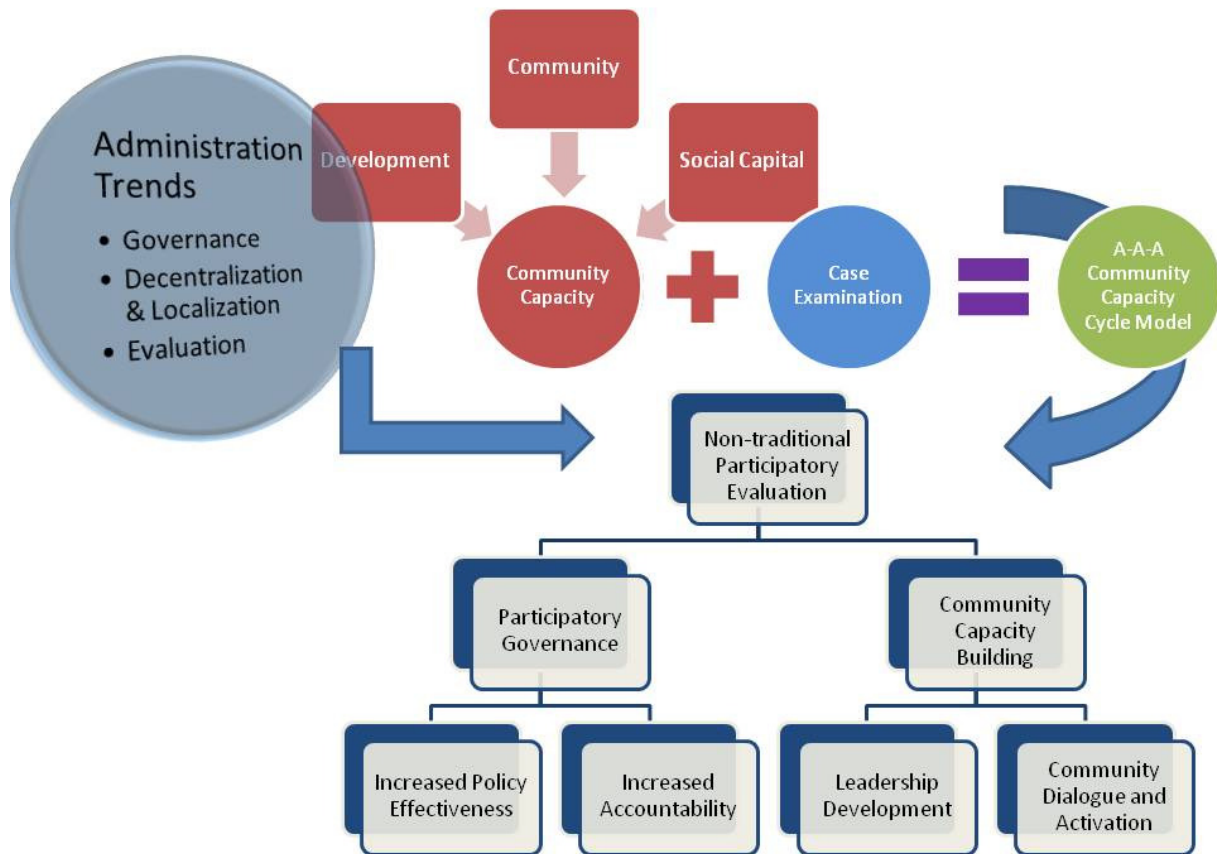
As can be seen in the conceptual framework model, the trends in administration such as governance, decentralization and localization, as well as evaluation are the practical background of this dissertation. The theoretical background of development, community, and social capital help to contribute to the concept of community capacity. The concept of community capacity is then examined through case studies in Japan and the Philippines and modified in the A-A-A (Attributes-Agents-Action) Community Capacity Cycle Model (see Chapter Five). Considering the necessities of the current administrative trends, the A-A-A model is used to guide the development of the non-traditional participatory evaluation methods that will contribute to participatory governance in terms of increased policy effectiveness and increased accountability, and to community capacity building in terms of leadership development, community dialogue and activation.

1.5. Outline of work

This work begins by a review of the relevant literature and concepts in Chapter Two. In this chapter, the overall relevance of this dissertation will be discussed followed by a look at economic development and poverty alleviation, the paradigms of alternative development, rural development, and community development. Discussions on the conceptual backgrounds of community, social capital, and community capacity will follow. The last section of Chapter Two explains some community capacity building strategies including leadership development, organizational development, community organizing, and inter-organizational collaboration.

After the introduction to the theoretical background guiding this work, the practical concepts of governance paradigms, practical formats, and trends are discussed in Chapter Three. These governance issues include democracy and participatory governance, local governance, and decentralization and localization. The public administration section of Chapter Three looks at the practical tools of the management cycle, the logic framework, and evaluation.

The fourth chapter of this dissertation covers the data collection methods used to obtain the information in this work. It outlines the research paradigms of post-modernism and post-positivism, as well as the reflexive and adaptive qualitative research approaches. The specific modes of information collection in Japan, the Philippines, and from other sources are detailed. Support for the various data collection methods such as case studies, participant observation, action research, the use of photography, focus groups, interviews, and surveys is offered.

Chapter Five is the academic contribution of this dissertation in terms of conceptual development. Community is suggested as a suitable unit for analysis and policy formulation, as well as an all-encompassing system with potential conceptualization on multiple levels. The community capacity framework from Chaskin and colleagues (2001) that is offered in Chapter Two is expanded and amended to be more practical, useable and adaptable to rural and developing communities. Case studies from rural Japan are examined in order to further clarify the basic component of community capacity, its attributes, agents, and actions. Through these case studies the new concepts of community leadership and cyclical community capacity emerge. These conceptual explorations formulate the impetus for community-driven economics, which is discussed at the end of the chapter.

Chapter Six, is dedicated to the conceptual and practical development of localization and evaluation. The ways in which localization can be undertaken and its benefits are examined through issues with evaluation in developing countries and case examinations of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)-Nepal Strengthening of Evaluation and Monitoring System (SMES) project and the localization of the MDGs in Jagna, Philippines.

The proceeding two chapters are dedicated to the field work and projects conducted in Pagudpud, Philippines. Chapter Seven provides an introduction to the municipality, its initial policy structure and assessment of community capacity using traditional evaluation techniques such as interview and survey.

Chapter Eight is the second important contribution of this dissertation, the introduction of the unique methods of participatory photo and video evaluation. This chapter examines the theoretical background that contributes to these methods and provides the basis for their success and contribution to governance and community capacity building, as well as their conceptual design. Then, the details of the trial cases for the methods of participatory photo and video evaluation respectively, and their subsequent public exhibition are explored. The implications of the findings from these projects helps to build the picture of community capacity in Pagudpud, as

well as points to the positive implications of employing these types of participatory evaluations, namely in terms of community capacity building and governance.

The last chapter of this work provides an overview of the entire dissertation, summarizing the literature review and methods, answering the research questions, reiterating the work's contributions to academia and practice, and discusses the further implications of the material presented here and future directions of this work.

2. Development, Community, Social Capital, and Community Capacity

"We must rethink the financial system from scratch, as at Bretton Woods (Sarkozy, 2008)." The recent economic turmoil has brought some issues to the forefront that have been apparent in development economics for more than a decade: structural adjustment programs are deeply flawed, investment to promote production for export has had negative effects on the poor (Friedmann, 1992, p. 5), markets do not self-regulate (Greenspan, see Andrews, 2008), and government interventions are necessary to promote sectoral growth and economic stability. With these issues in mind, new economic ideologies are being discussed by leaders from around the world.

On October 8, 2008, as the world began to realize the full brunt of the financial crisis, Argentine President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner said "the financial world crisis will need a strong regulation in the matter of financial markets and capital movements throughout the world. A new Bretton Woods will be needed." The recent financial crisis demonstrates the existence of a global economy with pervasive links and effects. As Ms. Kirchner notes, due to the links of the global economy, there is a need for new strategies for regulation and global economic infrastructure. This new thinking should be undertaken with a new emphasis on both international links and the importance of all global stakeholders, no matter how small.

The Bretton Woods Institutes (BWIs) were an important first step in bringing order to the international economy. However, they were based on a few flawed ideas and assumptions. One of the most glaring issues is its power based organization that highly favors rich nations (Sachs, 2005, p. 287), which typically leaves debtor countries virtually voiceless. As the global economy grew the BWIs have been criticized for not being inclusive or truly participatory and overly favoring rich nations.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF), a BWI, has borne criticism due to their pressure to force structural changes modeled on first world economies and the propensity to leave ill-suited governments, whom are often corrupt, debt laden at the expense of the quality of life of their constituents. IMF backed initiatives have led to riots, coups, and the collapse of public services (Sachs, 2005, p. 74). This in combination with academic and public outcry against some of the questionable practices and tactics employed by the BWIs has led to a paradigm shift and a search for more effective approaches (Sachs, 2005, p. 74).

The perspective that wealthy nations take in the BWIs separates them from other nations. The world economic system has been modeled, molded, and promoted on the ideology of the dominant economies whilst assuming a sort of cultural or systemic superiority, rather than recognizing that their dominance may most likely stem from an accident of timing or geography (Sachs, 2005, p. 39). Furthermore, economically privileged nations are concerned with preserving and promoting their economic interests, while other countries are primarily focused on development and providing basic services to their citizens. It is this vast paradigm discrepancy that contributes to the malfunction of international economic institutions. While there is much discussion on how to address the necessary changes to the international economic system from the first world perspective, this chapter seeks to offer the perspective of the challenges and necessary changes through the scope of developing nations by placing development and sustainable livelihood as the *a priori* issues in international economic reform.

With the ever growing trend toward fractured societies, specialized communities, the widening economic gap, and the highlighting of insiders and outsiders, something needs to change in order to save us from ourselves. The idea that capitalism or democracy will save us is

nearly dead; for too long we have been mired in the conversation about which political or economic paradigm is paramount, forgetting all the while about the details of human existence that make any one of the popular paradigms palatable; long life, comfort, happiness, stability. These factors, the ones that each of the megaphone-mouth demagogues of their paradigms touts as the reason they should be the dominant power, are the reasons that any of us 6 billion sheep in the herd would even dare listen to the blaring discourse. These human factors are what we all search for in our daily lives and they can be found in our communities.

It is only now that the first world is learning what the second and third world learned a long time ago: the principles of free market economics, trade imbalances and unbridled economic gains benefit few and exacerbate the income gap, leaving many dispossessed and in poverty (Collier, 2007; Friedmann, 1992; Sachs, 2005). The bulk of the poor, 67% as of 1998, live in Asia, particularly the southern and rural parts (Kanbur, Venables, & Wan, 2006, p. 1; Quibria, 1993, p. 1).

Currently, the global financial system relies on the benevolence of the Group of Seven (G-7) and developing economies are no exception. If the G-7 are doing well then there is a "permissive environment for growing economic prosperity in other countries (Cooper, 2005, p. 67)." However, if the first world has any sort of economic blip or panic then their benevolence is withdrawn, often into protectionism and economic nationalism, and "…other countries would find it difficult to sustain growing economic prosperity no matter how good their institutions and their policies were (Cooper, 2005, p. 67)." This is not a call to revert to planned economics; however, it is a referendum on the popular thinking of how both local and international economics and development should be undertaken.

Furthermore, there is a necessity to focus on poverty, and the economic development and advancement of what Collier (2007) has called "the bottom billion," the poorest billion people in the world. Continuing to ignore this cadre of global citizens makes the entire world less secure, and more vulnerable to socio-political and economic instability (Collier, 2007, p. 3). The gap between the underdeveloped and the poorest of the poor is widening, with the average person in the poorest society having an income that is only one-fifth of that of the average person in a typical developing country (Collier, 2007, p. 10). The World Bank (WB) has established the rather arbitrary $1 a day poverty standard and later added the $2 a day indicator to describe low income around the globe (2002; 2003). There are 2.8 billion people in developing countries living on less than $2 a day (WB, 2003). However arbitrary the standard is, it helps to establish statistics and indicators in the quest to address the needs of the poor. It is worth noting that the WB and other international donors have broadened their definition of poverty to include human development and quality of life (Cling, 2002, p. 29; WB, 2002, p. 2; WB, 2003, p. 2) and this expansion of the concept has begun to help in the process of domestic and international policy making on development and poverty alleviation.

In addition to economic indicators of poverty, there are quality of life indicators that demonstrate stark contrasts in the ability of the bottom billion to escape poverty and otherwise lead lives deserving of human dignity. An example of this is can be found in the poors' ability to access water and proper sanitation. According to the 2006 HDR, about 1.1 billion people in developing countries have inadequate access to water and 2.6 billion lack basic sanitation (Watkins, 2006, p. 7). Among those without proper access to water, two-thirds live on less than $2 a day with the remaining one-third surviving on less than one dollar a day (Watkins, 2006, p. 7). There are more than 660 million people without sanitation living on $2 a day with more than 385 million living on less than one dollar a day (Watkins, 2006, p. 7). These facts are truly

amazing and saddening when you consider that household water use is less than 5% of total water consumption (Watkins, 2006, p. 7), with the remainder going toward agricultural and industrial uses. Additionally, this household water consumption is inequitably distributed, with those living in high-income cities in the developing world having access to significantly higher amounts of higher quality water than people living in city slums or rural areas of the same country, often at lower prices (Watkins, 2006, p. 2). These considerations further reinforce the necessity to address poverty, particularly rural poverty, both in terms of economic and human development.

This chapter will emphasize the need for a new paradigm on economics and development and delve into the concepts that are helping to shape this new paradigm. The guiding questions for this chapter are:

(1.) What is the importance of development?
(2.) What are the current paradigms of development?
(3.) What is community?
(4.) What is social capital?
(5.) What is community capacity?
(6.) What are some approaches to development and community capacity building?

These questions will be addressed through a review of the relevant literature on various aspects of development, such as economic development, alternative and human development, sustainable development, rural development, and community development. The foundation concepts of community, social capital, community capacity, and community capacity building are also introduced. The first section begins with the importance of development.

2.1. Development

For some, discussing development as an imperative for international economic reform does not seem natural. However, considering the links between nations in trade and commerce, particularly between developed and not yet developed countries, it is important to take the needs of not yet developed nations into consideration while formulating economic reforms. Since those nations are primarily concerned with development, modernization, and poverty reduction, these issues should also be prominent concerns of economic reform. This is in addition to the moral imperative that we all share to address the needs of those that are continually dispossessed by the structural inequities of our current global system.

True global economic advancement requires considering development and poverty alleviation. Sachs (2005) calls for a re-examination of what we think we know about economics and global development. "Although introductory economics textbooks preach individualism and decentralized markets, our safety and prosperity depend at least as much on collective decisions to fight disease, promote good science and widespread education, provide critical infrastructure, and act in unison to help the poorest of the poor (Sachs, 2005, pp. 2-3)." There is a definite need to construct an international sense of community and to cultivate a commitment to proactively and appropriately address poverty in all of its forms. Both of those things are related to global economic well-being.

M.C. Behera (2007) describes three levels from three areas in development discourse. First there is the policy level where international aid agencies set objectives and priorities. The second level attempts to understand development issues from various perspectives, perhaps at the state level, and comprises the conceptual level. The third is the practical level focusing on

methodology (Behera, 2007, p. 25). Behera's description of the development policy structure is a good starting point for understanding the complexity and relationships between various stakeholders in development.

The United Nations (UN) has declared development and poverty alleviation top concerns and reaffirmed its commitment to these concerns in the Doha Outcomes Document in 2008 and through outcomes based objectives such as the MDGs. Even though the BWIs, particularly the WB, are interested in widespread economic development, their approach of structural adjustment programs (Cling, Razafindrakoto, & Roubaud, 2002b, p. 156; Sachs 2005, p. 81; Friedmann 1992, p. 2), "problem-solving," and donor-led development often ignore important contextual issues (Cling, 2002, p. 34) that are key to comprehensive and sustainable development. However, there are some signals that the approach to development of international donors is changing. The Vice President of the WB's Program for Sustainable Development notes a change in priorities for the WB, namely a refocus on poverty as an economic, social and environmental responsibility, and recognition of the growing interconnectedness of the global economy (Johnson, 2005).

Development is not a blanket term that can be tossed around to describe any sort of program, project, or larger policy. While it can be said that development is related to changes in economic and social variables associated with production increases and the improvement of the quality of life, these changes do no necessarily indicate development (Yogo, 2000, p. 19). A value judgment about these changes must be made (Yogo, 2000, p. 19) and there should be a focus on the roles of resources, organizations, and norms and their mutual interactions (Yogo, 2000, p. 20). The roles of resources, organizations, and norms and their interactions can be best understood at the community level through understanding and analysis of community capacity (which will be discussed at length in this work).

Not only does development itself need to be recognized as an important component of the global economic system, but the focus and the level of economic thinking needs to be redirected. Rural economies need to be taken into greater consideration in the global economic system because that is where the bulk of poverty lies (Cling, 2002, p. 36; International Fund for Agricultural Development [IFAD], 2001, p. 1; Quibria, 1993, p.1; Kanbur et al., 2006, p.1). Additionally, impoverished rural communities are the most vulnerable to economic shocks (IFAD, 2001, pp.4-5), and susceptible to various aspects of cyclical poverty (poverty trap, fiscal trap, demographic trap, as well as issues with geography, human capital, and empowerment, see Sachs, 2005, pp. 79-81).

Establishing that development, in its various forms, needs to be addressed is only one component to true poverty alleviation. Cling (2002) points out that "it is obviously a good thing to try to convince privileged groups of the need to attack poverty, but we should not delude ourselves: for the time being there will continue to be conflicts of interest between the rich and the poor, and even between different groups of poor people (p . 38)." These privileged groups include the G-7 and other healthy economies, as well as economically dominant and privileged groups in developing countries. Everyone needs to understand the importance of equitable development and improved quality of life for all and how it can affect their lives, particularly those who are not confronted with true poverty on a daily basis.

This section explores several components and approaches to development. First, economic development and poverty alleviation are addressed. Next, alternative development and its related development approaches, such as human development and sustainable development, are explored as the most contemporary paradigms. Finally, the specialized sectors of rural and community

development are examined. Through these discussions a better understanding of what development means today and how it is being undertaken will be gained.

2.1.1. Economic Development and Poverty Alleviation

Economic development may be considered traditional development, with a focus on raising incomes and the fiscal side of poverty. Additionally, those subscribing to the paradigm of economic development feel that a lack of financial success is the root of all the problems associated with poverty. In fact, most national development strategies employ some sort of economic growth model in the form of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP); a testament to how widespread the commitment to the potential benefits of economic development are.

While the benefits of economic development may not be as widespread or easily understandable as previously thought, there are undoubted advantages to it. Some have discovered that designing development strategies that focus on economic development, but incorporate social justice or environmental considerations are more palatable to participants, donors and administrators (Fleming, 2009). In any case, in order to design an effective strategy to alleviate poverty there must be a careful assessment of the widespread impact of economic policies (Cling et al., 2002a, p. 20). However, it should be noted that some of the advantages associated with economic growth are not necessarily quantifiable or dependent explicitly on a particular rate of growth or expansion of income. Some of these advantages include a user-friendly and cooperative local political climate (Gobar, 1993, p. 20).

Many authors and practitioners feel that economic growth does not explicitly lead to poverty reduction or improved quality of life for ordinary people on an equitable basis (Cling, 2002; Collier, 2007; Friedmann, 1992; Sachs, 2005; Zachariah, 1993) and many involved with development have been moving away from economic development and toward an alternative development paradigm (Behera, 2006; Pieterse, 1998). While economic growth, at any level, may not be the silver bullet of development, having greater economic capabilities does increase people's ability to obtain resources and may even give them greater status and power within their community, as the commonly held paradigm on economic development dictates. Therefore, economic growth still plays an important role in comprehensive development policy making.

However, a focus on economic development should not replace actual strategic thinking on inclusive development and poverty reduction (Collier, 2007, p. 11). It is the magnitude of the role and the scope of growth that is currently under discussion. The remainder of this discussion on economic development will focus on the detrimental effects of poverty and the strategies that are being used to reduce it, as well as some of the positive outcomes of economic growth.

Economic development is not as straight forward as calculating growth, inflation, and unemployment. Both the costs and benefits of economic development must be considered, particularly the human and environmental costs (Friedmann, 1992, p. 9). M. G. Quibria (1993) finds that the roots of poverty lie in the interaction of sociocultural factors, the distribution of productive assets, development strategies, and the global environment for trade and finance (p. 6). Poverty can also be seen as disempowerment, with poor households lacking the social power to improve their condition (Friedmann, 1992, p. 66; Cling, 2002, p. 29). Social cohesion and the absence of striking inequalities determine the quality and level of economic growth (Cling, 2002, p. 29). Poverty alleviation is the reduction of the effects of poverty in terms of both financial and social factors.

Like Quibria, Friedmann and the WB, many have recognized that factors outside of economics, such as democracy, good governance, and appropriation have as much of an impact on the economic path of developing countries as traditional economic measures (Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002a, p. 126). Public institutions need to take a pro-poor approach, in addition to promoting diversification of social assets and strengthening national cohesion, to make poverty reductions strategies effective (Cling, 2002, p. 31).

The 1994 HDR found a positive correlation between infrastructure networks and economic growth through facilitating competitiveness and trade (United Nations [UN], 2001, p. 1). Infrastructure development creates the macro-economic conditions for poverty reduction. The connection of vulnerable households through infrastructure development can also reduce poverty on a micro-level through better access to water, sanitation, and energy. This contributes to improved health and increased productivity, and provides better market access and income generation potential to small producers (UN, 2001, pp. 1-2).

Furthermore, a country's economic growth can be affected by any of several poverty traps and systemic problems and failures. Jeffery Sachs, an American economist, outlines these traps and issues in his 2005 book The End of Poverty. Sachs (2005) argues that the failure to achieve economic growth is not the fault of the poor but due to the poverty trap (where poverty itself causes economic stagnation (p. 56)), the fiscal trap (where the government lacks resources to develop infrastructure and cannot collect taxes because of poverty, or inept, corrupt government or debt-ridden government (p. 59)), physical geography, governance failures, cultural barriers, geopolitics (trade barriers (p. 61)), lack of innovation, and/or the demographic trap (elevated fertility rates means families cannot afford to invest in all of their children meaning the next generation is typically impoverished and has high fertility rates (p. 65)).

Paul Collier in his 2007 book The Bottom Billion generally agrees with many of the points Sachs makes including physical geography (Collier is particularly concerned about landlocked countries (p. 53)) and bad governance (especially in small countries (p. 64)). He then adds two additional traps, the conflict trap (a pattern of violent internal challenges to government (p. 17)) and the natural resource trap (a paradoxical trap where the discovery of valuable natural resources in the context of poverty lead to increased poverty or adds to the conflict trap (p. 38)). These issues and traps all fall outside of what it typically addressed in an economic development initiative, yet have an effect on the economic development of an area. By acknowledging the importance of the varying factors that affect the economic status of a country or a community, a better, more comprehensive policy for advancement and poverty alleviation can be formulated.

In terms of interventions to deal with the various traps and issues, a few approaches have been offered. Sachs (2005) suggests what he calls "clinical economics," which includes an understanding that economies are complex systems and implores economists to make contextual decisions offering solutions that may not be directly related to the problem at hand. Clinical economics also requires monitoring and evaluation (M & E) particularly in terms of outcomes and advocates for ethical and professional standards in the development community (requiring those involved with policy to be versed in the context of the place and to give honest advice to patrons and donors alike) (pp. 79-81).

Collier (2007) looks at four instruments of economic development: aid, security, laws and charters, and trade (p. 176). However, he advocates for all of the instruments to be used, but notes that the first instrument, aid, is being used poorly and the others are scarcely used at all to achieve economic development (p. 176). To break the resource trap, Collier (2007) would like to see a charter similar to the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (p. 178). For the conflict

trap, he suggests two points of intervention: post conflict and deep penetration with an emphasis on improving and stabilizing a post-conflict region through harmonization of donors and local government empowerment (Collier, 2007, p. 177). For poverty alleviation in landlocked countries, Collier (2007) suggests improved and increased aid to the country in question and its neighbors to ensure transport corridors (p. 179). In countries with governance problems, he suggests encouragement and fortitude on the part of the local people and leaders fighting to combat corruption, which can be done through intelligently offering aid because an influx of resources may contribute to the poor governance and corruption (Collier, 2007, p. 181). The final instrument of trade is of some consternation for Collier. He notes that currently, most trade is designed to broker the best deal in terms of economic and entrenched interests and that in order for it to become a tool for development the focus of the administrative agency in charge of trade must be on "fostering the development of the bottom billion (Collier, 2007, p. 187)."

Al Gobar (1993) suggests that "the key to a successful economic development program is to generate early winners, while keeping an eye on clear, quantifiable long-term goals (p. 18)." Both of these aspects play an important role in the success of any development intervention. Finding champions of a program help to inspire others to participate and develop their own interests. This becomes particularly important as the poor often lack the ability to fully articulate their interests and formulate ways to pursue them (Gibson & Woolcock, 2008, p. 153). This is not say that impoverished people lack these capabilities indefinitely, but that their lack of ability often stems from systematic disempowerment or a lack of education or experience. Champions and other best practice examples help to spread the message of an initiative through practical examples and role modeling.

Additionally, having a well formulated plan with clear outcomes and an accompanying way to gauge them through a comprehensive evaluation system helps to maintain the interest of the participants and stimulates further donor support. Gobar (1993) also calls for a "realistic appraisal of how available resources can be mobilized to exploit special opportunities defined by the pattern of resources and limitations [in a community] (p. 23)." This analysis of the situation in a community where an intervention for economic development is being undertaken is part of a holistic and localized evaluation system, which ultimately leads to better outcomes both in terms of the intervention and the community. The 2006 HDR echoes this sentiment for comprehensive planning and evaluation by citing the need for policies that produce positive outcomes for the poor through setting attainable targets in national plans that are backed by financing provisions and strategies for overcoming inequality (Watkins, 2006, p. 11).

These lessons and suggestions regarding economic development can be utilized while implementing any type of development or policy, such as in alternative development. The next subsection delves into the alternative development approach and describes the benefits of taking this approach, as well as various complementary approaches.

2.1.2. Alternative development

Alternative development has become the catchall phrase for those interested in breaking away from traditional development paradigms steeped in macro-economics and foreign policy or security issues. It may be considered the contemporary mainstream approach to development and has seen successes (Pieterse, 1998, p. 345). Some authors accept some of the aspects of alternative development and offer their permutations (Friedmann, 1992), but others reject alternative development altogether and suggest another framework of their own design as with

Jan Nederveen Pieterse (1998) with his introduction of reflexive development, citing a necessity for a practical framework and a difference between normative and structuralist approaches. For the purpose of this analysis, alternative development will serve as an umbrella term to cover various modern paradigms of development including participatory development (see Cornwell & Brock, 2005; Behera 2007), integrated development (see Ray, 2006), neo-endogenous development (see Ray, 2006), reflexive development (see Pieterse, 1998), human development (see Jahan, 2005; Sen, 1999, 2005; Watkins, 2006), and sustainable development (see Victor, 2006).

The primary tenets of alternative development are that development be people-centered, community-focused, participatory in practice, and committed to environmental preservation (Friedmann, 1992, pp. 2-4; Pieterse, 1998, p. 343, Ray, 2006, p. 256, 260; see also Hobbs, Dokecki, Hoover-Demsey, Moroney, Shayne & Weeks, 1984; Cornwell & Brock 2005); also there is less of an emphasis on production and profits (Friedmann, 1992, p, 31). However, economic growth and stability are still important because of their relationship with sustained human progress (Watkins, 2006, p. 263). The real change in approach comes in the ways that the effectiveness of economic growth is measured, which are reflected in quality of life indicators such as the HDI (Watkins, 2006, p. 263). Human development indicators tend to rise and fall with income (Watkins, 2006, p. 264). This factor reinforces the relationship between economic development and human development. However, noting its non-directionality, the picture that the two concepts of development are intertwined begins to emerge, demonstrating the necessity for multiple approaches.

The alternative development paradigm also contends that the state is part of the problem, people can do no wrong, communities can work together well, community action is sufficient for development and political action must be avoided (Friedmann, 1992, p. 6). These contentions are not universally recognized or practiced as a part of a new working paradigm of development (Friedmann, 1992, p. 7), but its departure from the traditional, top-down, politically motivated economic development approaches of the past is evident.

The approach of alternative development is supported by the internationally recognized Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Friedmann, 1992, p. 10). From this concept sprang the MDGs, which are a reflection of human development (Jahan, 2005, p. 2). However, they do not cover all aspects of human development, notably not addressing participation, human security (Jahan, 2005, p. 2), respect for human rights, democracy, and inequality (Watkins 2006, p. 263), which are key components of alternative development. The MDGs have been further criticized as not truly being a strategy that informs actions of governments, companies, and NGOs, as well as being beyond the power that any enterprise can deliver (Victor, 2006, p. 94). This indicates that the MDGs, although helpful in providing some direction for development, are not the 'end-all-be-all' and that ultimately development policy and strategies must be designed and implemented proactively and contextually at the local level.

On the other hand, some critics of human development and even human rights contend that economic development must precede human development. However, with the success of Japan and the continuing progressive development of East and Southeast Asia this theory has been debunked (Sen, 1999, p. 19). In fact, human development facilitates economic and industrial expansion, and improves the efficiency and wide reach of the market economy (Sen, 1999, p. 22). Considering the human factor has broadened the perspective of politicians and practitioners on the terms and definitions of poverty and the ways that are being undertaken to reduce it.

Public policy should be modeled around values of human development and community (Dokecki, 1983 as cited in McMillan & George, 1986, p. 12; see also Hobbs et al., 1984).

With the paradigm shift toward what can be described as alternative development, a slew of catch phrases have been introduced to the development dialogue such as participation, empowerment and poverty (Cornwell & Brock, 2005, p. 1044), as well as capacity and capacity building. The new verbage helps to provide direction and legitimacy to development initiatives (Cornwell & Brock, 2005, p. 1044); however, they are not universally understood or used. This works seeks to bring some clarity to these terms and their application.

One of the major components of the gradual shift in development paradigms since the early 1970's has been a growing recognition of the need to address issues outside of mere economic development (Adjibolosoo, 1998, p. 206; Aguirre, 1998, p. 180; Friedmann, 1992, p. 1; Sen, 2005, p. 2). These human factors of development construe a mishmash of quality of life indicators that can affect and are affected by economic development. Some even advocate addressing human development before embarking upon traditional means of economic development (Adjibolosoo, 1998, p. 212).

The creation of social opportunities, such as education and health care, make a direct contribution to human capabilities and the quality of life (Sen, 1999, p. 21). Interestingly, Sen (1999) points out that the provision of basic education and health care is labor intensive, and labor is one asset that is typically of abundance in impoverished areas and therefore relatively cheap in developing countries (p. 21). Following this logic, achieving these basic tenants of humanity should be less costly than it is in already developed countries and therefore a better investment of limited development dollars.

Amartya Sen (2005) describes the focus on human life as taking the capability approach (p. 2). The capability approach concentrates on the actual opportunities of living, rather than the means of living, which is often the focus of economic development (Sen, 2005, p. 2). Sen (2005) goes on to relate capability to a concept of freedom with the dual aspects of the opportunities that a person has and the processes they have to go through to live their life (p. 16). These views stem from Sen's overall vision of development as freedom, which he goes into detail in his 2000 book, Development as Freedom. Focusing on human life through taking a capability approach is precisely what proponents of alternative development incorporate into their personal paradigms. The human factor and the capability approach begin to describe human development, which is another component of alternative development.

While the benefits of human development to people in terms of quality of life are quite obvious, there are other periphery benefits as well. Human development can reduce over-reliance on overseas development assistance (ODA), lead to production of higher values goods thus increasing an area's level of active participation in the world economy, reduce environmental degradation, as well as expand and improve education (Aguirre, 1998, p. 180).

As described earlier, Friedmann (1992) described poverty as disempowerment, which is related to the way that Sen looks at development as freedom. Friedmann's (1992) concept of disempowerment sees households as lacking the necessary social power to improve their lives. He goes on to describe the eight bases of social power as:1) defensible life space - physical space in which household members cook, eat, sleep, and secure their personal possessions; 2) surplus time - time available to the household economy over and above the time necessary for gaining subsistence livelihood; 3) knowledge and skills - educational levels, human resources; 4) appropriate information - reasonably accurate information bearing on a household's struggle for subsistence; 5) social organization - formal and informal organizations to which household

members may belong; 6) social networks - essential for self-reliant actions based on reciprocity; 7) instruments of work and livelihood - tools of household production; and 8) financial resources - monetary income as well as access to credit (Friedmann, 1992, pp. 67-69). These dimensions are the ways in which poverty can be categorized into non-economic variables.

Empowering people through these eight bases of social power will reduce non-economic poverty, as well as lead to higher potentials in household income generation. Kirk & Shutte (2004) echo Friedmann's emphasis on empowerment and participation to help achieve (sustainable) development (p. 234). Alternative development, through focusing on improving the lives of the poor explicitly, promises further self-development of human beings as individuals (Friedmann, 1992, p. 12); something that will inevitably benefit all people through the potential of creativity and innovation.

John Friedmann (1992) and others (Allen, 1993; Sen, 1999) in the practical realm agree that development in the absence of the state is simply not feasible or advisable. Friedmann (1992) states "…without the state's collaboration, the lot of the poor cannot be significantly improved. Local empowering action requires a strong state (p. 7)." He goes on to note that "if an alternative development is to advocate the social empowerment of the poor, it must also advocate their political empowerment (p. 7)." Friedmann's position indicates a need for cooperation between the people and the government, local and extra-regional. This lends support to a re-definition of community to include government as a necessary stakeholder.

The inclusion of various stakeholders in the development process is known as participatory development. Participatory development has moved from relatively passive approaches to participation, such as Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), to more active and cooperative forms of participation, such as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) (Behera, 2007, p. 38). Due to criticisms of participatory development being ineffective, largely due to their failure to engage with issues of power and politics, some have called for an expansion of the understanding of participation to include an "expanded and radicalized understanding of citizenship (Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 238)." More participatory approaches stem from the search for alternative methods of planning and data collection because of the frustration with the ineffectiveness of the externally imposed and expert-oriented approaches, and the concern with social transformation and giving voice to dispossessed groups (Behera, 2007, p. 38). Truly participatory tools are needed to gain creedance and success through alternative development.

Some have argued that there is a discrepancy between development theory and development practice, particularly in terms of participatory measures (Chhotray, 2005, p, 429). This leads to trouble with policy formulation that is truly conducive to poverty alleviation and truly effective in terms of human development (Chhotray, 2005, p, 429). Citing the case of a participatory development project in India, Vasudha Chhotray (2005) supports the idea that the state is important in achieving development outcomes, but that policy-making should be truly participatory in nature and less top-down. Furthermore, project implementation should be localized to improve delivery capacity (Chhotray, 2005, p, 440).

According to Prem M. Sharma (2000), the participatory approach in India evolved out of the weaknesses experienced in earlier projects implemented in the country that did not take the community into account (p. 70). Chhotray's main critique of the project and the stance of the Indian state is that they call their project participatory in accordance with current development parlance, but lacks actual participation in project formulation and implementation. It is a similar lament that many academics and practitioners have and has led to some serious critiques on the

effectiveness of "participatory" development and the use of the term "participatory" (Cornwell & Brock, 2005; Gibson & Woolcock, 2008). While it is correct to critique policy makers that dubiously use "participatory" to push their initiatives, not all participatory efforts in development are futile. Again, this is a call for inclusive participatory methods in development and governance.

Cornwell and Brock (2005) agree that participatory development and its accompanying buzzwords may not live up to their purported hype. However, they find that there is a consistent framework for the development of national PRSPs as well as international development goals, such as the MDGs (p. 1049). They go on to say that "the narrative of the PRSP consensus—that poverty reduction can only be achieved through country-driven, partnership and result-oriented, comprehensive, long-term strategies—chimes with the narrative of the MDG consensus—that international development is a measurable moral goal that the governments of all countries should strive towards (Cornwell & Brock, 2005, p. 1049)." Cornwell and Brock indicate that there is some participation in development and poverty alleviation at the state level, but it may not truly involve state actors in the decision process.

In the name of efficiency and time conservation, many practitioners and politicians feel that the participatory process is too cumbersome to be useful, particularly at the local level (Sharma, 2000, p. 71) where human resources are scarce and administrative capacity is low. This is due in part to a heavy emphasis on the achievement of targets imposed by outside donors and an over-reliance on traditional top-down management styles (Sharma, 2000, p. 71). Sharma (2000) recognizes the roadblocks to participation in development and project management through his examination of the Doon Valley Watershed Project in India. However, he still finds that participation by the local community is important, particularly when the project is process-oriented (Sharma, 2000, p. 76) opposed to objective-oriented. Sharma (2000) also advocates for a participatory approach involving the community to be utilized be all agencies to ensure that the processes and procedures of projects are of value to the people involved (p. 85).

Another shortcoming to the way that participatory methods are being utilized is that they tend to simplify community differences, failing to understand power relationships and conflicts (Behera, 2007, p. 38). It is for this reason that it is crucial to take the context into consideration while formulating and implementing a development policy, as well as involving the local stakeholders in a meaningful way. "The significance of participatory development lies in its recognition of diversity as the participatory process in itself is socially inclusive and empowering (Behera, 2007, p. 39)."

Sustainable development is another concept related to alternative development, dating back to the mid-1980s and a report entitled "Our Common Future" (Victor, 2006, p. 91). The report connected the importance of economic development to the protection of natural resources and social justice and reinforced the idea that they are not mutually exclusive goals (Victor, 2006, p. 91). Sustainable development came to the forefront of international discussions at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janerio where more than 100 heads of state, 170 government, 2400 NGO representatives, and 10,000 journalists were present (Victor, 2006, p. 93). Two main documents were produced from this summit and the related following summits and negotiations, Agenda 21, an action plan, and the Rio Declaration, a statement of principles (Victor, 2006, p. 93). Two secretariats were established, one on climate change and the other on biological diversity, as well as the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD), charged with monitoring the implementation of Agenda 21 (Victor, 2006, p. 94).

Sustainable development has definitely become commonly referred to in the international development and political debate. Most governments and organizations have taken measures toward sustainable development as a practice and a paradigm due to its popularity. For instance, Canada, an already developed nation, took an institutional approach to sustainable development by creating multi-stakeholder organizations to develop consensus decisions on principles of sustainable development (Robinson, 1997, p. 25). Many Canadian agencies approach the challenge of sustainable development through community participation in their projects to promote local ownership of actions and solutions (Robinson, 1997, p. 30). Here is where the overlap between sustainable development and participatory development can be seen. Even UN programs, such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), have been increasingly taking a participatory approach to sustainable development, although this is often done at the national level (United Nations Development Program - Management Development and Governance Division [UNDP], 1997, p. 2). The UNDP has further noted that there is a necessity to focus on developing national capacities to achieve sustainable development (UNDP, 1997, p. 2).

Small villages, such as Gaviotas in Colombia, have begun to take on the task of sustainable development (Weisman, 1998). Gaviotas has approached their sustainable development in a participatory way, through the utilization of technology, and partnership with local and extra-local organizations without losing their localized vision of development (Weisman, 1998). Gaviotas is a modern example of localized alternative development.

As the popularity and messages of sustainable development have been spreading over the past two decades, businesses and enterprises have begun to consider their role in sustainable development. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is another buzzword that is used by various industries to describe their efforts to contribute to, or at least mitigate their negative effects on, sustainable development. E. S. Woodlard Jr. (1992) says that industry has a role to play in sustainable development (p. 305). He says that industrial CSR should minimize the need for regulation by demonstrating their willingness to take responsibility for the impacts of their activities (Woodlard, 1992, p. 306). Furthermore, Woodlard (1992) advocates for local decision making through market economics and entrepreneurial activity in order to be able to address local issues (p. 306), which is consistent with the concept of alternative development. According to Woodlard (1992), the keys to sustainable industrial development are: 1) education and open dialogue, 2) waste minimization and pollution prevention, 3) product stewardship, 4) innovative product design and marketing, and 5) advocates for private sector approach for sustainable development (p. 307).

David Victor (2006) is critical of the international processes and progress related to sustainable development. Victor (2006) says that governments and the UN have marginalized sustainable development by "failing to articulate serious objectives and coherent strategies for its implementation" and embracing all suggested objectives, but setting "no specific priorities or targets, making it impossible to mobilize support for any strategy or to measure progress (p. 94)." Furthermore, he states that the CSD has accomplished very little (p. 94) and that the diplomatic processes involved devote too much effort to "lengthening the international community's wish list and not enough to articulating and ranking the types of practical measures that are the hallmark of serious policy making (Victor, 2006, p. 95)." Although Victor is correct in stating that there is a greater need for discussion on implementation practices and other administrative mechanisms, sustainable development will only be successful if there is an awareness of local context and theory importation (Kirk & Shutte, 2004, p. 234), leaving room

for more localized policy development. Additionally, the international forums on sustainable development have provided a vision that all stakeholders can strive toward under their own local actions.

Like many of the criticisms of alternative development, sustainable development has been said to be too jargon-laden and has been co-opted by intranational organizations leading to general ineffectiveness and disdain toward the concept (Victor, 2006). Victor (2006) laments about the "overspecialized and largely meaningless checklists and targets" that have become a part of the common rhetoric on sustainable development from the UN, as well as the consensus driven summits that have yielded "broad and incoherent documents and policies (p. 92)." Furthermore, Victor (2006) argues that the original intent of sustainable development, the equitable importance of the three pillars of economic growth, environmental conservation and social justice, has been diminished by the modern association of sustainable development with only environmental protection (p. 97).

Victor (2006) suggests that sustainable development can be revived if: 1) poverty alleviation is made a priority, 2) the environmental bias is eliminated, 3) local decisions are favored, and 4) new technologies are tapped (p. 95). This critique largely fits in with the main tenets of alternative development as described here. The only modification to Victor's criticism is that there is still a place for international directional setting, but localization and operationalization of these objectives must be more highly considered and acted upon.

Consistent with Friedmann and Sen's view of alternative development needing the state, sustainable development also must utilize the state and the capacities it has at its disposal in order to be successful. Carlos Aguirre (1998) outlines seven requirements for the success of sustainable development. They are:

1) A political system that secures an effective citizen participation;
2) An economy that generates a surplus and technical and scientific knowledge;
3) A social system that provides solutions to distortions created by non-concerted development efforts;
4) A productive system that respects its ecological base;
5) An innovative system that is continuously looking for new solutions;
6) An international system that provides sustained frameworks of trade and financing; and
7) A flexible administrative system that is capable of managing the complexity of social institutions and systems and correcting distortions (pp. 186-187).

Aguirre's requirements incorporate many of the ideas that are advocated by alternative development such as participation and localization, as well as environmental protection. However, he also emphasizes the importance of a well operating governance system, which is a valuable consideration for development, particularly in terms of creating policy with long-term views (Aguirre, 1998, p. 198). Aguirre and Victor agree local entities must be involved in the decision making process and emphasize the importance of technology. The pair departs on the importance of environmental considerations and governance systems.

Some have criticized alternative development, and indeed all forms of development, as being a Euro-American construct imposed from the outside on developing regions around the world (Friedmann, 1992, p. 12). This critique can be easily made because the origin of ODA and other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) is often in the already developed countries of North

America and Europe. However, development itself is not something that is only being undertaken or imposed by outside entities. Most governments, institutes, and organizations in developing countries care significantly about the well-being of the people they serve, and alternative development speaks to this concern and offers a framework of understanding that is more localized and more directly benefits people's lives. Furthermore, one of the reasons that this study is being undertaken is to examine development, alternative or otherwise, in the context of developing Asia through the eyes of those whom it affects most, the impoverished rural people. The cases of rural revitalization in Japan (Chapter Five) and the community capacity assessment in Pagudpud (Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight) are analyzed under the alternative development paradigm, seeking to better understand development and the policies involved in promoting development from the people that are affected most by them.

2.1.3. Rural development

Alternative development can be considered an approach to development, and rural development is an umbrella for the special development concerns of rural areas. The terms are not mutually exclusive. In fact, an alternative development approach can be applied to rural development, and indeed, may be the best option.

Many rural communities, especially in developing countries due to their disproportionate share of the world's poor (Cling, 2002, p. 36; IFAD, 2001, p. 1; Quibria, 1993, p.1), are struggling to find new ways to sustain and promote social and economic development. Strategies for rural development and economic advancement have yet to come to a full consensus on how to achieve effective rural development. However, areas that have a profound sense of community and commitment can produce great outcomes with regards to development and poverty reduction (Cling 2002, p. 34).

With over one billion people worldwide living in poverty (IFAD, 2001, p. 1; Quibria, 1993, p. 1), there is a need to focus on development and poverty alleviation (Sachs, 2005). The bulk of impoverished people reside in rural communities (IFAD, 2001, p. 2), calling for greater attention to those areas in order to achieve development and poverty alleviation goals (Cling, 2002). Fortifying rural economies has benefits greater than improving the lives of the people in rural communities; it can contribute to food security and the reduction of rural-urban migration, thus reducing urban poverty and related issues (IFAD, 2001, p. 2; Sachs, 2005, p. 232).

The field of rural development began growing in the 1950s and now encompasses more than just economic development and is considered multi-disciplinary (Behera, 2006, p.7). The reluctance of the global community to recognize rural development as an integral part of international development initially slowed its progress (IFAD 2001, p. 15). Rural development has its roots in community-based development and employs a bottom-up approach to improving rural communities through decentralization, participation, and governance (Behera, 2007, p. 14; Erni, 2006, p. 29; Olowu, 1989, p. 226; Robinson, 1997, p. 31).

Rural development looks at economic development in terms of production, as well as distribution of the products (Behera, 2007, p. 15). Rural poverty is the main focus of rural development (Behera, 2007, p. 15). It may be the case that through rural development the poor raise their standard of living, but if the rise of the rich is also accelerated, inequality will persist (Behera, 2007, p. 36).

Rural poverty reduction and asset equalization assists economic growth (IFAD, 2001, p. 2). Assets empower the rural poor by increasing their incomes, reserves against shocks, and choices

to escape from harsh or exploitative conditions (IFAD, 2001, pp. 4-5). The main idea is to provide opportunities to the rural poor by reducing the structural barriers to their poverty alleviation and quality of life improvements.

Like alternative development, rural development focuses primarily on people in rural communities harnessing their assets and abilities to pursue local objectives (Behera, 2007, p. 16; Friedmann, 1992, p. 2). Developing local communities, especially in rural areas, is an important strategy to promote equitable development and poverty alleviation (Asian Productivity Organization, 2000, p. 1). However, community building and civil society development are difficult in rural areas (Pavey, Muth, Ostermeier, & Steiner Davis, 2007, p. 91).

Much of rural development is focused on agriculture because the majority of the rural poor make their living by farming, either with their labor or their land (Cling, 2002, p. 36; IFAD, 2001, p. 2; Quibria, 1993, p. 56). Economic development strategies in rural areas are often focused on small-scale industries (Fleming, 2009), such as agro-processing or harnessing local creative talents or skills. The WB (2002) says that agricultural production is desirable for three reasons: 1) it increases the food available to the cities, 2) it minimizes pressure on biodiversity and on marginal agricultural areas, and 3) it leads to dynamic rural-urban linkages (p. 14). Unfortunately, governments in developing countries often intervene in agricultural markets in ways that are not in the best interest of the farmers (Bates, 1998, p. 356). Examples of this include adopting low prices, policies for farm products and subsidizing the prices of farm production products and equipment that are often not utilized or available to small-scale, poor farmers (Bates, 1988, p. 357).

Rural women face extra hardships, particularly in areas that have difficulty obtaining water. This is because women and girls typically sacrifice their time, and often their education to collect water from distant sources (Watkins, 2006, p. 2). Water systems are a challenge to all rural households because they are usually not connected to formal service networks and have to manage their system on their own, sometimes in conjunction with the local administration, as well as being inappropriately matched with or experience a complete lack of water technology (Watkins, 2006, p. 10).

The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (2001) suggests that there are four critical but often neglected themes in rural development: 1) access to assets (physical and financial), 2) technical and natural resources for rural poverty reduction, 3) markets for the rural poor, and 4) institutions for the rural poor (p. 4). The WB (2002) and Quibria (1993) echo the need to build rural agricultural institutions. Quibria (1993) also notes that there is a need for greater access by the poor to cultivable land and credit, which is similar to the access to assets described by the IFAD. The WB (2002) adds the need to create off-farm opportunities to diversify rural incomes (p. 14). The diversification of incomes allows for greater risk taking and investment, thereby empowering rural farmers by developing their voice and potential for political participation (WB, 2002, p. 14). These themes need to be addressed in order to formulate effective rural development policies.

The shift from top-down to bottom-up mechanisms can be seen from the 1980's (Erni, 2007, p. 291). This shift acknowledges the value of indigenous technical knowledge and the ability of the poor to contribute to solutions to their own issues, and a rejection of overarching theories of action, instead recognizing the uniqueness of local experiences (Erni, 2006, p. 291). Both practice and theory reflect this shift and can also be described as moving toward an organic, holistic, participatory approach with management and cooperation with local institutions (Sharma, 2000, p. 72).

Dele Olowu (1989) describes some issues with top-down development planning by using the African experience with development. Olowu (1989) states that "...past centralized efforts, however well-intentioned, were marked by their failure to benefit the rural poor… (p. 202)." He goes on to say that there is a "tendency for African governments to treat their own people and indigenous institutions as obstacles to development rather than as contributors to [the] process" and that this paradox is an explanation of the continent's continued underdevelopment (Olowu, 1989, p. 202). Interestingly, Olowu also notes that development is perceived by central officials as the application of modern knowledge to traditional societies, as was the interpretation of their colonial predecessors (Olowu, 1989, p. 220). It has also been suggested that rural development itself is an interventionist tool of post-colonial states with the intention of only currying to the interests of the external donors rather than the needs of the people (Akhter, 2006). This mind set presumes that rural people are ignorant (Olowu, 1989, p. 220) and unable to contribute to their own development and problem solving; a problem that is sadly persistent to this day in Africa and elsewhere. While Olowu is specifically talking about Africa, similar trends can be seen in developing countries around the globe, further adding to the paradigm shift to favor local development planning and community participation in an effort to make actual progress in development and poverty alleviation, as well as to empower local people.

Integrated development and neo-endogenous development also have similar tenets to rural development, namely their focus on the cultivation of indigenous capacities to bring about development and the emphasis on local actors working together to achieve local objectives through the use of local resources (Ray, 2006, p. 261). When rural development is combined with community-based development it is known as integrated rural development (Robinson 1997, p. 31).

The participation of various sectors of the rural community in development is the key to their success. Behera (2007) notes that actors that are excluded from policy and state mechanisms are excluded from rural development markets, leaving various groups inequitably empowered (p. 30). Participation strengthens the ability of those involved and holds firmly to the belief that people should have the opportunity to contribute to their own fate (Behera, 2007, p. 38). This demonstrates the need for careful planning and consideration of the local context, particularly in terms of groups and demographics, as well as their active involvement in order for development initiatives to be broadly successful.

It should be noted that in order for people to be able to participate there has to be some benefit for them to do so (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 13) and they have to have the ability (time) and capability (skills) to contribute as well (Behera, 2007, p. 38). This inherently means that participation is not available to all, thereby excluding some (Behera, 2007, p. 38). This critique can only be overcome if there is some level of community capacity building and through the provision of opportunities for participation in the development process that is not limited by certain lapses in capability (i.e. reading, writing, etc.).

Bottom-up and people-centered development involves various modes of participation and empowerment, but ultimately rely on the capacity that people have to be involved in the development process in terms of physical capabilities, human resources, and community capacity. Rural communities often lack this development capacity (McGuire, Rubin, Agranoff, & Richards, 1994, p. 426), compounding the difficult task of rural development. However, ultimately, local people have the capacity for self-development (Erni, 2006, p, 314) and various other latent capacities such as natural capital, human capital, and social capital (Erni, 2006, p. 315). These two differing stances demonstrate the need for a better understanding of the various

capacities that rural communities have and the ways in which they can be activated to promote rural development.

2.1.4. Community Development

Like rural development, community development is a specialized form of development focusing on the local level. An alternative development approach is most often found in community development, and some advocate for a community development approach to rural development. There is much overlap between these categorizations of development. This section will delve into the considerations and mechanisms of community development.

Community development, like other types of development, is plagued with confounds by both practitioners and policymakers. Some issues facing the community development field are: a) the potential of outside agents to jump start community revitalization efforts where they are currently lacking; b) the roles of those outside agents, including guidelines for community development partnerships and program management; c) strategies to broadly engage the private corporate sector in community development; d) the value and limits of a consensus based approach to community organizing; e) the benefits and problems of focusing community efforts on real estate production; f) the key requisites for sustaining community development efforts; and g) the role of social capital in community development (Gittel & Vidal, 1998, p. 9).

Ross Gittel and Avis Vidal (1998) present a conceptual model of community development consisting of: 1) program or organizational design and implementation attributes; 2) intermediate outcomes (enhancement of commitment, capacity and control); 3) long term measurable outcomes; 4) local context and 5) external agents (pp. 24-25). These five components of community development describe the items that need to be addressed in the formulation of a community development policy.

In addition to the conceptual model of community development, Gittel and Vidal (1998) present eight necessary components of a sound development policy. The eight C's of community development are:
1. Comprehension – how well stakeholders understand the process, the potential effects, and the strategies implemented in a development policy;
2. Credibility – standing of the policy among community stakeholders, including participants and practitioners;
3. Confidence – assurance that the policy will lead to results and perceptions of the policy's reputation (reliant on credibility);
4. Competence – know-how in the technical, financial, and organizational details of a policy;
5. Critique – reflection and review of the policy by stakeholders;
6. Communication – the policy has ongoing participation between stakeholders (a pre-requisite for comprehension confidence, and critique);
7. Congruence – how well a development policy match various other sectors and levels of policy; and
8. Context – how well a policy is suited to the situation/community it is applied (Gittel & Vidal, 1998, pp. 147 – 171).

The eight C's of community development begin to formulate a conceptual framework for policy making that will meet its objectives and truly serve the people it is intended to benefit.

Community development activities have increasingly focused on civic capacity and community building and have been framed in terms of the capacity a community has to act, and on their assets rather than on their needs and problems (Gittel & Vidal, 1998, p. 14; Kretzman & McKnight, 1993, p. 1). It is a semantic argument, but it is important to move toward emphasizing a community's assets and away from a community's problems because problems are accompanied with negative connotations and call for solutions that are multi-faceted, difficult to accomplish and may well be out of the community's capacity and/or control (Kretzman & McKnight, 1993, p. 4). Assets are also important, particularly internal assets, and can include natural, physical, human, financial, organizational, and institutional assets (Beaulieu, 2002, p. 2; Kretzman & McKnight, 1993, p. 6). Kretzman and McKnight (1993) advocate for what they call an "alternative community development" that is asset-based, internally focused, and relationship driven (p. 8). Uncovering the assets in a community promotes community development that engages local people, enabling them to achieve improvements that truly benefit people across the community (Beaulieu, 2002, p. 3, 5).

Building capacity in a community is related to the concepts of autonomy and agency, which can be defined as ''the capacity of people to order their world, the capacity to create, reproduce, change and live according to their own meaning systems, to have the powers to define themselves as opposed to be defined by others (Bhattacharyya, 2004 as cited in Pavey et al., 2007, p. 92).'' The promulgation of agency and autonomy should be the ultimate goals of community development (Pavey et al., 2007, p. 92).

This emphasis on the participation of the people in a community can be found in practical initiatives, such as the Development of Humane Action Foundation (DHAN) in India. DHAN uses a bottom-up process focusing on community interaction, providing learning opportunities for both the people in the community and the development practitioners who wish to serve them (Sastry & Srinivasan, 2007, p. 379). The project uses what they call an "enabling model of community development" that is adapted to the particular context in the community (Sastry & Srinivasan, 2007, p. 379). DHAN promotes local institutions and organizations that are self-reliant and self-managed, and directly reflect the interests of the community, noting that the external practitioner does not always fully understand the local situation and that the people themselves are the best judge of their needs (Sastry & Srinivasan, 2007, p. 380).

An interactional approach to community development looks to build community capacity so that community members can more fully govern their lives according to their values and interests (Pavey et al., 2007, p. 90). This approach recognizes a community as a dynamic system, appreciates the need to consider the community's unique and changing situations when crafting development policy that is meant to be truly beneficial to all in the community, rather than a select few, and pays credence to the process of this development (Pavey et al., 2007, p. 93).

For the purpose of this work, a general alternative development approach is taken and many of the understandings of rural development are acknowledged because the primary focus of this research is on rural areas. Both of these approaches are then combined with the tenets of community development, since the community is the preferred unit of analysis and implementation for effective development in this work. Additionally, the cases from Chapter Five and Chapter Seven support the importance of focusing on community development and progress concepts related to it, such as community capacity.

2.2. Community

Now that the imperative of development has been established and the prevailing paradigms of development have been explored, it can be seen that the community is an integral part development planning and rhetoric. However, the meaning and significance of community is not universally recognized. For the purpose of this study, community is put forth as the primary unit of analysis and the most relevant area to focus development efforts. This is because so many in the development field have emphasized the importance of community and localization (see Gittel & Vidal, 1998; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Pavey et al., 2007; Sastry & Srinivasan, 2007), but also because of the recognition of the interconnectedness of policies between the various levels and the need to focus on holistic policy-making with emphasis on the local level (Clinton, 1996). Due to this, it is first necessary to uncover what is meant by community and to reiterate its importance in this dialogue.

The construct of community is a recent addition to academia since it was introduced by R.M. MacIver in 1917. Community has largely been studied and dissected by sociologists and social psychologists, none of whom, sadly, have very much resonance with the powers that be in the corporate or political arenas. In fact, some might even consider social interests in politics and business as dangerous since Marx was so blatantly manipulated by those with a lust for power under communism and as Smith has been touted by capitalist greed-mongers. However, through a closer examination of community, the basic functions of human interaction, those comprising the needs of the individuals and the needs to the group, begin to take shape in meaningful and observable ways.

Community studies has been criticize for its lack of theory and lack of empirical studies (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 13), and had been losing interest through the middle part of the twentieth century. Due to the uniqueness of each community and the preference of researchers to use case studies and other qualitative methodology, little has been identified in terms of fundamental dimensions common to communities (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 13). However, some analytical framework for community have been outlined, some of which will be discussed in this section. What can be unanimously recognized, and is reflected in the various considerations of alternative and community development, is that an understanding of each community on its own terms is necessary in order for development initiatives to be successful. Otherwise, if overarching models and methods are strictly employed in every community the outcome is usually a community that conforms to the model rather than its own unique situation (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 14). This is not saying that there is not a need for an analytical framework; however, a framework for community analysis should be reflexive and adaptable. Furthermore, in terms of policy-making, a three-prong approach should be taken combining adaptable theoretical frameworks about community, the issue at hand, and practice theories (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 14). This work takes this three prong approach, combining theories and knowledge from community, development, and governance fields.

A review of approximately one hundred definitions of community in the 1950s found that nearly 80% included geographical area as a major defining characteristic (Hillery, 1955 as cited in Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 9). By the 1960's the concept of community had expanded to include local norms and networks (Warren, 1963, as cited in Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 10). The concept of community has been broadening over the past sixty years; however, many authors still fall into the propinquity versus personality dichotomy. Gusfield (1975, as cited in McMillan & George, 1986, p. 8) articulates two major ways in which a community is described: either as a geographical location or a congregation around quality of character in human relationships (see also Fellizar, Velo, & Bernardo, 1994, p. 205; Friedmann, 1992, p. 4). These

two basic definitions of community are typically ascribed to in a mutually exclusive fashion depending on the interest of the person using the term.

Communities formed around a quality of character in human relationships are often defined as gemeinschaft, personal communities, and communities of interest or practice (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 2; Johnson, 2007, p. 277; McMillan & George, 1986, p. 14); while communities based on a geographic location are sometimes referred to as gesellschaft, neighborhoods or villages (Clinton, 1996; Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 3).

Gemeinschaft and gesellschaft are commonly referred to in discussions on community. They are typically used to define the difference between natural communities that occur in rural areas (gemeinschaft) and the contrived and malfunctioning communities in urban or suburban areas (gesellschaft). Gemeinschaft is characterized as representing a natural order of people who share the same traditions, customs, norms, and whose personal relationships are based on trust and reciprocity (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 2). Gesellschaft are places and groups of people who are strangers that do no share a common past and relate to each other in impersonal, transitory, and artificial fashions (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 3). The clear preference is for the natural, meaning small and rural, community (Pavey et al. 2007, pp. 90-91). However, some contend that this is an ideal not based on fact, often ignoring the negative features of rural communities (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 5). Some even lament that there is no longer a construct such as community that provides security and identity in the modern, cosmopolitan world (Bauman, 2001).

This ideal preference for gemeinschaft rural communities is further rebutted when the idea of larger communities outside of the village are envisioned. Communities are not restricted by size since "increased population size and density do not significantly weaken local community sentiments (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974, p. 338, as cited in McMillan & George, 1986, p. 14)." This is done through the formation of networks. Personal communities fortify social integration and create networks and grander communities that are not bounded by a small, restricted locality (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 6). Personal communities, or networks, can help territorial communities if members of personal communities have a strong attachment to their locality (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 25).

Josefina Figueira-McDonough (2001) describes four types of communities: 1) stepping stone, 2) established, 3) disorganized, and 4) parochial communities (pp. 36-37). Stepping stone communities are made up of a non-poor, mobile population and are likely to have weak local networks and low attachment, but strong external networks (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 36). An example of a stepping stone community would be a college campus or a temporary expatriate community. Established communities are non-poor and stable and can support strong local and external networks (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 36). An example of an established community would be Polish town (Hamtramck) in Detroit. Disorganized communities are poor and mobile and have difficulty forming any type of network; instead these communities rely on external agencies for support (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 37). An example of a disorganized community would be an urban minority community in the United States. Parochial communities are poor and stable with few external networks, but strong local networks (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 37). A distant rural community may be considered a parochial community.

The definition of community offered by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) begins to describe the combination of the two typologies of community. NDI defines community as the "state of being shared or held in common…can apply to spatial communities (a body of people living and/or working in the same area), which can come together at any spatial scale for the

local to the global (National Democratic Institute [NDI], 2009, p. 11)." This work seeks to combine the two community typologies into one that can provide a useable framework for community studies and development.

A community is more than just an administrative unit or a group of people with similar interests and attributes. In order to function in our daily activities we rely upon one another to complement and supplement our activities to reach our full potential. People rely on one another to provide the goods and services that they cannot provide for themselves. Farmers grow food and sell them to the merchants, who, in turn, sell the goods to others in the area. Children are sent to schools to learn from teachers, sometimes being taken there by various transportation operators from the community. Local government officials prepare the plans and policies that affect the service and infrastructure that people use to facilitate their daily activities. All of these activities happen in a particular place, in the community, and the recognition of this interdependence is crucial to balanced progress. The cases of rural revitalization from Japan (Chapter Five) and Pagudpud (Chapter Seven) demonstrate that the community is an appropriate unit for analysis.

2.3. Social Capital

Social capital is contemporarily seen as the 'missing link' of development (Uslaner and Dekker, 2001, p. 176). Along with the shift toward more qualitative features of development, the concept of social capital has emerged as an important theoretical contribution in development studies (Gittell & Vidal, 1998; Putnam, 2000). Social capital is the currency by which all community activities are exchanged. By seeking an understanding of social capital a broader concept of community relationships, based on humanistic terms, can be explored.

The inclusion of social capital into consideration for development projects and other dimensions of governance stems from the realization that past projects and policies failed to recognize social aspects as key factors for sustainable development (Aguirre 1998, p. 189). This is due to embeddedness. Embeddedness is the argument that behavior and institutions are constrained by social relations. To consider them independent of social factors will lead to vast misunderstandings (Granovetter, 2002, p. 69). Actors do not behave outside of a social context, nor do they act in a strict and consistent manner according to the social categories that they occupy (Granovetter, 2002, p. 74). This means that there is significance to understanding social capital and its functions, but it does not necessarily mean that there is a predictive value in it. Furthermore, the embeddedness argument stresses the role of networks in generating trust and discouraging malfeasance, due to the preference for dealing with individuals of known reputation rather than relying solely on generalized morality or institutional arrangements to guard against misdealing (Granovetter, 2002, p. 76).

Due to the fact that social capital is an important factor in gaining access to other forms of capital, as well as being a prominent factor in the lives of all people since the social networks that people form with one another have a multitude of effects (Felp & Volker, 2004, p. 3), it will be the main focus of this section. However, first, an understanding of capital is necessary because social capital derives from the economic discussion on the notions of capital.

Capital is the accumulated labor or capability that enables, when appropriated, that entity to social energy in the form of goods or services (e.g. benefits) (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 280; see also Putnam, 1993, p. 169). Theoretical discussions on capital have moved away from class, which was the base in Marxist discussions of capital, and more toward actors (including individuals,

organizations, and communities), and can be identified as neo-capital theories (Lin, 200, p. 786). Generally, capital theories state that investment and mobilization of capital will enhance desirable outcomes for both individuals and communities (Lin, 200, p. 786). The inequality in different types of capital possessed by different actors contributes to social inequality leading to discrepancies in socioeconomics and quality of life (Lin, 2000, p. 786).

The structures of capital distribution represent the structure of the social world, the set of constraints that determine the chances of success (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 280). There are three basic forms of capital:

1. Economic capital – directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized by property rights, can typically be used to obtain all other forms of capital;

2. Cultural capital – on certain conditions convertible to economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications, has three forms: embodied by long lasting dispositions of the mind and body, objectified in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines), or institutionalized by education;

3. Social capital – made up of social obligations or connections, on certain conditions convertible into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title (Bourdieu, 2002, pp. 281, 282, 287).

The various forms of capital help describe the ways in which people conduct their lives, both in economic and non-economic terms. Economic capital is the most straightforward form of capital, while cultural capital, though highly related to economic capital, is related to objects and quality of life. Social capital is based on the relationships between people and their affect on access to economic and cultural capital. This is because social relations are responsible for trust in economic interactions (Granovetter, 2002, p. 76). Social capital definitely has an effect on socioeconomic attainment and economic growth (Lin, 2000, p. 786; Putnam, 1993, p. 176), and can matter for production (Paxton, 1999, p. 101) as a factor or detriment of physical or human capital, as well as a transaction cost or monitoring cost (Paldam & Svendsen, 2004, p. 249).

Social capital is related to theories of goodwill in management, credibility in policy-making, cooperative solutions in game theory, and group norms in psychology and anthropology (Paldam & Svendsen, 2004, p. 233). It is also a general concept that cannot be described with just one variable (Paxton, 1999, p. 90). Social capital can be broadly defined as the trust and cooperation found in a community (Gittel & Vidal 1998; Putnam, 1993, p. 167) and incorporates the concepts of social cohesion, sense of community, and social participation (Boyd, Hayes, Wilson, & Bearsly-Smith, 2006, p. 189). Gittell and Vidal (1998) assert that social capital is comprised of the key elements of trust, cooperation, long-term relationships, sociocultural milieu, institutional infrastructure, social support, shared vision, networking, economic incentives to mutual interests, strength in weak ties, and identification and eradication of structural holes (p. 16). Putnam (1993) places emphasis on trust in social capital (p. 170).

Pierre Bourdieu (2002), the French sociologist who pioneered the term social capital, defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group - which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a credential which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (p. 286)." A way to further conceptualize this would be a sort of localized social karma.

Felp and Volker (2004) put it more simply: "social capital is the social networks and the resources of the others an actor can call upon can be considered as a social resource, as another

means for that actor to improve or defend their conditions of living (p. 5)." Nan Lin (2000) defines social capital as the investment and use of embedded resources in social relations for expected terms (p. 786). He goes on to conceptualize social capital as the quantity and/or quality of resources that an actor can access or use through its location in a social network (Lin, 2000, p. 786). Ove Frank (2004) describes social capital as the capacity to control the connections between people, "betweeness centrality", or as the capacity to obtain support or information from others, "degree centrality" or "information centrality" (p. 219). Lin, Felp and Volker, and Frank describe social capital in similar ways, mostly focusing on actors and the resources that are available to them through their relationships (see also Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2004, p. 200).

Coleman (1988) elaborates on the concept of social capital a bit further. He looks at three different forms of social capital: 1) obligations and expectations that are based on trust; 2) the information that can be obtained through social relations; and 3) the norms and sanctions that facilitate or constraint actions (as cited in Gaarder, Munar, & Sollis, 2003, p. 8). Overall, there are two common defining features of social capital: 1) a set of social structures that 2) facilitate the actions within those structures (Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 8). Consistent with the structural perspective of social capital, Paxton (1999) divides social capital into two components: a) objective associations between individuals and b) a subjective type of tie – where the ties between individuals must be of a particular type - reciprocal, trusting, and involving positive emotion (p. 93). Social capital can be operationally defined as neighborhood cohesion or the ability for community members to form strong social connections or formulate a sense of community (Boyd et al., 2006, p. 190).

Social capital has also been introduced to facilitate business management. Cohen and Prusak (2001) look at the utility of social capital in the business world. They define social capital as consisting of the stock of active connation among people: the trust, mutual understanding, and shared values and behaviors that bind the members of networks and communities and make cooperative action possible (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 4). The main focus of social capital in business is to make an organization or any cooperative endeavor more cohesive and effective.

Social capital is produced through networks of relationships and investments in social relations (La Due Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998, p. 571; Lin, Cook, & Burt, 2001, p. 6). These networks convey resources, affecting the quality, quantity, novelty and availability of those resources, confirms identity, influences behavior, and reinforces the links between actors within it (Wellman & Frank, 2001, p. 233). Networks cannot be manufactured or engineered; only encouraged (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 23), thus social capital must develop normally within a community. It is important to the future of the community to support the development of effective relationships between community members and to provide activities and places for social interaction to occur (Pavey et al., 2007, pp. 108- 109).

La Due Lake and Huckfeldt (1998) insist that social capital is not possessed by individuals because it produced through structured patterns of social interaction, and must be judged according to these patterns (p. 581; see also Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 4). It is for this reason that social capital cannot be defined, or for that matter identified, on the basis of individual characteristics (La Due Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998, p. 581). Social capital works in instrumental and expressive actions not accounted for by forms of person capital, such as economic or human capital, because embedded resources in social networks enhance the outcomes of actions since they provide a) information, b) influence, c) social credentials, and d) reinforcement of identity and recognition (Lin et al., 2001, pp. 6-7).

Social capital also involves the concepts of bonding and bridging capital in the formation of trust, cooperation, and long-term relationships among community members and manifests itself in terms of social support, shared vision and economic incentives for mutual interests. As described by Putnam (1993), bonding capital is anything in the community that brings acquaintances in the community closer together, and bridging capital is anything may bring members of the community who ordinarily wouldn't know each other closer together (also cited in Gittell & Vidal, 1998, p. 19). Some examples of bonding capital include basic social activities among friends, neighbors, and relatives like sharing a meal or helping one another. Bonding capital gives communities a sense of identity and common purpose (Zacharakis & Flora, 2005, p. 292). Bridging capital includes all of the activities that bring otherwise perfect strangers together. It connects diverse groups and builds links outside of a community (Zacharakis & Flora, 2005, p. 292). These may include social clubs and issue-based local organizations and other forms of broad social networking. Bridging capital also works to balance bonding capital from becoming too narrow or precluding access to information and material resources that might otherwise be useful to the community (Zacharakis & Flora, 2005, p. 292).

Granovetter has also described similar constructs, with strong ties (like kinships or intimate friendships) being equated to bonding capital and weak ties (like acquaintances and shared membership in secondary associations) being similar to bridging capital (as cited in Putnam, 1993, p. 175; see also Paxton, 1999, p. 100). Putnam (1993) goes on to say that weak ties, or bridging capital, is more important than strong ties, or bonding capital, in promoting collective action and community cohesion (p. 175; Uslaner & Dekker, 2001, p. 183). Furthermore, in general, it is the ties between individual actors in a network that is more important than the aggregate capital of the network (Wellman & Frank, 2001, p. 258).

Social integration is a concept that is related to social capital. Ideal social integration includes the capability for collective action, the sharing of traditions and customs, interdependence based on reciprocity, and continuous interaction (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 18). Productive social exchange makes the difference between mere interaction and solidarity (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 19) within a community. Social capital, a result of social integration and exchange, is important to a community in order for it to be seen as a cohesive unit, avoid anarchy, and be able to pursue collective activities (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 17).

Social capital is the 'glue' that brings communities together and allows them to perform functions and overcome adversity. The basic assertion of social capital is that those with more social capital are better able to reach their goals or defend their interests (Felp & Volker, 2004, p. 5). As with other forms of capital, actors with social capital have a greater propensity to accumulate more (Putnam, 1993, p. 169). Unlike economic capital, using social capital increases its abundance without risk instead of depleting it (Putnam, 1993, p. 169). Conversely, the various forms of social capital diminish if they are not used in a timely fashion (Putnam, 1993, p. 170). For these reasons, cycles of social capital creation and destruction should be expected (Putnam, 1993, p. 170).

Communities with high levels of social capital are more likely to have high levels of voluntarism, more effective local government, lower levels of crime, more socially responsible businesses, more successful businesses, and generally positive economic outcomes (Putnam, 1993), including greater economic equality and employment stability (Besser et al., 2008, p. 582). Social capital can be used to mobilize people for the collective good and is an important resource for community improvement (Besser et al., 2008, p. 582). This is because community

actions become more sophisticated through policy interventions and projects that involve the community (Saegert, 2005; Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007; Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008

Social capital is a key component of community development because it leads to ties between people that lead to greater trust and cooperation, as well as networking opportunities, and better access to resources (Felp & Volker, 2004; Gittell & Vidal, 1998; Uslaner & Dekker, 2001; Zacharakis & Flora, 2005, p. 292). Furthermore, high amounts of social capital can encourage retention of human resources, facilitate change, and promote solidarity (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 19). Spontaneous cooperation is easier in a community that has substantial amounts of social capital (Putnam, 1993, p. 167). Cooperation is important in terms of obtaining and pooling resources, as well as implementing a productive local policy with widespread benefits.

Generalized reciprocity is the mechanism through which social capital functions (Putnam, 1993, p. 172). The idea of generalized reciprocity is that a service is repaid, when necessary, at an unspecified time in the future and often times by a different kind of service (Felp & Volker, 2004, pp. 5-6). The norm of generalized reciprocity is important in a community context because it restrains opportunism among members and resolves problems of collective action, solving for the problem of self-interest versus solidarity (Putnam, 1993, p. 172). This can contemporarily been seen in the concept of 'paying it forward.' The productive mechanism of social capital is that it provides opportunities for people to use the assets at their disposal-typically their human resources, sometimes their financial capital, information or understanding of particular situations, obligations from other relationships, or pressure to conform to and internalize norms - to gain access to resources they do not have access to themselves (Felp & Volker, 2004, p. 15).

Trust is highly associated with generalized reciprocity (Paxton, 1999, p. 98). In the absence of trust, there would be no belief that those in power will follow the "rules of the game" leaving other actors unwilling to relinquish any power that they might have (Paxton, 1999, p. 102). Authenticity and genuiness is necessary to build trust and for the success of social capital (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 14). According to Cohen and Prusak (2001), trust is the function of a relationship and when people are trusted they tend to be trustworthy (p. 31). Starting with a base of trust encourages more trust (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 49). Trust is eroded in communities that are loosely connected and anonymous (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 33).

Trust is both a necessary component of social capital, as well as a result of it (Uslaner & Dekker, 2001, p. 179). Trust grows from and contributes to transparency, and expands from knowledge sharing and participation (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, pp. 41, 46). It is problematic to determine how much trust is created through membership in groups, namely because people with a trusting nature are more likely to join groups (Uslaner & Dekker, 2001, p. 181), thus skewing and amplifying the propensity of trust generated. This can create some difficulty in determining the starting pointing for analyzing trust and social capital or creating policy to enhance it.

When communities are comprised of many individuals that have suitable amounts of social capital that community is better able to leverage collective action to solve the problems that they face leaving the community as whole better, both in terms of individuals and the group, with higher potentials for economic gain (Gittell & Vidal, 1998, p. 15; Paxton, 1999, p. 93; Wellman & Frank, 2001, p. 259). Having access to social capital allows individuals and communities to achieve goals that otherwise would not be possible (Felp & Volker, 2004, p. 5). This is because the norms of trust and reciprocity inherent in social capital facilitates mutually beneficial cooperation in a community, which reduces vulnerability and increased opportunities (Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 12).

Furthermore, the social capital possessed by a group may not be immediately apparent and could be latent and harnessed as a potential energy (Paxton, 1999, p. 93). The social capital in a community is not limited to the aggregate of the social capital of the individuals in the community; it is also affected by the social capital of the institutions and organizations at work in the community. The more collaboration there is of institutions on similar levels the greater the amount of social capital in the community (Gaarder et al., 2003, p.12; Putnam, 1993).

Networks are more than *ad hoc* strands of acquaintances. They require maintenance to be viable, needing investments of time, energy and emotion, as well as propensity for reciprocity (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 58). Different investments in social capital lead to different results. Short-term investments in social capital lead to fewer returns. Short-term investments in social capital occur most frequently when the actors have either complete uncertainty or complete certainty about the future of their relationship or when they do not know their future role in the relationship (Riedl & Van Winden, 2004, p. 100). On the other hand, when there is a benefit to be gained from the relationship longer-term investments are made and those making the investments can expect to reap the benefits when they need it (Riedl & Van Winden, 2004, p. 100).

There are four dimensions of networks: 1) knowledge - how well people know one another; 2) access to knowledge; 3) engagement - actively listening to an inquiry and working with people and problems to provide useful knowledge and advice and a sense of connection; and 4) safety - individual reliability (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 76). Networks can be categorized in two ways: horizontal – where members are of relatively equal status and power; or vertical – where members are unequal engaging in relationships that are hierarchical and dependent (Putnam, 1993, p. 173). Networks of civic engagement, comprised of horizontal interactions, are an important for of social capital with dense networks providing mutual benefits for its members (Putnam, 1993, p. 173). Robust networks of civic engagement a) encourage greater participation, b) develop norms of reciprocity, c) facilitate communication, d) improve the flow of information particularly regarding the trustworthiness of particular actors, and e) demonstrate successful past collaboration (Putnam, 1993, pp. 173-174); thus demonstrating the value of developing horizontal networks. Vertical networks, especially linkages to external organizations, can help to achieve community goals (Miller, 1992, p. 38). Disadvantaged groups can particularly benefit from vertical networks with resource rich members (Lin, 2000, p. 788).

The volume of social capital possessed by a given agent depends on the network of connections that agent can mobilize and the volume of other capitals possessed by the others members in that network (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 286). Determining the amount of social capital in a given community or possessed by an individual is extremely difficult because there is a gap between the concept of social capital and its measurement (Paxton, 1999, pp. 89-90). Various efforts have been made to try to quantify social capital, with some success (see Besser, Recker, & Agnitsh, 2008; Felp & Volker, 2004; Frank, 2004; La Due Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998; Zacharakis & Flora, 2005), but generally pales in usefulness to a general qualitative understanding of a specific circumstance and context in relation to social capital.

Markets can interact with the social capital in a community, positively or negatively affecting that social capital, thus shaping the direction of development and policy (Getz, 2008, p. 555). Christy Getz (2008) through her review of case studies in Mexico, found that the quantity and quality of social capital is connected to a) the history of state-sponsored or market agriculture, b) the nature of local institutions, and c) the access to and availability of natural resources, namely land and water, which are both intricately connected to market access options (p. 555). Getz's

revelations demonstrate interconnectedness of the various sectors within a community, i.e. governance and markets, and their relationship to social capital.

High levels of social capital can help a community cope with the issues that they face together. Shocks, sudden events that significantly challenge the status quo where the bulk of the community is affected, can include the loss of a major employer, the opening of a new prison, natural disasters, and the boom and bust of industrial development (Besser et al., 2008, p. 580). These challenges can be fast moving or slow motion shocks that manifest over a long time (Besser et al., 2008, p. 580). Community shocks are followed by increases in social capital and quality of life (Besser et al., 2008, p. 580). This is because community members who face hardship together may be encouraged to create new or strengthen their relationships as they work to overcome the crisis (Besser et al., 2008, p. 582).

However, corrosive community shocks, crises borne only by certain groups within a community, result in a decline in social capital and quality of life (Besser et al., 2008, p. 580). The detrimental impact can be seen as communities find it harder to gather the necessary resources to cope with the crisis and launch initiatives for community improvement (Besser et al., 2008, p. 582). Several small shocks have a similar effect on a community as one large shock (Besser et al., 2008, p. 601). The cumulative effects of shocks, although not an exact equation, can be balanced out. The detrimental affects of shocks can be balanced out with a series of small shocks that generate positive effects (Besser et al., 2008, p. 602).

Social capital has its drawbacks. High levels of social capital, particular bonding social capital, can lead to exclusivity (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 14; Uslaner & Dekker, 2001, p. 180), restrictions on individual freedom, downward leveling pressures, and power inequalities resulting from asymmetrical patron-client type relationships (Getz, 2008, p. 560). Trust that is formed via personal networks may enhance malfeasance and promote disorder resulting from force and fraud (Granovetter, 2002, p. 77-78).

Unfortunately, both vertical and horizontal networks can have some very detrimental effects. Vertical networks do not sustain social trust and cooperation, their flows of information are often less reliable than horizontal flows, and they can develop asymmetrical exchanges and obligations (Putnam, 1993, p. 174) with those in lower positions often unduly burdened. On the other hand, horizontal networks that are formed in communities, groups, or networks that are isolated, parochial, or have malice toward the collective interest (e.g. drug cartels and corruption rackets) can hinder socioeconomic development (Zacharakis & Flora, 2005, p. 292).

Members of a social group have a tendency to form networks with other members from their group (Lin, 2000, p. 787; Uslaner & Dekker, 2001, p. 180), thereby forming horizontal networks that limit the types of resources that can be accessed. This is because people affiliate with resource-poor groups will form networks with other, equally poor people, thus restricting the variety of information and influence that they share (Lin, 2000, p. 787). Females and people with lower socioeconomic status most notably find themselves with this conundrum (Lin, 2000, pp. 788-789).

Within poor communities that have high levels of social capital, there is a propensity for tight knit networks that act as a deterrent to improvement and growth, which may discourage those wishing to break those ties and change their lives (Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 11; Lin, 2000, p. 789). Disadvantaged actors benefit from networking with those outside of their respective groups, particularly those with greater access to resources; however, this may be done at the cost of their identity and good relations with their peers (Lin, 2000, p. 791). Lin's view on horizontal vertical networks stands in contrast to Putnam's view. Overall, there are costs and benefits to both types

of networks that need to be considered in any policy formulation that seeks to promote social capital.

Furthermore, the assets that are typically obtainable through the networks formed by people in poverty are not sufficient to move them out of poverty (Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 11; Lin 2000, p. 793). Woolcock (1998) suggests that a community's institutions, and for that matter its members, should have horizontal and vertical external, synergistic networks and this can be facilitated by a dynamic and cooperative relationship between top-down resources and bottom-up capacity building, which will create a range of people and materials capable of coping with community issues and utilizing opportunities (as cited in Getz, 2008, p. 559; see also Millar & Kirkpatrick, 2005, p. 20).

Social capital has a significant relationship with equality. Where there are lower levels of inequality there are higher levels of positive social capital, and conversely, where there are higher levels of positive social capital there are lower levels of inequality (Getz, 2008, p. 576). Additionally, it should not be assumed that high levels of social capital within one group in a community will extend to high levels of social capital throughout the community (Paxton, 1999, p. 96).

Once an understanding of the value of social capital is reached, one begins to wonder how it can be created or amplified to improve people's lives. There would be substantial benefits from a policy increasing social capital, if there is something that a government, or any other entity, could do to increase it (Paldam & Svendsen, 2004, p. 250). While there are ways to foster the development of social capital often the most effective ways are indirect or brought about circumstantially. All social capital is not the result of conscious investment; some of it is inherited or a result of belonging to particular group (Felp & Volker, 2004, p. 12). Social capital can also be created through social interactions that have other goals (Felp & Volker, 2004, p. 12; Putnam, 1993, p. 170), such as recreational sporting activities, collective projects, or social groups and activities. This is because personal interaction fortifies trust between actors that is both inexpensive and reliable (Putnam, 1993, p. 172). Furthermore, third-party interventions to increase social capital often fail due to the voluntary nature of social capital (Paldam & Svendsen, 2004, p. 250).

Coleman (1988) added to the discussion on social capital by recognizing it as a public good (as cited in Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 8; see also Putnam, 1993, p. 170), sounding the call for its cultivation and protection in governance systems and development initiatives. In order to fully understand the dynamics and benefits of social capital there needs to be more research on the topic in terms of theory and research, as well as its utilization, transference and measurement (Felp & Volker, 2004, p. 18; Paldam & Svendsen, 2004, p. 250; Paxton, 1999, p. 123; Uslaner & Dekker, 2001, p. 179).

2.4. Community Capacity

The previous sections of this chapter discussed the importance of development, focusing on community, and the usefulness of social capital. The concept of community capacity pulls all of these important factors together under one framework that can direct research and policy. Although community capacity is not a perfect theory for broad stroke application, it is the most comprehensive and holistic concept and approach in the area of community development to date. However, it should be noted that community capacity has been used in a multitude of circumstances and has often been accused of being co-opted by government officials or donors to

justify their initiatives, so it is not without controversy. This section will introduce the concept of community capacity and provide support for its use, as well as provide some areas in which it can be improved.

Community capacity is a standalone concept; however, it is useful to first have a basic understanding of its title components. One whole section of this chapter was dedicated to furthering the understanding of community, and the concept of community will be expanded upon in a later chapter. However, for the sake of clarification in regards to the discussion on community capacity, it is assumed that community is comprised of both a relational and spatial quality between actors.

The next component of the term, capacity, needs some explanation as well. Capacity, as defined by the UNDP, is the ability of individuals, institutions, and societies to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve objectives in a sustainable manner (Balassanian, 2006, p. 4). Beth Honadle (1981) offers an earlier definition of capacity. She poses the definitional characteristics of capacity as the ability to: a) anticipate and influence change; b) make informed, intelligent decisions about policy; c) develop programs to implement policy; d) attract and absorb resources; e) manage resources; and f) evaluate current activities to guide future actions (Honadle, 1981, p. 577). Honadle's definition of capacity is more specific than the UNDP's, but both are related to the concept of community capacity. It should be noted that an understanding of capacity that over-stresses management capabilities or technical abilities can be restrictive and may draw attention away from other aspects of community life that are equally important, which can lead to management and policy problems (Gorgan, 1981, p. 650).

Gittell and Vidal (1998) define capacity as the "potential for community residents to act on collective commitments, interests, and objectives (p. 25)." Gittell and Vidal (1998) go on to include the capacity of social agents of the community, individuals (leadership and technological and organization skills), internal organizational capacity (local NGOs, businesses and projects), and network capacity (also known as bridging capital) (p. 25). The capacity of social agents plays a role in community capacity because individuals, organizations, and networks are integral parts of a community.

Capacity by itself has little relevance unless it is discussed in the context of specific abilities. For instance, Gibson and Woolcock (2008) describe the "capacity to engage," which consists of both "collective capacity" and "deliberative capacity" in relation to empowerment and civic engagement (p. 153). What really is being discussed is the ability of the group to think and work together, and the depth of these abilities are described as their "capacity to engage." Similarly, community capacity is a framework to describe various important aspects of a community that in combination build a picture of the ability of the community to act on their own accordance.

Capacity and capability are often used interchangeably, but again are relevant only in context. Focusing on developing human capabilities is not an entirely new concept in development. In fact, Japan began to focus on developing human capabilities in the Meiji era (1868-1911) (Sen, 1999, p. 20). Currently there is a renaissance on the importance of fortifying the capabilities of people.

In contemporary discussions on development, there has been an increased emphasis on taking a capacity-oriented approach (McKnight & Kretzmann, 1996). This approach recognizes that community development only takes place when local people are committed to investing themselves and their resources to development and that waiting for and relying on external "saviors" is futile (McKnight & Kretzmann, 1996).

The concept of community capacity has evolved from work on community stability, community well-being; quality of life, capabilities, and asset-based development (Kretzman & McKnight, 1993, p. 1; Mendis-Millard & Reed 2007, p. 544), community-based development (Robinson, 1997; Rubin, 1993), community-based resource management (Fellizar et al., 1994; Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007), developmental contextualism (Bogenschneider, 1996), and community building (Gariba, 1998; Saegert, 2005). Community capacity also builds on the recognized importance of social capital and networks within a community in relation to development (Erni, 2006, p. 315; Frank, 2007, p. 219; Lin et al., 2001, p. 6; Mendis-Millard & Reed 2007, p. 544; Putnam, 1993, p. 173; Sachs, 2005, p. 242; Saegert, 2005, p. 5). One of the main conceptual drivers behind community capacity is that of identifying and accessing the assets and capabilities of a community, rather than focusing on its detriments (asset-bassed development) (Kretzman & McKnight, 1993, p. 1; Mendis-Millard & Reed 2007, p. 544).

Community capacity is an outcome of development and is likely to lead to economic development (McGuire et al., 1994, p. 427). Not only is community capacity an outcome of any development policy, but it can also contribute to the development process (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 545). This establishes the existence of a cycle of community capacity, and like social capital, the more you have, the more you can accumulate. Community capacity is necessary for the creation of policy and development initiatives that will be successful through participation (Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 162). Through combining the concepts of capabilities and social capital, community capacity becomes a useful way of framing a discussion on community development and the policy making process.

The basic idea of community capacity is that it is the ability of a community to utilize the assets at their disposal to achieve community outcomes. Predecessors to current indices and frameworks of community capacity include the AGIL framework from Parsons (1951, as cited in Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 11). Looking at communities as systems, Parsons proffered four analytical functions of an independent social system: adaption (A) - the ability to generate resources for survival; goal attainment (G) - is the ability to make binding decisions for the social unit; integration (I) - the network that permitted the distribution of basic services; and latent pattern maintenance and management (L) - the glue that held individuals together (i.e. social capital) (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 11). Its similarities to community capacity can be seen in its emphasis on resources, goals, networks, and social capital.

A later adaptation and elaboration on the concept of community capacity can be seen in Michael McGuire, Barry Rubin, Robert Agranoff, and Craig Richards's (1994) description of community capacity and development of community capacity indicators. McGuire and colleagues (1994) conceptualize community capacity in terms of a) community participation, b) community structure, and c) development instruments (p. 427). Community participation deals with community input and the strength of local political institutions and has indicators encompassing the acceptance of change/controversy/conflict, the acceptance of community strengths and weaknesses, and effective mechanisms for direct community participation and input (McGuire et al., 1994, p. 427). Community structure describes governmental capacity and networks, as well as participation in development activities and has indicators such as dispersed leadership roles, vertical linkages, horizontal linkages, shared vision or direction, project-oriented involvement, and lead agencies (McGuire et al., 1994, p. 427). Development instruments measure the degree to which appropriate and effective policy tools are used by the community and is indicated by community spirit activities, infrastructure, appropriate development focus, major business development (McGuire et al., 1994, p. 427). The concept

and indicators laid out by McGuire and colleagues (1994) provide the groundwork for modern discussions on community capacity.

Using components similar to community capacity as described by McGuire and colleagues (1994), Sulley Gariba (1998) designed the Village Development Capacity index with the main idea that each community has a unique combination of social, political, economic, and cultural characteristics that determine its status and potential (p. 72). The index provides an understanding of the community's characteristics to allow social agents to a) recognize the community's strengths, b) plan and implement policy, c) monitor project effects, d) evaluate the impacts of policy and the change in the capacity of community, and e) identify new factors relating to community capacity and development (Gariba, 1998, p. 72). The parameters of this index are similar to community capacity, but without a specific guiding concept. The benefits of gaining an in-depth understanding of a community's situation, capability, and functions help with current and future policy making, and will be further fortified if there is a coherent conceptual framework for policy makers and practitioners to refer to, rather than a series of *ad hoc* indices and tools.

To build their community capacity index for primary health care service delivery, Robert Bush, Jo Dower, and Allyson Mutch (2002) define community capacity as a collection of characteristics and resources which, when combined, improve the ability of a community to recognize, evaluate, and address key problems (p. 1). They examine four domains through their index: 1) network partnerships; 2) knowledge transfer; 3) problem solving; and 4) infrastructure (investment in the development of policy, social capital, human capital, and financial capital) (Bush et al., 2002, p. 1). The definition offered by Bush and colleagues encounters the same problem as Gariba's index; in as such that it offers components and parameters without a strong conceptual framework.

Susan Saegert (2005) looks at civic capacity, which shares many of the same qualities as community capacity. Saegert (2005) defines civic capacity as a) the ability to engage with the public domain, b) the capacity to influence social agenda, c) the capacity to access public and private sector resources, and d) the capacity to influence the physical and social environment (p. 5). By describing this concept as civic capacity, it can be related to any spatial level. However, the understanding of community at various spatial levels eliminates this advantage. Additionally, through the expansion of the concept of community to include citizens, institutions, organizations, and government, merely looking at the civic side of capacity can be too restricting. Saegert (2005) goes on to define community civic capacity as the social integration of community residents into the larger society and the accumulation of power, influence, and resources (p. 11). This relates to how well the community functions as a unit and is more highly related to the concept of community capacity.

Robert Chaskin, Prudence Brown, Sudhir Venkatesh, and Avis Vidal in their 2001 book, Building Community Capacity, offer their definition of community capacity as the interaction of human capital, organizational resources, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of that community (p. 7). It may operate through informal social processes and/or organized efforts by individuals, organizations, and social networks that exist among them and between them and the larger system of which the community is a part (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 7). Through identifying the characteristics of community capacity and devising strategies to enhance it, communities can better reach their potential, leaders and residents can be better informed, and ownership of the local situation can emerge to facilitate further development (Chaskin et al., 2001, p . 8).

The Chaskin and colleagues (2001) definition presents a comprehensive definition of community capacity that is broken into easily identifiable areas, which is conducive for further research. In addition to having distinct areas in the definition that can be further researched or analyzed, there is some conceptual direction in the definition in terms of improving or maintaining the well-being of the community. The Chaskin Framework, herein after referred to, has been accepted in this work as the best definition of community capacity and has been adopted as the main conceptual basis of this study.

Figure 2 is a visual representation of the Chaskin Framework. The chart demonstrates that the factors of community capacity (1) within a community are enacted through the levels of social agency (2) to perform certain actions (3) of and for the community. The strategies (4) that can be utilized by community governance actors or external development policy makers must work through the levels of social agency (3) to facilitate or promote the functions of the community or to minimize detrimental conditioning influences (5). The conditioning influences (5) on the community are directly related to the amount and quality of community capacity characteristics (1) that a community posses. Other outcomes (6) can be achieved through the fortification of the assets (1), agents (2), and actions (3) process, but a change in the other outcomes (6) may also have an affect on the conditioning influences (5) of the community (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 13).

The specific components of Figure 2 are discussed in the following subsections. First, the (1) characteristics of community capacity will be outlined, followed by the (2) levels of social agency, and the (3) community functions and (6) other outcomes. Lastly, the (5) conditioning influences will be discussed. The (4) community capacity building strategies will be discussed and elaborated on in the next section. The last subsection of this section on community capacity will go over some of the advantages of considering community capacity in development and policy making.

Figure 2 - The Chaskin Framework

(5) Conditioning Influences
Safety
Residential stability
Density of acquaintance
Structure of opportunity
Patterns of migration
Race and class dynamics
Distribution of power and resources

(4) Strategies
Leadership
Organizational development
Organizing
Organizational collaboration

(1) Characteristics of Community Capacity
Sense of community
Commitment
Ability to solve problems
Access to resources

(2) Levels of Social Agency
Individuals
Organizations
Networks

(3) Functions
Planning, decision-making and governance
Production of goods and services

Information dissemination
Organizing and advocacy

(6) Other Outcomes
Better services
Influence on decision-making
Economic well-being

Chaskin *et al* 2001

Source: Chaskin et al., 2001

2.4.1. Characteristics of Community Capacity
2.4.1.1. Sense of Community

The characteristics of community capacity are sense of community, commitment, ability to solve problems, and access to resources (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 12). These characteristics are the basic descriptions of capacity that a community can have. They are the starting point for describing community capacity. Community capacity building efforts seek to enhance these characteristics in order to improve community functions and to reach other community outcomes.

The first community capacity characteristic is sense of community. The sense of community illustrates a connectedness between community members and the recognition of a mutuality of circumstance (Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008) and includes collectively held values, norms, and vision (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 14). McMillan (1976, as quoted in McMillan & George, 1986) elaborates upon the definition of sense of community as "a feeling that members have a belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and the group, and a shared faith that the members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together (p. 9)." Sense of community has also been defined as a social environmental characteristic of place that has affective, cognitive and behavioral components (including reciprocity) (Pretty, Chipuer, & Bramston, 2003, as cited in Boyd et al., 2006, p. 190). The Pretty and colleagues definition more broadly describes the various other definitions of sense of community.

Sense of community is important because it builds community attachment, which requires an "adherence to a set of shared values, norms, and meaning, usually as the result of a shared history and local identity (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 20)." Sense of community reflects the shared social capital in the community and is highly related to the trust that community members have in one another. This social trust contributes to the development of social norms, and participation and cooperation (Putnam, 1993, p. 171). The development of this type of collective identity is also important in order to solve for the "free-rider" problem in participation (Miller, 1992, p. 33). Without a sense of community people will have a propensity to take advantage of one another, leading to corruption and public lethargy (Bowman, 1935, p. 924).

There are four basic elements of sense of community, according to McMillan and George (1986): a) membership, b) influence, c) reinforcement - integration and fulfillment of needs, and d) shared emotional connection (p. 9). Sense of community can also been displayed through shared myths, symbols, rituals, rites, ceremonies, and holidays (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 10). Common language, dress, and customs can also promote sense of community (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 11). All of these factors help to identify membership. McMillan and George (1986) also describe five attributes of membership: - a) boundaries, b) emotional safety, c) a sense of belonging and identity, d) personal investment, and e) common symbol system (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 11.).

Members of the community must have some voice, as well as be affected by the community and its members (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 11). This consensual validation contributes to conforming behavior and creates norms (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 11). Although cooperative behavior can occur without discussion and group identity, without it, self-serving interests can supersede (Miller, 1992, p. 33). This influence must be exerted through personal interaction for maximum effectiveness (Miller, 1992, p. 33).

Part of the shared emotional connection in sense of community is a sense of belonging, which involves the feeling, belief, and expectation that one fits in the groups and has a place

there, as well as a feeling of acceptance and willingness to sacrifice for the group (McMillan 1976, as cited in McMillan & George, 1986, p. 10). Having a sense of belonging to a group promotes commitment in terms of sacrifice and investment (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 15), which makes it an important part of sense of community and community capacity. Again, McMillan and George (1986) include investment and commitment as a part of sense of community, whereas Chaskin and colleagues (2001) separated them into two different characteristics of community capacity. Given the complexity of McMillan and George's version of sense of community, the separation made by Chaskin and colleagues seems natural and appropriate, especially for constructing analytical frameworks.

2.4.1.2. Commitment

Significant community development can only take place when local people are committed to investing themselves and their resources to that development (Kretzman & McKnight, 1993, p. 5). Commitment in terms of community capacity is when actors see themselves as stakeholders in the community and are willing to take action and participate as such (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 15). Having a strong sense of community leads to commitment, particularly in terms of willingness to invest time and resources to collective action, as discussed earlier (see also Felp & Volker, 2004, p. 6). In order to have commitment, there must be trust (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 51), demonstrating the relationship between the community capacity characteristic of commitment and social capital.

Participation is an outcome and an indicator of commitment (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 20). The work that actors in a community must do to truly gain membership provides them with the feeling that they have rightly earned a place in the community, making their attachment more meaningful and valuable (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 10). Through participation and collective action community actors can make their more responsive to their needs and desires, as well as begin to cultivate greater satisfaction, greater cohesion, and ownership (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 13). High levels of commitment to the community compel further investment of resources and action outside typical social norms or mandates (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 24). In turn, these investments fortify the obligations that actors in the community have to one another (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 287). However, commitment may not be developed or perpetuated if there is no reinforcement or benefit from community investment or participation (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 12).

2.4.1.3. Ability to Solve Problems

The ability of a community to solve problems is the visible manifestation of a community's capacity. A community must be able to translate its commitment into action in order for it to be said that a community has capacity in this respect (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 16). This characteristic of community capacity speaks both to the ability of individuals and organizations to solve for problems that they incur, but most importantly it refers to the ability of the community to work through and overcome problems collectively.

2.4.1.4. Access to Resources

The final characteristic of community capacity in the Chaskin Framework is the access to resources. The access to resource represents a community's ability to obtain resources. The resources of a community can include economic, human, physical, and political resources (Chaskin et al,. 2001, p. 16). These resources can be found within the community or through the various types of networks that actors in the community form. In fact, it is important to maintain external links to ensure access to resources (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 34). However, community capacity is enhance when resources inside and outside of the community can be readily accessed (Zacharakis & Flora, 2005, p. 302). Some ways that resources can be harnessed for community capacity and development include financial investments in community projects by privileged community actors, the payment of taxes by community members, and the creation of innovative mechanisms for channeling resources to community initiatives (Zacharakis & Flora, 2005, p. 302).

2.4.2. Levels of Social Agency

The three levels of social agency in a community are individuals, organizations, and networks of association (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 19). The levels of social agency describe the types actors through which community capacity functions to produce action and outcomes. The actors in social agency can represent real people, such as elected leaders or bureaucrats, and they also may be structures, interests, international regimes, or policy networks (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 7). Furthermore, it is important that all of the actors in a community recognize the necessity and value of one another because they are all needed to make policy work because no single actor has all the relevant knowledge or resources to make the policy effective (Rhodes, 1997, p. 50).

Individual social agents can be local leaders and other people within the community and their participation in community activities. The individual level of social agency concerns the human capital and leadership of individual residents of a community, as well as their skills, knowledge, resources, and participation in community activities. Individuals and their ability to leverage social change become particularly important in this study due to the nascent functioning of other community organizations and the difficulty with networking in a developing community.

Organizations can also be social agents within a community. Examples of organizational social agents include community-based organizations, local businesses, schools, and small local groups. These groups can collectively evoke change within a community and spur other individuals and organizations into action when necessary.

The network level of social agency describes the relationships between individuals, informal groups, as well as formal organizations. Networks as social agents can also be considered a part of social capital, because they allow people to broaden their scope and resource attainment capabilities. Social capital is a key component of community capacity which can be seen in part through the network level of social agency.

2.4.3. Community Functions and Other Outcomes

Community functions are the activities that community capacity promotes a community to perform (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 22). It is a greater amount of community functions that community capacity building efforts seek to achieve. The Chaskin Framework describes community functions as a) planning, decision making and governance, b) the production of

goods and services, c) information dissemination, and d) organization and advocacy. Community functions can include routine tasks such as local budgeting, governance, and planning, as well as problem-solving and community improvement initiatives.

The outcomes of community functioning are a more sustainable community capacity overall and specific desirable community conditions (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 22). It is at this point that the concept of community capacity becomes cyclical (greater community capacity leads to greater community functioning, which leads to greater community capacity), so it becomes difficult to understand where to begin to build community capacity. Once a community is functioning appropriately they can hope to reach the other outcomes of better services, greater influence on public policy decision-making, and economic well-being (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 23). Interestingly, the Chaskin Framework puts economic well-being as another outcome (6), rather than a primary function, indicating that the authors' emphasis is on quality of life and social well-being.

2.4.4. Conditioning Influences

The actual level of capacity that can be accrued by a community is determined by its context – social, economic, and political (Gariba, 1998, p. 73; Grogan, 1981, p. 652). Analyzing the conditioning influences (also referred to as the enabling environment) in a community is a prudent step in the development of policy, in addition to assessing its community capacity (UNDP, 1997, p. 23, WB, 2002, p. 2). It is important that policy and development strategies be tailored to the specific context in which they are being implemented; however, the local context is often overlooked because it is taken as a given and most local participants give it little explicit thought (Gittel & Vidal, 1998, p. 171), therefore making it difficult for them to articulate to those that may be interested in helping them formulate their local policy.

The conditioning influences on a community are not directly related to community capacity, but rather, these factors can affect the ability and manifestation of community capacity. The conditioning influences rely partially on the idea of Maslow's (Maslow, 1968) hierarchy of needs: people need to have their basic needs met before they can begin to engage in anything beyond mere livelihood activities. These are the basic factors of life in the community that cannot necessarily be changed through mere capacity building activities and are taken as the inherent circumstances. The conditioning influences are identified as safety, residential stability, density of acquaintance, structure of opportunity, patterns of migration, race and class dynamics, and the distribution of power and resources (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 24).

Safety is the relative security that people in the community feel. Feelings of security can include the general safety and freedom from crime or oppression that people feel, as well as their ability to consistently live their lives as they wish. These factors tend to engage the thoughts of community residents, as well as represent some of the most basics needs and conditions for human comfort, and therefore impact upon the willingness and ability of community members to participate in community activities (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 24).

Residential stability refers to how long members of the community have been there and how long they are willing to stay. Residential stability affects the amount of sense of community that can develop in a community, because it promotes the growth of bridging capital, which in turn increases social cohesion and enhances the likelihood of participation (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 23). Transience in a community is a major predictor of community disorganization leading to low social integration and various community problems (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 30).

This is because trust and reciprocal behavior develop over time in a relationship and residential instability does not lend itself to such relationship building (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 35). Residential stability further develops the density of acquaintance and is affected by migration.

The density of acquaintance is a reflection of the depth and quality of the relationships and trust among members in a community. Heavy inflows and outflows of people in a community affect the levels of trust and quality of relationships that people can engage in and therefore the levels of cooperation that can be achieved in a community. This is because the longer that people have the opportunity to get to know one another the higher the likelihood that they will trust one another, which in turns affects levels of cooperation and collaboration (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 24).

The structure of opportunity reflects the ability which members of the community have to gain and pursue opportunities (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 24). This can encompass either socio-political constraints or economic and class constraints, as well as necessary relationships (such as patronage) that affect the way in which members of the community have access to opportunities.

Migration and movements of people to, from, and within a community directly affects the residential stability and the density of acquaintance of a community (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 24). This makes migration a volatile factor of community capacity and worth considering in the development of policy and community capacity building.

Race and class dynamics describe the relationship between various groups within a community. This divisiveness within a community can become a problem with community capacity and community capacity building, as well as potential flashpoints during times of upheaval within the community. The factor of race and class dynamics needs to be taken into consideration in an effort to better understand the social structure of the community (Freidmann, 1992, p. 7), as well as to note and avoid potential issues during community capacity building efforts.

The distribution of power and resources and the structure of opportunity within a community represent the social dynamics of the community in relation to resources and social mobility. Skewed distribution of power and resources can create or reflect rifts within a community and can affect the way that a community functions. They operate at many levels within the community and can be influenced by age, ethnicity, income, (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 24) relationships or various other factors. The distribution of power also affects who can participate and influence policy, and their incorporation as a full participating member is a right worth pursuing (Friedmann, 1992, p. 11). Since power is associated with obtaining resources and so is community capacity, it is worth noting these separations and distributions within a community to facilitate community capacity development, rather than further perpetuate unequal power relations.

2.4.5. Importance of Community Capacity

Community capacity is not static, it fluctuates over time and is affected by past experiences and affects future abilities to work toward a common goal (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 554). This is part of the bi-directional nature of community capacity. It can be cultivated through consorted efforts of members of the community and can diminish without care; however the fact that there was some level of community capacity at some point in time can be drawn upon to rekindle its strength.

Community capacity is influenced by governance and politics at multiple levels (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 554). This further emphasizes the need to recognize the importance of community capacity and the holistic nature of community systems to improve the effectiveness of policy.

Community capacity can be both built and assessed through the creation of dialogue between various segments of a community and through the provision of a forum for reflection on the situation in their community and the future directions they would like it to take (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 555-556).

Community capacity building has been criticized as not addressing all aspects of holistic development adequately, but that does not mean that community capacity analysis should be discarded as a useful framework. Researchers and practitioners recognize that community capacity frameworks may be limited in scope and not serve the needs of the context to which they are applied, so there is often an accompanying emphasis on proactive community participation while researching or applying community capacity building strategies (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 556).

Furthermore, the conditioning influences inherent in a community that affect community capacity continuously are taken into consideration in community capacity analysis and should be reflected in capacity building efforts. There is a continued necessity to better understand community capacity to design better frameworks for its analysis (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 12; Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 256).

Chapter Five highlights some cases of rural development from Japan and are analyzed using an abridged framework of community capacity. These cases demonstrate each of the components of community capacity described in this literature review. Specifically, each of the cases from Japan delve into the meaning of each of the community capacity characteristics (also described as attributes), the agents and the leadership needed to progress community capacity, and the actions that are achievable through community capacity building. The cases also demonstrate that with a clearer framework and more proactive and precise terminology a better understanding and analysis of community capacity can be rendered.

The case of community capacity analysis in Pagudpud (Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight) uses the framework proposed in Chapter Five in a real time trial assessment. This progresses the concept further, as well as demonstrates that the abridged framework can be a useful public administration and community capacity building tool.

2.5. Community Capacity Building Strategies

Community capacity building strategies can be constructed to complement any development approach, but most consistently fit in with the alternative development approach due to its emphasis on local people and participation. Capacity building of local stakeholders has been widely recognized as a necessary part of successful development initiatives (Grindle, 1990, p. 222; Lennie, 2006, p. 350; McGuire et al., 1994, p. 432). Community capacity development focuses both on individuals and organizations in a community (UNDP, 1997, p. 1; Saegert, 2005, p. 12). These strategies are conceived to have benefits to those that directly participate in them, as well as the community in which they are situated. The holistic approach taken in community capacity building strategies departs slightly from the typically sub-group targeted or *ad hoc* capacity building strategies sometimes incorporated into development and poverty alleviation initiatives.

The UNDP (1997) defines capacity development as the process by which individuals, organizations, institutions and societies develop abilities (individually and collectively) to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives (p. 3; see also Jahan, 2005, p. 3). The UNDP definition embodies some of the same dispositions as the Chaskin and colleagues definition of community capacity. With a small modification on the UNDP definition, community capacity building can be defined as the process by which individuals, organizations, and institutions in a community develop abilities to facilitate the development of community capacity.

The UNDP also outlines some targets for capacity development: a) individuals, b) entities, c) interrelationships between entities, d) enabling environments, e) natural environments, and f) institutional, sociopolitical, economic and natural resources management (UNDP, 1997, pp. 3-6). The Chaskin Framework presents four different categories of community capacity building strategies that can be used to ensure that a policy structure fosters community capacity. These strategies are 1) leadership development, 2) organizational development, 3) community organizing, and 4) inter-organizational collaboration (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 25).

There are many similarities between the UNDP approaches and the Chaskin Framework strategies. The management and individual capacity building are undertaken in leadership development. Organizations build capacity through organizational development and relationships between entities are developed through inter-organizational collaboration. Community organizing deals with facilitating the enabling environment, as well as empowering people to become involved in their community. The only part of the UNDP capacity development approaches that is not addressed by the Chaskin Framework it the natural environment, which falls somewhat out of the realm of community capacity building. Through consideration of these dimensions while constructing policy, community capacity can be built and more successful and sophisticated outcomes can be achieved. These categories are broad ways in which development and capacity building strategies can be conceptualized and are discussed further in the following subsections.

Through implementing a community capacity building strategy there will be a higher chance of successful returns in the community and the institutionalization of capacity because there is an investment in the knowledge, skills, and the relationships of people, rather than just a technological or capital infusion, which may or may not have long-term benefits (Honadle, 1981, p 579). It should be recognized that community capacity building is an ongoing process, but appropriate interventions can help direct and motivate the building of community capacity (Balassanian, 2006, p. 26; Bogenschneider, 1996, p. 136; Kirk & Shutte, 2004, p. 238). Utilizing the idea that people should be able to control the situation around them and, in fact, the people themselves are in the best position to make such decisions, community capacity development paradigms emerged to facilitate the performance of community functions.

Community capacity can be developed to further the outcomes of a community and improve the overall condition of the community. This is because community actions become more sophisticated through policy interventions and projects that involve the community (Saegert, 2005; Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007; Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008). Such strategies can be constructed as independent interventions or incorporated as components of a policy structure. Furthermore, community capacity development is both a means and an end for human development and community development (Jahan, 2005, p. 3; UNDP, 1997, p. 12; Saegert, 2005, p. 38).

In order to make local-level policy structure more effective, community capacity should be considered, incorporated, and integrated into the general policy. To undertake this, community capacity must be assessed in order to formulate policy that will best suit human development and the community situation (Dokecki, 1983; Hobbs et al., 1984; Jahan, 2005; McMillan & George, 1986; UNDP 1997). Once a clear and up-to-date assessment of the capacity of a community is made, it can be used to guide decision-making.

Involving stakeholders in the process of planning and evaluation for capacity building can serve as a learning opportunity for all involved fostering the development of even more community capacity (Balassanian, 2006, p. 26; Jahan, 2005, p. 3). Using a participatory process in the development of community capacity building strategies also helps to contextualize the policies and interventions, as well as to take a more holistic approach, which is important to address the multiple unique characteristics in a community that may affect the policy (Bogenschneider, 1996, p. 128). Community capacity development is about change and there is a need for leadership and commitment, as well as the institutionalization of participation and learning (Jahan, 2005, p. 3; UNDP, 1997, p. 10). In addition to involving stakeholders in a participatory process to design specific community capacity building initiatives, it is also important to consider and activate the endogenous skills and capacity that a community already is endowed with (Ray, 2006, p. 272; UNDP, 1997, p. 7).

Community capacity building strategies seek to not only fortify the abilities of their target groups, but to also develop the social capital necessary for long term growth. Although social capital can be built naturally, the development of rich networks that include more social, political and economic capital power often results from policy and interventions (Saegert, 2005, p. 10). This is particularly important because the indicator of success of a community capacity building initiative is the increased ability for the community to form interests and goals, develop shared agendas, and to act collectively (Saegert, 2005, p. 35). Networks within and extending out of the community are necessary to achieve this.

The following subsections discuss in detail the various community capacity building strategies that are identified in the Chaskin Framework. First, leadership development is discussed, followed by organizational development. Community organizing is then presented with a special look at empowerment. The last subsection about community capacity building strategies focuses on inter-organizational collaboration. The local policy structure of Pagudpud is examined in relation to community capacity building strategies in the beginning of Chapter Seven. That policy structure examination identifies several projects that are being undertaken in the community and how they are related to the community capacity building strategies. The analysis of Pagudpud's policy structure helps to progress the concept of community capacity building strategies and to identify how they can be incorporated into a multi-faceted policy structure.

2.5.1. Leadership Development

Leadership is a complex phenomenon that is present in any context where people are charged with accomplishing some goal or task. It can be found in classrooms, courtrooms, households, companies, or sports teams. Each form of leadership arises from particular situations, as well as the needs and desires of the group members. Many researchers, pundits, managers, and developers have tried to define leadership, but ultimately there is not very much consensus on what precisely it is (Barker, 1997; Northouse, 2004; Stogdill, 1974), or how to foster it.

Leadership has been broadly conceptualized to contain the following components: a) process, b) influence, c) a group context, and d) goal attainment (Northouse, 2004, p.3). This contemporary definition synthesizes the main components of many previous authors' views on leadership, which focus on the traits of individuals (Angell, 1951, p. 152; Bonjean & Olsen, 1964; Morris & Seeman, 1950, p. 149).

The conceptualization offered by Northouse (2004) offers the view that leadership does not specifically have to be defined through the actions of an individual. However, leadership is a responsibility that individual people must undertake (Kime, 2001, p. 10). Therefore, leadership development can target individuals, organizations, or the community at large. The main concept of leadership development is to produce a group of capable individuals, whether they stand alone or act on behalf of an organization that can direct a process to influence a group to reach their goals.

Leadership development involves cultivating the skills, commitment, engagement, and effectiveness of people (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 25). It includes skill training and the provision of opportunities for community members to participate and establish relationships with their peers and other stakeholders (Millar & Kirkpatrick, 2005, p. 21). Leaders are also developed through participation in community building activities (Zacharakis & Flora, 2005, p. 304). This means that community capacity building through leadership development can be incorporated as an outcome through having a wide breadth of participation in any type of community development initiative. However, direct interventions can be effective in developing leadership (Millar & Kirkpatrick, 2005, p. 28). The leadership skills that are developed through such interventions are then used in the community (Wituk, Ealey, Clark, Heiny, & Meissen, 2005, p. 98).

Often, however, those who participate in leadership development programs are people who already see themselves as leaders (Zacharakis & Flora, 2005, p. 303). Therefore, there must be incentives and programs designed to reach potential leaders (Zacharakis & Flora, 2005, p. 303), not only those already possessing leadership skills and authority. It is most difficult to engage potential leaders from sectors of the community that have typically been excluded and disempowered (Zacharakis & Flora, 2005, p. 304).

In order for leadership development to be successful, the individual leaders must recognize that good leadership is virtuous and a good leader leads by example to formulate mutual trust, rather than through force (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, pp. 41, 44).

The development of leadership in a community can contribute to the creation of a new sense of shared identity, a key component of sense of community, as well as the recognition among participants of their current and potential future role in the community (Millar & Kirkpatrick, 2005, p. 28). Leadership skills are not particularly difficult for participants to learn, and while the skills may not be employed confidently by all participants in a leadership development intervention, participants can see their benefits and use them when necessary in their community (Wituk et al., 2005, p. 98).

2.5.2. Organizational Development

Organizational development is the creation or strengthening of local organizations (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 25). Developing organizations in a community increases the prevalence and sophistication of organizations, as well as their activities. Target organizations can include local

issue-based or social organizations, institutions such as educational bodies, media groups, and public service delivery providers, or even small private enterprises.

Establishing local organizations and developing civil society activity is a major purpose of organizational development. Organizations link people together, even if they never meet face to face (Uslaner & Dekker, 2001, p. 183). This link helps to build relationships among members of the organization and community, which in turn fosters trust and cooperation. Trust and cooperation are necessary to build strong community organizations that contribute to local stocks of social capital (Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 12).

In communities that face poverty, there are often defects in the supply and demand system for various goods and services. One way to alleviate these issues is to organize poor and marginalized people into organizations that can better articulate their needs and desires to improve the demand and potentially alter the supply of goods and services (Sastry & Srinivasan, 2007, p. 378). This is because local organizations increase the access of individual households to opportunities in the market or with government services (Yogo, 2000, p. 20). The increased access to resources is directly related to an increase of community capacity. Furthermore, local organizations can help to coordinate people against initiatives that negatively affect their interests (Zachariah, 1993), which furthers community capacity development in terms of ability to solve problems.

Part of organizational development is building the capacity of organizations. Organizational capacity is the knowledge that is built into the structure of the organization on a continuing basis and that will continue regardless of changes in policy direction or leadership (Honadle, 1981, p. 576). Frederickson and London (2000) describe the elements of community organizational capacity as: a) leadership and vision; b) management and planning; c) fiscal planning and practice; and d) operational support (p. 233). They go on to note that these elements of capacity work together to support various other aspects of the organization (Frederickson & London, 2000, p. 236). This further reinforces the importance of developing the capacity of local organizations to improve the overall function and effectiveness of the organization.

Organizational norms can be established through training. However, they take time to develop and cannot be forced through accountability measures; rather, they must develop through the organic process of social norm formation. Social capital cannot be substituted with formal monitoring and accountability measures (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 66).

Normative institutionalism is a concept of institutional development where behavior within an institution or organization is explained by the norms and values of that organization (Peters, 2005, p. 26). Local political and social institutions are key members of a community and their organizational norms and leadership capabilities can affect the capacity of the community, particularly in terms of networking and problem solving abilities. The concept of normative institutionalism helps to build the case for human resource development to improve capacity. Additionally, normative institutionalism helps to demonstrate the necessity and importance of the sense of community attribute of community capacity. A shared vision within a community and its institutions and organizations creates a stronger bond among the people and improves the overall function of its institutions. The "creation of positive organizational culture [is] perhaps the best way to create effective organizations (Peters, 2005, p. 28)." Furthermore, those efforts to implement positive organizational norms focus the agents within a community and their ability to manipulate organizational culture as well as propagate ideals to improve the quality and quantity of community actions.

2.5.3. Community Organizing

Community organizing focuses on network-building and the motivation of stakeholders (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 25; see also Gittel & Vidal, 1998, p. 145). Community organizing has its basis in the promotion of participation. Participation is the activity of knowledge exchange between the state and the people and community organizing is about challenging the nature of the discourses and practices that underlie participation (Allen, 1993, p. 224).

Disorganized communities, or communities lacking in social capital and dense networks, see an increased amount of corruption, juvenile delinquency, unscrupulous advantage-seeking, and have difficulty cultivating more social capital (Bowman, 1935). To tackle these issues and to build community capacity, community organizing is used as an intervention strategy to curtail the negative effects of community disorganization.

This strategy develops the social capital of the community at large through the development of networks. For political stability, economic progress, and government effectiveness, having social capital within a community is even more important than physical or human capital (Cling, 2002, p. 29; Putnam, 1993, p. 183).

Through network-building and the motivation of stakeholders, collective action can be achieved by the community, which is an important aspect of community capacity. This collective action causes the environment in the community to be more responsive to the needs of the people (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 12). The increased participation leads to greater ownership of the community by its local stakeholders, as well as greater satisfaction and cohesion (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 12). The empowerment that greater ownership entails is a key focus of community organizing.

Empowerment is the process of enhancing individual or group capacity to make choices and transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes (i.e. the capacity to engage) (Gibson & Woolcock, 2008, p. 152). Another way to look at empowerment is the ongoing process of transforming power relations by engaging and uprooting causal mechanisms of inequality (Gibson & Woolcock, 2008, p. 168). Collective empowerment helps individuals find their place, role, identity, and voice in a community through the development of relationships with others, and clarity of purpose, meaning, and value of their involvement (Kirk & Shutte, 2004, p. 242). It should be noted that empowerment as defined by external agencies or local elites differs from empowerment as defined by those wishing to be empowered; therefore careful consideration of the local context and the true empowerment of local people should be taken (Koggel, 2008, p. 118). Community organizing is the strategy for community capacity building that most directly seeks to empower people in the community.

Power circulates through individuals, linking them together in networks and power itself is when each actor in a relationship has choices in regards to the relationship, especially to end the relationship (Allen, 1993, p. 225). This can be particularly difficult when one actor in the relationship is dependent on another for resources or otherwise coerced into maintaining the relationship. One of the aims of empowerment is to shift power relations away from local elites, whom those in poverty are often reliant on, to the community at large (Gibson & Woolcock, 2008, p. 152). Acknowledgement of the relationships and power structures of community are important for gaining an understanding of their disempowering effects (Koggel, 2008, p. 112) in order to make better policy and formulate interventions. Furthermore, there needs to be analysis on who is making the policy and the power relations between the policy makers and those whom the policy affects (Koggel, 2008, p. 115). Power shifts can be achieved through deliberative

contestation, which challenges the power and authority of local governing elites (Gibson & Woolcock, 2008, p. 152). Deliberative contestation methods typically generate at least partially transformative power relations, regardless of the pre-existing institutional capacity (Gibson & Woolcock, 2008, p. 167).

Another method of shifting power relations is mobilization. While mobilization is an effective measure for community organizing and empowerment, it depends on the conflict management ability of the community and high levels of community capacity (Gibson & Woolcock, 2008, p. 168).

Power and knowledge are closely related (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2006, p. 71; Johnson, 2007, p. 279) and empowering people through knowledge means not only a transfer of information, but also expanding who participates in the knowledge production and exchange process (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2006, p. 72). By opening the knowledge process to new voices and perspectives, policy making will become more democratic and less skewed in favor of those with inequitable amounts of power and resources (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2006, p. 72), as well broadening the conceptualization of what can possibly be accomplished by a community (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2006, p. 74).

One of the issues with increasing access to knowledge is the challenge of how to access and share tacit knowledge (Johnson, 2007, p. 278). Participation, interaction, and engagement build tacit knowledge (Johnson, 2007, p. 284), as long as differences such as identity, life experience, types of knowledge, and means of expression are explored in a safe, receptive space (Johnson, 2007, p. 284).

Education itself is an important factor in empowerment. Individual education provides the intellectual and cognitive skills that reduce the cost of participation (Downs, 1957, as cited in La Due Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998, p. 568). There is a consistent positive relationship between education and political participation, with better educated people being more likely to engage in the political process and become involved in political activities (La Due Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998, p. 567).

2.5.4. Inter-organizational Collaboration

Lastly, inter-organizational collaboration develops relationships and partnerships of organizations to build the organizational infrastructure of the community (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 25). Inter-organizational collaboration builds social capital through developing connections between groups, communities, institutions, and markets (Getz, 2008, p. 575; see also Zachariah, 1993). This is important in the development of networks within a community and for gaining greater access to resources.

Cooperation between firms and organizations accelerates the rate of technological innovation (Powell, 2002, p. 264), as well as exposing members of the organization to information and resources that cannot be generated internally (Powell, 2002, p. 265). Inter-organizational collaboration also helps to develop the skills and capabilities of organizations through access to new knowledge and the development of skills to acquire knowledge (Powell, 2002, p. 269). There is a necessity to develop the relationships between local organizations and external organizations, including inter-governmental linkages (McGuire et al., 1994, p. 432), to ensure there are adequate avenues for gaining resources.

Alexander (1995, as cited in Rhodes, 1997) indentifies six strategies and five groups of tools for managing inter-organizational cooperation. The strategies are: 1) cultural-persuasive (public

relations); 2) communicative (information exchange); 3) functional (coalition forming); 4) cooperative (resource exchange); 5) control (monitoring and enforcement); and 6) structural (reorganization). The five groups of tools are: 1) structural (standard operating procedures); 2) anticipatory linkages (joint planning, overlapping membership); 3) operational linkages (staff secondments, consultations); 4) program management (regulations); and 5) fiscal (grants, subsidies) (Rhodes, 1997, p. 196). While these strategies and tools may be a bit sophisticated to implement if the organizations themselves are yet well developed, they provide some examples of how inter-organizational collaboration can be undertaken.

2.6. Chapter Summary

This chapter provides the background review on the foundation concepts of this study. The necessity to focus on poverty and development in the grander scheme of global economic reform is evident. With more than a billion people living on the most meager of incomes and continually enduring hardships due to human poverty and structural inequities, there has never been a more opportune time to re-focus on how to make the global economic system work for everyone.

Development is an important consideration for all levels of policy makers for moral reasons, as well as to improve the overall effectiveness and efficiency of the resources spent pursuing its goals. Ideally, if development and policy making are undertaken correctly, then there should be less waste in the overall system, which inherently benefits all (this concept will be more fully explored in Chapter Three).

The current paradigms of development start with economic development and have evolved into alternative development, which encompasses ideas from participatory development, sustainable development, and human development. Rural development and community development are two special areas of consideration for development and were also discussed in this chapter. Rural development is important because most of the poverty in the world comes in the form of rural poverty, thereby signifying the need for special reflection. In the alternative development paradigm, the community is designated as the most suitable unit for targeted projects and policy making. Community development focuses on localized and contextualized activities to promote the well-being of people and the relationships in a community. This chapter advocates for taking an overall alternative development approach, while also incorporating the missions and specifics inherent in rural and community development.

As just noted, the community has repeatedly been described as the appropriate unit for analysis of development and policy formulation. Communities can include both relational and spatial qualities and should include all stakeholders. The background on community studies were presented in this chapter, but a new conceptualization of community will be presented in Chapter Five.

Social capital is the currency through which the relationships between people can affect their quality of life. It brings people together, connects them with resources, and is an important consideration in development and policy making that cannot necessarily be quantified or controlled in certain terms. Social capital is also a key component of community capacity.

Community capacity is the ability of a community to work together to overcome their problems and improve their lives. This chapter presented some ways that community capacity has been interpreted, but ultimately relies on the Chaskin Framework to guide this chapter and

the entire study. Chapter Five will offer further details on and conceptual development of community capacity through permutations of the Chaskin Framework.

The final section of this chapter describes various strategies for community capacity building based on the Chaskin Framework. The strategies of leadership development, organizational development, community organizing, and inter-organizational collaboration represent a practical way that the concept of community capacity can be built into interventions that will ultimately lead to development based on the alternative development paradigm.

Chapter Three will present the practical side of this background discussion through the introduction of governance and the prominent public administration approaches that are consistent with the overall goals of effective and efficient public service, as well as fair and equitable standards of living for all.

3. Governance and Public Administration

"Few believe that we can dispense with government, yet fewer still are confident that we know what makes government work well (Putnam, 1993, p. 3)." This statement sums up the current debate over governance and public administration reform. The emerging concept of governance touches on this feeling as well, by re-empowering non-state actors to formulate and produce collective goods through decentralization and structural reforms.

"It is now fashionable to malign government, and the people working in it, and to point out gleefully all their failures, real and imagined (Peters, 2001, p. 1)." One of the roots of the discontents with government and governance is the failure to address the human needs of millions of people, leaving them dispossessed, disempowered, and in poverty. These obvious lapses call for a reorientation of governance to focus on human development. Sachs (2005) suggests that this would include emphasis on infrastructure and social service support, the promotion of (small scale) private business investments, the avoidance of corruption, the provision of peace and security, the maintenance of judicial systems, and the defense of territory (p. 59).

Governments, especially in developing countries, should refocus their political and economic policies to be more conducive to inclusion in the global market economy (Sachs, 2005, p. 81). There should be a move toward democracy because, despite some rhetoric to the contrary, authoritarian regimes do not facilitate economic development (Sen, 1999, p. 30). In fact, freedoms, such as economic facilities, political freedoms, social opportunities, protective security, and transparency guarantees should be cared for and promoted in order to achieve development (Sen, 1999, p. 34). Unfortunately, when times are difficult, many people in authority in developing countries fail to act in the best interest of the community, thus reducing the trust that people have in them, eventually engaging in antisocial behavior and negative-rent seeking (Adjibolosoo, 1998, p. 209); Peters, 2001, p. 1).

Skepticism and cynicism about government is useless without the commitment and courage to attempt to solve the problems as they are observed (Peters, 2001, p. 1). "It remains crucial for government, and the individuals who constitute them to continue their search for innovative mechanisms for making government work better and to serve society better (Peters, 2001, p. 2)." Chapter Two presented the foundation concepts for this study. Now in Chapter Three, the focus will be on the practical theories and tools of governance and public administration. This chapter bridges the gap between concepts and theory on development and policy with the practical realm of policy-making, governance, and public administration. Bridging this gap is important because often times there are glaring discrepancies between theory and practice (Koggel, 2008, p. 113).

Academics sometimes take the position of 'research for research's sake' with little consideration of its real world use. Progress toward development, improved living conditions, and poverty alleviation requires academics and practitioners to work together (Koggel, 2008, p. 126). Practitioners may reject theory because it lacks contextual relevance and ignores real world concerns. Furthermore, theory is often crafted to be applied to any circumstance, leading to broad generalizations and little in the way of practical methodology, which practitioners seek. With these things in mind, it is clear that there is some need to reconcile theory and practice in order to make real world impacts and truly bring to life the promises offered by theory.

Governance is the mechanism through which the concept of community capacity can be developed and the connection between theory and reality can be bridged. The cases found in Chapter Five and Chapter Seven are analyzed using the logic framework, which is described in

this chapter. This chapter also seeks to demonstrate the importance and utility of evaluation, both traditional and participatory. The case of Pagudpud demonstrates the connection between the concept of community capacity and evaluation and how concept-driven traditional and participatory evaluations can be constructed.

This chapter describes the basics of governance and modern public administration. The approach to analyzing these areas involves not only a description of their nature, but draws on the concepts of alternative development, community, social capital, and community capacity. The practical realities of governance and public administration will be discussed in the context of the conceptual framework provided in Chapter Two.

This chapter will answer the following questions:

1. Why is there a need to bridge the gap between theory and application?
2. What is governance?
3. What is democracy and participatory governance and how is it practically implemented?
4. What is local governance and why is it important?
5. What are some current public administration paradigms?
6. What is the management cycle?
7. What is the logic framework?
8. What is evaluation and how should it be used?

By answering these questions, the practical groundwork for the study will be laid out. The answers will provide a relevant framework through which the conceptual framework can be applied to truly improve the lives of people.

3.1. Governance

Public administration should be reflexive, addressing its practices, traditions, and narratives through a process of localized reasoning and change (Rhodes, 1997, p. 198). In the past, discussions on public policy focused mainly on what the government could and should be doing. Government was seen as being concerned with the formation and application of law through public institutions with the central role of law being most prominent in governing (Peters, 2005, pp. 5-6). Governance had been ordered and hierarchical, but now communities seek partnership and coordinated programs of action through all levels of government (O'Riordan & Church, 2001, p. 22). Without such coordination and consideration communities can become disaffected, and disaffected communities distrust the government (Pavey et al., 2007, p. 99). Contempt and distrust for government leads to issues with policy implementation and maintenance, as well as diminished quality of life in the community.

Furthermore, communities afflicted by, rather than participating in, governance have difficulty in building community capacity, thus adversely affecting the people and their ability to reach community outcomes and interest to participate in governance (Pavey et al., 2007, pp. 100, 107). In order to maintain trust in the government and officials, it is necessary to include the community in governance and to take their position into consideration as much as possible.

Through the various reforms in public administration seen around the world in the twentieth century, it was increasingly recognized that governments were not the only players in public administration, policy formulation, and service delivery. From the 1990s a partially new model of government emerged, redefining the role of government in society – how programs and

projects should be implemented and increasingly following market ideals (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 3).

Decentralization, privatization, and civil society began to change the expectations of citizens and the impact and implementation of policy. Government structures have grown to be a complex and intertwined configuration of institutions, agencies, departments, private contractors, and special interest groups. The shift from government to governance has significant impacts on the functions of the state and its relationship with society (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 25). The governance perspective adopts a more consensual, cooperative perspective, and advocates for more creative ways to avoid blockages (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 31).

Governance can be used to describe the current situation with politics, public administration and policy-making (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 24). Governance is defined as "the process and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised (Kaufmann, Recanatini, & Biletsky, 2002, p. 7)." Furthermore, governance can be specifically considered "the process by which governments are selected, held accountable, monitored and replaced; the capacity of government to manage resources efficiently, and to formulate, implement, and enforce sound policies and regulations; the respect for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them (Kaufmann et al., 2002, p. 7)." Governance links political systems with their environment and makes political science more policy-relevant (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 1). The ultimate point of governance is to steer the economy and society to reach collective goals (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 1).

R.A.W. Rhodes (1997) states "governance is the result of interactive social-political forms of governing (goal-directed interventions) (p. 51)." Rhodes (1997) goes on to enumerate four characteristics of governance:

1. interdependence between organizations;
2. continuing interactions between network members, caused by the need to exchange resources and negotiate shared purposes;
3. game-like interactions rooted in trust and regulated by rules of the game negotiated and agreed by network participants; and
4. a significant degree of autonomy from the state. (p. 53).

These characteristics of governance demonstrate the expansion of thought on the role of government and other actors in the provision of public goods.

At the International Conference on Responsive and Accountable Local Governance in Jakarta, February 21-22, 2006, Dr. Anwar Shah, Program Leader of Public Sector Governance for the World Bank Institute, presented on "Governing for Results: Approaches to Local Public Management." Dr. Shah spoke on the importance of citizen-centered governance and its utilization in areas ranging from the demand of public services to budgeting. Dr. Shah also went on to describe accountable governance as having public integrity, safeguards, and the public interest in mind in accordance with a citizen's charter, a consensus on limits to government interventions, and the formulation of social norms and trust in governance.

The unchallenged power of governance is based on an unquestioned acceptance of the lack of accountability and transparency (Sen, 1999, p. 34). Furthermore, corruption is the absence of good governance and transparency (Behera, 2007, p. 40). Accountability is the relationship between government and citizens and the assumption of responsibility for decisions, actions, and policies to fulfill agreed expectations between officials and constituents (NDI, 2009, p. 1). The NDI definition of accountability also reinforces the idea that government institutions and people

have an inherent relationship through governance. Accountability requires a multifaceted approach tackled through institutional reform (Rhodes, 1997, p. 198).

There are three strands of good governance: 1) systematic – broader than government covering internal and external political and economic power; 2) political – legitimacy and authority derived from a democratic mandate; and 3) administrative – efficient, open, accountable, and audited public service with bureaucratic competence to design and implement appropriate policies and manage the public sector (Rhodes, 1997, p. 49). All attempts to identify and produce good governance need to include all three of these strands.

The UNDP identifies good governance as policies and programs that are responsive, participatory, transparent, equitable, accountable, consensus-oriented, effective, efficient, and strategic (UNDP, 1997, pp. 9-10). However, specific prescriptions of good governance are different in different cultural contexts (Behera, 2007, p. 37).

Although there is emphasis on good governance, there has not been enough intellectual energy and resources devoted to it (Fukuyama, 2007, p. 4). Steps toward better and more effective governance cannot be taken without a strong demand for it from the bottom-up (Fukuyama, 2007, p. 5), which calls for greater involvement of citizens and communities. McMillan and George (1986) and Pavey and colleagues (2007) agree with taking a citizen-centered approach in governance. For governance it is crucial to work from the values and interests of the local community (Pavey et al., 2007, p. 108). Public policy should be based on human development and community, which will provide a foundation for decision-makers to develop policy that meet their intended objectives through strengthening and preserving the community (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 18).

Pierre and Peters (2000) describe seven approaches to governance:

1. governance as hierarchies – governance by law for highly standardized public services (p. 15);

2. governance as markets – market as the mechanism for governance, economic actors cooperate to resolve common problems without distorting the basic market mechanisms, empowering citizens as consumers (pp. 18-19);

3. governance as networks – policy networks of state institutions, organized interests, etc. that facilitate the coordination of public and private interests and resources that enhance the efficiency of public policy implementation (pp. 19-20);

4. governance as communities – communities solve problems with little state intervention, governance without government (p. 21);

5. governance as process – focuses on interactions of structures rather than the structure itself, acknowledges that governance is a dynamic process (pp. 22-23);

6. governance as steering and coordinating – government can steer society with its authority not necessarily based in legal power, but on its control of critical resources and its view of collective interests (p. 23); and

7. governance as analytical framework – where governance is discussed as a phenomena or theory or analytical framework (p. 24).

These seven approaches to governance depict the way that the term governance is used in political or academic parlance. Among them, governance as hierarchies may be considered the way that the term was viewed historically; while governance as markets is the most contemporary and *en vogue* approach, although it may be prescribed to more problems than it

can resolve (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 19). Governance as networks is also consistent with the contemporary discussions on governance of decreasing formal legal powers and the direct role of the state (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 20). For the purpose of this work, governance as communities is particularly relevant, which interestingly is supported both by people who wish to see less government and those who wish to see more government involvement, supporting concepts of decentralization and community self-sufficiency (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 21).

Putnam (1993) presents a simple model for governance that demonstrates the relationship between people and state institutions that lead to collective outcomes, shown in Figure 3. The model shows that societal demands lead to political interaction between citizens and officials that lead to the creation of government institutions that make policy choices and implement those policies (Putnam, 1993, p. 9).

Figure 3 - Simple model of governance

Source: Based on Putnam, 1993, p. 9

The role that the state plays in governance depends on historical factors, institutional interest in maintaining control, the required degree of political and legal authority, and the strength of civil society organizations and networks (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 26).

Civil society plays a role in governance. Horizontal networks of civic engagement promote cooperation and solutions to collective issues and are positively associated with good governance (Putnam, 1993, p. 175). Governance blurs the line between the state and civil society (Rhodes, 1997, p. 57).

Institutes shape politics, shaping outcomes because they shape actors' identities, power, and strategies (Putnam, 1993, pp. 7-8). The institutional approach is important because it focuses on the rules, procedures, and formal organizations of governments (Rhodes, 1997, p. 79). Institutions are comprised of the structures, agencies, and legal frameworks that govern conduct. Institutions outline the relationships between structure and democracy and explain the ways in which rules, procedures, and formal organization constrain political behavior (Rhodes, 1997, p. 79). They are built to achieve purposes (Putnam, 1993, p. 8) and serve citizens. Changing the constellation of institutions, the way that they interact with society and non-state actors, and the institutions themselves are some of ways in which governance and public administration reform is undertaken. However, little is known about how to create or strengthen institutions in places where they are weak or nonexistent (Fukuyama, 2006, p. 124).

Normative institutionalism is a concept of institutional development where behavior within an institution is explained by the norms and values of that organization (Peters, 2005, p. 26). The concept of normative institutionalism helps to build the case for human resource development to improve capacity. Changing formal institutions can change overall political practice (Putnam, 1993, p. 184). Peters (2005) notes that the "creation of positive organizational culture [is] perhaps the best way to create effective organizations (p. 28)."

Peters (2005) notes further those efforts to implement positive organizational norms focuses on managers (leaders) and their ability to manipulate organizational culture to improve performance (p. 28). Social learning, learning by doing, creates institutional reforms and the formal changes prompts informal changes and becomes self sustaining (Putnam, 1993, p. 184).

Figure 4- Social norm development in institutions

Source: Miyoshi, 2006
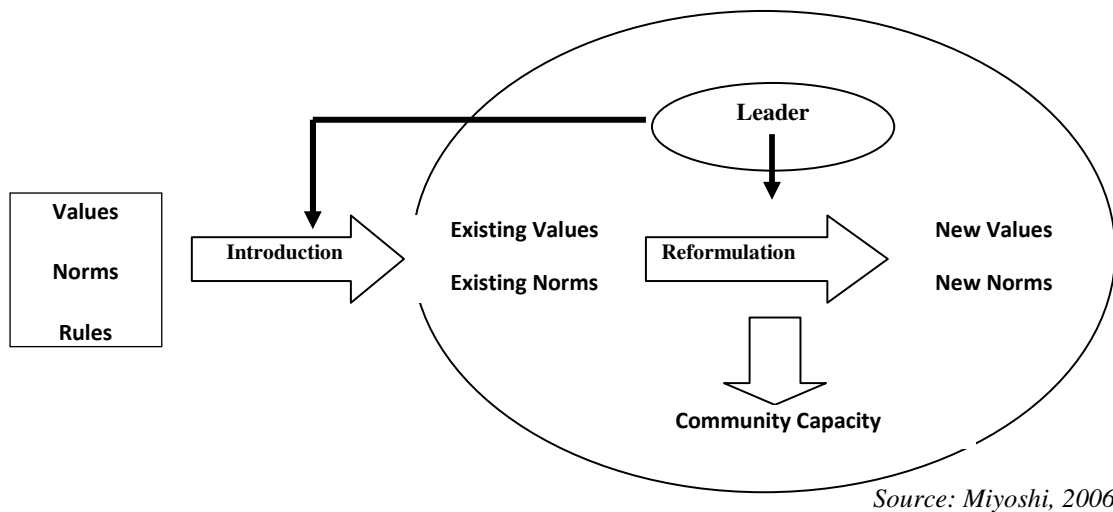
Figure 4 illustrates the relationship between social norms, leadership, and community capacity. It demonstrates that when social norms that are beneficial to organizational development are introduced and implemented by a capable leader then the entire organization can and will emulate such behaviors. The result of this shift in social norms, particularly when they are norms that are conducive to development and productivity, is a strengthening of the overall community capacity and the institutionalization of these norms. This concept is explained visually here by Koichi Miyoshi (2006) and is consistent with Fukuyama's (2007) point on the necessity of positive social norm formulation to promote the effectiveness of decentralized authority and community capacity. However, before the rigid institutionalization of these norms, the sustainability of these norms is highly contingent on the integrity of the leadership, as pointed out by Fukuyama (2004). This basic concept provides the support for capacity building efforts in terms of leadership development.

Governance is important because it determines growth, development, and poverty alleviation (Kaufmann et al., 2002, p. ii). Fukuyama (2004) agrees that governance, particularly problems with governance, is the core issue with development (p. 3). Finding solutions to governance issues leads to better development outcomes (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 3). This demonstrates the important link between development and governance, with governance being the primary mechanism through which development can occur and human conditions can be improved. Well-functioning governance structures are necessary for successful policy (Cling, Razafindrakoto, & Roubaud, 2002b, p. 156). Overall sustainability is nurtured, in part, by a willingness of formal governance to open opportunities to connect with informal governance (O'Riordan & Church, 2001, p. 22).

Building a capacity for governance within government, organizations, individuals, and communities can lead to better and more effective policy and development. Capacity, both in terms of administrative and community capacity, is important for effective governance (McGuire, Rubin, Agranoff, & Richards, 1994, p. 426). Capacity building for good governance can be seen as an outcome in itself (UNDP, 1997, pp. 9-10).

While it may be important to build capacity for governance and development, there needs to be a starting point for such capacity building endeavors. Understanding the causes and consequences of governance requires an assessment of these changes, as well as an understanding of the ways that the political process copes with conflicts and produces decisions (Pierre & Peters, 2000, pp. 25, 31). This work seeks to support the progress of good governance by offering a conceptual framework for policy, community capacity building, and an innovative evaluation method that actively involves citizens in governance.

3.1.1. Democracy and participatory governance

Democracy has become the prominent form of governance around the world. From the early 2000s there are more democratic states than nondemocratic states (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 8). Having a free and democratic state is a good option for governance because societies that rely heavily on the use of force are less efficient, more costly, and more unpleasant than those where trust is maintained by other means (Paxton, 1999, p. 104; Putnam, 1993, p. 165). The denial of political and civil rights is a deprivation, and democracy, having a participatory and open political system, is important to the pursuit of freedom and development (Sen, 1999, p. 35). These points add to the pro-democracy argument and undermine the advocates of authoritarianism.

Participation in governance has been growing in popularity and democracy is the most widely known and practiced form of participatory governance. In fact, democratization is participation on a macro-level and is increasingly a condition of national scale development (Pieterse, 1998, p. 369). Democratic governance provides an institutional framework for citizen participation in economic and political processes and promotes human rights (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 6). Democracy is defined as a political system in which the people share in directing the activities of the state and can be expanded to describe a philosophy that insists on the right and the capacity of a people, acting either directly or through representatives, to control their institutions for their own purposes (NDI, 2009, p. 16).

Equal opportunities, contributing to the development of civil society and promoting social justice are ensured through democracy (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. xv; see also Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 6). In fact, democracy is goal of development by itself (Kaufman, 1997, p. 5). Democratic countries tend to have a better respect for human rights and are less externally aggressive (Fukuyama, 2006, p. 114). When it is fully operational, democracy is the most powerful force a community has to meet its physical and social needs, making outcomes more easily accomplished and promoting the cultivation of proactive community actors (Pavey et al., 2007, p. 92).

Democracy has many virtues; however good governance should be promoted, not only democracy (Fukuyama, 2006, p. 140). This is not to diminish the importance of democracy, but rather reinforces the idea that good governance is not possible without democracy and public participation, particularly to promote effective bureaucratic functions and reduce corruption through transparency and public knowledge (Fukuyama, 2006, p. 141).

The quest for democracy and justice has often been politicized or used to cover for other policy motives such as regime change (Carothers, 2006, pp. 55, 64). Modern democracy has also been criticized because of its departure from the concepts of individual autonomy and a culturally neutral state (Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 9). This came as a result of nation building that focused on creating linguistically and culturally homogenous nations, thereby excluding and

repressing minorities and dissent (Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 9). However, democracy as a concept continues to be the preferred model of governance, despite its various corruptions around the globe.

Neoconservatives, such as Francis Fukuyama, feel that the superiority of democratic states leads to an imperative to shape non-democratic countries' institutions (Fukuyama, 2006, p. 114), sometimes leading to regime change. Any way that the democratic institutional shaping goes, those who benefit from authoritarianism will decry the efforts of those pushing participation and power redistribution. Often times, the political opposition to democracy is merely an excuse for repression and retention of power (Carothers, 2006, p. 62). Furthermore, the participatory process creates demands on democracy that developing countries and local authorities, as well as the Bretton Woods Institutions, may not be able to handle (Cling et al., 2002b, p. 178; Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 158). A practical inclusion of participatory practices in democracy is necessary.

Participation is defined as the "process through which stakeholders influence and share control over priority setting, policy-making, resource allocations and access to public goods and services (Cling et al., 2002b, p. 154)." NDI (2009) defines participation as "the act of sharing in the activities of a civil society organization, political party, or political process; the condition of sharing in common with others (p. 41)." NDI (2009) goes on to note that "participation is a right and responsibility of citizens in a democracy, through issue-oriented civil society organizations and/or political parties (p. 41)." Participatory governance requires a population of clients who can articulate their demands effectively and a collection of organizations that are concerned with delivering holistic services, it relies as well on the willingness of citizens to become active participants in the political and administrative process (Peters, 2001, p. 188).

Those who had been previously excluded can develop voice and organizational capacity through participation (Kaufman, 1997, p. 7). This means that inclusion and participation in governance itself means a reduction of poverty in terms of a reduction in exclusion and marginalization (Cling et al., 2002a, p. 13). Furthermore, participation really only has meaning if it contributes to the development of democracy, especially through the promotion of information dissemination and transparency (Cling et al., 2002a, p. 13).

Opening up participation to various stakeholders in society has an impact on the way national affairs are conducted (Cling et al., 2002a, p. 13). Participation becomes an important part of the formulation of effective policy because local people have the greatest wealth of knowledge of their own experience and situation (Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 159). Participatory governance lends itself to policy making and evaluation that respects the experience and opinions of local people, such as collaborative inquiry (see Chapter Four).

However, participation by citizens is often conceived of in a passive way, relegating them to mere information givers or consultants, rather than actively contributing to the decision making process (Cling et al., 2002b, p. 173). Manipulative and tokenistic approaches to participation should be rejected in lieu of a move toward partnership and empowerment (Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 158). Issues with participation may lead to those with power imposing their point of view, limiting the involvement of other stakeholders, or the avoidance of socially divisive issues, severely limiting the effectiveness of policy (Cling et al., 2002b, p. 173; Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 162).

The participatory process in governance requires active involvement of sections of society in the design, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation of policy (Cling et al., 2002b, p. 154; Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 159). Local participation can also be described as civic republicanism where the collective and participatory engagement of citizens in the determination of the affairs

of their community is depicted by their active involvement in political debate and decision-making (Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 253).

In order to have the capacity to participate a community must have the economic, cultural, political and social ability to define what is desirable, what is good, as well as the nature of their reality (Kaufman, 1997, p. 8). Sometimes democratic institutions need to be created and they are difficult to establish (Fukuyama, 2006, p. 117; Uslaner & Dekker, 2001, p.177). This is because high performing democratic institutions must be both responsive and effective: sensitive to the demands of its constituents and effective in using limited resources to address those demands (Putnam, 1993, p. 9).

Capacity building in terms of local technical and institutional capabilities, communication structures, and skills in facilitating the participatory process are important to bring about ownership, participation empowerment, accountability, and resource management (Cling, Razafindrakoto, & Roubaud, 2002a, p. 14; Cling et al., 2002b, p. 175; Fellizar, Velo, & Bernardo, 2002, p. 30). This work expands upon the concept of community capacity so that it can be better used as an analytical framework to improve development policy and alleviate poverty.

Furthermore, building social capital, like through community capacity building, is important for making democracy work (Paxton, 1999, p. 103; Putnam, 1993, p. 185; Uslaner & Dekker, 2001, p. 185). Using community building activities that also benefit policy making and governance, such as participatory photo evaluation, can build social capital.

The cause for democracy promotion around the world is better served if there is a definite change to emphasize capacity building such as local election capacity, backing for local NGOs, training and equipment for local organizations, the development of local networks, and not regime change (Carothers, 2006, p. 60). Even the experience with democracy promotion of the United States in the 1970s showed that soft power was effective; supporting instruments such as democratic pressure, funding to prodemocracy groups, public diplomacy, and training can facilitate democratic transition (Fukuyama, 2006, p. 133).

It is hard to identify precisely the effect that participation has on policy decisions (Cling et al., 2002a, p. 13; Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 158). Furthermore, there is not much discussion or understanding of the mechanisms that can be used to promote the formation of democratic institutions (Fukuyama, 2006, p. 117). However, what is known is that grassroots democracy is based on context, formulated under the development of theme, such as a collective sense of community or vision, and requires the empowerment of local people to participate accordingly (Sastry & Srinivasan, 2007, p. 380). Although it may be difficult to establish or measure participatory methods in democracy and policy making, developing a bottom-up, grassroots democracy contributes to human development and poverty alleviation.

It has been established that participation is important in governance and policy-making and that democracy is the most suitable political system to accommodate participation. Public administration has a role in democracy in as such that its theories and methods are the practical implementation of democratic systems. Furthermore, it should be noted that public administration is oriented toward values, not facts, and is not neutral based on the claim of technical expertise and power by administrators (Waldo, 1948, p. xix). This means that public administration theories and methodologies need to be examined and refined to ensure that they consistently support the principles of democracy and participatory governance in their real world applications.

3.1.2. Local governance

The aims of development and policy making should be to make our lives easier and more fruitful, to make our spaces safer, and to provide for a sustainable future. As many international donors and others involved with development have recognized, these goals must be achieved through a focus on the local community (Friedmann, 1992, p. 2; Fukuda-Parr, Lopes, & Malik, 2002; Weisman, 1998) and the localization of actions and policy (High & Nemes, 2007, p. 105; Stokely, 1995; Woodlard, 1992, p. 306; Robinson, 1997, p. 25). The ability of the community to better perform their community functions is related to participatory governance and the ability of the community to effectively participate. However, as governance and development aid have been moving toward localization and involving local stakeholders, many failures and missteps have been made, largely due to a lack of understanding of their own community capacity and the ability to tailor their programs to it appropriately (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007; Balassanian, 2006; Frederickson & London, 2000; Olowu, 1989, p. 201; Sachs, 2005 p. 73).

For instance, in the Philippines, some community development programs for rural areas suffered from poor planning, poor implementation, overly complex design, inflexibility in adapting to local conditions, and lack of participation by beneficiaries (Quibria 1993, p. 62). Many of these problems could be overcome through an increase in community capacity at the local level, as well as utilizing participatory governance. This reflects the call for participation in poverty alleviation policy-making where local stakeholders can share control, which is a concept supported by many international development organizations, including the WB (Cling et al., 2002b, p. 154; Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan, 1998, p. 4; Salmen & Kane, 2006; WB, 2002).

Local governance emphasizes locality, accountability to local people, and the provision of regulatory economic and social services (Olowu, 1989, p. 205). The participation of local people, in terms of direction and control of community affairs, is pivotal in local governance (Olowu, 1989, p. 205). Local governance contributes to democracy by building political and organizational capacity and developing local leaders, as well as directly providing a check on higher administrative levels to ensure transparency and accountability (Olowu, 1989, p. 205).

Local governments are dependent on their local tax and business base, and local people are dependent on their local economy and identity (Cox & Mair, 1988, pp. 331, 312). Although the interests of local people, government, and business may run counter to one another (Cox & Mair, 1988, p. 314), it can be seen that there is a necessity to take these local interests into consideration. Reflexiveness to locality is integral to policy implementation (Gittel & Vidal, 1998, p. 173).

Local governance reform must be successfully linked to an approach to development that addresses the needs of the community, particularly structural inequalities (Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 244). Furthermore, participation of local people in development is important for economic reasons, mobilizing resources, and ensuring sustainability of an initiative after its introduction (Olowu, 1989, pp. 201-202).

While it is necessary to include local stakeholders in a proactive way to ensure the success of development and the prudence of policy, this does not mean that their involvement occurs without the assistance of the government. Without the involvement of the governing body, particularly the local government, improvements in the lives of the poor cannot be successfully undertaken (Friedmann, 1992, p. 7). Local empowerment requires a strong state that is responsive and accountable to its citizens (Friedmann, 1992, p. 35).

Interest in the development of local institutions came after the development failures of the 1970s and 1980s (Olowu, 1989, p. 201). Capacity building at the local level is important for effective local governance. This is particularly true for the development of a comprehensive local policy structure, rather than simply addressing problems as they come along in a disjointed fashion (Grogan, 1981, p. 650). Public-private partnerships have become a popular way to enhance the capacity of political institutions at the local level (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 90).

Local administrative capacity is determined by capability in policy management, resource management, and program management (Gorgan, 1981, p. 650). Policy management requires community assessment, goal setting, evaluation of management functions, the establishment of priorities and the mobilization and allocation of resources appropriately, and proper planning and implementation of a policy structure (Grogan, 1981, p. 650). Resource management is the creation and support of administrative tools to utilize an organization's basic capabilities and includes personnel administration, property management, information management, and financial management (Grogan, 1981, p. 650). Program management is specifically related to the execution of components of a policy structure (policies, programs, and projects) and provides leadership for the agencies that provide public services (Gorgan, 1981, p. 650). In order to achieve capacity building for local governance, a different approach to training public officials must be taken with an emphasis on the importance of individual and collective choice, multi-organizational arrangements, and the limitations of hierarchy (Olowu, 1989, pp. 225-226).

Although there are many positive aspects of local governance, one of the drawbacks is that it may put more power in the hands of local elites (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 89), rather than the community. This is a critique that is also apparent in the discussion on decentralization, which has been called the "decentralization of corruption." These criticisms can be avoided with a true and consorted effort to combine participatory governance with local governance.

Local governance is discussed here because of the critical role it plays in successful development and poverty alleviation. Poor local governance typically precludes participatory measures and involves corruption, which have been shown to lead to ineffective policy formulation, inhibited development, and exacerbated poverty. This work focuses on the promotion of local participatory governance as the main mode through which community capacity is built and sustained; thus reducing the effects of poverty and facilitating development.

3.1.3. Decentralization and localization

Changes in local governance by the mid 2000s were characterized by more competitive elections, opportunities for leadership, the introduction of new technologies, and broader citizen engagement brought about by democratization and decentralization (Grindle, 2007, p. 69). Decentralization is a mainstay in public administration reform and is now being practiced to varying degrees in many countries around the world (Olowu, 1989, p. 201; Peters, 2001, p. 193; Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 87). The recent trend in globalization and the increasing importance of governments' accountability, transparency, and responsibility has promoted decentralization of political power and economic authority (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 2). By the early 1990s, 84% of countries with a population more than five million had undertaken some form of decentralization (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 8).

Calls for decentralization increased as governments and aid agencies moved away from theories of central economic planning and trickle-down economics toward human and participatory development, (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 3), as well as from minority groups

and citizens who had a growing lack of confidence in the ability of central authorities to serve them (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 4). Decentralization makes government more accountable to the people and increases the quality of democracy (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 70). This is due in part because the centralization of power and authority makes the identification of interests harder to assess and decision making less effective (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 7). Centralized authority also supports and maintains power elite whose interests are likely to diverge from the public (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 7).

Globalization is also increasing the need and desire for decentralization. Globalization is deconcentrating economic activity; requiring local authorities have the ability to regulate and make decisions on economic matters, as well as to facilitate the participation of individuals and enterprises in the global market and benefit from such participation (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 5).

Decentralization is the transfer of authority, responsibility, and resources - through deconcentration, delegation, or devolution - from the center to lower levels of administration (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 1). The concept and practice of decentralization broadened through the 1980s to include political power sharing, democratization, market liberalization, and an expansion of the scope for private sector decision making, and later in the 1990s grew into a way to open governance to the participation of civil society (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, pp. 2-3).

There are three primary forms of decentralization: 1) deconcentration – transfer of some administrative authority and administrative to regional and local field offices and staff; 2) devolution – granting local governments authority, responsibility, and resources to provide services, infrastructure, public health and safety, and formulate and implement local policies; and 3) delegation – shifting management authority to semiautonomous organizations, regional planning and area development agencies, and multi- or single public authorities (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 3).

Decentralization can be categorized further into four types:

1. administrative decentralization - deconcentration of central government structures and bureaucracies, delegation of central government authority and responsibility to semiautonomous agents of the state, and decentralized cooperation of government agencies performing similar functions through twinning arrangements across national borders;

2. political decentralization - includes organization and procedures for increasing citizen participation in selecting political representatives and in making public policy, changes in the structure of the government through devolution of powers to authority to local units of government, power sharing institutions within the state through federalism, constitutional federations, or autonomous regions; and institutions and procedures allowing freedom of association and participation of civil society organization in public decision making, in providing socially beneficial services, and in mobilizing social and financial resources to influence political decision making;

3. fiscal decentralization - means and mechanisms for fiscal cooperation in sharing public revenues among all levels of government, fiscal delegation in public revenue raising and expenditure allocation, fiscal autonomy for state, regional, or local governments; and

4.   economic decentralization - market liberalization, deregulations, privatization of state enterprises, and public-private partnerships (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 7).

In any given national context, there can be any configuration or combination of these four types of decentralization at any level of governance. Decentralization is not only the transfer of power, authority, and responsibility within government, but also the sharing of authority and resources for shaping policy with the community and society at large (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 6). Decentralization is a key component of participatory governance and requires the institutionalization of participation in terms of election, hearings, and budgeting (Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 242; see also Alfonso, 1997).

Additionally, decentralization has made the role of the local administrator more important, especially in relation to the involvement of the community and participatory practices. "Government organizations are now being placed under increasing pressure to accommodate the interests of low-level employees, as well as those of their clients (community members), into the decision making process (Peters, 2001, p. 8)." The government partnership activities that accompany participatory governance and decentralized authority rely heavily on the ability of the community to respond to these activities.

The benefits of decentralization, if crafted appropriately depending on the context and implemented properly, include: a) economic development; b) political accountability; c) enhanced public participation; d) the facilitation of administrative functions; e) a reduction in bureaucratic red tape; f) the ability for decisions to be made and implemented quickly; g) an increase in resources for local governments; h) an increased flexibility and responsiveness of governance; i) an increased amount of cooperation between government, private sector, and civil society to meet the needs of society; j) balanced regional development; k) community empowerment; l) public-private partnerships for development; m) increased institutional and organizational capacity; and n) local ownership of development initiatives (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 7).

Additionally, the increased amount of information technology and decreased technology costs makes decentralization more cost efficient than centralization (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 69). This allows nations to better balance their budgets and curb public expenditure, especially at the central government level (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 88). With these positive points on decentralization in mind, it becomes clear that decentralization is a benefit to citizens in their daily lives and to the efficient functioning of all levels of administration.

The localization of policy structure and evaluation is a mechanism of decentralization because they both function on the concept of delegated discretion, i.e. enabling people with immediate access to information to make decisions (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 44). Bureaucracies, particularly in developing countries, lose productivity without delegated discretion (Grindle, 1990, p. 221), further reinforcing the importance of decentralization and localization.

Localization does not necessarily accompany decentralization, although it should. Devolution of power and resources to local authorities is the foundation for sustainable decentralization (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 9). However, some centralized authorities see decentralization as a way to extend their power into various localities, causing some skepticism (Olowu, 1989, p. 202). Local self-governance must be considered an important twin concept to decentralization. Devolution of authority to local levels offers communities the opportunity to better plan and achieve desired outcomes by allowing them to tailor regulations and programs to fit local circumstances (Pavey et al., 2007, p. 91). Localization is more akin to contextualization

and empowerment of local authorities to control policy and fiscal decisions, whereas there are varying degrees of decentralized authority.

Varying interpretations and implementations of decentralization, as well as a general reluctance to devolve power, particularly from senior level bureaucrats, has lead to many disappointments and failures in decentralization (Olowu, 1989, pp. 202, 219). This could be due in part to the continued need for differentiated and pluralistic societies with fragmented institutional systems to have collective steering, planning and consensus building (Hesse 1991 as cited in Rhodes, 1997, p. 195). While decentralization is better suited for strategic public management, central authorities will continue to staunchly preserve their roles and capabilities (Rhodes, 1997, p. 195).

Developing countries in particular fail to deliver in practice what decentralization promises in theory (Blunt & Turner, 2007, p. 115; Olowu, 1989, p. 202). Decentralization has failed to live up to expectations in its ability to overcome socio-economic disparities and elude systems of patronage, the likelihood of elite capture, and its tendency to be undermined by socio-cultural norms (Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 243; see also Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 8). Administrative decentralization (deconcentration) has been criticized as not focusing enough on local self governance, even when decentralization policy is outlined to include local governance (devolution) (Olowu, 1989, p. 218).

Dele Olowu (1989) outlines two basic reasons for the failure of decentralization programs in Africa: 1) too many demands for coordination and development activity on administrative systems that lack capacity; and 2) a failure to address the social and political issues that decentralization raises, for instance how to create incentives for local resource mobilization and investment and active participation of local actors (p. 219).

Blunt and Turner (2007) have identified seven obstacles to the implementation of decentralization. These obstacles are:

1. parochialism, which encourages disunity;
2. the shedding of functions by governments unwilling or unable to take fiscal responsibility for services;
3. central authorities maintaining control through regulations;
4. elite capture;
5. the unpopularity of decentralization among citizens or civil servants;
6. limited local capacity; and
7. the exclusion of the poor and marginalized through manipulation or passive participation (Blunt & Turner, 2007, p. 117).

The obstacles described by Blunt and Turner share some of the issued outlined by Hickey and Mohan, such as elite capture, but are more specific in terms of the roots of the limitations of decentralization (see also Fukuyama, 2004, p. 71). Cheema and Rondinelli (2007) and Olowu (1989) also concur that limited local capacity for administration in government systems and civil society also causes problems with decentralization. Olowu (1989) also adds that the structure of politics and the political economy of underdevelopment contribute to failures in decentralization (p. 202).

Participatory activities in decentralization are not continually implemented as planned and vary widely from country to country (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 8). Furthermore, a mere expansion of civil society organizations does not unanimously facilitate true empowerment (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 9). Full engagement of civil society in policy making and

decentralization leads to support and legitimacy for government initiatives, preservations of the interests of local people, and better access to basic services (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 15).

Blunt and Turner (2007) argue that if poverty reduction was the main focus of public administration reforms, instead of participatory governance and democracy, then decentralization would be more effective (p. 116). This may be a logical retort to the critique that democracy pushes have been over politicized and used as a guise for regime change by some western countries.

Furthermore, in terms of poverty reduction, administrative deconcentration, which can also be described as localization, is proffered as having more potential effectiveness than political decentralization because it is accompanied by decision making authority and fiscal resources, as well as increased popular active participation (Blunt & Turner, 2007, p. 119). However, deconcentration can incur problems as well such as: a) the dysfunctions of the central bureaucracy being replicated at the local level; b) public officials who are disinterested in participatory methods; c) low local administrative capacity; d) unmotivated public officials because of low salary or poor terms of employment; and e) low expectations in regards to results, reforms, or service delivery by the community (Blunt & Turner, 2007, p. 120).

Although proponents of decentralization claim that it will lower public expenditure, it should be noted that decentralization does not decrease the overall size of the administration, rather it changes the division of labor within the bureaucracy, as well as the patterns of financial and other responsibilities for administration and delivery of public services (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 88).

Again, Blunt and Turner (2007) suggest seven requirements to make decentralization more effective in poverty reduction:

1. accessibility of public officials and administrators;
2. mobilization of local resources;
3. rapid response to local needs;
4. orientation toward specific local needs;
5. training of field personnel to reflect reorientation towards the locality;
6. interoffice coordination through various administrative levels; and
7. focus of central agencies on improving quality of policy (P. 119).

These seven requirements place the emphasis on the locality, as well as delegate authority to ensure that appropriate policy is crafted to meet the needs of local people. According to these suggestions, the role of the central government is to direct policy and play a coordinating role between various agencies and administrative levels, not the micro-management of local affairs. Decentralization should be built upon the principle of subsidarity – no decision should be made at a level higher than it needs to be performed (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 68).

Administrative capacity building is also required for successful decentralization (Pavey et al., 2007, p. 91). In fact, decentralization itself may provide the incentive to build local government capacity that could improve service delivery to the poor (WB, 2003, p. 18).

Furthermore, decentralization cannot be successful without staunch, committed, and willing political leadership from all levels of governance, as well as an acceptance of sharing and participation in policy making and management by entities outside of direct central government control (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 9). Additionally, decentralization only addresses issues with administrative volume, but does not necessarily organize people to more effectively articulate or address their needs and desires (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 60). Organizing civil society will increase the effectiveness of people in conveying their needs and desires, making policy

formulation in response to them more effective, thus making decentralization and participatory governance more effective.

Decentralization policy needs to be appropriately designed and effectively implemented and complemented by officials who see devolution and empowerment as a benefit rather than a threat (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 9). Without true decentralization of fiscal and political authority, clientelism will prevail (Grindle, 2007, p. 71). As with most concepts in the social sciences, the failures of decentralization are not necessarily due to weaknesses in the concept, but rather due to ineffective or problematic implementation of frameworks based on the concept (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 9).

In response to the difficulties faced by decentralization, localization is considered as an important complement in Chapter Six. Using cases of training for evaluation and the localization of evaluation, some ways in which localization to improve decentralization can be fostered.

3.2.   Public Administration

Public administration is the management of public policy. Public administration describes the structure of governance, including formal civil service, political and government systems, as well the relationship between government actors and private contractors delivering public services. According to NDI (2009), public policy can be defined as "the result of interactions between different groups and parties about the course of action that should be taken (p. 46)." Public policy is usually established by governments then implemented by the administrative structure and monitored by civil society (NDI, 2009, p. 46).

Most governments around the world have undergone some sort of reform over the past several decades, with mixed success (Peters, 2001, p. 16). Peters (2001) identifies four models of government: 1) market government, 2) participative government, 3) flexible government, and 4) deregulated government (p. 21). Most public administration reforms fall into one of these four categories. When it comes to public administration reforms, context is crucially important (Peters, 2001, p. 180); meaning that there is no one model of governance that is suitable in every circumstance and time.

Since the middle of the twentieth century, public administration reforms have moved toward a more entrepreneurial style of governance (Ocampo, 2008, p. 248). These reforms are based on the concept of the market and the idea that competition between service providers leads to better and more efficient service to the customer, the citizen. Furthermore, market-based public administration reforms are thought to empower citizens by localizing control of service delivery to the community (Ocampo, 2008, p. 248). Other benefits of the market approach to public administration include: a) a focus on outcomes instead of inputs; b) direction guided by goals and vision, rather than rules and regulations; c) pre-emptive problem solving; d) economic efficiency; e) decentralized authority; f) participatory management; and g) being a catalyst for improvement of the community at large (Ocampo, 2008, p. 248). These are the touted benefits of adopting an entrepreneurial style of governance, but they may not pan out in real life. However, this does not mean that there is not an incentive to attempt to reform public administration to meet these benefits.

New Public Management (NPM) adopts a market approach to governance and seeks to improve public administration by making it function in ways similar to business. Initially, NPM had two meanings: 1) managerialism – the introduction of private business methods into public

administration, and 2) new institutional economics – the introduction of incentive structures, such as market competition, into public service provision (Rhodes, 1997, p. 48).

NPM involves less government but more governance (Ocampo, 2008, p. 253; Rhodes, 1997, p. 49). NPM makes government more mission-driven than rule bound, asserts that government should meet the needs of the people, not the bureaucracy, and incorporates theories of decentralization into its practice (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007, p. 4). While, traditional systems of public administration focused mainly on compliance, NPM places more emphasis on accountability, performance, program, and policy focusing more highly on outputs and outcomes (Stewart, 1985 as cited in Morita, 2009).

NPM is a group of administrative doctrines that emerged in the 1970s out of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries (Ocampo, 2008. p. 249). There are eight basic trends in public management:

1. strengthening steering functions at the center;
2. devolving authority, providing flexibility;
3. ensuring performance, control, accountability;
4. improving the management of human resources;
5. optimizing information technology;
6. developing competition and choice;
7. improving the quality of regulation; and
8. providing responsive service (Kickert, 1997 as cited in Ocampo, 2008. p. 249).

NPM can also be described as managing for results (Rhodes, 1997, p. 49), which has been adopted by several countries and by the OECD's DAC (see also Lavergne & Alba, 2003). Results-based management improves management effectiveness and accountability through involving key stakeholders to define realistic results, assess risk, monitor progress, integrate lessons learned into management decisions, and report on performance (Lavergne & Alba, 2003, p. 47).

Sachs (2005) describes the necessary components of effective public management strategy for development as decentralization, public sector capacity building, information technologies, audits, and continuous monitoring and evaluation with measurable benchmarks (p. 278). There are many similarities between Sach's recommendation for public management for development and the concepts involved in NPM.

NPM has been criticized because government cannot be consistently run like a business, may not be global applicability, as well as the paradigm itself not being properly implemented in many circumstances (Ocampo, 2008, p. 252). Many of the criticisms of and obstacles of decentralization apply to NMP because it holds decentralization as one of its main tenets. Although there have been critiques of NPM, it still continues to inspire new reforms in public administration in an attempt to improve governance (Ocampo, 2008, p. 253).

Another problem with NPM is its tendency to lead to a "hollowing out of the state" (Rhodes, 1997, p. 53). The hollow state refers to an approach to policy implementation that relies on private or non-profit organizations to deliver public goods (Fredericksen & London, 2000, p. 230). The basic contention of the hollow state is that it allows for more localized and adaptive public service (Fredericksen & London, 2000, p. 230).

However, there are also some negative aspects of the hollow state. The five basic negative points of hollowing out are:

1. privatization and limiting the scope and forms of public intervention;

2.   loss of functions by central and local government departments to alternative delivery systems (such as agencies);

3.   loss of functions by governments and institutions;

4.   limited discretion of public servants; and

5.   more political control thorough sharper distinction between politics and administration (Rhodes, 1997, pp. 53-54).

Hollowing out of the state erodes accountability because a) institutional complexity obscures personal accountability, b) contractors and specialized departments have replaced central departments and local councils in service delivery and are not subject to the same public scrutiny and accountability, c) transparency and consumer responsiveness do not equate to public accountability because the user has limited choice thus reduced power to hold the agencies accountable, and d) multitudes of service providers leave the administration's position ambiguous without proper arrangement (Rhodes, 1997, p. 54). Another point of contention with NPM is that is creates difficulty in determining which agency or department is responsible for an outcome, which causes problems for evaluation (Rhodes, 1997, p. 55).

Many already developed countries are convinced that an entrepreneurial approach to public administration is the best form and employ a derivation of NPM. Decentralization is consistent with these approaches. However, often times the challenges of developing countries are not consistent with the ideals set for in NPM. Instead, these countries focus on establishing a clear rule of law and balancing power between the state and business first (Peters, 2001, pp. 8-9). In these cases, public administration reform should take a different form. Consistent with the concepts that were presented earlier in this chapter and in Chapter Two, which demonstrate that participatory mechanisms and governance are the most suitable for achieving equitable development, a model of participative government may be advisable for developing countries, as well as already developed ones.

Participative governments are useful to reform governments that have a strong hierarchy (Peters, 2001, p. 21). Participative reforms include a flatter organization, management such as Total Quality Management (TQM) and management in teams, consultative policy making, with the public also involved in policy making and consultation (Peters, 2001, p. 21). The participation model sees coordination as being driven from the bottom up, which requires a population of citizens that can articulate their demands effectively and administrative organizations that are oriented toward delivering holistic services (Peters, 2001, p. 185). Furthermore, not all government functions would work well utilizing participatory methods, calling for it to be applied in contexts that are suited for participation and where participation is demanded (Peters, 2001, p. 193).

3.2.1. Public Administration Tools

The previous sections of this chapter discussed concepts of governance and methods of public administration and this section will look at a few key tools that are of vital importance to those types of governance and public administration. These tools include the management cycle, the logic framework, and evaluation.

3.2.1.1.   The Management Cycle

The management cycle is a way to articulate the necessary and continuous steps in policy management. Figure 5 is a visual representation of the policy management cycle (Miyoshi, 2008a; JICA, 2004; see also Wolf, 1986, pp. 91-93 regarding the preliminary stages of policy management).

Figure 5 - Policy Management Cycle
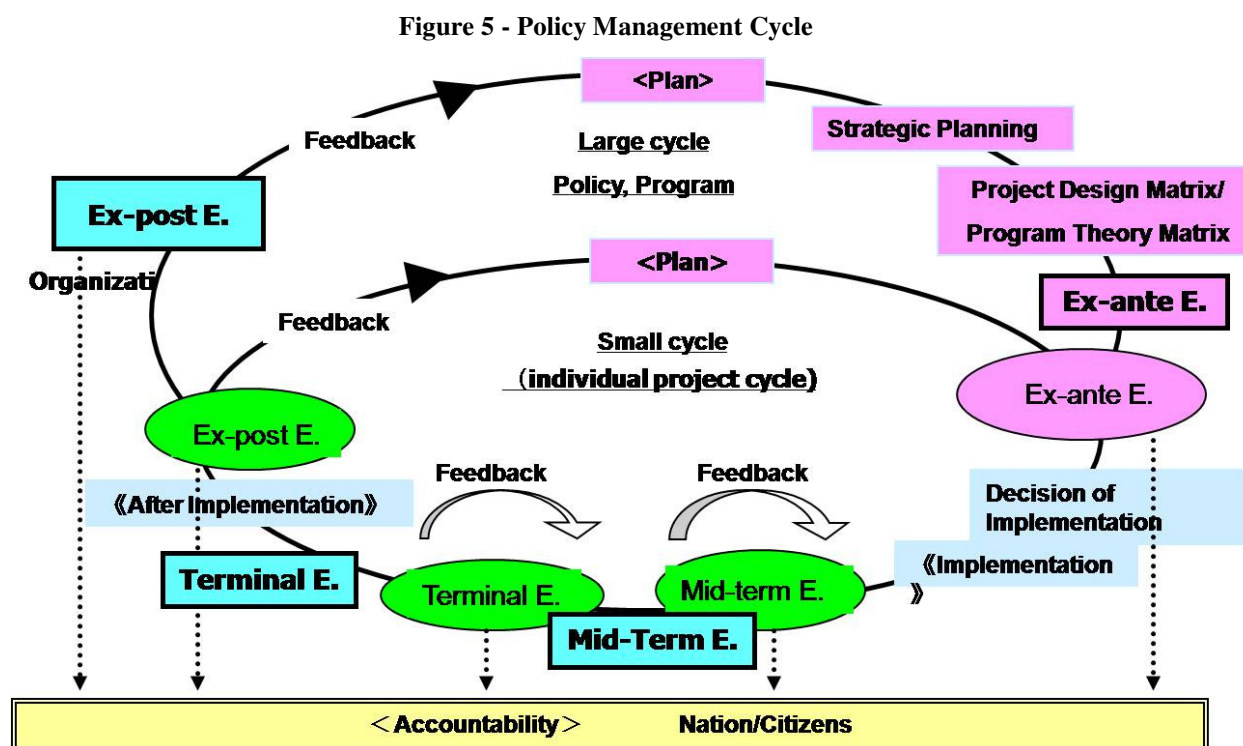
Source: Miyoshi 2008a, based on JICA, 2004

The cycle starts with the ex-post evaluations (evaluation at the completion of a policy, program, or project (Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 9)) and the feedback on previous policies, programs, and projects related to an initiative. The initial stages of policy planning come next and then the cycle moves through a series of preliminary assessments of the proposed policy, culminating in a full ex-ante evaluation (evaluation commenced before the implementation of a policy, program, or project (Miyoshi, 2008b, p, 9)). Based on the results of the ex-ante evaluation, a policy is implemented, abandoned, or reformulated. After a policy has been implemented, a schedule of mid-term and terminal evaluations (also known as monitoring (Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 9)) for its various projects and programs is decided upon followed by an ex-post evaluation, which then leads back to the continuation of the policy, as well as the creation of new policies.

This policy management cycle should proceed similarly at all levels of governance and for the programs and projects affiliated with each policy to create a fully functioning and assessed policy structure in both vertical and horizontal terms. Following the policy management cycle leads to increased accountability of the policy, especially if the evaluations are appropriately reported to the public and mechanisms for feedback are in place.

3.2.2.   The Logic Framework

The logic framework is an analytical and management tool for policy managers and planners. The six main functions of the logic framework are:

1. to analyze the existing situation during project preparation;
2. to establish a logical hierarchy of means by which objectives will be reached;
3. to identify the potential risks to achieving objectives and to sustain outcomes;
4. to establish how outputs and outcomes might best be monitored and evaluated;
5. to present a summary of the project in a standard format; and
6. to monitor and review projects during implementation (AusGUIDElines, 2003, p. 1).

Overall, the logic framework serves to provide consistency and organization for management and evaluation of a policy structure. The logic framework complements the program theory matrix (PTM), which is another tool for policy management that outlines the specific plan for implementation of a program or project.

Figure 6 shows the basic outline of the logic framework, as well as how the logic framework fits in with common policy management parlance.

Figure 6 - Logic Framework
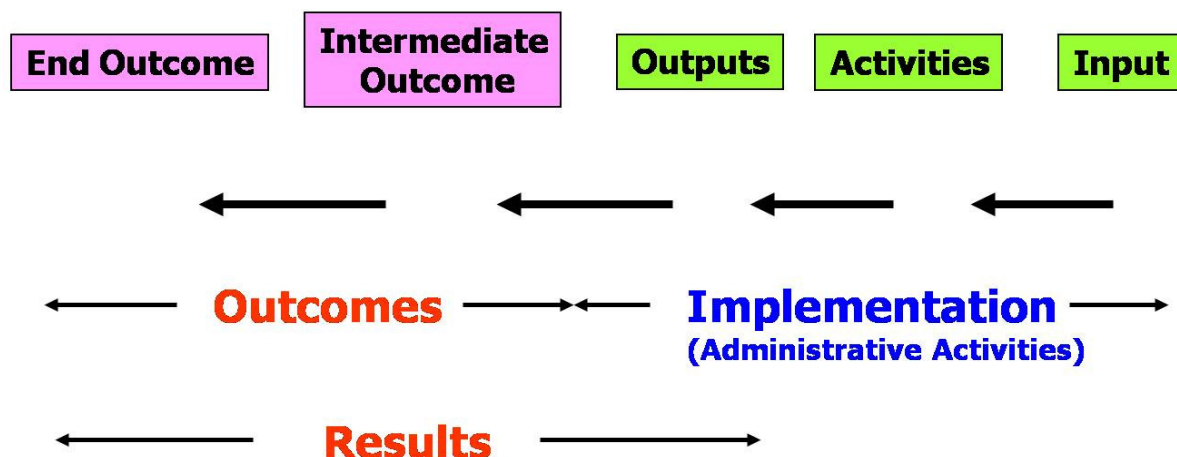
Source: Miyoshi, 2008a, based on JICA, 2004

Reading from left to right, the logic framework starts with end outcomes, which represent the desired change in society (Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 3). The framework then moves on to intermediate outcomes, which is the desired change in the target groups of the policy, program, or project (Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 3). The end outcomes and the intermediate outcomes (the pink boxes in Figure 4) combine for the overall outcomes for the policy. The outcomes cannot be controlled directly through the plan, but are the logical results of the plan outlined on the right of the framework (the green boxes in Figure 6).

The outputs are the goods and services resulting from the activities that are executed using inputs such as human and material resources, operating funds, facilities, capital, expertise, and time (Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 3). These green boxes can be described as the implementation or

administrative activities of a policy, program, or project. The implementation of a policy, program, or project can be directly controlled through administrative activities and should logically lead to the desired outcomes. The outputs and the outcomes collectively can be described as the results of a policy, program, or project.

A policy, program, or project has vertical logic when it does what it is intended to do, clarifies causal relationships, and specifies the important assumptions and uncertainties beyond managers' control (AusGUIDElines, 2003, p. 15). There is horizontal logic when the specified objectives of the policy, program, or project are measured and the means by which they are measured are verified (AusGUIDElines, 2003, p. 15).

While the logic framework is widely used and provides a common ground for policy management between levels of governance and extra-national entities, there are still some discrepancies between the various understandings and vocabulary associated with the framework. For instance, in Australia, the logic framework commonly used for international development initiatives uses the word goal instead of end outcomes and adds extra outcomes categories (see AusGUIDElines, 2003, p. 2) in comparison to the model used in Japan, which is described here. Despite some inconsistencies in the use of the logic framework around the world, the basic intent and structure of the framework are understood and implemented similarly, which creates common ground for administrators and practitioners, but allows for flexibility based on context, circumstance, and understanding.

The logic framework can be used as guide to better understand the plan and expectations of a policy, program, or project, as well as a framework for both quantitative and qualitative evaluation (Gardener & Geierstranger, 2007, p. 9). Indicators can be crafted for each portion of the logic framework and evaluated accordingly. The logic framework is used to analyze the policy structures of the cases of rural revitalization in Japan in Chapter Five, as well as to analyze the local policy structure of Pagudpud in Chapter Seven.

Evaluation is a key component of the policy management cycle and the logic framework can be used to guide evaluation. The next subsection will delve into the necessity of evaluation and some accompanying tools for it.

3.2.3. Evaluation

Surprisingly, government policies often do not have clear objectives or benefits that are astutely analyzed (Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 1). While some policies may seem beneficial in concept, it does not necessarily mean that they are effectively crafted or implemented. It is for this reason that it is necessary to conduct evaluations. This need was first recognized in the United States by New York Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan through a study that he commissioned on poverty in the United States, which identified the necessity of using social science and evaluation to improve public policy effectiveness (Morehouse, 1972, p. 870). The need for monitoring and evaluation is now widely recognized, especially as people demand more and better results from their governance systems (UNDP, 1997, p. 29).

Evaluation is more than just a way to look critically at the planning and processes in a policy, program, or project. It employs social research to see how well public policy works (Morehouse, 1972, p. 868). Basically evaluation is employed to determine what works and what does not (Morehouse, 1972, p. 868; WB, 2003, p. 17).

Morehouse (1972) offers an early definition of evaluation: "the means of determining the extent to which a program is achieving its objectives, using methods that yield evidence that is

objective, systematic, and comprehensive (p. 869)." Later, Carol Weiss (1998) expands on the concept of evaluation defining it as "the systematic assessment of the operation and/or the outcomes of a project, program, or policy, compared to a set of explicit or implicit standards, as a means of contributing to the improvement of the project, program or policy (p.4)." This definition offers a straightforward explanation of evaluation in relation to a policy structure. Michael Q. Patton (2002) offers a similar definition of program evaluation, describing it as "the systematic collection of information about the activities, characteristics, and outcomes of programs to make judgments about the program, improve program effectiveness, and/or inform decision about future programming (p. 10)." While Patton's definition is specifically referring to program evaluation, it can easily be related to the evaluation of any part of a policy structure, be it a project, program or overall policy.

Patton (2002) also defines process evaluation as a process that "aim(s) at elucidating and understanding internal dynamics of how a program, organization, or relationship operates (p. 159)." This definition extends evaluation to include the descriptions of how people engage with one another and the description of their experiences in a dynamic environment (Patton 2002, p. 159), which applies more aptly to the aim of participatory methods in evaluating community situations and providing voice to various community groups, in addition to commenting on the local policy structure.

With these definitions, a working definition of evaluation for this work is rendered: evaluation is the systematic collection and assessment of information related to the outcomes, operation, or process of a policy structure, organization or relationship.

There are two main purposes of evaluation: 1) improving administrative operations through obtaining a better understanding of operations – learning; and 2) providing results to stakeholders – accountability (Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 2; see also High & Nemes, 2007, p. 104; Weiss, 1998, pp. 27-28). Both of these purposes of evaluation emphasize the importance of feedback. Evaluation is focused on practically improving policy and is therefore more applied than academic, focusing on practical methods (Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 2).

Good evaluation has the following requirements:
1. usefulness;
2. impartiality and independence;
3. credibility; and
4. participation of stakeholders (JICA, 2004).

These requirements ensure that evaluation is undertaken appropriately and serves the purposes for which it is being undertaken.

Evaluation is most effective when these five basic steps are taken:
1. understand the context and policy environment;
2. develop a theory of change to explain how and why a project's activities are expected to lead to desired policy changes;
3. define benchmarks;
4. collect data; and
5. use findings (Louie & Guthrie, 2007, p. 5).

By following these steps it is more likely that a good evaluation will be conducted. After there is an understanding of the context in which the evaluation is to take place, developing a theory using the logic framework is the next step. Once a policy has been outlined in the logic framework, the specific steps of evaluation – defining benchmarks, collecting data, and then giving feedback can be conducted.

Monitoring and evaluation are a part of the policy management cycle and should be undertaken on an ongoing basis (Louie & Guthrie, 2007, p. 5; Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 9; Weiss, 1998, pp.25-26). Coffman (2007) suggests using the logic framework to create a continuous evaluation plan that is most useful for the stakeholders involved (p. 4). An important part of the incorporation of evaluation into the management cycle is providing feedback from the evaluations to the public and other stakeholders. Another factor in integrating evaluation into the policy management cycle is the need to link the results of evaluations to improvements to an existing policy or the creation of a new policy, particularly in terms of altering or eliminating underperforming portions in budgeting considerations (Kaufmann et al., 2002, p. 22).

Providing feedback to the public will help to inspire public discourse on the policy in question, which is a reinforcing principle of evaluation and data collection (Kaufmann et al., 2002, p. 22). Feedback is important to ensure that evaluation serves the purpose of improving policy and public relations. However, the information rendered by an evaluation must be useful to the stakeholders (Kaufmann et al., 2002, p. 22), which suggests the need for careful consideration of feedback usage in crafting an evaluation framework.

Evaluation is useful both in terms of the results that it produces and the process involved in the evaluation (Patton, 1988 as cited in Go, 2009). Broadening the scope of understanding and potential use of evaluation will help to make it a more useful tool for policy and policy making (Go, 2009).

There is a need for a consistent understanding of evaluation terminology and overall stability to ensure that all stakeholders involved in evaluation are discussing the same things (Morehouse, 1972, p. 871). The logic framework can be used to build evaluations to provide consistency and stability. Across the logic framework, the relationship between the ends (outcomes) and methods (inputs/activities/outcomes) is analyzed to address causal relationships (Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 3). Using the logic framework also helps to clarify a policy, which is an important step in evaluation (Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 3).

Policy evaluation usually starts with the end outcomes and program evaluation begins with intermediate outcomes, and project evaluation start from the outputs (Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 6). This means that there is slightly different approach to evaluation taken at each level of a policy (Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 6). However, this does not mean that each level of evaluation only follows a potion of the logic framework. Rather, each policy, program, and project should have a fully operational logic model to guide and describe their role within the larger policy, yet each logic model should be consistently nested within the largest policy framework. Figure 7 is a diagram showing the integration of the logic framework into a policy structure.

Figure 7 – Integrated Policy Structure
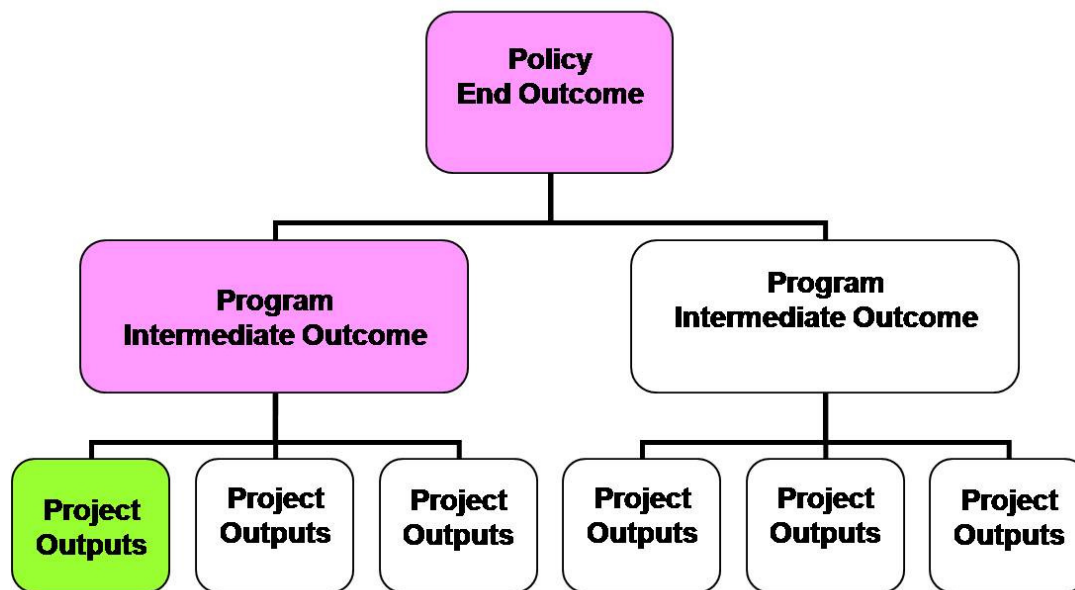
In order to construct an evaluation, questions must be formulated. The formulation of questions for an evaluation can most effectively be done in a participatory way. There are three broad categories of questions: 1) measuring performance; 2) examining implementation processes and clarifying; and 3) causal relations (United States General Accounting Office 1991 as cited in Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 4). Questions help to design the overall evaluation and decide on indicators (Weiss, 1998, p. 87).

There are three types of evaluation questions:
1. descriptive questions – focus on the current situation, examine implementation process;
2. normative questions – compare with targets, measure performance; and
3. cause-effect questions – measure effect of implementation, impact evaluation (Miyoshi, 2008a).

Descriptive questions search for implementation failure and normative questions looks for the degree of achievement, while cause-effect questions examine design failure (Miyoshi, 2008a).

Indicators are concepts that help explain and provide understanding of phenomena (Miyoshi, 2008a). They provide the information necessary to determine progress toward stated policy objectives (AusGUIDElines, 2003, p. 17). Indicators are operationalized through measurement (Miyoshi, 2008a) that clearly defines the quantity, quality, and timing of expected results (AusGUIDElines, 2003, p. 17).

Each evaluation will have indicators that are specifically tailored to gauge the success and progress of that policy, program, or project. However, there are some general guidelines for the creation and selection of indicators. Australia uses the acronym SMART to describe indicator criteria: Specific, Measureable, Attainable, Relevant, and Timely (AusGUIDElines, 2003, pp. 25-26). JICA (2004) breaks up the guidelines further into indicators and measurement. Indicators need to be direct and valid, operational, and adequate, and measurement of indicators

should be practical and reliable (Miyoshi, 2008a). Following these criteria will ensure that the selected indicators will render data that will be useful for producing coherent reports on the status of a policy, program, or project.

To help guide evaluation of development projects by various donors, the DAC established indicator criteria for evaluation. The DAC-5 evaluation criteria are: 1) efficiency, 2) effectiveness, 3) impact, 4) relevance, and 5) sustainability (Miyoshi, 2008a). These categories of indicators are useful in the design of evaluation, as well as for rendering reports to gauge the importance of the data collected during the evaluation.

Figure 8 shows the integration of the logic framework with the criteria for evaluation and evaluation questions. The components of the logic framework are in the middle of the diagram and the appropriately corresponding categories of evaluation questions are on the left of the framework. Process is examined through analyzing the steps between inputs and outputs. Performance is measured by gauging the effects that the outputs have on the intermediate outcomes. The relationship between the logic framework and the DAC-5 evaluation criteria can be found on the right of the framework.

Figure 8 - Integrated logic framework and evaluation criteria
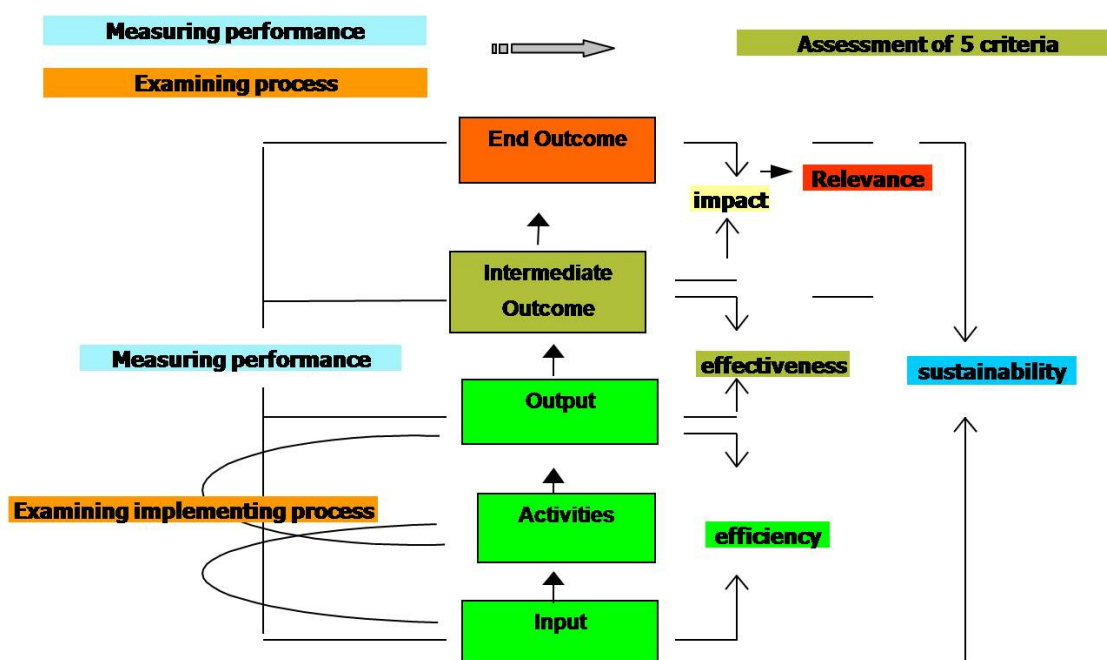
Source: Miyoshi, 2008a

Efficiency is examined by analyzing the inputs through the outputs, as in examining the process. Effectiveness is similar to measuring performance in that it highlights the relationship between the outputs and the intermediate outcomes. The DAC-5 criteria go further then to examine impact, which is analyzed by looking at the relationship between the intermediate outcomes and the end outcomes. The relevance of a policy is also examined through analyzing the link between intermediate outcomes and end outcomes. Sustainability is determined by analyzing the entire logical framework in comparison to the desired outcomes in the long run.

Instituting evaluation in service agencies at all levels of governance will facilitate the identification of weaknesses of policy and areas for reforms (Kaufmann et al., 2002, p. ix).

Evaluation is a mode through which policy and governance can be improved. It is a tool that can assist economic development and poverty alleviation by improving the accountability, efficiency, effectiveness, and impact of various policies, programs, and projects (Gobar, 1993, p. 18; Cling et al., 2002b, p. 154). Monitoring and evaluation has to the potential to reduce corruption (Kaufmann et al., 2002, p. ix) and improve the service of public servants to their constituents.

Furthermore, to ensure that evaluation reflects true situations, reaches those that are affected by a policy, program, or project, or those that can affect necessary changes it is necessary to involve stakeholders in the evaluation process (High & Nemes, 2007, p. 106; Kaufmann et al., 2002, p. 21; Mohan & Sullivan, 2006, p. 13; Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008, p. 41). Meaningful involvement of stakeholders helps significantly in ensuring accountability, effectiveness, and transparency (Morita, 2009).

Involving stakeholders in evaluation in a meaningful way is the basis of truly participatory activities. Evaluation does not have the same significance for or is interpreted in the same fashion by all stakeholders (Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 13). The involvement of different stakeholders in evaluation creates new understandings of situations through discussion and negotiation on judgments of facts and values (High & Nemes, 2007, p. 106; Miyoshi, 2008b, p. 14). Although participation in monitoring and evaluation is recognized as an important component in ensuring the validity and appropriate implementation of a policy, program, or project, it is often the most difficult to incorporate (Cling et al., 2002a, p. 12).

Evaluation is being developed and implemented in virtually all sectors and levels of governance around the world (WB, 2002, p. 19). Systematic evaluation of policy, particularly in terms of service delivery and poverty reduction, can have positive impacts on global development and the MDGs (WB, 2003, p. 17). The benefits of evaluation can go beyond improving governance and policymaking to include improving the human resources of people and the communities in which they live if participation is appropriately incorporated (Gittel & Vidal, 1998, p. 160; High & Nemes, 2007, p. 111).

Evaluation is important for policy making at all levels of governance. In fact, some feel evaluation is so important that it is considered a public good and should be supported, even financed by the international community (WB, 2003, p. 17).

Now that the importance of evaluation has been established, this work pursues the improvement of evaluation. Chapter Six analyzes the weaknesses in evaluation, particularly in developing countries, according to government officials and practitioners from developing countries. From this analysis, some suggestions on ways that evaluation can be better constructed are made. The case of Pagudpud looks more in-depth at the ways that these suggestions can then be utilized in an assessment. Chapter Seven details a more traditional approach to evaluation, while Chapter Eight looks at using non-traditional participatory evaluation, which is a methodological contribution of this work.

3.3.   Chapter Summary

This chapter provides an overview on governance and public administration. The practical background behind governance and public administration is provided in order to connect the prevailing concepts of development and community capacity presented in Chapter Two with their real world circumstances and methods of application. Bridging the gap between theory and application is important to ensure that concepts truly have a space in real world discussions and

that they match the current situation with governance to reach the goals of human development and poverty alleviation.

Governance was covered in the first section of this chapter. Governance is described as the system through which authority is exercised and has grown to include governments at various levels, service agencies, and private enterprises involved with public service delivery. Democracy and participatory governance are currently the most popular forms of governance and are practically implemented through local governance, decentralization, and localization. Localized governance is important because it contributes to democracy through the development of political, organizational and leadership capacity at the local level, thus increasing people's participation, as well as providing a check on higher levels of authority, thus increasing good governance.

Many public administration reforms have been undertaken in the last few decades, most of which move governance toward democratic participation and the global market. NPM is one such contemporary public administration paradigm that seeks to see government run more efficiently and effectively. However, this does not mean an end to overall public administration reforms. There has been some criticism of NPM because it leads to problems such as an over reliance on the market and a hollow state. Participative governance is another type of public administration that should especially be considered by developing countries.

Along with the current state of public administration, there are some popular tools that can be used to ensure good governance. Acknowledging and implementing a policy management cycle that includes evaluation and links it and public feedback to the next policy planning phase will increase the efficiency of public management and the effectiveness of policy. The logic framework is an organizational tool that can be used to describe any portion of a policy structure in its entirety, and provides common structure and vocabulary for public administration. Finally, evaluation is increasingly becoming the most important and useful public administration tool for the promotion of good governance.

Good governance is continually touted as the best way to achieve the various objectives of human development and poverty alleviation. This chapter has provided the various theoretical and practical methodologies behind good governance, which provide the basis for better policy creation and management to meet the various goals associated with development. It also provides the foundation for the analysis of governance and policy found later in this work on some communities in rural Japan and the Filipino municipality of Pagudpud, as well as the development of the corresponding evaluation tools. Chapter Four begins the journey on the case study analysis of this work by detailing the general research approaches and paradigms that were used in this study, as well as the methods used in data collection.

4. Data Collection Methods

This chapter is dedicated to exploring the methodology employed during the research for this work. It must first be noted that this work is multidisciplinary in nature, referring to concepts, theories, and approaches from sociology, economics, political sciences, and various other social sciences. Furthermore, the data that is used to explore and expand the concepts found here comes from a variety of sources, employing various different approaches and methods, which will be discussed in this chapter.

The follow research questions are posed to guide this chapter:

1. Which research paradigms and approaches are the most appropriate for studying about community capacity and governance?
2. What is a case study and how was it employed in this work?
3. How is observation used in this study?
4. How can photography be used in research?
5. How and when can focus groups be used?
6. How can different interviewing techniques be used to gather data?
7. How can a survey be used to gather data?
8. What approaches, methods, and techniques were used for each data set of this research?

The paradigms and approaches that guided the research, post-positivism, post-modernism, contextualism, reflexive and adaptive research, qualitative research and action research, will be introduced first. The epistemology section will be followed by an in-depth description of the various methods that were used to gather data for this work such as case studies, participant observation, photography, focus groups, interviews, and surveys. This chapter will then conclude with an overview of the specific methods used in the various areas of data collection, rural Japanese communities, the evaluation training projects, and the municipalities in the Philippines.

4.1. Epistemology

This work is approached using predominately a post-modernist, post-positivist, and contextualist paradigm. The central tenets of post-modernism are: a) there are no adequate means for representing external reality; b) reality is constructed by those interpreting it; c) context is important – all knowable claims are intelligible and debatable only within their context; d) reality is a linguistic convention; and e) all ethics are relative (Rhodes, 1997, pp. 183-184).

The post-modernist paradigm is being adopted because it begins to recognize the complexity of the world and dissuades researchers and practitioners from creating or employing concepts that are purportedly universal. Rhodes (1997) and Hickey and Mohan (2005) agree that taking a post-modernist approach to public administration is the most appropriate at this time. However, Hickey and Mohan go even further to suggest that 'critical modernism' should be employed over post-modernism because as a public administration paradigm, it retains the concept of development (p. 255). According to critical modernism, development is recognized as a dialectical process not merely an act of mimicry or replication (Watts, 2003 as cited in Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 255). This contention was also made in Chapter Two when the context in which development takes place was emphasized.

As a public administration paradigm, post-modernism supports democracy, emancipation, progress, feminism, post-Marxism, and post-structuralism (Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 255). All of these concepts are important to this research, so despite the strict definition of post-modernism offered by scholars of public administration, post-modernism will be adopted as a research approach.

The post-modernism paradigm is also relevant to the employment of participatory methodologies because it recognizes that reality is being constructed by those who are describing and living it and that this may be in stark contrast to the researchers or practitioner using the participatory method (see Ladkin, 2007, p. 489). Post-modernism humbles the researcher and the administrator and lays the foundation for respect of divergent opinions.

Post-positivism is consistent with post-modernism in that it holds firm the idea that reality is constructed by those interpreting and describing it. Both researchers and participants can never be free of bias, and research is never undertaken without an infusion of values by those involved with the research (Small, 1995, p. 948). Post-positivism is being adopted here because of the action-oriented and participatory nature of this work (Small, 1995, p. 949).

Contextualism is the philosophy that all things can only be understood in the situation in which they were created (see Peters, 2005, p. 16). Contextualism is being adopted here because it places an emphasis on context and locality, which has already been described as important to development and policy making in Chapter Two. Additionally, contextualism is related to post-modernism in that it interprets all ethics, actions, and understandings to be relevant to their context, which is similarly outlined by post-modernist thought.

In addition to the paradigms that are being adopted going into this research, a reflexive and adaptive approach is also being taken. Reflexivity in research involves reflecting upon, critically examining, and exploring the nature of the research process by all participants of the research (Small, 1995, p. 947). A reflexive approach requires the researcher to continually evaluate the research process and to take different directions, if necessary, to reach the goals of the research as defined by all participants. Having reflexivity lends itself to a loose research design due to the necessity of dynamic change depending on the varying circumstances and reflections of the participants.

Adaptive research employs the concept of reflexivity, but expands upon the concept of having a loose research design. Adaptive research respectfully engages those involved with varying levels of participation and offers a willingness to alter methodological strategies both in terms of theory advancement and participant benefit (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 544; see also Lennie, 2006, p. 368). Adaptive research allows the researcher to learn from the research participants through all stages of the research process (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 547) because there is no constriction due to a rigid research design. Taking this approach encourages more participants to become involved in the research because of the flexibility and consideration taken on their behalf (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 549). Flexibility and receptiveness to participant needs and desires helps to establish trust and respect between the researcher and the participants, which supports both research and community objectives (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 549). Reflexive and adaptive research requires control to be relinquished in order to obtain results and adhere to community principles. These are key aspects to achieving human development and building community capacity, which is why this approach is being adopted in this work.

This work also takes a general ethnographic approach. This means that people are studied in their everyday context, data is gathered from many sources, there is an unstructured approach to

the research (as described earlier), there is a focus on one group or locale, and the analysis of the data stresses the interpretation of the meanings of human action (Rhodes, 1997, p. 193). Ethnography focuses on people and their relationships and attempts to analyze people naturally in their contexts, which is important for this work.

4.1.1. Qualitative Research

The overarching approach that is being taken in this work is that of qualitative research. Qualitative research is very good at creating a narrative of a certain time and place and gathering a significant amount of detail. This is because qualitative research studies people and events in their own context (Weiss, 1998, p. 252).

Numbers cannot tell the whole story; it is also necessary that the stories and ideas of people be captured, conveyed, and even harnessed for decision-making purposes. This description-oriented and narrative data that describes the experiences and perceptions of people (Patton, 2002, pp. 4-5) is the very essence of qualitative research.

Qualitative research is flexible, able to cope with vague terminology and concepts (Lincoln & Denzin, 2007, p. 2), with an open and flexible design (Patton, 2002, p. 255; Seale et al., 2007, p.9) that can adapt to dynamic circumstances, such as working with groups of people. The flexible nature of qualitative research allows for exploration using ordinary language that is accessible to any audience, an important part of action research, as well as non-traditional mediums of expression including photography and video (Lincoln & Denzin 2003, p. 4).

Qualitative research should follow these general guidelines:
1. the aim and purpose should be explained and set in the context in which it arose;
2. the rationale for the design of the enquiry should be explained;
3. the researcher should demonstrate openness to emergent issues;
4. the researcher should seek to be transparent and reflexive about conduct, theoretical perspective and values;
5. the study should provide for an understanding of context;
6. the study should represent data or evidence faithfully;
7. a qualitative research study is likely to convey depth, diversity, subtlety and complexity;
8. data or evidence should be actively and critically interrogated;
9. claims should be supported by evidence;
10. some, but not all, studies may be judged according to their utility or relevance for particular groups of people and particular power relations;
11. some, but not all, studies may be judged according to whether they provide understanding of subjective meanings; and
12. the study should provide new insights (Seale et al., 2007, pp. 9-10).

Through these guidelines, it can be seen that qualitative research is consistent with a reflexive and adaptive approach to research. The guidelines also provide some indication to the types of data that qualitative research will render.

Seale and colleagues (2007) also offer specific guidelines for qualitative research:
1. the relationship of the study to existing knowledge should be explained;
2. the rationale for a qualitative rather than quantitative study should be understood;
3. a rationale for sampling should be present and the implications of different approaches to this, and of failures to gain access to certain sources understood;

4. negotiations to gain access to sources of evidence and the implications of these for the evidence gathered should be described and assessed;

5. the particular contribution made by different methods for collecting and recording evidence should be understood, and the rationale for the methods chosen be given in the light of this choice;

6. the rationale for the choice of analytic strategy should be clear, with awareness of the potential of other analytic strategies;

7. attention should be paid to negative or deviant cases and to alternative explanations;

8. there should be comprehensive, rather than selective, examination of data/evidence;

9. there should be a clear separation between evidence and interpretation of evidence;

10. the language of final reports should be accessible and clear to the intended audiences; and

11. the implications of the investigation for broader areas of knowledge and practice should be explored and be of significance (pp. 9-10).

These specific guidelines describe what should be done and taken into consideration during qualitative research. The relationship between these guidelines and specific areas of the research that was conducted here will be addressed in the chapter overview.

Qualitative contributions to research and evaluation are far too often seen as auxiliary to 'real' quantitative data. This misconception leads to a devaluation of the important contribution that qualitative data can make in research, evaluations and policy-making. Qualitative studies can be just as rigorous as quantitative designs with appropriate design and diligent implementation (Flyvbjerg, 2007, p. 398; Seale, Gobo, Gubrium, & Silverman, 2007, p. 3; Patton, 2002, p.14). Qualitative date can be validated and authentic because it is rooted in the fairness of open discussion (Weiss, 1998, p. 262), particularly when it is paired with participatory methods. Qualitative methods are often seen as less rigorous than quantitative methods, but the different rigor required for qualitative studies should not be disqualified (Flyvbjerg, 2007, p. 398). Qualitative research is best used when rich, contextual data is sought, as it is here.

4.1.2. Action Research

Action research is another approach that is being taken in this work. First discussed by Kurt Lewin in 1946 as a way for research to be more meaningful to its subjects (see also Borda, 2006, p. 29), action research is also a methodology used as an alternative to traditional research methods that are riddled with power issues (Small, 1995, pp. 943-944). Action research has only been sporadically used as a research method or intervention due to its often political nature (Small, 1995, p. 944), non-descript design and implementation, and basis in qualitative methodology, which also has difficulty gaining credence in the academic world.

Action research is also consistent with one of the main impetuses behind this work overall, which is to marry theory with practice. In action research, theories (or concepts) must be expressed, but also the results of the research must feed directly back to the theory (Gustavesen, 2006, p. 17; Kirk & Shutte, 2004, p. 244). The literature review chapters were constructed following this logic. Chapter Two was a discourse on theory and concepts, while Chapter Three

was a discourse on practice, and the remaining chapters will serve as a mediating discourse on how to link them (see Gustavsen, 2006, p. 18).

Pinpointing a specific definition of action research is difficult, but it is comprised of these main concepts:

1.   approaches problems that require action and is based on generally vague research questions (Small, 1995, p. 948);
2.   focuses on research as a process, specific to a task, time, and situation; changing under the will of the participants (Patton, 2002, p. 221; Friedman, 2006, p. 134; Ladkin, 2006, p. 482; Small, 1995, p. 942);
3.   focuses on a single case (group, organization, community) because of specificity (Patton, 2002, p. 179; Small, 1995, p. 942);
4.   has a relationship between theory and practice (Gustavsen, 2006, p. 18; Friedman, 2006, p. 134; Small, 1995, p. 942; Heron & Reason, 2006, p. 144; Zacharakis & Flora, 2005, p. 305);
5.   acknowledges that people affected by a certain phenomena or situation have credible and valuable knowledge (Small, 1995, p. 945; Heron & Reason, 2006, p. 144) and can contribute to the decision-making process (Park, 2006, p. 84);
6.   acknowledges that research with people should be democratic and participative (Ladkin, 2007, p. 478) in collaboration with them (Heron & Reason, 2006, p. 144);
7.   acknowledges that research with people should be relevant and useful to them (Small, 1995, p. 941; Ladkin, 2007, p.481; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2006, p. 76);
8.   promotes learning and knowledge sharing (Friedman, 2006, p. 132; Patton, 2002, p. 179); and
9.   has the epistemological approaches of experiential and presentational knowledge (Ladkin, 2007, p. 480) and post-positivism (Small, 1995, p. 942; Ladkin, 2007, p. 480).

These concepts outline action research as a method of interaction with the targets of research that provide mutual benefit to research participants and researchers, while practically applying theories, concepts, or methods in the pursuit of the goal for which the research is being convened. The actual outcomes of action research depend on the specific case under which they are developed and are a direct result of the decisions of the participants.

Action research works in cycles of action and reflection (Ladkin, 2007, p. 482; Heron & Reason, 2006, p. 145), with the main actors the group participants and the researcher acting as a facilitator (Patton, 2002, p. 185; Small, 1995, p. 944; Heron & Reason, 2006, p. 151), encouraging participants to discuss the situations and events around them, paying particular attention to contradictions and gaps (Friedmann, 2006, p. 135; Small, 1995, p. 946) to stimulate dialogue and route out issues.

Participatory action research (PAR) is a sub-unit of action research incorporating principles of participatory research and action research. Participatory research involves active research on the part of those who are being studied or assisted (Koggel, 2008, p. 119). PAR works similarly to action research, through cycles of action and reflection to produce useful knowledge and action through research, learning, or socio-political action (Bodorkos & Pataki, 2009, p. 1124; see also Small, 1995, p. 943).

The report on poverty commissioned by United States Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan not only demonstrated the importance of evaluation to improve policy, but also that action research

has relevance in the improvement of conditions in poor communities (Borda, 2006, p. 29). PAR empowers people through construction and utilization of their own knowledge and promotes a better understanding of local strengths and issues through dialogue (Bodorkos & Pataki, 2009, p. 1124). Not only is local knowledge constructed and used, but it is disseminated through the community, which is one of the most important contributions of PAR to empowerment (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2006, p. 76; Lennie, 2006, p. 360). This allows PAR to help facilitate personal and community change (Lykes, 2006, p. 276; Park, 2006, p. 83) and ultimately community capacity building.

An important addendum to action research made by PAR is that local participants should be respected on the same level as the academic or practitioner initiating the research (Bodorkos & Pataki, 2009, p. 1130). PAR advocates for a truly collaborative approach to the research inquiry. For the purpose of this work, participatory methods were always incorporated into action research activities, therefore gaining the advantages of PAR as well.

Collaborative (or cooperative) inquiry is another component of action research. Collaborative inquiry helps people make sense of their world and come up with and act upon ways to improve it (Heron & Reason, 2006, p. 144). Participatory research is similar to collaborative inquiry in that they are both concerned with full and equal partnerships in research (Koggel, 2008, p. 120). Research where only the researcher gains is exploitative, the 'subjects' of the research have a right to benefit from the process as well (Small, 1995, p. 950).

Collaborative inquiry reinforces the idea that good research is done with people, not on people (Heron & Reason, 2006, p. 144), and supports the notion that local people have valuable knowledge and skills that should be respected (Olowu, 1989, p. 221; Park, 2006, p. 84; Small, 1995, pp. 942-943). However, it should be recognized that local knowledge is often latent and unorganized, which is why it is so often disregarded (Olowu, 1989, p. 222). One of the basic functions of collaborative inquiry is to assist with the organization and expression of this disjointed local knowledge.

With collaborative research all participants are involved with the design and the management of the inquiry, thereby allowing everyone to experience what is being explored and allowing them to make sense and draw conclusions on the inquiry, as well as influence the process (Heron & Reason, 2006, p. 144). Phases of collaborative inquiry are as follows:

1. a group of researchers come together to explore an agreed area of human activity, agree on the focus of their inquiry, develop a set of questions to investigate, and plan a method for exploring the idea;
2. the group engages in the agreed actions, observe and record the process and outcomes of their own and each others' action and experience;
3. participants become fully immersed in and engaged with their action and experience;
4. participants re-assemble to share - in both presentational and propositional forms - their practical and experiential data, and to consider their original ideas in the light of it (Heron & Reason, 2006, pp. 14-16).

Upon completion of these phases of inquiry, participants may further develop or reframe the ideas or even reject them altogether and pose new questions, which results in a necessity to cycle through the phases until participants have reached their desired outcomes (Heron & Reason, 2006, p. 16; Ladkin, 2007, p. 483).

One drawback of action research is that it is time-consuming (Bodorkos & Pataki, 2009, p. 1130) and unpredictable, which can become problematic for researchers. This is sometimes due to the fact that there needs to be time for relationship building between the researcher and the

community in order to gain access and successfully coordinate participatory research (Pavey et al., 2007, p. 90). However, participating in an action research project is enlightening and beneficial, leading to copious amounts of data and life changing experiences for all involved.

4.2. Data Gathering Techniques

The first section of this chapter outlines the epistemological approach taken in this work and the prevailing approaches to this research, qualitative and action research. This section goes into the specific techniques that were used to gather data for this work. Reasoning for use and methodology are presented for data gathering techniques such as case studies, observation, photography, focus groups, interviews, and surveys. Although it is not covered in depth in this section, it should be noted that references to secondary sources such as books, journal articles, magazines, newspapers, and conference and training presentations have been made throughout the work to support various claims, particularly in Chapter Two and Chapter Three for the literature reviews.

4.2.1. Case Studies

A case study can be defined as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin, 2003, p. 13)." Cases have a tendency to be "situationally grounded instance(s)" that "imply a family" of relationships and circumstances (Becker & Ragin, 1992, p. 121).

Case studies can be valid and reliable as a methodology (Flyvbjerg, 2007, p. 391; Yin, 2003, pp. 36-39). Like with other research techniques, the validity and reliability of a case study depend on the quality of the research design and its rigorous implementation.

Cases can be selected randomly or purposefully. Information-oriented case selection is employed to maximize the utility of information from small samples and single cases (Flyvbjerg, 2007, p. 396). The cases are selected on the basis of the information they are expected to render. There are four basic kinds of information selection cases:

1. extreme/deviant cases - to obtain information on unusual cases;
2. maximum variation cases - to obtain information about the significance of various circumstances for case process and outcome;
3. critical cases - to achieve information that permits logical deductions of the type, "if this is not valid for this case, then it applies to all (no) cases.'; and
4. paradigmatic cases - to develop a metaphor or establish a school for the domain that the case concerns (Flyvbjerg, 2007, p. 396).

The cases in this study were chosen on the basis of information selection.

It should be noted that case studies are not generalizeable (Flyvbjerg, 2007, p. 391), but rather are designed to generate specific knowledge about a specific place and time. This means that case studies are best for generating hypotheses (Flyvbjerg, 2007, p. 391) and context rich data for intellectual exploration.

Though case studies can be somewhat limited in focus, they can provide for a fuller understanding of a concept, particularly when a concept is heavily influenced by its context (Yin, 2003, p. 13). This is because a case study is a way of organizing data to keep focus on the totality (Weiss, 1998, p. 261). Case studies demonstrate causal arguments about how general social forces take shape and produce results in a specific setting (Ragin, 2000, p. 122). It is a

holistic way to approach research considering the interrelationships between people, institutions, and events (Weiss, 1998, p. 261). Since it can be clearly noted that cultural context, as well as specific situations play a large role in human development and poverty alleviation, it is worthwhile to examine a specific case to consider the specific aspects that can affect them.

4.2.2. Observation

Observation is a common technique in research that is easily employed and unfortunately heavily biased (Kumar, 1987, p. 22), but still otherwise useful to build a detailed narrative. Various types of observation were used in this work including direct observation and participant observation. Direct observation is the researcher simply describing the things she/he witnesses and is useful because it allows the researcher to study phenomena in their natural setting and may reveal things that informants are unable or unwilling to describe (Kumar, 1987, p. 21).

Participant observation is observation by a researcher who takes part in the activities and events she/he is describing (Weiss, 1998, p. 257). Participant observation can be used in concert with collaborative inquiry and any other type of research that requires high levels of involvement by the researcher. The technique has been used notably by Richard Fenno Jr. (2003) and Douglas Harper (2001). It should be noted that observations can be useful data, but that they must be labeled as observations to avoid confusion (Wolcott, 1990, p. 19). For this work, both direct observation and participant observation were used abundantly in all case studies.

4.2.3. Photography

Action research requires innovation on the part of the facilitator to be able to reach and include their intended target groups and uncover situations and issues (Park, 2006, p. 84), in addition to being able to collect relevant and useful data. Due to this, and the constantly changing needs of the group, it is necessary to develop and utilize new, unique and eclectic techniques, instruments and methods (Small, 1995, p. 943). With this in mind, the use of photography in research is considered.

Although not widespread as of yet, the use of photography as a tool for evaluation (Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan, 1998, p. 212), for qualitative data gathering (Bleiker & Kay, 2007; Harper, 2001; Pink, 2007, p. 365) and for empowering disadvantaged groups (Bleiker & Kay, 2007, p. 156; Lykes, 2006) or sparking social change (Bleiker & Kay, 2007, p. 141) have been discussed in various realms.

The use of photography helps to tell the story of a certain group of people or place or event (Bleiker & Kay 2007; Harper 2001; Lykes 2006). This is useful to describe a certain situation or the effects of a policy, program or project, as well as to empower those involved by giving them a medium through which their voice can be heard, even without the use of sophisticated language, which may ordinarily inhibit disenfranchised groups.

Photos or a group project involving photography by the participants can open up a dialogue and promote reflection and change (Bleiker & Kay, 2007, p. 151; Lykes, 2006, p. 275). When photographs are used to start dialogue it is known as photo elicitation (Harper, 2001, p. 16). The dialogue can take the form of a personal interview, a focus group, or a public exhibition, as long as the photograph and conversation about its meaning to the people and the community are given attention.

Photography is an alternative form of data gathering that parallels the concepts of localization and participatory methodologies (see Bleiker & Kay, 2007, p. 152). Documentary photography, whether taken by researchers or internal participants, are a sort of visual ethnography (Harper, 2001, p. 15), which is another approach taken in this work.

4.2.4. Focus Groups

Focus groups are when a number of people are brought together and questions are raised for them to discuss (Weiss, 1998, p. 260). When the group is larger and more inclusive it is then known as a community interview and involves holding a public meeting with a more detailed itinerary and question guide (Kumar, 1987, p. 17). Focus groups allow group dynamics and conversations to be observed (Weiss, 1998, p. 260) and provide a forum for community dialogue. This technique is most appropriate when:

1. ideas and hypotheses for designing an intervention or policy are needed;
2. reactions to recommended innovations need to be determined;
3. the response of the local population needs to be explained;
4. there are major implementation problems (in policy or interventions), whose nature and implications are not clear, are to be examined and analyzed; and
5. recommendations and suggestions are needed (Kumar, 1987, p. 14).

These recommendations for the use of focus groups are mostly in response to specific intervention or policy issues, but also relate to research when a group view on a research proposal or question is needed or to complement the management cycle in regards to public feedback on an evaluation. Action research inherently uses this technique because it must be implemented through groups of local participants. In regular focus groups or in action research the natural dynamics of the group are preserved and observed.

Focus groups are useful for stimulating interaction between participants and revealing the nature of public discourse (Weiss, 1998, p. 260). However, focus groups can become problematic because the groups can be dominated by a few articulate or powerful participants (Kumar, 1987, p. 15). Focus groups were used in the participatory photo and video evaluations and their subsequent public exhibition.

4.2.5. Interviews

In addition to observation, interviews are common and are an easily executed research tool. Interviews are social encounters where speakers collaborate in producing retrospective and/or prospective accounts of their past and/or future actions, experiences, feelings, and thoughts (Rapley, 2007, p. 16). Narrative interviews tell an oral history (Bornat, 2007, p. 35) and were the most commonly used type of interview in this work.

Techniques of formal and informal interviewing were also used in this work. Informal unstructured interviews do not use a strict question guide and are often done in a conversational setting (Weiss, 1998, p. 258). The important point of informal interviews is to listen to the speaker as they tell their story in their own words (Weiss, 1998, p. 259), asking some questions and prodding without bias, with little interpretation on the part of the interviewer (Rapley, 2007, p. 22).

Open-ended questions can be used in a formal or informal interview setting to allow the interviewee to tell their story in their own words (Weiss, 1998, pp. 166). The other form of

formal interview is survey interviewing, which typically supplies the same closed questions to many interviewees (Weiss, 1998, p. 166).

When analyzing interviews, it is important to analyze not only the words that the speaker used, but what happened during the interview such as the trajectory of the dialogue, and the other non-verbal expressions of the speaker (Rapley, 2007, p. 16; Weiss, 1998, p. 259). The analysis of the content of the interviews will depend on your research interests (Rapley, 2007, p. 27).

Noting how informants are chosen is important to the understanding of the outcomes of the research (Rapley, 2007, p. 17). For the most part, in this research, opportunistic and snowballing sampling methods were used (Weiss, 1998, p. 254). Interviewees were selected when they became available and then they in turn introduced new potential interviewees.

A view adopted in this research is that a small number of well-informed informants make for a better sample than a larger sample of minimally involved informants (Harper, 2001, p. 27). This is especially true when key informants are selected carefully to reflect diverse viewpoints and concerns (Kumar, 1987, p. 5). This view supports both informal, unstructured interviews and in-depth interviews with a few key informants. Taking this approach is not without caveat. Relying on a few key informants could lead to biased information if they are not selected carefully, and have a tendency to have an elitist orientation (Kumar, 1987, p. 9). This limitation is noted and accepted as a part of this work.

4.2.6. Surveys

As noted in the last sub-section, survey questioning is a type of formal interview. For this work, a large survey was not necessary; therefore an informal survey method was chosen and implemented in the Pagudpud case. An informal survey focuses on only a few variables, uses a small sample size and non-probability sampling, and permits more flexibility to the interviewers (Kumar, 1987, pp. 2-3). Although it is small in size and limited in focus, informal surveys do generate data that can be statistically analyzed (Kumar, 1987, pp. 2-3).

Data from informal surveys with open-ended questions can be statistically analyzed as long as they are appropriately coded and then categorized (Weiss, 1998, p. 168; see also Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002, p. 130). Incorporating qualitative, open-ended questions into an informal survey enables respondents to a) tell their story in their own words; b) encourages freedom and spontaneity in answering; c) allows respondents to use their own language and concepts, and to qualify and elaborate when they feel it necessary; and d) opens the opportunity for unanticipated findings (Kumar, 1990, p. 11).

Informal or mini surveys are most appropriate when:

1. quantitative information is needed about a relatively homogenous population;
2. it is difficult to construct a probability sample without considerable investment of time and resources
3. ;
4. some qualitative information is already available, but additional data are required to complement it; and
5. quantitative data about the attitudes, beliefs, and responses of target populations are required immediately (Kumar, 1987, p. 26).

Considering the financial and time constraints on this work, informal survey methodology seemed to be an appropriate way to gain a broad understanding of the situation in the field work

community, as well as to provide some basic quantitative date to support the largely qualitative study.

There are some limitations to choosing informal survey as a research technique. Informal surveys are a) not appropriate to collect in-depth information; b) susceptible to sampling bias; c) not able to provide complex statistical analyses; d) not as generalizeable as large surveys; and e) vulnerable to credibility problems (Kumar, 1987, p. 27; Kumar 1990, p. 6). Furthermore, when informal surveys use open-ended questions there can be coding issues and interviewers are more inclined to edit questions and answers (Kumar, 1990, pp. 11-12). These limitations are recognized and are supplemented through the use of observation, in-depth interviews, and action research.

4.3. Chapter Summary

This brief chapter discussed the various paradigms, approaches, and techniques that were employed for this work. The major paradigms that are being ascribed to here are post-modernism, post-positivism, and contextualism because they are the most appropriate for studying about community capacity and governance, particularly when participatory methodologies are being used. Reflexive research, adaptive research, ethnography, qualitative research, and action research are also outlined here as major approaches that were taken for this research.

After reviewing the epistemology guiding this work, the various data gathering techniques were described. Methodologies for case studies, observation, photography, focus groups, interviews, and surveys were outlined, as well as the most appropriate circumstances in which they should be used.

The last portion of this chapter overview will detail the approaches, methods, and techniques that rendered the data for the various sections of this work, such as: the rural case studies from Japan, the case study on developing evaluations systems, and the case studies from the Philippines.

Chapter Five contains data from several case studies across rural Japan (Imori-dani, Ajimu, Yufuin, Bungotakada, and Himeshima). Each of these cases was purposefully selected because they uniquely described a characteristic of community capacity or outlined an interesting evolution of leadership and can be further described as paradigmatic cases. The data gathered from each of the case locations came primarily from presentations or documents written by key informants from each of the case study locations. Additionally, I visited each of the locations for observation and interviews approximately three times a year between 2007 and 2009. The visits came as a part of my work as a lecturer and facilitator for Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) trainings for administrative capacity building. These case studies are limited by the fact that they are intended to be exploratory and descriptive in nature, rather than comparative and critical.

Chapter Six uses data gathered from participants of the JICA Forum for the Institutionalization of Evaluation System (*ibid*) (2007-2008), participants from the JICA-Nepal Strengthening of Monitoring and Evaluation Systems (SMES) Project (2008), and the Localized Monitoring System on the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) Project in Jagna, Philippines. All of the case studies presented in Chapter Six were a result of opportunistic sampling, because of my involvement and exposure to them, and informational paradigmatic sampling because they describe the concepts that are trying to be expanded, localization and evaluation systems.

Information regarding the JICA-Nepal SEMS project came from the reports of the participants who attended the 2008 training of trainers in Tokyo, as well as unstructured interviews and observations that were made possible through my involvement with the project as a facilitator. Additionally, the JICA coordinator of the project provided me with some documentation on the structure and progress of the project via unstructured interview, email, and primary JICA documents.

The data on the current evaluation systems and the issues with evaluation in developing countries came from the reports of the Forum for the Institutionalization of Evaluation System (*ibid*) participants in 2007 and 2008, as well as from my unstructured interviews and observations of the participants from 2008 where I was a facilitator of the training.

The Localized Monitoring System on the MDGs Project in Jagna, Philippines was not a project that I was personally affiliated with. However, as a part of my exploratory research in the Philippines I visited Jagna and had the opportunity to observe the situation in the municipality, as well as interview the mayor and his wife, both of whom were intricately involved in the project. Further information about the Jagna MDG localization project came from a report compiled upon the completion of project by the European Union (EU).

The cases from Chapter Six incur the same limitation as those used in Chapter Five. They are intended to be illustrative and not critical. The cases were selected to demonstrate areas of concerns and lend support to the expansion of concepts of localization and evaluation.

The first exploratory field trip to the Philippines was conducted from August 12 to August 31, 2007. This trip gave me a feel for the situation in the Philippines, allowed me to acquaint myself with the surroundings and culture in the Philippines, as well as meet with local contacts and explore potential case study locations. Preliminary contact had been made with some local mayors whom I met through the One Village One Produce (OVOP) JICA training at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University in October 2006, where I was a facilitator. Areas that were visited on the exploratory field trip were the municipality of Pagudpud in the province of Ilocos Norte in North Luzon (contact – Hon. Marlon Ferdinand T. Sales), Jagna in the Province of Bohol in the Visayas (contact – Hon. Exuperio C. Lloren), the municipality of Amlan in the province of Oriental Negros (contact – Hon. Bentham P. De La Cruz) and the municipality of San Jose in Romblon Province in the Visayas (contact – Hon. Violeta P. Tandong). The outcomes of this trip yielded more local contacts and a viable case study location, as well as other potential local research partners.

Pagudpud, Ilocos Norte was selected as the site for field work because it can be described as a typical case of a developing community in the Philippines, and also because of its relative stability. This case can be considered paradigmatic as well because it helps to extend the applicability of the concept of community capacity and allowed for the exploration of governance in developing countries.

Through the mayor's cooperation, I was allowed access to any place within the community and introduced to several key informants, which made him a gatekeeper. He greatly assisted with my initial observations and data collection, allowing me access to people and places I would not have privy to had I been completely on my own.

The execution of the case study to analyze community capacity in Pagudpud was conducted in February – March 2008. Informal interviews, both structured and unstructured, with local people and organizations were made. I attended a major local event, the town fiesta, as well. An interview question guide was made to guide unstructured interviews and the Chaskin Framework was used to craft in-depth interviews (IDIs) and an informal survey. The structure of the

informal survey, called the Focal Point Questionnaire (FPQ), is detailed in Chapter Seven. The synopsis of the IDIs can also be found in Chapter Seven. The specific results of the FPQ and the IDIs can be found in the Appendix.

A final field trip to Pagudpud was conducted in September 2008. During this trip, all findings from the first leg of the case study were reviewed and discussed with local informants. As with the previous trips to Pagudpud, unstructured interviews and observations were made. Additionally, two focus groups were formed to work on action research projects, one using video and another using photography. These sub-cases can be described as maximum variation cases because they were chosen as trial cases to develop the participatory evaluation methodology on the basis of their group composition. The video group was selected by the mayor and consisted of local leaders, whereas the photo group was comprised of students from an outlying area of the municipality. Additionally, it should be noted that mini-survey techniques were used to gather feedback on the photo and video projects. The surveys were qualitative, with open-ended questions and were anonymously answered in writing by participants in the various phases of the project. More detail about the photo and video projects are offered in Chapter Eight and the survey questions and results can be found in the Appendix.

There are several limitations in the Pagudpud case that need to be acknowledged. First, my personal connection with Mayor M. Sales can be seen as a benefit to my research because he was a 'gatekeeper' and granted me access to many people and places around the community, as well as a detriment because I was then subsequently limited to viewing things through his filter (see Pavey et al., 2007, p. 108). I attempted to mitigate this limitation by choosing informants outside of his circle and conducting the action research project with a group assembled on my own (the photo group). Additionally, the survey helped to provide some perspective on the views I obtained from the mayor because there was a broader and more random sampling of respondents.

The remaining limitations have to do with me as a researcher. I cannot speak either Tagalog or the local language of Pagudpud, Ilocano, which limited my ability to communicate with all demographics within the community, often forcing me to rely on a translator. That being said, it should be noted that most people in the community had a rudimentary grasp of English as a result of the education system in the Philippines; however poor farmers and fishermen were often reluctant to exercise their often poor English skills as a matter of pride. Interviews were conducted largely in English or by a local research partner who conducted the interview or survey in Ilocano and translated it for me. Every attempt was made to preserve the quality of the information through the translation process.

In addition to my lack of language ability, I was always viewed as an outsider in the community, even though I eventually gained a level of comfort with many local people in the community. However, my status as an outsider may have caused some of the informants to censure themselves, thus skewing the information, usually so that I would view them more favorably. To counterbalance this, several trips were made to the case location to build relationships with key informants and to allow the community at large to become acquainted with me. The outsider factor was also taken into consideration in the interviews and survey, which is why I coordinated with local research partners to have them conduct the survey and some interviews.

This chapter on methodology provides a paradigmatic starting point for the following data chapters, as well as a general understanding of how the data was gathered and why such techniques were used. Chapter Five is the first of the data chapters and uses the cases of rural

development from Japan to expand upon the concept of community, community capacity, and community leadership.

5. Conceptual Development

T his chapter further develops the foundation concepts found in Chapter Two to make a unique contribution to academia and for practical use. Currently, both community and community capacity are weakly constructed concepts that draw much skepticism and criticism (Craig, 2009). An expansion of these concepts is offered here to solidify their importance in terms of development theory and practice. For concept formulation and theory development, it can be noted that "conceptual ideas need empirical testing, but also that experiences in real-life governing and the examination of them go hand in hand (Kooiman, 2003, p. 6)." Strong concepts are needed to build theories; however, concepts are relevant for practitioners due to the multivariate reality of life. Furthermore, concepts facilitate the development of analytical frameworks for community development.

This chapter addresses the following questions:

1. How is a community defined and how can it be understood practically?
2. What are the conceptual components of community capacity and how can they be further developed?
3. What are some effective strategies for community capacity building?
4. How can community capacity be identified in context?
5. In what ways can the Chaskin Framework be refined to better fit the situation in developing communities?
6. How do community capacity attributes contribute to the cycle of community capacity?
7. How do community agents and their leadership contribute to the development of community capacity?
8. What approach to economic development should be taken at the community level?

This chapter first discusses the definition of community and how it can be conceptualized as a system, is a suitable unit for analysis, and on a grander scale.

The next section of this chapter looks at community capacity, providing a revision of the concept of community capacity outlined in Chapter Two. The revised community capacity framework instills a proactive approach and offers a visual model of community capacity that can be used for analysis. The main components of community capacity are then described in detail to reinforce their importance to development. Successful rural development case studies from Japan are used to explain the attributes and agents of community capacity, leading to the realization that community capacity is cyclical.

After elaborating on the concept of community capacity, the role of community agents is discussed. Through analysis of the Japanese island community of Himeshima, the evolution of leadership is examined and the concept of community leadership emerges.

The approach that should be taken in community economic development is the last topic discussed in this chapter. Community-driven economics is presented as a departure from macro-focused economic development, instead looking at the important factors to promote sustainable livelihoods in the community. This section is a theoretical discussion and proposes an approach to development that is consistent with the other concepts presented in this chapter. This section is then followed by a chapter summary.

5.1. Community

Communities are where we all live, and they are not just resigned to our neighborhoods. A community includes both a geographic concept and a social concept (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 11; NDI, 2009, p. 11; Miller, 1992, p. 25; Pavey et al., 2007; Yogo, 2000, p. 25). With that in mind, community is defined as a physically conceivable area, such as an administrative unit, and all of the relevant stakeholders in that area including, but not limited to residents, local administration, institutions, private enterprises with interests or activities in the area, and the civil society organizations with membership or activities within the area (based on Bowman 1932, p. 926; McMillan & George, 1986, p. 8; Morita, 2009). It should be noted that a community itself must be defined specifically by that community. Without such identification the collective function of the community is limited, as can often be seen in more urban communities.

Figure 9 displays the stakeholders of a community as a constellation within a community, coming together to define a community, as well as to facilitate and conduct the activities within it.

Community membership is not exclusive, and one stakeholder could be a member of multiple communities. This means that even the fisherman in a small coastal town is a valuable member of the international community worthy of consideration and able to make a contribution. There is a necessary relationship between the stakeholders of a community and the actors within them may overlap. There are competing and complementary needs, desires, and perceptions among the stakeholders in a community. The depth and strength of the relationship

Figure 9 - Constellation of a community

Source: Author

between the stakeholders, as well as the sentiments of the community, need to be articulated and addressed in order to improve the overall function of the community.

We need to start looking at the whole world, all of humanity and its various organizations and activities, as one global community. A question was posed about the consistency of ideology between strong and well-defined local communities and globalization. It's not as if strong small communities are a problem per se, it's a matter of inclusion. Do these small communities see themselves as part of a greater whole? Or do they increasingly see themselves as fortresses of ideals separate from the chaos and immorality around them?

Sadly, the trend is to the latter; which will inevitably lead to a collapse of our fledgling global system and an increase in human strife. In his recent book (2008), The Big Sort, Bill Bishop, discusses how people in the US, over the past 30 years, are increasingly moving into communities that reflect their political persuasions and comforts in life. Bishop attributes this in part to choice, noting that given the choice, people choose to go to places that reinforce their own values (Bishop, 2008; see also Bauman, 2001). This trend can also be seen throughout the world with the rise of nationalism and protectionism, from American flag-waving, to Chinese anti-

Japanese protests, to the hesitation in EU expansion. These trends demonstrate the existing and growing desire of people to fortify the boundaries of their community in relation to outsiders and deviants. It highlights one of the surreptitious factors in communities and community building; however, it does not necessarily diminish the value or importance of community.

With this definition of community, more than just a small neighborhood could be considered a community. One of the impetuses behind this work is to lay the foundation for the formulation of the concept of an international community. The key differentiating factor between a small community and a larger (i.e. national or international) community is the conceptualization of the meaning of community. If individual people can see the relationship between themselves, their government, people in other countries, and the UN, for instance, then the concept of an international community can take shape. This is one of the future visions of this work, to begin to fortify the concept of community at the smaller levels, so that people can better understand the relationships that are involved in building an international community.

The argument is a matter of inclusion and community building on a global scale. Traditional views of the world as a competitive power structure serve to reinforce the necessity for the trend of protecting interests through secular communities. In this respect, game theory is alive and well, only we keep selling one another out. How can we build a mutually beneficial international structure? How can the interests and perspectives of small communities become a vital component to globalization?

The first step in reconciling this and reversing the dangerous trend of fracturing societies is to begin to conceptualize the entire world as a global community. Not only do we need to envision the global community, we need to fortify the relationships and communication structure between various levels of community. In essence, there is a need to recognize the nesting nature of the global community and the integral importance and responsibility of all stakeholders at each level down to the local community. There needs to be a conceptualization and implementation of disaggregated, yet interconnected international governance (Behera, 2007, p. 29; Cling, 2002, p. 35; High & Nemes, 2007, p. 105; Olowu, 1989, p. 222; Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 84; Sachs, 2005, p. 242; Voisey & O'Riordan, 2001, p. 35).
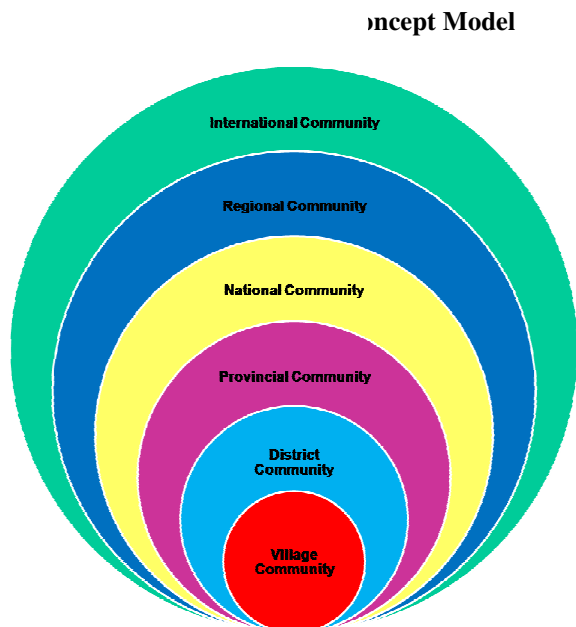
Figure 10 is the Community Concept Model, which depicts the nesting nature of community and the localization of policy and activities (concentric circles are also a good way to depict the relationship between local and higher levels of community) that are necessary for successful communities at any level and the fortification of ties between communities. Examples of a local community could include a small coastal barangay of Balaoi in the Municipality of Pagudpud in

oncept Model

International Community
Regional Community
National Community
Provincial Community
District Community
Village Community

Source: Author

Ilocos Norte, Philippines. Subsequently, each level of that description could also be considered a community, i.e. Pagudpud, Ilocos Norte, Philippines. In turn, all of those communities would contribute to the formulation of the Southeast Asian community (regional community), as well as the international community.

Without recognition of all stakeholders there is no respect or consideration for their well being. It has been the trend in global politics and corporate practice to ignore those stakeholders without the power or the will to adequately voice their concerns. Sometimes liberties are taken in terms of resources or rights and then justified in terms of some collective plan, security or for simple economic gain. However, it seems as though actions in which some stakeholders are disempowered and some gain is repeated over and over again at every level. One of the only recourses against those who gain illegitimately and those who are disempowered is a huge backlash (terrorism) or the powerful entity itself being consumed by its own greed (Enron or modern America) to regain balance and wait for another to usurp the balance again. The only way to stop this cycle and devastation and depravity is to begin to respect one another as important stakeholders in a global community.

The concept of the international community is still in its nascent form, while the most typical use of community is to refer to a small locality, such as a rural town or a neighborhood in an urban setting. From a development planning perspective, the community is where the action happens in a policy structure. For however grand a policy may be portrayed, the activities, e.g. the production, the sales and purchasing, the construction, and the skills training, as well as the interpersonal communication that result in further actions, are conducted within a localized community. A community is a unit suitable for discussion, analysis, as well as policy making and management (Behera, 2007; Fults, 1993; Gariba, 1998; Robinson, 1997; Sastry & Srinivasan, 2007; Voisey & O'Riordan, 2001).

Not only is the community a suitable unit for analysis and policy making, it is actually becoming more important in the era of globalization (Svedin, O'Rirodan, & Jordan, 2001, p. 59). While this may seem a paradox at first, after further examination it can be seen that global markets and governance structures are increasingly interacting with local markets, producers and administrators (Miller, 1992, p. 23). Thus forcing communities to have the wherewithal to deal with their international counterparts yet still maintain their local interests.

In addition to defining community, conceptualizing community is also important so that other concepts, such as community capacity, can be elaborated, analyzed and for plans to be developed. Along this line, a community can be conceptualized as a complex adaptive network of systems that can act in concert with one another (Bogenschneider, 1996, p. 131; Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 3; Kime, 2001, p. 9; Kirk & Shutte, 2004, p. 235). Furthermore, a community can be construed as a single system because it is an organizing unit around other systems, such as the local economic system and the local governance system, as well as local organizations and institutions, which are also systems in their own right.

Organizations are complex adaptive systems that are dynamic and fluid, which causes the organization to be in a constant state of flux to cope with the internal and external changes caused by the struggle between various constraints. A community must work with and adapt to various stakeholders, both internal and external, in order to address the ever-changing needs and conditions that are present within their area, acting as a complex adaptive system in the same way in which an organization does.

5.2.Community Capacity

For business and trade purposes, governing and diplomacy, and to improve the quality of life of all stakeholders at all levels of community, it is necessary for each level of community to have community capacity, as well as firm avenues for the exchange of activities and information between them. Understanding community capacity and the functions and importance of a community is also necessary when considering how to approach development, globalization, and improving the human condition. Gaining a better understanding of our lives, particularly our lives in relationship to, within, and in between our communities will further facilitate development approaches and theories, ease tensions between communities (nations, regions, and businesses alike), and facilitate economic expansion.

Capacity development strategies that seek to harness, manipulate, and build community capacity for the improvement of living standards and to facilitate participatory governance find their base in the concept of social capital. The concept of community capacity has much to offer in this regard because it combines aspects of social capital with other indicators to render a complete picture of the nature and functions of a community to provide a mode through which social capital can be analyzed and strengthened in practice. Community capacity is "the interaction of human capital, organizational resources, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of that community (Chaskin et al., 2001, p.7)." Through identifying the characteristics of community capacity and devising strategies to enhance them, communities can better reach their potential, leaders and residents can be better informed about their community, and ownership of the community situation can emerge to facilitate further development (Chaskin et al., 2001, p 1).

The definition if community capacity is the ability of a community to produce outcomes through its actors by utilizing the resources (human, social, physical, organizational, and financial) at its disposal (based on Chaskin et al., 2001; Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008).

5.2.1. The A-A-A Framework

The basic concept of community capacity has just been outlined; however, there is still need for research so that the concept of community capacity can be better identified and utilized for development and poverty alleviation (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 2; see also Gorgan, 1981, p. 652). In response to this need, a practical framework for community capacity that can be used for evaluation is being developed through this work. The Attributes-Agents-Actions (A-A-A) cycle of community capacity is offered herein as a conceptual framework to correspond to the basic outline of community capacity as presented by Robert J. Chaskin, Prudence Brown, Sudhir Venkatesh, and Avis Vidal in the 2001 book Building Community Capacity. This work is unique in that it presents a framework for identifying community capacity and seeks to demonstrate the necessity of social capital for building strong communities, as well as offering some strategic directions to help enhance community capacity.

According to Chaskin and colleagues, by utilizing community capacity, social agents within the community facilitate change and action in community functions (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 11). The characteristics of the community through social agents lead to the functioning of the community. This understanding has been amended and further depicted through the A-A-A cycle. As noted earlier in this chapter, characteristics are called attributes here, social agents are

referred to as community agents or simply agents, and the conditioning influences are described as contextual influences to better convey the importance of special issues and historical context.

The A-A-A cycle provides a comprehensive description of the multiple factors and inter-relationships that are necessary to facilitate the growth of community capacity overall. The A-A-A cycle is explored here in relation to rural development, and its effectiveness in developing communities is under consideration. This study represents a preliminary step in the development of the A-A-A as a conceptual framework.

Figure 11 - A-A-A cycle
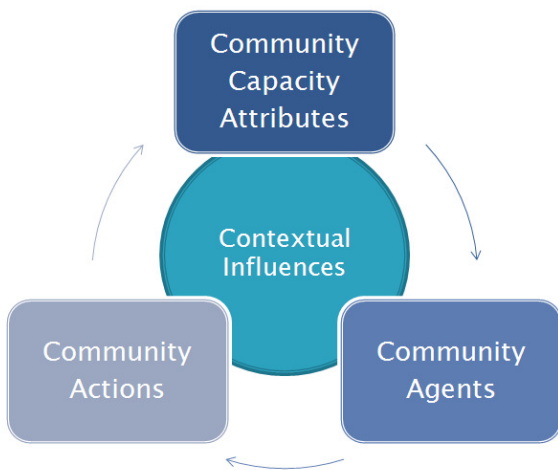
Source: Author, based on Chaskin et al., 2001; Miyoshi & Stenning 2008

Figure 11 is the A-A-A cycle diagram, showing the development of community capacity powered by the Attributes acting through the Agents to get more sophisticated and beneficial Actions. The contextual influences can affect the quality and quantity of community capacity attributes, the methods and effectiveness of community agents, as well as the quantity, quality and sophistication of community actions. The community capacity attributes represent the basic characteristics to describe community capacity. The attributes are SCOR: a) sense of community (S), b) commitment to the community (C), c) the ability to set and achieve objectives (O), and d) the ability to recognize and access resources (R) (based on Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 12; Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008, p. 41).

The community capacity attributes represent the basic characteristics to describe community capacity. These attributes are based on the community capacity characteristics as outlined by Chaskin and colleagues (2001), but departs slightly in wording and nuance, particularly for the last two attributes regarding objectives and resources. The original characteristics of community capacity are listed as sense of community, commitment, ability to solve problems, and access to resources (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 12).

Ability to solve problems has been modified to the ability to set and achieve objectives in order to convey the importance of planning and accomplishing activities within a community, which is of vital importance to development and economic growth, not merely the recognition of problems. Furthermore, focusing on problems sets a negative tone in community activities, as well as sets lofty goals that are prone to underperformance, noting that problems are often multi-faceted requiring multiple and varied solutions; therefore, solving a problem entirely is difficult. This kind of complexity can lead to this attribute being evaluated negatively if a community cannot "solve their problems." Describing the positive steps that a community is making towards achieving desired goals makes the description of the characteristics of community capacity more proactive.

Access to resources can be addressed as the ability to recognize and access resources to reflect the importance of knowing that something in a community has value, either for social or economic purposes, in order to be able to access and then use it. Labor assets, such as senior citizens, items such as abundant fruits or trees, or traditional and under-appreciated skills can be

overlooked within a community; thus never be accessed. Only saying access to resources also has the connotation that a community needs to look outside their own area to find resources, which can devalue the importance of local resources and undermine the further development of community capacity. The changes of the community capacity attributes are attributed to Koichi Miyoshi. Miyoshi recognized the potential pitfalls with the original wording in the Chaskin Framework and offered the changes as a part of the JICA trainings on rural development and community capacity (2007-2009) (see also Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008). However, it should be noted that I have further elaborated the explanations here.

A community agent can be defined as any actor that brings about change within the community. Community agents are the actors and/or the catalysts for action in a community and leadership is the mode through which they affect the larger community. Actors within the community who recognize themselves as stakeholders and act accordingly duly activate and fortify the community capacity attributes to promote, perform, and rouse ever-increasingly sophisticated and beneficial community actions.

The community agents encompass the three levels of social agency, as described by in the Chaskin Framework: individuals, organizations, and networks of association (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 19) and serve to describe the active and potentially active stakeholders within a community. Through these social agents community capacity can be utilized and built; thus, they are the main actors affecting community capacity. Capacity building strategies, as well as interventions and local policy, often identify these specific agents within a target community to enact their plans. Community agents are the conduit through which the attributes flow to produce activities and they promote and influence the development of the attributes so that others can produce actions. The stakeholders in the community can be described as community agents once they have begun to truly contribute to the collective activities of the community (Chaskin et al, 2001, p. 19).

Anything that is undertaken by individuals, organizations, or collectively in a community can be considered a community action. Community actions can include routine tasks such as local budgeting, administration, and planning, as well as problem-solving and community improvement initiatives. Additional community functions are the production of goods and services, communication and organization and advocacy (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 22). The various activities that any part of a community takes part in can be considered a community action and these then lead back to the further development of community capacity.

The outcomes achieved by a community lead to a more sustainable community overall and specific desirable community conditions (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 22). When community actions occur and become more sophisticated through policy interventions and projects that involve the community, the attributes of community capacity are fortified (Saegert, 2005) and the progress of the A-A-A cycle can be seen. As a community cycles through, their overall capacity and ability to set and achieve objectives relevant to their needs and desires increases and leads to more beneficial actions (in terms of public policy structure, public service delivery, and private entrepreneurial activities). A diverse variety of community actions will then lead back to a greater amount of Attributes, which inherently reflects development and the potential for poverty alleviation through an increase in resources, including resources such as fiscal means, productive measures, external networks, and social capital.

Greater community capacity leads to more community outcomes, which leads to increased community capacity (Miyoshi, 2006). This idea is also supported by researchers in the fields of community building and social capital (Putnam, 1993, pp. 171, 177; Wellman & Frank, 2001, p.

259). Any community-based activity brings numerous personal and community-wide benefits, thereby fortifying the overall capacity of the community and leading to increasingly sophisticated community actions and policy structures. In this way, an articulated A-A-A cycle can enhance poverty alleviation efforts and rural development.

The contextual influences on a community are not directly related to community capacity, but rather, these factors can affect the quantity and quality of the attributes of community capacity, as well as the function of its cycle. These factors are considered to be the basics of the community that cannot necessarily be changed through mere capacity building activities and are taken as the inherent circumstances of the community. Contextual influences include basic conditioning influences such as safety and security, structure of opportunity, and the distribution of power and resources (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 24). However, in addition to basic conditioning influences, a few more considerations can be added and modified, as indicated by findings of my earlier study of community capacity in Indonesia in 2006 (see Wachowski, 2007). In the context of a developing community the basic economic condition and physical location of the community must also be taken into consideration, as well as the maturity of civil society, institutional development, and political stability, accountability, participation, and history and culture. These factors affect the function of the A-A-A cycle, as well as predict potential pitfalls and prescribe potential entry points for intervention strategies and policy.

The A-A-A cycle is designed to visually display the adapted community capacity framework so that it can be better understood and utilized for evaluation and policy making, particularly in developing countries. The development of this framework comes about in response to the criticism that focusing on development interventions or capacity building is not sustainable or beneficial the community in the long run (Gorgan, 1981, p. 652). Rather, the framework is intended to provide support and guidance in policymaking, in concordance with the policy management cycle, to help communities better reach their human development and quality of life goals.

To further refine the A-A-A cycle and its basic components a section is devoted to each "A" and the contextual influences. The attributes are explored by descriptions of successful cases of rural development in Japan that showcase their best attribute of community capacity. The cases of rural revitalization describe efforts that have been made over the past decade, demonstrating development plans occurring in already modern Japan. The background setting of these cases diverges greatly from situations contemporarily found in developing countries. However, this does not mean that their examples are any less relevant. The Japanese cases are discussed to clarify the tenets of the revamped community capacity framework in order to progress the overall concept. The relevance of the A-A-A framework to developing countries is better articulated by the Himeshima and Pagudpud cases, because the historical development of Himeshima is discussed here and Pagudpud is a developing community.

Community agents are discussed in depth through a historical exploration of Himeshima, Japan and how the leadership of community agents manifests and develops into community leadership at large. Community actions are discussed in part in the sections about attributes and actions, but the way that community capacity cycles through community actions is discussed in the latter part of this chapter. After delving into the A's, the contextual influences are addressed.

5.2.2. Community Capacity Attributes

The community capacity attributes, or SCOR are described at length in this section. SCOR describes the key factors that are related to the capacity that a community can develop. First, this section will introduce each component of SCOR then a case study to fully describe that attribute in context is examined.

S - Sense of Community. The *sense of community* highlights a connectedness between community members and recognition of a mutuality of circumstance (Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008) and includes collectively held values, norms, and vision (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 14). Another way to describe the sense of community is a feeling of belonging and that members matter to one another and the group (McMillan and George, 1986, p. 9). This attribute is indicative of strong ties among members and fosters the development of other characteristics of community capacity (Miller, 1992, p. 31).

C - Commitment. When people have a vested interest in a place and have so for a relatively longer period of time, they are more willing to contribute to and demonstrate concern for it. Commitment can be defined as the willingness of individuals, groups, and organizations within the community to take responsibility for what happens there (Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008). Furthermore, this means that the actors in the community see themselves as stakeholders and are willing to take action and participate as stakeholders (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 15). This willingness to participate in community activities stems from the sense of community that exists and begins to manifest into action. This is because "feelings of belonging and emotional safety lead to self-investment in the community (McMillan and George, 1986, p.15)."

O - Ability to set and achieve objectives. Commitment falls short of producing overall community capacity if it fails to result in action. Another major function of a community is to solve problems that are nuisances for its members, as well as set agendas for improvements. Crucial is the ability of a community (through individuals, organizations, or networks) to identify issues and desires and devise strategies to address them (Miyoshi, 2006). The ability of to solve problems and attain goals is the visible manifestation of a community's capacity. A community must be able to translate its commitment into action in order for it to be said that there is capacity in this respect (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 16).

R - Ability to recognize and access resources. Another component of community capacity is a community's ability to recognize and access resources. Resources of a community can include economic, human, physical, and political resources (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 16). The ability for a community to obtain resources is one of the most important reasons to study community capacity, as adequate resources are what generally separate people from a low and a high quality of life.

Table 1 provides an outline of some indicators for the assessment of community capacity attributes. These indicators are based on the previous descriptions of the attributes, which are based on the Chaskin Framework. These indicators can be used to guide analysis on community capacity. This table renders some useful indicators, but it is also prudent to provide more situational and case relevant indictors for each analysis of community capacity.

Table 1 - Indicators for community capacity attributes

Community Capacity Attribute	Criteria
Sense of Community	• Overall goal/vision • Recognition of mutual circumstances • Evidence of trust amongst members • Positive relationship between members • Shared sense of identity
Commitment	• Responsibility taken for community situation • Members recognize themselves as stakeholders • Active participation in community activities
Ability to set and achieve objectives	• Issues/desires identified • Plans for action in place • Progress made towards goals • Some past objectives achieved
Ability to recognize and access resources	• Variety of types of resources • Multiple ways to access various resources • Recognition of indigenous resources • Use of indigenous resources

Source: Author, based on Chaskin et al., 2001

Each of the four cases presented here highlight a particularly strong attribute within that community and how it contributed both to the development of community capacity and the expansion of community activities. Imori-dani has a strong sense of community that enlivens the community to produce higher levels of commitment and diversified activities. The case of Ajimu demonstrates how commitment, particularly in the private sector, can spread through a community to provide widespread benefits. The agenda setting of Yufuin connects the other attributes there to produce visible actions. The recognition of under utilized resources in Bungotakada shows how futile despair and dilapidated building can be transformed into pride in the community, as well as economic prosperity. With these cases the attributes can be better conceptualized and clarified in the context of a real community. By discussing four different cases of rural revitalization, the different starting points for development can be noted, as well as the breadth of applicability of the concept of community capacity across a variety of situations.

This section demonstrates that community capacity can be built on some particularly strong attributes, and it is not necessary to have a robust accumulation of all attributes in order to progress the cycle further. Additionally, the entry points for community capacity development can occur at any place in the community capacity cycle or with a focus on any activity or capacity characteristic. Each case introduces the characteristic of community capacity that is particularly notable in that area and how it, in turn, fostered the growth of other attributes and then proceeded through the A-A-A cycle and back to produce greater amounts of community capacity and quantities of diverse, sophisticated activities.

5.2.2.1. The Sense of Community of Imori-dani

The sense of community is truly what brings people together within a given context or area, and it can be considered to be one of the driving forces behind the fortification of the other community capacity attributes and the perpetuation of the A-A-A cycle. According to McMillan

and George (1986), "When people who share values come together, they find that they have similar needs, priorities, and goals, thus fostering the belief that in joining together they might be better able to satisfy these needs and obtain the reinforcement they seek (p.13)." A visible sense of community promotes the other attributes of community capacity by instilling a pride within the people in the community that fosters commitment and invigorates ideas and planning.

Imori-dani (Newt Valley) is the home of the Matsumoto community, a part of Usa City in southern Japan. The community came together to help form a consistent view of the situation in the community and to develop the vision of the community. The sense of community that was cultivated in Imori-dani has led the community to have not only prosperity, stability of livelihood, physical improvements in the community, deep social ties, and a sense of well-being, but also encouraged new residents to settle in the area.

Figure 12 - Fields of Imori-dani

Source: Nimiya, 2008

The Matsumoto Village is a small and modest community consisting of about 56 households, in which the primary economic activities include growing soybeans, grapes, rice, and vegetables, as well as the relatively new activity of green tourism, which connects tourist activities with agricultural activities. The village gets the nickname of Imori-dani, Newt Valley, because the fields and houses are situated in a twisting valley that from above resembles a squirming newt. Furthermore, the newt is a symbol of the community that is used for branding and marketing purposes.

According to the spokesman of the Matsumoto Village Farming Cooperative, Mr. Eiji Nimiya, a common consciousness in Imori-dani started to form in the beginning of the twentieth century when it was necessary for the whole village to come together to create a pond to collect water for farming. However, even though there has been a budding sense of community in Matsumoto since the Showa era[2], the modernization of agriculture and high economic growth weakened the "common consciousness" of the community (Nimiya, 2008).

Soybean cultivation began in 2000 with the introduction of government subsidies for the endeavor. The young farmers in Matsumoto were inspired to start growing soybeans and they subsequently formed the Matsumoto Village Farming Cooperative, which has been a main contributor to the organization of economic activities within the community, as well as a conduit through which the sense of community in Imori-dani has been developed. The collective conversion of the land from rice to soybeans that the cooperative undertook was said to help create a sense of "oneness in the village" (Nimiya, 2008).

Another step in the development of the sense of community in Imori-dani was the Village Vision Building Workshop (entitled "This is our ideal Matsumoto") that was held in July of 2000 as a part of an Oita prefecture program for agricultural promotion. This workshop, in which community members from all age groups (elementary school students to senior citizens) in the village participated, helped to establish a consensus on the community vision to "create a village where anyone would want to live" (Nimiya, 2008). The workshop also inspired new ideas, such

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[2] The Showa era (1926-1989) is a nostalgic period in Japan. Although the period includes the WWII atrocities, it is most commonly associated with the post-war renaissance.

as the combined exchange and production activities in what they called the Imori-dani Matsumoto Village Building Activity. In Matsumoto, the year 2000 was when "the villagers became one" (Nimiya, 2008).

The Imori-dani Matsumoto Village Building Activity has seen various positive outcomes for the community. Production outcomes such as the use of local soybeans for a special brand of tofu in Oita City, increased productivity of the fields through the rotation of between rice and soybeans, and the cultivation of wheat and lotus flowers help to benefit the community economically. The construction of the Village Farming Center, which is used for events, special meetings, and hosting tourists, has resulted in increased communication and collective activities within the community. Special events, such as the Firefly Concert and the Imori-dani Lotus Festival, were conceived and organized. These events attract tourists, which in turns generates income and contributes to the growth of the sense of community through collective activity and pride in the success and uniqueness of the events. Market channels and commercial networks for Matsumoto products were established, such as the direct sales location within the shop that sells the special tofu in Oita City, and further contribute to the economic growth of the community. Small scale processing of local products such as jams, pastes, breads, miso, and side dishes has provided an occupation and economic rewards for the women and senior citizens in Matsumoto. These small factories have also become an integral part of the green tourism activities, which further contributes to the economic prosperity of the village. The young farmers' section of the agricultural cooperative, the Imori-dani Club, was organized and the club promotes the vision of the community and information from the cooperative through the maintenance of the village homepage (Nimiya, 2008).

The outcomes of the Imori-dani Village Building Activity were achieved thanks to the strong sense of community that was re-activated through the workshop. Additionally, the sense of community became progressively stronger through the cooperative activities of the villagers; thus resulting in more and varied activities. Matsumoto Village continues to see the need for development in their community, so with the strong base in the sense of community that they share, the villagers envision future plans and endeavors. Some of the future plans that are underway in Imori-dani include shifting the cooperative into a corporation, establishing an online direct sales space, forming the Imori-dani

Figure 13 - Matsumoto Village Vision Building Workshop 2000

Source: Nimiya, 2008

100 Skills Club to hand down traditional activities to the next generation, the expansion of green tourism, and to review the old vision and establish new ones (Nimiya, 2008).

Conducting a vision workshop only once would have limited effectiveness; this was realized by the community in Imori-dani and a follow-up workshop was held in 2005. The 2005 workshop assessed the progress on the vision and activities discussed in 2000, as well as worked on solutions for new challenges that the community was facing (Nimiya, 2008). The follow-up workshop helped to sustain the sense of community and redefine it through the dynamic revitalization of the community. Matsumoto Village chose not only to continue with their original vision of "creating a village where anyone

would want to live", but also expanded upon it to include concrete plans for how to attain their other goals, such as economic growth through combining the activities for production and tourism.

The community in Matsumoto has also developed ways to express unity that sprung outside of formal workshops and meetings through the continued participation of and communication between the residents during community activities. For instance, the community has designated the color red to be the official color of the community. When residents participate in the various community activities that are held in Imori-dani they often choose to wear red items, such as the red bandanas worn by the women during events, to show their pride and support of Matsumoto. The people chose red because it is the color of love and it further demonstrates the feeling of unity that exists between the community members (Nimiya, 2008). The color of Matsumoto was not necessarily designated through formal channels; it is a reflection of the sense of community that exists in Imori-dani. It serves as an example of how this community capacity attribute can be formulated without direct intervention. Furthermore, it demonstrates the continued growth of community capacity in the peripheral spectrum of community activities after an initial community capacity growth strategy had been introduced (i.e. the vision workshop).

Table 2 is a summation of the components of the A-A-A cycle in Matsumoto Village. The table describes the contributing factors of the community capacity characteristics in the attributes column, the main actors in the agents column, and the activities in the actions column. It should be noted that the Vision Workshop 2005 and the activities that came from it demonstrate the progressive nature in the A-A-A cycle, in as such that they are the direct result of the capacity gained through the creation of the sense of community at the Vision Building Workshop and their subsequent activities.

Table 2 - A-A-A description of Imori-dani

Attributes		Agents	Actions
Sense of Community	• conversion to soybean production: "oneness in the village" • Vision Building Workshop: "our ideal Matsumoto" • "create a village where anyone would want to live" • the color red	• Oita Prefecture • Matsumoto Farming Cooperative • Imori-dani Club • Imori-dani 100 Skills Club	• Vision Building Workshop • Matsumoto Village Building Activity • tofu production • Village Farming Center • Events – Firefly concert and Lotus festival • new market channels and commercial networks • local processing • Vision Workshop 2005 • Green Tourism • Imori-dani 100 Skills Club
Commitment	• participation in workshops, events, and activities		
Objectives	• established at the Village Building Workshop: Matsumoto Village Building Activity • established at the Vision Workshop 2005: expand green tourism, online sales, establish corporation, follow-up workshop, set up Imori-dani 100 Skills Club		
Resources	• indentified in part at the Vision Building Workshop: productive land, elderly, young leaders, natural surroundings		

Source: Author

The shared norms, values, and vision in the sense of community in Imori-dani can clearly be seen through the establishment of the farming cooperative, the vision workshop, and the outcomes achieved as a part of the Village Building Activity. The sense of community that exists in Matsumoto Village engaged the people and enabled the community to come together to set objectives to effectively utilize the resources at their disposal. The activities and outcomes that were accomplished by the Matsumoto community fortified and defined their sense of community further and then, in turn, allowed the community to participate in more value-added and sophisticated activities. The example of Imori-dani articulates the importance of the sense of community, as well as the role of the sense of community in A-A-A cycle of community capacity.

5.2.2.2.   The Commitment to Ajimu

Commitment to the community leads to strong community capacity. When people have a vested interest in a place, they are more willing to contribute to the community and demonstrate concern for it. Commitment can be defined as the willingness of individuals, groups, and organizations within the community to take responsibility for what happens in the community. Furthermore, this means that the actors in the community see themselves as stakeholders in the community and are willing to take action and participate as stakeholders (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 15). This willingness to participate in community activities stems from the sense of community

that exists within the community and begins to manifest itself into action. This is because "feelings of belonging and emotional safety lead to self-investment in the community (McMillan & George, 1986, p.15)." Self-investment in the community is the way in which stakeholders in a community display their commitment. Commitment to the community is the reinforcing principle in community capacity because "working for membership [in the community] will provide a feeling that [a stakeholder] has earned a place in the [community] and that, as a consequence of this personal investment, membership will be more meaningful and valuable (McMillan, 1976 as quoted in McMillan & George, 1986, p. 10).

The attribute of commitment is demonstrated through the case of the Ajimu grape producing district. The relationship between vision and commitment is seen through the maturation of the community capacity cycle in Ajimu to produce more sophisticated community actions, such as the collaboration with large industry to preserve both the local revenue base and the sanctity of the environmental landscape.

The early vision of the community in Aijimu, based on the introduction of vineyards by a national pilot project in 1971, was to become a world famous wine producing area. The Ajimu brand of wine was established in 1974 through the efforts of the agricultural cooperative. At first there were several technical issues with the production of quality grapes for wine, which came on the heels of the original concept of winemaking in the region as a way to utilize grapes that otherwise could not be sold at the market. By 1980, the agricultural cooperative agreed upon standards for the grapes for winemaking and product quality consistency began to increase (Kokusha, 2004). Through the vision of the community to become a successful wine producing region, the local farmers and the agricultural cooperative demonstrated their commitment. This can be seen through their willingness as individual producers to convert to grape production in accordance with the national pilot. However, the commitment can also be seen in the collective activity within the cooperative to identify and take responsibility for their issues and begin to formulate plans to overcome them.

It must be acknowledged that development is a continuous process. Ajimu is a good example of this continual process. In recent years, the overall area and production of grapes has decreased. This is due to the increasing age of the producers and a lack of successors, low prices and consumption, and a reduction in subsidies for production. In 2005, the cultivation area in Ajimu was 193 hectares, down from 320 in 1971(Kokusha, 2004). These issues and the decline of grape and wine production was a cause for some concern in the area and it caused the community to become interested in revitalization strategies.

After some time of both success and challenges to the wine making industry in Ajimu, the vision grew to incorporate a larger scope of the community. This new community vision is to create an area that is viable for green tourism through joining the production, local agricultural products, and the beauty of nature (Kokusha 2004). This new vision requires a new level and kind of commitment by stakeholders in the community; this includes external stakeholders with activities within the community, local producers and service providers, and organizations.

In 2001, the Ichiiko Company opened their winery in Ajimu and they consider it important for consumers and producers to see one another. This vision spawned the concept of the "winery in the forest for one hundred years" (Kokusha, 2004), which is the manifestation of the company's vision and collaboration with the local consumers and producers. Ichiiko wanted to create a rustic winery that connects the agricultural producers, wine producers, and customers in a pleasant atmosphere, perhaps lasting as long as one hundred years. This clearly demonstrates

the long term commitment that this private enterprise has to their vision within the community in Ajimu.

Ichiiko confirmed their vision through commitments to involve the local community in their business. The winery uses only ingredients from Ajimu in production. This agreement was established through collaboration with the local agricultural cooperative to produce the necessary grapes, which are guaranteed to be purchased at a set price. The collaboration ensures that the winery directly benefits local grape producers. The company often meets with the local producers to discuss the types of grapes that the company desires and the time that they would like them to be produced, and about the use of chemicals (Nakao, 2008).

Figure 14 - Ajimu Winery

Source: www.ichiiko.co.jp

The grounds of the winery are designed to also be appealing to tourists and people from the local community for consumption, education, and relaxation. Ichiiko would like to help establish a culture of wine in Ajimu and offers opportunities for people to learn about wines and winemaking at their facilities. Local school children even go for hikes through the grounds to study about nature and agriculture (Kokusha, 2004). The shop on the winery grounds features other products that are made in Ajimu, such as packaged sweets and teas, and the restaurant serves dishes made with local products according to local recipes, such as turtle soup.

It can be seen clearly that there is a commitment of the company to the community and there is reciprocal involvement and respect to the community as an income generating conduit and contributor to preserving the local environmental atmosphere, production and activities. Ichiiko, as a private business, recognizes that they are a stakeholder in the community and they have taken responsibility to enact their business plan with the idea of commitment and inter-connectedness with the community in Ajimu.

Table 3 - A-A-A description of Ajimu

Attributes		Agents	Actions
Sense of Community	• vision (1970's): to become a successful wine producing district • new vision (from 2000): to create an area for Green Tourism through joining production, local agriculture, and nature, vision of winery: "winery in the forest for 100 years"	• National Wine Producing Pilot Project • Ajimu Winery - Ichiiko Company • Agricultural Cooperative • Local Farmers	• Grape growing • Wine production • Winery grounds constructed • Grounds used for children's study • Production and sale of local processed goods at winery
Commitment	• Ajimu Winery commits to use local products and preserve nature, connect with schools and local grape farmers and producers		
Objectives	• establish wine culture • preserve nature • increase income of local producers		
Resources	• landscape • grapes • farmer • traditional products and foods • networks with private business		

Source: Author

Following the same style from Table 2, Table 3 describes the A-A-A at work in Ajimu. The focus of the Ajimu case is the high level of commitment there, most notably from the winery and grape farmers. All of the attributes play a role in the development of the area, as well as share an inter-related role with one another. It can be said that the vision shared by the community in the 1970s initially inspired the commitment of the local farmers, then later the Ichiiko Company collaborated with the farmers and the local community to achieve even more than just the production of wine, the establishment of the winery and the further ambition of green tourism.

5.2.2.3. Yufuin's Objective Setting

Commitment falls short of producing overall community capacity if it fails to result in action. Communities must be able to come together to produce functions that benefit its members both economically and socially. The ability of a community (through individuals, organizations, or networks) to identify issues and desires and devise strategies to address them is an important aspect of a community (Miyoshi, 2006). The ability to solve problems and attain goals is the visible manifestation of a community's capacity, as well as the basic purpose of coming together as a community.

Communities are organized around needs, and people join together to form communities in which their needs can be met. This is done so that people can solve their problems and meet their needs through the alternatives and resources that they gain by forming a community (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 16). Coming together to share common goals and make plans to achieve them is known as collective efficacy and is a component of social capital (Boyd, Hayes, Wilson, & Bearsly-Smith, 2006, p. 190). The basic idea of forming a community around needs

and ideals accentuates the relationship of sense of community to setting and achieving objectives and recognizing and accessing resources.

A good example of a community setting and achieving objectives can be seen through the development of Yufuin as a spa and mountain recreation area. The vision of establishing Yufuin as a hot spring resort area, which is consistent with both environmental preservation and promotion and economic development, dates back to October 11, 1924. In 1924, an inspirational forestry professor and natural designer, Dr. Seiroku Honda, gave a lecture in Yufuin to advise the people on practical methods and suggestions of how to pursue their common vision of having a town that is a good place to live and a good place to visit for vacation and relaxation (Shide, 2006, p. 3).

Dr. Honda preached self reliance, and the importance of a natural environment and human interaction with it, sunshine, and safe and fresh produce (Shide, 2006, p. 7). He used examples from his experience in Germany to support his claims and made specific suggestions on how the people in Yufuin could achieve their dream. Dr. Honda noted that the environment should be preserved and new trees and plants should be added, the whole area should be considered and conserved, and care should be taken in designing walkways to preserve natural beauty. Dr. Honda also recognized a need for a preliminary study of the geography, history and economics of the area, as well as the identification of various other natural resources that the people can use to enhance their own lives and bring in tourists. Furthermore, Dr. Honda urged the people to formulate a transportation policy to make the town facilities accessible for locals and tourists, preserve the environment surrounding and the restoration of Kinrinko Lake, to heed his suggestions on where to build and utilize hot spring resources, botanical parks, zoos, playgrounds, and wildlife preserves. He advocated for the establishment of a public hall for community learning and special events, such as a music festival, and other public facilities such as toilets, benches, waste bins, signs, the preservation of traditional architecture and landscapes, the production of tourist maps, and the development of local specialty products (Shide, 2006).

All of the suggestions put forth by Dr. Honda helped to guide the people of Yufuin to set objectives and achieve outcomes consistent with their collective vision. It should be noted that bringing in outside experts is a valuable way to help consolidate and validate the vision of a community. This lecture occurred very early in the development of Yufuin, but it helped to lay the groundwork for the future achievements of the community in Yufuin. The local people were also inspired to learn more and subsequently many young people from Yufuin did study tours to Germany. Many of these young people went on to become leaders within the community; as can be seen in the case of the senior members of the Yufuin Tourist Association, Mr. Mizoguchi and Mr. Kentaro Nakaya, both of whom went on study tours in Germany (Yoneda, 2008).

In order to fulfill the vision of the community, it was necessary for many community agents to be involved. The people of Yufuin had to not only subscribe to their vision and be committed to it, but then access their resources to produce the actions necessary to make progress on their objectives. One of the primary community agents in Yufuin is the Yufuin Tourist Association, which is a group consisting of business people in the tourism industry there, both young and old (Yufuin Kanko Shinbum, August 2007). The example of the Yufuin Tourist Association is unique in Japan in that it is an independent organization that receives some funding from the local government. Typically in Japan, tourism promotion is undertaken by the public sector (Yoneda, 2008). This makes the case of Yufuin a good example of participation to set and achieve objectives based on the sense of community in the area, because they not only rely on

the administration to establish and perform community actions, rather there is collaboration and participation of multiple community entities to achieve the community vision.

There are many activities that the Yufuin Tourist Association is involved in. The Association promotes tourism in Yufuin, organizes meetings to address current issues and set further objectives, coordinates studies to promote the atmosphere and commerce in Yufuin, monitors the compliance with environmental and atmospheric stipulations, assists in maintaining the environment, discusses and evaluates local activities, coordinates community events, operates the horse driven cart for tourists, and liaises with and disseminates information to the broader community (Yoneda, 2008). These activities help to consolidate the vision of the community and facilitate the setting of objectives to meet the ends of the community.

Figure 15 - Kinrinko Lake

Although a specific timeline on the achievements in accordance with the community vision since 1924 would be impossible to articulate here, from observations I have made, it can be seen that much progress has been made in respects to commercial development and environmental preservation in Yufuin. There are many walking paths around the town, the inns are quaint, and the surrounding atmosphere is natural. Kinrinko Lake is a popular place for tourists and local people to go to enjoy the beauty of the town and there are several hot springs resorts and cafes along the way, most of which are consistent with the concept of preserving the natural environment and

Source: Author

traditional architecture. The primary commercial center near the train station is bustling with tourists, full of shops selling local handicrafts and delicacies, the horse and cart and the traditional rikshaw are available for tourists to enjoy, and most of the shops attempt to comply with the concept of natural and cultural preservations. There is a glaring exception to this with the presence of a gaudy pachinko parlor, purportedly operated by an outside entity, in the main commercial district in Yufuin. Mr. Yoneda noted that the Yufuin Tourist Association has been trying to come up with proactive solutions to this perceived problem, which can be considered another sign that the community has the ability to set objectives.

Many of the suggestions outlined by Dr. Honda have been adopted and undertaken by the community in Yufuin. Additionally, through commitment to their shared vision of a nice place to live and a natural and relaxing tourist destination, the community in Yufuin, as demonstrated here through the activities of the Yufuin Tourist Association, has been able to effectively set and achieved their desired objectives from simple transformation to a desirable tourist spot to an environmentally and culturally aware commercial center.

Table 4 - A-A-A description of Yufuin

Attributes		Agents	Actions
Sense of Community	• vision to establish a hot spring resort area • "a good place to live and place that people would want to visit"	• Dr. Seiroku Honda • Yufuin Tourist Association • Mr. Mizoguchi • Mr. Nakaya • Yufuin local government	• Study tours to Germany • Plant trees and plants • Transportation Policy • Design of walkways • Restoration of Kinrinko Lake • Built botanical parks and wildlife preserves • Built public hall • Established music festival • Public facilities – toilets, waste bins, signs • Preservation of traditional architecture and landscape • Production of tourist maps • Local specialty products
Commitment	• Yufuin Tourist Association took over many public sector activities to promote vision and achieve objectives		
Objectives	• environmental preservation • economic development		
Resources	• many natural resources pointed out by Dr. Honda: nature, hot springs, architecture, local traditional products • public-private partnerships		

Source: Author

Similar to Tables 2 and 3, Table 4 highlights the specifics of community capacity in Yufuin. Yufuin was particularly successful at setting and achieving their objectives, therefore the actions column is noticeably long. Furthermore, it should also be pointed out that the primary stimulus for the active objective setting was the consolidation of the commitment to the community vision. Without the guiding principles of the preservation of the natural and traditional atmosphere in accordance with the development of tourist destination successful attainment of objectives, prosperity, and the notoriety of Yufuin as a resort would have not been possible; thus, reinforcing the importance of the community capacity attributes and their relationship with community outcomes.

5.2.2.4. Recognizing the Resources of Bungotakada

Another component of community capacity is a community's ability to recognize and access resources. Resources of a community can include economic, human, physical, and political resources (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 16). The ability for a community to identify and utilize resources is of vital importance for community defined success, as adequate resources are what generally separate people from a low and a high quality of life and leave people in poverty

(Quibria, 1993, p. 5). Furthermore, in terms of poverty reduction, it is necessary for a community to identify and utilize its own local resources in order to grow accordingly. Jean-Pierre Cling (2002) notes that "pro-poor growth aimed directly at reducing poverty …must use the factors of production that they possess (p. 36)." In other words, the utilization of local resources is necessary for improving the lives of people, noting that the scale of poverty that Cling is referring to is not limited to only economic poverty. The identification, access, and use of local resources become particularly poignant in addressing holistic community development through the scope of community capacity.

The case of Bungotakada demonstrates how even forgotten and under-utilized resources can bring fulfillment and prosperity to a community through the revitalization of the commercial district and creation of a Showa-era village. Bungotakada is a sleepy rural town of 25,000 in Oita Prefecture and after several years of economic slowdown, due in part to urban migration and the suspension of regular train service to the town, resolved in the early 1990s to do something to revitalize their dying commercial district.

Figure 16 - Shop in Bungotakada's Retro Modern Town

Source: Author

The municipal administration along with the Bungotakada Commerce and Industry Association spent nearly eight years researching possible avenues for their revitalization. Two major outcomes of the research period in Bungotakada were the proposal for a large scale commercial overhaul, proposed by an external consulting firm, and a book entitled Street Stories of Bungotakada City produced by the Commerce and Industry Association. Through the research for the book, the resources of the town were explored and it was noticed that the community was very active in the 1960s. After rejecting the proposal of the consulting firm to completely overhaul the commercial area, citing the high cost and loss of local personality, a municipal project was launched in 1997 to study reviving the existing commercial area and the idea of creating a "retro modern town" was born (Yasuda, 2008).

Bungotakada recognized a very valuable resource at their disposal by recognizing the uniqueness of the era in which their buildings were built. In fact, 70% of the buildings were built prior to 1955 (Yasuda, 2008). Whereas many people may have considered old buildings to be a challenge, the thinking in Bungotakada was that by restoring these storefronts to the way that they looked in the 1960s (the height of the Showa era) a unique identity and atmosphere would be created in the shopping district, thus bringing in more customers and tourists. Further study about the unique aspects of the Showa era was conducted; spanning about one year and included study tours to other areas trying to recreate the same era. They then spent another year developing the strategies and planning their revitalization. The *ginza*[3] of Bungotakada's Showa Town was opened in 2001 (Yasuda, 2008). Innovation and cooperation inspired by recognizing the resources that the community already had led to the revitalization of the area by utilizing those resources.

The vision of creating the retro modern town also encouraged other community members in Bungotakada to recognize and utilize other resources within the community. For instance, the

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[33] A ginza is a traditional shopping district in Japan.

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extensive collection of penny candy store toys by Mr. Hironobu Komiya was considered and subsequently interned at a museum in the city, which opened in 2005. Mr. Komiya's collection is now proudly displayed and is a tourist attraction in Bungotakada.

The museum complex also houses a children's story book museum, which accesses the talents of local authors and artists, a café, and has a model of a Showa era home and school room. The school room is also used for community meetings, presentations, and other community activities.

Elderly residents serve as tour guides through the Showa Town and the museums (Yasuda, 2008). The stories, wisdom, and experience of the elderly members of Bungotakada are accessed to assist tourists and to truly bring the Show era to life in the city. The inclusion of the talents of the seniors in this way helps to instill a sense of pride and value in them and within the community, and ensures that their resources and contributions are preserved and utilized. The museums definitely bring a sense of pride to the community by displaying the way of life in the community in the 1960s and using some of the items from the community members, in addition to its economic function.

In order to successfully revitalize Bungotakada, external resources were accessed as well. Political resources were summoned to obtain prefectural subsidies to support the retro modernization of the commercial district (Yasuda, 2008). Network resources were used to obtain information about

Source: Author

creating a Showa Town, which can be seen through the study tours before the revitalization project commenced. The skills and entrepreneurial nature of the local people are also being used as resources to fuel the revitalization effort. Locally made products from the Showa era are showcased, such as the ice candy delivered by bicycle and the production of traditional wooden shoes known as *geta*. The revitalization effort has also inspired new products to be created and sold along side the traditional ones, such as paintings, handicrafts, and *uzu* juice (Yasuda, 2008).

The recognition of latent resources within a community is a contributor to development that is often overlooked. The case of Bungotakada shows how existing resources and ingenuity can combine to facilitate rural development. Not only did the revitalization of the commercial district and the creation of the retro modern Showa Town bring a renewed economic vitality to Bungotakada, but it also contributed to the development of community capacity there. By identifying the local resources and creating a vision to which people in the community could adhere to, commitment of the people was increased by stimulating them to take active interest as stakeholders to change the privately owned stores to be consistent with the Showa Town vision. This commitment by some encouraged others, particularly in terms of reconstructing the shop fronts which had to be undertaken by the individual shop owner, and produced even more results in terms of creating the Showa Town.

The sense of community was changed from a sense of despair to one of hope and the vision of the retro modern town (Yasuda, 2008) after the resources were recognized and objectives were set into action. The synergy of the new sense of community and the commitment lead to an increase in community actions, which can be seen in the success of the first *ginza* and the plans for expansion to include a second *ginza*.

Furthermore, the case of Bungotakada serves to demonstrate the cyclical nature of community capacity, which can be seen in the A-A-A cycle. The intervention strategy helped to create a vision (revitalization through the retro modern town), which in turn, fostered the development of the other community capacity attributes (commitment of shop owners, commercial plans, the use of Showa era items), then produced community actions (the creation of Showa town), that in turn inspire the growth of the community capacity attributes (stronger commitment to and participation in the concept of Showa town) to produce more sophisticated community actions (the museums and the second *ginza*).

Table 5 - A-A-A description of Bungotakada

Attributes		Agents	Actions
Sense of Community	• Vision of creating Showa Town - feeling in community changed from despair to hope after creation of vision	• Bungotakada Commerce and Industry Association • Mr. Hironobu Komiya • Oita Prefectural government • Bungotakada local government • Shop owners • Political networks	• Study Tours to other Showa Towns • Revitalization Strategy development and planning • Refurbishment of shops • Creation of Show era shopping ginza • Construction of museums • Revitalization of Showa era products – geta, ice candy • Creation of new local specialties – paintings, handcrafts, uzu juice • Expansion to second ginza
Commitment	• Store owners endured cost of changing store fronts to be consistent with Show era look – inspired hold out shop owners to upgrade as well		
Objectives	• Commercial area revitalization study and plans		
Resources	• Showa era buildings • Items from Showa era • Skills and memories to recreate Showa era village • Elderly people • Government subsidies		

Source: Author

Table 5 describes the basic attributes and agents that contributed to the actions for the resurgence of Bungotakada. The most notable attribute in this case is the ability to recognize and use the resources available in the community. This contributes further the development of the sense of community and community capacity, as well as economic growth.

5.2.2.5. Community Capacity and Rural Development

According to McMillan and George (1986) "strong communities are those that offer members positive ways to interact, important events to share and ways to resolve them properly, opportunities to honor members, opportunities to invest in the community, and opportunities to experience a spiritual bond among members (p. 14)." From this, it can be seen that the strength of communities can then be described through identifying the attributes of community capacity. Therefore, rural development can be best undertaken by understanding the importance of community capacity and then building strategies for development or revitalization through consideration of the attributes.

Poverty is a common concern among rural communities. However, many strategies for poverty alleviation parse up impoverished people into aggregate groups defined by needs (Cling, 2002, p. 34). This strategy may not be as effective in curbing rising poverty rates as a holistic approach, including considerations for community capacity and governance, based on the community. Cling (2002) notes that "…[decisions] must be made on the level of village groups, associations of producers, rural communities, urban cooperatives, all of which groups, incidentally, do not only include poor people but also have their own elites (p. 35)." Thus, there is a need to define the community and its stakeholders, not just beneficiaries, to address issues within an area in a holistic way in order to better formulate policies that will make a positive impact on the lives of people, particularly in terms of poverty reduction.

Poverty reduction strategies should not be created in a vacuum from the top-down, but rather be a component of proactive and participatory rural development enacted within the community. It is for this reason, that community capacity, which attempts to describe, incorporate, and promote social and economic activities in a community and their stakeholders, is significant in relation to rural development.

The preceding cases attempt to highlight each of the attributes of community capacity, as well as the function of the A-A-A cycle of community capacity, through the various rural development and revitalization efforts of some communities in rural Japan. The successful endeavors of agriculture and green tourism in Imori-dani demonstrate the role of sense of community in rural development planning. The commitment of the Ajimu Winery to the community in Ajimu shows how private businesses can investment themselves as stakeholders within a community. The development of Yufuin into a popular hot springs resort town displays how the ability to set and achieve objectives promotes not only economic growth, but instills faith in the sense of community and perpetuates other attributes. And the retro modern Showa Town in Bungotakada clearly depicts how overlooked resources can be accessed and converted into income and community capacity generating tools. This goes to show that the concept of community capacity can be applied in many circumstances. Additionally, not all attributes need to necessarily be strong in order to progress the A-A-A cycle. Table 6 highlights the unique aspects of each case presented here.

Table 6 - Japanese rural revitalization cases summary

	Attributes	Agents	Action
Imori-dani	Sense of Community - "create a village where anyone would want to live"	Civil society – Matsumoto Farming Cooperative	Soybean production and green tourism
Ajimu	Commitment – Ichiiko Company, framers, and residents commit to make a scenic wine producing area and tourist location	Private business - Ajimu Winery/Ichiiko Company	Wine production and winery grounds
Yufuin	Objectives – Create natural hot springs resort, preserve local environment for tourists and residents	Civil society/Public-private partnership - Yufuin Tourist Association	Creation of thriving, relaxing tourist destination
Bungotakada	Resources – Recognized under utilized resources of old buildings, Showa era items, memories and skills of the local people and elderly	Public-Private organization - Bungotakada Commerce and Industry Association	Creation of Showa Town and economic growth

Source: Author

This section focused on the concept of community capacity and the four attributes of community capacity, the sense of community, commitment, the ability to set and achieve objectives, and the ability to recognize and access resources. The attributes were clarified through case examples to demonstrate both their importance and manifestation in reality.

Each of the cases of Imori-dani, Ajimu, Yufuin, and Bungotakada depict a particularly strong attribute of community capacity, as well as varied agents and actions. The questions of what the attributes look like in context, how they are connected, and how they contribute to the A-A-A cycle of community capacity were answered. The attributes manifest in various ways in a community and can be inspired by government interventions (as in the case of Imori-dani and the Vision Building Workshop), a private business (as in the case of Ajimu Winery), outside experts (as in the case of Yufuin with Dr. Honda and the study tours to Germany), or a desire for economic advancement by both the government and local business (as in the case of Bungotakada). And once there is a spark in the community capacity, the A-A-A cycle goes into motion and proceeds to produce more community capacity and more varied and sophisticated activities within the community.

Through answering these questions and showing the ways that the attributes appear and contribute to the cycle of community capacity, a conceptual framework and understanding of the role that community capacity plays are developed. This framework is particularly useful for practitioners and policy makers because it begins to show the interconnectedness of the development of community capacity and the community's ability to progress proactively. The concepts here can be further developed into a theory, but for now they serve the conceptual basis

of community capacity and inspiration for others wishing to inquire about it for the purpose of making policy and planning more effective and relevant to people.

5.2.3. Community Agents[4]

A community agent can be defined as any actor that brings about change within the community. Although the concept of identifying agents for change in a community is not necessarily a new one, community agents specify more than individuals and are an integral part of the A-A-A cycle. "Community capacity is engaged through varying combinations of three levels of social agency: individuals, organizations, and networks of association (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 19)." Agents are able to garner influence and shift opinions through charisma, argumentation, or other methods of encouragement (NDI, 2009, p. 7).

Through these agents community capacity can be utilized and built; thus, they are the main facilitators of community capacity. Capacity building strategies, as well as local interventions and policy, often identify these specific agents within a target community to enact their plans.

Individual agents can be local leaders and other people within the community. The individual level of social agency concerns the human capital and leadership of individual residents of a community, as well as their skills, knowledge, resources, and participation in community activities (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 19). Individuals and their ability to leverage social change are particularly important in this study due to the nascent functioning of community organizations and the difficulty of networking in a developing community.

Organizations can also be agents within a community. Examples of organizational social agents include the local government, community-based organizations, local businesses, schools, and small local groups. These groups can collectively invoke change within a community and spur other individuals and organizations into action when necessary.

The network level of social agency is executed through the relationship between individuals, informal groups, as well as formal organizations (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 20). Networks as agents can also be considered as social capital, because they allow people to broaden their scope and resource attainment capabilities.

Table 7 provides an overview of the basic indicators for community agents.

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[4] Section 5.2.3 is part of an article published in Rural Society, Vol. 19, No. 3, October 2009

Table 7 - Indicators for community agents

Community Agent	Criteria
Individuals	• Formal leaders in government, businesses, organizations, or movements • Informal leaders (e.g. people of reverence, clout, or high civic standing)
Organizations	• Established groups (e.g. social organizations, commercial associations, religious groups, age-related groups, government sponsored organizations) • Informal civil society organizations (e.g. recreation leagues, neighborhood constellations) • Businesses • Government agencies • Institutes • Educational institutes
Networks	• Interpersonal networks (through families and acquaintances) • Organizational networks • Political networks • Business network

Source: Author, based on Chaskin et al., 2001

These indicators can help to identify the various agents in a community and are based on the description of community agents offered previously (based on Chaskin et al., 2001), with some practical elaborations. It should be noted that these indictors only offer a rough guide, as each case will offer their own unique agents.

5.2.3.1. Community Leadership

Since agents contribute to community capacity and perform actions and they do so through leadership, it is prudent to understand how they contribute to this process. Furthermore, leadership has been recognized as a key component of community development (Angell, 1951; Coe, 1987; Kirk & Shutte, 2004; Laslo & Judd, 2006; Sastry & Srinivasan, 2007) and identified as a community capacity building strategy to promote community participation (Chaskin et al. 2001, p. 27; McGuire Rubin, Agranoff, & Richards, 1994, p. 427).

Leadership and community agents play a major role in the construction and implementation of successful activities in a community. Community leadership enables members of the community to take initiative to pursue the vision of the community, as well as realize community objectives. This section discusses the role of agents and their importance in both utilizing and fostering community capacity, as well as the development of community leadership to achieve improvements in the lives of community members.

Community leadership is a component and an outcome of community capacity. This is highlighted by some of the singular instances of leadership and how those instances facilitated the growth of community capacity and the progression toward community leadership on the island of Himeshima, Japan. Community leadership is the outcome of the singular leadership initiatives of various agents and community capacity building through successful actions.

Community leadership, as it is understood here, combines the principles of leadership that are proactive in a group context such as organizational, distributed, evocative, participative and cultural leadership (Bass, 1981; Coe, 1987; Goldstein, 2003; Kezar, 2000; Kime, 2001; Kirk & Shutte, 2004; Trice & Beyer, 2001). Organizational leadership is 'the capacity of the organization to respond to endogenous and exogenous stimuli, which present themselves as challenges, opportunities, and threats to the organization (Kime, 2001, p.2).' This definition looks at the leadership capacity, the ability to respond, that an entire organization embodies, not just of a few individuals. This concept can be applied to a community to describe the way in which various community agents can take leadership action and respond when necessary (see discussion on viewing a community as a system or an organization earlier in this chapter).

In the past, many authors studied community leadership by investigating individual leaders (Angell, 1951; Bonjean & Olsen, 1964; Morris & Seeman, 1950) without much consideration for the capacity of the community as a system to be able to undertake various acts of leadership. Contemporarily, a few authors have begun to consider the ability of the community to promote leadership activity within its constituents (Millar & Kilpatrick 2005; Wituk, Ealey, Clark, Heiny, & Meissen, 2005). Kirk and Shutte (2004) recognized that leadership within the community system is a process of mediating various roles (p. 236).

M P Vasimalai, Founder and Executive Director of Development of Humane Action (DHAN) Foundation, a professional development organization in India, states that initiatives in a community start with a charismatic personality, but that cannot be sustained and leadership must be institutionalized to avoid exulting a personality (Sastry & Srinivasan, 2007, p. 385). Vasimalai's point of view supports the concept of community leadership as being distributed and institutionalized within a local community and it culture (see also Trice & Breyer, 1991).

Angell (1951) recognized that closed power systems are not conducive for community leadership (p. 103; see also Kime, 2001, p. 15) and the continual need for new leaders (p. 106). Coe (1987) revealed that projects and organizations that have wide stakeholder involvement in leadership roles were more successful (p. 83; see also Goldstein, 2003). These points lend themselves to the idea that leadership that is practiced and available to potentially any member of the community is ideal. Bass (1981) recognized that power can be shared between individual leaders and other community members and in such circumstances the members become as influential as the leader and a process develops between the various agents (p. 192; see also Goldstein, 2003; Kezar, 2000).

Millar & Kilpatrick (2005) define community leadership as leadership within communities of different people who come together in collaborative endeavor (p. 237). Wituk and colleagues (2005) describes community leadership as being "based on the idea that leaders are everywhere" and that community leadership also "increases social capital in a community by bringing people together (p. 90)." Wituk and colleagues (2005) also note that it "emphasizes a collaborative, on-going, influential process based on the relationships between people" and "when [leadership is] defined as a relationship, all participants are practicing leadership to some extent, depending on the situation and required skills (p. 90)."

Kirk and Shutte (2004) define community leadership as "leadership within communities of different people who come together in collaborative endeavor (p. 237)." Their definition incorporates ideas of organizational and distributed leadership.

The definition of community leadership used here is a collaborative process where any member of the community has the capacity to take action in response to or influence the objectives of the community. Therefore, this work departs slightly from other concepts of

community leadership by insisting that the process of leadership can manifest in any agent given the appropriate amount of community capacity and circumstance.

Based on the findings from Himeshima, Figure 18 shows the various stages toward the development of community leadership. Individual leaders start taking action, which facilitates the growth of community capacity. This, in turn, fosters more leadership initiatives and expands the number and variety of Agents until any stakeholder can potentially become a leader (action-taker/decision-maker), thus achieving community leadership. In other words, community leadership is achieved when there is a robust and diverse amount of agents engaged in community activities.

Figure 18 - Progression of leadership

Any member of community has capacity to take action

Development of a variety of agents

Reliance on individual leaders

Source: Author, based on Himeshima case

Consistent with these points, individual leadership and community leadership have many connections with community capacity. Leadership, as a process, can then be linked to the A-A-A cycle, which is also a process. It is then the influence that the agents have to affect actions that make them individual leaders. There is a group context that exists within a community, both in seeing the entire community as one system and within smaller sub-groups within the community. Goal attainment is consistent with the concept of setting and achieving objectives, one of the attributes. Therefore, it can be seen that any agent in a community can demonstrate leadership, and it is precisely this leadership that allows them to escort the community toward action.

Community leadership connects people and empowers them to pursue their individual and collective goals, thus allowing community members to take ownership of collective goals (Kirk & Shutte, 2004, p. 241; Reed, 2001, p. 2). This shows how community leadership is related to the sense of community through the establishment of common goals and commitment through the development of ownership of those collective goals. Sense of community is necessary for effective leadership (Angell, 1951, p. 108) and can be developed by agents taking leadership initiative.

The collective empowerment that is gained through community leadership is a contributing factor to the promotion of the A-A-A cycle through facilitating the development of the relationships between community members, and clarifying the purpose, meaning, and value of

the contributions of individual community members (Kirk & Shutte, 2004, p. 242). Community leadership helps to develop a "new shared vision for the future to reflect the collective needs of the group (Millar & Kilpatrick 2005, p. 20)."

In order to get commitment from community members, there must be a common will and effort to support this on behalf of the leader (Angell, 1951, p. 108). This further reinforces the link between sense of community and commitment and links leadership to the A-A-A cycle in this respect.

Community leadership also contributes to the ability of a community to set and achieve objectives by facilitating the ability of the agents to perform functions, adopt new functions, and to innovate (Yukl, 1998, p. 12). This helps the community in general to cope with external and internal challenges (Kime, 2001, p. 2). The challenges a community faces are often the impetus for the formulation of community objectives and the search for resources. Community leadership helps to both identify these challenges and set the course to overcome them and obtain the necessary resources (Kime, 2001, pp. 11-12).

Like the A-A-A cycle, the progression of leadership toward community leadership can be both a means for development and a desirable outcome of it, which can be seen through the emphasis on broad leadership development as a community capacity building and development strategy. High levels of leadership capacity are partly due to commitment to the community (Kime, 2001, p. 126). This demonstrates the interconnectedness of the concepts of community leadership and community capacity. One might envision the A-A-A cycle spiraling up the inverted pyramid figure demonstrating leadership progression with higher levels of community capacity being synonymous with a diffused leadership structure and multitudes of agents.

Community leadership is an ideal way to view leadership within a community because of the reality of people working together in groups or organizations, dealing with political interests and power discrepancies, by placing more emphasis on collaboration through plurality and inclusivity (Kirk & Shutte, 2004, p. 237).

The next section looks at the case of Himeshima Japan and its progression of leadership by various actors during different phases of the community's development and subsequent revitalization.

5.2.3.1.1. Himeshima

Figure 19 - Map of Himeshima

Source: Harikomou-kai, 2008

Himeshima is a small island, 17 kilometers in circumference and 7.2 square kilometers in area, just off the shore of the Kunisaki Peninsula in Oita prefecture, Japan (Fujimoto, 2008b, p. 1). It has a population of roughly 2,500 (Fujimoto, 2008c, p. 1), which is declining due both to gentrification and low youth retention. People in Himeshima are mainly

involved in coastal fishing and prawn cultivation. The prawn industry in Himeshima is particularly notable because of their award for the OVOP campaign in 1981 and the product's considerable national recognition and sway of market values of their flagship products, tiger prawns (known in Japan as kuruma ebi or car prawns) and flatfish (Fujimoto, 2008a). Other items of interest in Himeshima include the children's 'fox dance' during the annual Bon festival in August, the prawn festival in October, and migratory butterflies.

There is only one village on the island of Himeshima, and there is a recognition by the people living there for the need to work together to develop the island. "The united efforts of the villagers are pointed out as a characteristic in the development of this village. Since a single village exists on this island, villagers need to cooperate with each other (Fujimoto, 2008b, p. 5)."

The following discussion describes the policy structure, community capacity, and the various Agents of Himeshima through its pre-development, initial development and revitalization phases. The information for this case study has been gathered through several observations, unstructured interviews, lectures, and from documents written by Mayor Akio Fujimoto, Mr. Hidenori Itai of Harikomou-kai, and Mrs. Satomi Daikai of the Himeshima Women's Association between 2007 and 2009 as a part of JICA trainings for rural development and community capacity. Following the discussion of the development periods, the implications and the lesson learned from Himeshima will be presented.

5.2.3.1.1.1.   Before the development of Himeshima

Himeshima was designated as a region that needed special attention for development in 1957 by the national government of Japan. At that time, the island had little in the way of access to electricity, fresh water supplies, medical services, or hard infrastructure such as roads and ports (Fujimoto 2008b, p. 1). The people were primarily involved in subsistence agriculture, some coastal fishing, and salt production. The maintenance of fishing resources through collectively limiting the amounts of the catch is well-known around Japan as the Himeshima Method. Salt production was not a particularly lucrative practice and consumed large portions of land. In response to this, there was a movement initiated by the national government to encourage developing regions to discontinue salt production in lieu of more profitable and sustainable economic activities.

The first step of economic development in Himeshima was the discontinuation of salt production, a traditional occupation on the island since the seventeenth century. During the implementation of a national policy to shift away from salt production, a national legislator, Eichi Nishimura, who hailed from Himeshima, encouraged the people of Himeshima by saying "Don't swim against the tide of times….we should… think about the future (Fujimoto, 2008a, p. 1)." With this in mind, the people of Himeshima were able to cease producing salt, the first village in Japan to do so under the national policy (Fujimoto, 2008b, p. 1). Mr. Nishimura exercised his political power to ensure that the national government was aware of the plight of rural areas and remote islands, like Himeshima. This emphasis helped to make funds for development available to those areas and the local government of Himeshima used this political network to maximize their share of financial assistance.

It was during this preliminary development period, around 1950, that organizational activities on Himeshima began. Under the suggestion of the national government, the Himeshima Women's Association was formed to contribute to the social development of the community.

During the most arduous times on the island, the Women's Association helped connect people in the village with their daily necessities (Daikai, 2009).

Table 8 shows the policy structure of Himeshima before development (prior to 1960). The table reflects a very basic policy structure with minimal activities resulting in overall poor living conditions. Community actions are described here as a policy structure using the logic framework (see JICA, 2004; AusGUIDElines, 2003; Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008).

Table 8 - Himeshima's policy structure (actions) before development

End Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Outputs	Activities	Inputs
Poor living conditions	Small incomes Himeshima Method Sense of interdependence Lack of amenities	Salt Small amount of fish sold in local markets Stable fish supply	Salt production Coastal fishing Collective maintenance of fishing resources	Labor Natural resources Some fishing skills
		Cessation of salt production	Campaign to stop salt production	National government policy
		Himeshima Women's Association	Creation of group for women	National and prefectural support

Source: Author

Himeshima was identified as a target for development due to its position as an isolated island, resulting in a simple and difficult way of life. The people in the community did not have many opportunities to develop their community capacity due to the arduous and time consuming occupations they were pursuing under difficult circumstances. Based on the presentations from Mayor Fujimoto, the organization Harikomo-kai, and the Himeshima women's group and inferences from the policy structure model, an analysis of the community's capacity attributes before development is offered in Table 9.

Table 9 - Community capacity attributes in Himeshima before development

Sense of Community	Identity as salt producers and fishers Minimal goals
Commitment	Collective maintenance of fishing resources
Ability to set and achieve objectives	Fearful of change
Ability to recognize and access resources	Use only sea – salt and fish

People were proud of their salt production (Fujimoto 2008a, p. 1) and it was an integral part of their community identity. However, at this point in time, there were few other goals and objectives shared by the community.

A fledgling example of the commitment of the people of Himeshima can be seen though the Himeshima Method. The collective fishing resource management through the Himeshima Method provided a sense of pride and identity among the community and provided a base through which further community capacity could be built. Otherwise, the people of Himeshima were consumed by their own occupation in a struggle for survival, which did not lead itself to time for investments in community activities or advancement. This daily struggle may have contributed to the resistance to change that was experienced by many in the community, especially those involved in salt production (Fujimoto 2008a, p. 1). Since their focus was solely on their most apparent and abundant resource, the sea, it was difficult for the people in Himeshima to actively identify and utilize other assets at their disposal. Table 10 shows the Agents in Himeshima prior to its development.

Table 10 - Himeshima's community agents before development

Individuals	Unknown
Organizations	National Government Salt producers Women's Association
Networks	Political network of Nishimura

Mayor A. Fujimoto briefly discussed the course of events in the town's history leading up to development, but there was little discussion about leaders during that time. The salt producers were voicing their concern about abandoning their occupation, but were not organized and eventually were overruled. The Japanese national government took the lead in developing needy regions around the country by identifying them, foster policies they found to be proactive, and providing funding support for their policies. However, outside of the administrative leaders in Himeshima, there was no mention of outstanding individual leaders prior to development. This lack of a prominent leader is a key point when considering community development, which can be seen in the later periods of Himeshima's development, when the leadership of individuals, organizations, and networks eventually empower the people to take action under their own accord.

While Eichi Nishimura is an example of an individual leader that, through several instances of singular leadership and the utilization of business and political networks, contributed to the maturity of community capacity, well-being, and the economic development of Himeshima, he is

an external stakeholder to Himeshima and therefore his efforts are reflected as a network agent here. Through his political networks, Nishimura was also able to keep the local administration in Himeshima aware of potential national and prefectural funding opportunities for their development projects. Nishimura's network leadership in Himeshima contributed to the early economic development of this island, as well as the introduction of other individual leaders and the establishment of the prawn cultivation industry, which has become a leading organization on the island.

5.2.3.1.1.2.   The era of Mayor Kumao Fujimoto 1960 – 1984

After the salt fields were abolished in 1959, it was necessary for the community to find other income generating activities. The community decided to pursue prawn cultivation after studying the potential of their island using these guiding concepts: a) the promotion of local industries instead of salt fields, b) finding employment for salt field workers, and c) utilizing the former salt fields (Fujimoto 2008a, p. 1). The Himeshima Fish Culture Corporation was established in 1960 with local capital, but faced financial difficulty in its first years of operation (Fujimoto 2008a, p. 1).

When the initial endeavors into prawn cultivation were faltering, Nishimura again assisted Himeshima by introducing Dr. Motosaku Fujinaga, a leading prawn expert, to the situation. Dr. Fujinaga consulted with the early Himeshima Fish Culture Corporation on ways that they could improve their business and merged with the Inland Sea Fishery Development Corporation in 1963 (Fujimoto, 2008a, p. 1).   Unfortunately, this new private company again had trouble with the fledgling prawn cultivation technology and went defunct in two years.

In order to sustain the development of the island the mayor, Kumao Fujimoto, helped to persuade the people to continue along the path of development through prawn cultivation. Mayor Kumao Fujimoto told the community "prawn culture must not be withdrawn from this island…I want to continue this business by all means. I'm sure of our success (Fujimoto, 2008a, p. 2)." He coordinated local investors, the local administration, and Mr. Nishimura to establish a public-private enterprise, the Himeshima Prawn Cultivation Corporation (HPCC) in 1965 (Fujimoto, 2008b, p. 2) on the heels of the failure of the previous prawn company. Mayor Kumao Fujimoto also urged the community to persevere with the statement "if this business fails, Himeshima will collapse. We have to succeed by all means (Fujimoto, 2008b, p. 4)." The HPCC rehired employees of the former private corporation, and invited technical experts to strengthen their production and feeding systems (Fujimoto, 2008a, p. 2).

The road to success of the HPCC was not easy. The business struggled until 1976 when there was an introduction of new technology (Fujimoto, 2008a, p. 2). HPCC experienced another challenging period until 1980 (Fujimoto, 2008a, p. 3). Mayor Kumao Fujimoto installed Izumi Yamashita, a long-time employee of the company, as president of the HPPC in 1981 after he returned from a one-year study on prawn cultivation. Yamashita disseminated his knowledge of productive cultivation throughout the HPCC (Fujimoto, 2008a, p. 3). Through his leadership the practices of the company were changed for the better and the thinking of the employees changed to reflect those of employees in a private enterprise, rather than an organization that relies on the government. Yamashita led the company to earn its distinction as a pioneer OVOP community and a prominent force in the prawn market by 1981(Fujimoto, 2008a, p. 3).

During this period of economic development, Himeshima also made some initial progress in improving the standard of living on the island. Their aim was to make life in Himeshima like

life on the mainland. It should be noted, that Mayor Kumao Fujimoto had the intention of making Himeshima a reasonable place to live, without extravagance. This is reflected in the simple, but comfortable buildings and houses on the island.

The main achievements in terms of infrastructure and services include the underwater electricity cable to the mainland in 1965, a ground water supply system established in 1966, and roads that were widened and paved with links to the fishing ports constructed starting from the 1960s (Fujimoto, 2008b, p. 1). However, the current mayor, Akio Fujimoto, feels that the most significant advancement in the standard of living on the island came with the establishment of the ferry, which is administered by the village government, in 1972 (Fujimoto, 2008b, p. 2). This is because it allowed both people and products to have regular and easy access to the mainland, including the local airport, which increased access to national markets. Additional community development initiatives during this period include the recruitment of a resident doctor in 1983 (Fujimoto, 2008b, pp. 3-4). These tasks were undertaken either solely by the local government, or in collaboration with the national government ministries or outside institutions.

Another unique feature of community life on Himeshima emerged under the inspiration of Mayor Kumao Fujimoto was work sharing. Work sharing, as it is envisioned on Himeshima, is a system where many employees are maintained at a low salary (Fujimoto, 2008b, p. 5). This system was introduced in the early 1970s to prevent further depopulation of the island by providing an opportunity for as many people as possible to be employed within a minute total expenditure of the local government (Fujimoto, 2009). Table 11 shows the policy structure of Himeshima with some highlighted aspects of the economic development period.

Table 11 - Himeshima's policy structure (actions) under Mayor Kumao Fujimoto

End Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Outputs	Activities	Inputs
Standard of living similar to the mainland Migration of youth	Famous brand of prawns Products hold large market sway in national markets OVOP award Identity as prawn producers Livable income Improved infrastructure Improved social services	Fish products for market Himeshima brand of prawn High quality prawns Himeshima Prawn Cultivation Company Increased employment	Coastal fishing Create public-private prawn company Prawn cultivation Work sharing	Natural resources Prawn cultivation skills and technology Kumao Fujimoto's commitment to prawn cultivation Concept of work sharing
		Better transportation Better access to markets Local access to services	Build physical infrastructure Construct electricity cable Construct water system Establish ferry service	Nishimura's political network National and Prefectural development subsidies Local government funds

Source: Author

In comparison to the period before development, the policy structure of the economic development period is more robust, complex, and sophisticated. The injections of funding from the national government did contribute to the development of the prawn industry, and the determination of the mayor and the local investors in the HPCC ensured the company's eventual success and secured a sustainable living for people on the island.

Through working with external networks and with the finances that were earned by the public-private HPCC, the local government was able to pursue their goals of infrastructure development and service delivery to make life on the island similar to life on the mainland. This era of economic development in Himeshima was largely driven by the government and coordinated by local Agents with strong external political networks.

The activities that the people in Himeshima undertook as a part of their prawn cultivation endeavor served to fortify their community capacity, as well as provide for economic sustainability. Table 12 describes the genesis of Himeshima's community capacity during the period of economic development.

Table 12 - Himeshima's community capacity attributes under Mayor Kumao Fujimoto

Sense of Community	Identity as prawn producers Work Sharing Pride from famous OVOP brand Vision to make life on Himeshima similar to life on the mainland
Commitment	Commitment to prawn cultivation as mode of development Commitment of HPCC to producing high quality prawns
Ability to set and achieve objectives	Established prawn company and successful OVOP brand Made improvements in infrastructure and services Accomplished goal to improve living standard
Ability to recognize and access resources	Recognized convertibility of salt fields and value of sea products Networked to gain skills and technology in prawn cultivation and funds for development

Source: Author

The sense of community in Himeshima began to become more articulated as the mayor helped to establish the vision of the community to "make life on the island like that of the mainland through the cultivation of prawns (Fujimoto, 2008a, p. 1)." The people then began to view their identity as prawn producers, shifting from their identity as salt producers. Their prawn production brought them accolades as an OVOP product and forceful market brand, which helped to instill a sense of pride in the community.

The concept of work sharing that was introduced during this era also served to help bring the people of Himeshima closer together through the recognition of mutual circumstance and the need to sacrifice high salaries in order for other members of the community to be able to have a quality standard of living.

The sense of community that grew in Himeshima served to increase the commitment to prawn cultivation by the employees, investors, and other members of the community. This commitment to prawn cultivation then allowed the HPCC to grow into a viable company that offered much to its employees and the village, as well as become a dominant market force due to their commitment to quality products.

Himeshima's ability to set and achieve objectives is apparent through the success in establishing the HPCC through public-private partnership. The income generated by the people and for the village through tax collection, as well as the networks to access external development funds then allowed the local government to fulfill its vision to improve the standard of living by providing the necessary services and infrastructure developments.

Himeshima had previously recognized its abundant natural resource, the sea, and continued to innovate new uses of this resource. They also were committed to using the abandoned salt fields for income generating activities, which demonstrated the community's ability to recognize

a resource that may have not been entirely apparent. Aside from the natural resources on the island, the community was able to access their political and social networks, particular those of Kumao Fujimoto and Eichi Nishimura, to bring in knowledge, new technologies, and financial resources to pursue their goals.

Table 13 shows the various agents that became important during the period of economic development in Himeshima. Compared to the agents that were active before development, the period of economic development shows a marked increase in the quantity and type of agents. These agents, like the policy structure, and the community capacity, become more diverse and productive as the A-A-A cycle progresses.

Table 13 - Community agents in Himeshima under Mayor Kumao Fujimoto

Individuals	Kumao Fujimoto Izumi Yamashita Dr. Fujinaga
Organizations	Himeshima Prawn Cultivation Corporation Himeshima Women's Association Local government
Networks	Fujimoto's political networks Nishimura's personal and political networks

Source: Author

The commitment of Mayor Kumao Fujimoto to the idea of development through prawn cultivation inspired the people of Himeshima to try once again, thus revealing his position as a true leader. He was able to connect with Nishimura and then utilize the development funds that were available through that political network.

Through his coordination of the HPCC, Kumao Fujimoto put various other community members from the public and private spheres into leadership positions, such as Yamashita and Fujinaga. The leadership of Kumao Fujimoto fostered the leadership of Yamashita, and in turn, the leadership of Yamashita led to the prominence and leadership of the HPCC, as well as leadership among its employees. It can be seen that proactive leadership begets other instances of leadership and can help formulate organizations to become prominent community agents as well. This is where the transition from singular instances of leadership begin to progress into community leadership.

Similar to the period before Mayor Kumao Fujimoto, Nishimura was able to use his knowledge and connections (business and interpersonal networks) to bring experts and additional leaders to the community to help establish their prawn cultivation industry. This makes him again an external stakeholder in Himeshima and a network leader.

The Himeshima Women's Association is also active during this time helping to bring the people of Himeshima some comfort and social development. Their activities filled a particularly important need during this time, because most of the activities of the local government were concerned with the physical development of the island.

Both the HPCC and the local bureaucracy further contribute to the development of community leadership through their practice of work sharing. Work sharing can be considered community leadership because it is a process through which people carry out the idea of community livelihood and has definitely had an influence both on how the people of Himeshima live and see themselves in relation to other communities. It also happens within the group

context of the municipal organizations and the HPCC, and moves the community members of Himeshima toward attaining their goals (see Northouse, 2004).

The work sharing system of Himeshima enables the members to take pride in their community, fortify the relationships and commitment to the community's success and vision, as well as achieve their community objectives by tapping their given resources: their human resources. Work sharing as a mode of community leadership thus contributes to the growth of community capacity in Himeshima through allowing many community members to be active community agents.

Although great advancements in the development of Himeshima were made during this period, and life there became comparable to life on the mainland, the village still experienced depopulation as a result of gentrification, low birth rates and the desire of the youth to work at higher paying jobs in big cities. Clearly, development is a process that never ceases. The next discussion focuses on the most recent attempts at revitalization in Himeshima.

5.2.3.1.1.3.   The era of Mayor Akio Fujimoto 1984 – present

Mayor Akio Fujimoto took off where his father left off to improve the living conditions on Himeshima. Some of the development activities accomplished during his tenure include a can deposit system in 1984, the establishment of an elderly assistance center in 1991, and the construction of a sewage system in 1992 (Fujimoto, 2008b, pp. 3-4). Much advancement to the state of health care was made during the early part of Mayor A. Fujimoto's term, resulting from the budget reallocation that was possible because of the frugal efforts of the municipal staff to reduce the cost of maintenance at municipal hall.

Product promotion was still important during this time. The people on Himeshima decided to host festivals to promote their products and bring visitors to their island. The flat fish festival is held annually in May, and the prawn festival is held in October. Producers, local government officials, and local organizations, such as the Women's Association and the fishing cooperative, participate in the festivals. The prawn festival and the flat fish festival in combination with the Bon festival in August also provide an attraction to draw tourists to the island.

While Himeshima enjoyed a period of economic success through the 1980s and 1990s, the village again fell into decline as the population steadily eroded from ageing and urban migration. A new approach to the economic sustainability of Himeshima was taken, this time linking the local industries with tourism through 'Blue Tourism.'

The project entitled the Himeshima Revitalization project is a three-year project running from 2006 to 2008 and is subsidized by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication and the Oita Prefectural Government. Mayor A. Fujimoto decided to utilize the funding available for rural revitalization and convened a work group to implement the project and manage the funds. The local work group, Harikomou-kai, consists of 30 representatives of the local government, local businesses and community members (Itai, 2008). Interestingly, 'harikomou' is the local Himeshima dialect for the Japanese term '*ganbare*', which translates as 'let's give it our best!' (Fujimoto, 2008b, p. 7).

The local administration of Himeshima consulted with the project participants and formulated a multi-faceted approach to enact the project. Sustainable development of the village and future economic growth are the main goals of the project, as well as an improvement of the social condition of the village through cooperative actions. Their overall goal is to create "an island where residents are filled with happiness (Fujimoto, 2008a)."

Harikomou-kai acts as the facilitator for the revitalization project by commissioning research trips, organizing trainings, and providing a forum through which participants and residents can voice their opinion and become involved. The group decided to use technology for the promotion of tourism in Himeshima; subsequently, they are providing Internet training for local entrepreneurs and have created a new website to promote and display all they have to offer via the Internet. Various research expeditions have been conducted to find unique local products and traditions, local food cultivation, and to map the tourist areas. The findings of these studies help the residents of Himeshima understand the local resources at their disposal and facilitate the development of their respective industries (Harikomou-kai, 2008, p. 2).

In order to better prepare tourism operators on the island to accommodate tourists, the travel company Japan Travel Bureau (JTB) was tapped to provide hospitality training. JTB also acts as a marketing connector for the burgeoning tourism industry on the island by offering package tours to Himeshima (Fujimoto, 2008).

Work sharing continued into the era of Mayor Akio Fujimoto as well. Currently, there are 184 municipal employees, most of who work for the municipal clinic and the ferry service. Additionally, the 65 employees of the HPCC are employed under the same concept of work sharing (Fujimoto, 2008b, p. 5). Himeshima remained an independent municipality, despite the trend of rural municipality mergers in the early 21st century, largely because they were unwilling to compromise their work sharing system (Fujimoto, 2008a). The people of Himeshima were also worried about weakening their solidarity (Fujimoto, 2008b, p.6).

There are organizations that help to color the social life and solidify the connection between the people, such as the Himeshima Women's Association. Although the group had been more active in the past, currently this 500 plus strong group organization takes part in nearly every event and activity on the island. They focus on social activities, such as preparing costumes and makeup for the annual Bon festival children's dance and promoting public awareness campaigns such as the 'My Chopsticks' campaign to reduce the use disposable wooden chopsticks (Daikai, 2008).

The organization has several official positions, board members, and also places members in observer positions to oversee the welfare of their neighbors in each district (Daikai, 2008). The women's group helps to spread the messages, lessons, and visions of the people, by focusing public awareness campaigns, largely on environmental conservation, on the island's children (Daikai, 2008).

The group has a *laissez-fare* approach to the recruitment of members, the collection of dues, and recruiting activity participants. The organization does little in regards to these matters, yet has no problems collecting fees or finding members or activity participants, as well as no problems with corruption within the organization itself. Mrs. Satomi Daikai, the chief board member of the organization, attributes this to the desires of the group members to avoid conflict paired with the encouragement of members to only become involved in the activities that interest them. Mrs. Daikai said that the group members "do the things they like and the things that they are proud of," thinking of obtaining money as secondary to these thoughts (2008).

Table 14 shows the current policy structure of Himeshima organized in a logical framework.

Table 14 - Himeshima's policy structure (actions) under Mayor Akio Fujimoto

End Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Outputs	Activities	Inputs
An island filled with happiness through cooperative actions Sustainable development Future economic growth Depopulation Gentrification	Stable income Well known flat fish Well known prawns Pride in local products Comfortable living environment Establish Himeshima as a unique tourist destination Develop tourist facilities Cultivate local products and traditions Well-educated and adapted children Community Leadership	Products for market Employment Annual Flatfish Festival Annual Prawn Festival	Coastal fishing Prawn cultivation Work sharing Festivals	Sea resources Fishing skills Prawn cultivation skills
		Cleaner environment Better access to health care	Establish can deposit system Construct sewer system Build elderly assistance centre	Village funds Prefectural funds National funds
		Skills in tourism Increased human resources Identified unique local products, traditions, local foods Map of tourist areas Increased amount of tourists	Blue Tourism Create Harikomou-kai Tourism training Internet training Build website Research expeditions	Village funds Prefectural funds National funds Tourism trainers Natural resources
		Environmental awareness Conscientious children Bon Festival	Public awareness campaigns Festival activities	Women's resources

Source: Author

The current policy structure is much more complicated than those during the previous periods of development, reflecting a greater capacity of the community, more varied outputs, and more sophisticated outcomes. The community in Himeshima has progressed to be able to take on more diverse and complex matters. The revitalization was driven by the residents and organizations of Himeshima, rather than by individual leaders or external actors as the prior periods of development had been.

Table 15 is a breakdown of the current community capacity of Himeshima. Like the policy structure table, it is more robust and varied than the previous time period's on Himeshima; thus reinforcing the principle that community activities help to fortify community capacity and vice versa.

Table 15 - Community capacity attributes of Himeshima under Mayor Akio Fujimoto

Sense of Community	• An island filled with happiness through cooperative actions • Blue Tourism • Volunteer spirit • Solidarity • Festivals
Commitment	• High amounts of participation through work sharing and community activities • Residents recognize themselves as stakeholders and take action accordingly
Ability to set and achieve objectives	• Harikomou-kai's activities • Local administration coordinates new activities • Himeshima Women's Association activities • Blue Tourism project
Ability to recognize and access resources	• Studied area to find uniqueness • Linked tourism with prawn cultivation and fishing • Accessed political networks for funds

Source: Author

Clearly working together to sustain life on Himeshima is very important to the village residents and has become an integral part of their identity. The sense of community on Himeshima has expanded beyond that of being prominent fishers and prawn cultivators to include the desire to become an attractive tourist destination. They have expanded their vision from merely making life on their island comparable to the mainland to making it a place where the residents can live contented lives by working together. Solidarity is an important component of the sense of community of Himeshima and can been seen through their non-participation in the government merger, work sharing, and the activities of the Women's Association. The festivals provide local producers the opportunity to proudly display their goods and give the people in the community a reason to strive for high quality products. The festivals are activities through which the people in the community come together to display and celebrate the uniqueness of their community.

The diligence of the community members and their pride in work sharing is something that contributes to the overall sense of community in Himeshima. The work sharing concept is interesting because it seems to 'equalize' people for all intents and purposes, because the salary discrepancy from the richest to the poorest on Himeshima is quite small, most people trading extravagance for the continued livelihood of the island and the well-being of their neighbor.

Even the mayor, Akio Fujimoto, takes part in the work sharing and still works diligently, attending to his office duties and functions regularly, even on the day of the municipal election, as if it were any other day (Fujimoto, 2008a). Work sharing displays the commitment that the people of Himeshima have to their community.

Furthermore, the community leadership of the Himeshima Women's Association contributes to the community capacity of Himeshima because the group supports the overall community vision of making the island a place to live filled with happiness and amends that vision by adding 'through a volunteer spirit' (Daikai, 2008). The activities of the group are a testament to the commitment of the community members of Himeshima, as well as setting and achieving both community and group objectives, and the recognition of the resources of Himeshima, particularly the skills of women and the elderly. The Himeshima Women's Association embodies the characteristics of community leadership and further emboldens community capacity.

The commitment of the community can be clearly seen through the practice of work sharing, the membership of the women's organization, and the various activities that are conducted around the island. It can be said that the people there now truly do see themselves as stakeholders in the development and other activities of Himeshima and take action accordingly.

Himeshima now has a better ability to set and achieve objectives, which can be seen through the activities that are conducted for social reasons, for development, as well as livelihood activities. There are also a multitude of actors involved in the setting and achieving of objectives on the island, which is also indicative of a progression of the community capacity cycle.

During this period of revitalization on Himeshima, the community became better aware of the resources at their disposal. Previously, the focus had primarily been on sea products and subsequently on prawn cultivation. Currently, through the exploration of the island's resources in conjunction with the Blue Tourism efforts, many latent resources were uncovered, such as migratory butterflies. This diversification of resource identification further points to a more robust community capacity.

Table 16 displays some of the most prominent current community agents of Himeshima.

Table 16 - Community agents of under Mayor Akio Fujimoto

Individuals	• Community members • Akio Fujimoto • Women's group board members • Women's group district officers
Organizations	• Harikomou-kai • Local government • Himeshima Women's Association • Himeshima Prawn Cultivation Company • Fishing cooperative
Networks	• Himeshima Women's Association • Prefectural and national Women's Association Network • A. Fujimoto's political networks • Harikomou-kai • JTB's market network

Source: Author

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Himeshima still has many key individual leaders; however due to the development of a more diffused leadership, as can be seen in the larger and more influential role being played by organizations and residents, those individual actors play a less prominent and crucial role. Himeshima has achieved a form of community leadership, because nearly any person is any sector or position feels at liberty to take leadership action to further progress the vision of the community. This can be seen specifically through Harikomou-kai, work sharing and the women's group.

More organizations are actively involved in the activities on Himeshima than they had been during other periods on the island. This is true, even though contemporarily organizational activity is on the decline. The local government acts as an organization that leads the community, which can be seen through work sharing and their sacrifices to ensure enough finances to support adequate health care on the island. The fishing cooperative also acts as a leader through their participation in the festivals and in Harikomou-kai.

Harikomou-kai is a reflection of the level of community leadership that has been achieved in Himeshima to date, because it is a multi-actor group. The members of the group are from nearly every segment of the village and others are encouraged to participate as volunteer members if they wish to contribute, gain technical knowledge, or have a specific concern (Itai, 2008). It can be seen that Harikomou-kai is a manifestation of community leadership, and it directly contributes to the community capacity of Himeshima through trainings and information sharing, setting and achieving objectives for the revitalization project, and providing a forum for the development of the sense of community through collective efforts for Blue Tourism.

Another important mode for the development of community leadership is the Himeshima Women's Association. Although the organization has several official positions, they promote leadership in all of their members by advocating for its members to become active in the events and activities of the group. It should be noted that they do not mandate participation in the group or its activities, yet the women choose to participate when they like for the projects that inspire them. Mrs. Daikai noted that they typically do not have to cajole members to contribute or participate and that they do on their own accord. This concept of promoting free involvement of the members allows them to take leadership and initiative on their own terms, and does not impede the ability of the association to perform its desired functions, rather it enhances that ability. The women's group is also taking part in training the future leaders of Himeshima by focusing public awareness campaigns on the island's children.

Through working with JTB to promote tourism on the island, the community of Himeshima gained access to the market network that the international company has. JTB as a network agent provides a key link to external resources that otherwise could not be met alone on the island.

The progression of the community capacity of Himeshima has led the A-A-A cycle to produce a variety of agents through which activities are conducted. Leadership has become more distributed among organizations and individuals in Himeshima in comparison to their historical reliance on a few strong leaders and their networks.

5.2.3.1.1.4. Implications from Himeshima

By looking at Tables 7, 10, and 13 it can be seen that the community policy structure became more complex and sophisticated as Himeshima progressed through the A-A-A cycle moving from the simple use of natural resources, to cultivation, branding and infrastructure development,

to include human resource development, endeavors into the service industry, and social development.

There were few identifiable examples of community capacity before development began in Himeshima, as can be seen in Table 13. The scant amounts of community capacity grew through the Mayor Kumao Fujimoto period, Table 16, as the prawn cultivation industry flourished on the island. However, recently, as reflected in Table 19, there are significant amounts of community capacity attributes, which is due to the varied activities and emphasis on the improvement of social condition in the village in the recent policy structure.

The policy structure in Himeshima became more diverse and sophisticated, and the community capacity attributes became more robust. Concurrent with both of these trends, the leadership on Himeshima developed from singular instances of leadership of individuals and networks with external actors, to more broad occurrences of leadership, which can be described as community leadership. The community agents of Himeshima-- the several individual, network, and organizational leaders that demonstrated several instances of singular leadership -- ushered in increases of community capacity and promoted further community leadership.

The individual leadership examples of Mayor Kumao Fujimoto, Dr. Motosaku Fujinaga, and Mayor Akio Fujimoto inspired, influenced and helped to shape the community of Himeshima, which contributed to the enhancement of their community capacity and the sustainable development of the island. These individual leaders developed interpersonal, business, and political networks that then in turn contributed to the promotion of other types of leadership, individual, group and community, and again fostered community capacity and economic advances. The group leadership displayed by Harikomou-kai and the Himeshima Women's Association further progressed leadership and community capacity in Himeshima and has resulted in fairly widespread community leadership. Tables 11, 14, and 17 can be referenced to see the enumeration and variation of Himeshima's leaders.

Figure 20 - Progression toward community leadership in Himeshima
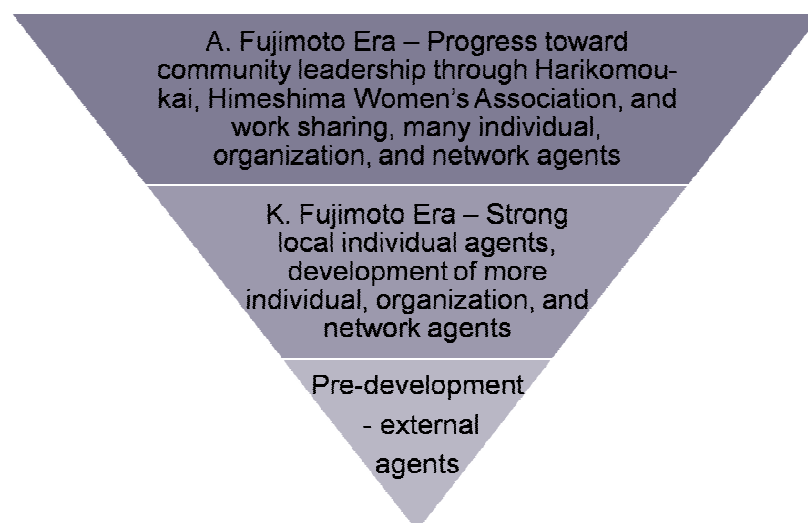
Source: Author

The progression of leadership from individual leaders to community leadership can be seen in Figure 20. Before the development of the village there were few instances of leadership

locally, with the community relying on networks with external agents to achieve objectives. However, through the leadership of the mayors other individual leaders were encouraged and organizations and groups such as the Himeshima Prawn Cultivation Company began to take on leadership activities. These new community agents contributed to the growth of community capacity, creating more actions and more agents, especially those that contributed to widespread community actions such as the Himeshima Women's Association, Harikomou-kai, and work sharing, which led to the development of community leadership.

By describing the case of Himeshima, a better understanding of the significance of community capacity and the effects of community agents in relation to community leadership have been highlighted. Community leadership is the ideal outcome of community capacity development, insofar as it enables any member of the community to take initiative in correspondence with the community vision and specific objectives. Community leadership ensures that the community thrives and grows over time and across different environmental, situational and even political changes (Kime, 2001, p.11). Community agents should be striving for community leadership in an effort to promote and sustain community capacity in the long run, rather than placing sole leadership responsibility on a few individuals, organizations, or networks, because their effectiveness will only run concurrently with their popularity.

The A-A-A cycle of community capacity is facilitated by community agents and their individual instances of leadership at first, but as the cycle progresses, more agents are enacted thereby fostering the development of community leadership. These progressions can be seen through the case of Himeshima as the community focus moved from salt production to prawn cultivation to service through tourism, and both community capacity and community leadership evolved simultaneously. The singular instances of leadership facilitated the progression of the A-A-A cycle to produce a more mature policy structure with more varied and sophisticated outcomes, higher levels of community capacity, and more leadership. As policy structure evolves, community capacity grows, and community leadership is developed.

Leadership interventions strategies are one way that community capacity can be improved (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 12); however, many feel there is little known about how leadership can actually be cultivated and spread through a community (Wituk et al., 2005, p. 90; Kime, 2001, p. 9). This is especially noticeable since many leadership initiatives are sector and individual focused (see Wituk et al. 2005) and fail to recognize the opportunity and benefit of building leadership capacity throughout the community (Wituk et al., 2005, p. 90). Although the specific avenues for the development of leadership may be difficult to articulate, by focusing on community capacity building and the development of community leadership the overall condition of a community can be improved and sustained. Furthermore, the end outcome of community policy structures should include attributes of community capacity and community leadership, and the community capacity building opportunities inherent in leadership interventions should not be ignored.

Understanding that communities are complex systems made up of multiple stakeholders with layered links with various needs and desires requires a new concept and understanding of leadership, community, and the role of community agents. Conceptualizing these complex relationships and functions of a community is more likely to render useable analytical frameworks for policy creation, leadership promotion, and other development strategies; since that conceptualization is more akin to reality and thus the production of realistic and practical strategy development (Kime, 2001 p. 9; Kirk & Shutte, 2004, p. 237). This paper has laid the preliminary conceptual groundwork for consideration of the importance of community leadership

and the connective role that community agents play in terms of fostering community capacity and achieving desired outcomes.

5.2.4. Community Actions

Community actions are the work a community performs (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 22). In essence, it is a greater amount of community actions that community capacity building seeks to achieve. The ability of the community to better perform community functions and engage in sophisticated action is related to governance and the ability of the community to effectively participate.

Actions can include routine tasks such as local budgeting, administration and planning, as well as problem-solving and community improvement initiatives. Additional community functions include the production of goods and services, communication and organization and advocacy. Chaskin and colleagues (2001) use the term information dissemination; however within this paradigm information is not merely disseminated from top-down, rather spread both vertically and horizontally. Communication is used in lieu of information dissemination to parlay the importance of multidimensional information sharing from bottom-up, top-down, as well as between peers.

Table 17 outlines the four categories of community actions and their relevant indicators. The categories of community actions and their indicators have been adapted from the community functions as described in the Chaskin Framework.

Table 17 - Community action indicators

Community Action	Criteria
Governance; Planning and Decision-making	• Local budgeting • Local administrative functions (oversight of situations within the locality and public goods and services, response to citizens, accumulation and reporting of local data) • Project planning and execution • Participatory methods utilized for planning and evaluation
Production of Goods and Services	• Locally made goods for local markets • Locally made goods for external markets • Basic services provided locally • Production of secondary goods
Communication	• Various modes of interpersonal communication • Technology-based communication • Public modes of mass communication • Avenues through which information can be disseminated (free from censor or repression)
Organization and Advocacy	• Development of local groups to serve local needs and issues • Freedom of association • Issue-based groups and communications • Evidence of actions taken in response to issue-specific advocacy

Source: Author, based on Chaskin et al., 2001

Community capacity can be conceptualized as both a process and an outcome (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 545; Seagert, 2005, p. 10; Chaskin et al., 2001, p.21): a cycle of actions utilizing local resources to build on attributes to achieve more sophisticated local policy structure (Saegert, 2005; as related to social capital Putnam, 1993; Putnam & Pharr, 2000). The community capacity cycle not only contributes to the social and political development of a community, but also allows the community to produce more sophisticated goods and services; thus, the community is better able to participate in the global economy and strengthen its overall economic situation. Interventions and policies should be formulated around the attributes.

A further aim of community capacity is to achieve improved outcomes through better services, greater influence on public policy decision-making, and economic well-being. Through the A-A-A cycle of community capacity other outcomes can be achieved, and these outcomes can also, in turn, foster further community capacity development. However, these outcomes are more long term in nature and will result only from a healthy capacity cycle.

When actions occur and become more sophisticated through policy interventions and projects that involve the community, the attributes of community capacity are fortified (Saegert, 2005; Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 22) and the progress of the A-A-A cycle can be seen. This idea is reinforced by researchers in the fields of community building and social capital (Putnam, 1993; 2000). Any community-based activity brings numerous personal and community-wide benefits, thereby fortifying the overall capacity of the community and leading to increasingly sophisticated community actions and policy structures (Miyoshi, 2006; Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008). In this way, an articulated understanding of the community capacity in an area through a comprehensive analysis of the A-A-A can enhance poverty alleviation efforts and rural development. As a community cycles through the A-A-A, their overall capacity and ability to set and achieve objectives relevant to their community increases and leads to more beneficial community actions (in terms of public policy structure, public service delivery, and private entrepreneurial activities). A higher level of actions will then lead back to a greater amount of community capacity (including the ability to recognize and obtain resources), which inherently reflects development and the potential for poverty alleviation through an increase in resources. Community capacity ensures that a community can perform these basic functions, indicating the importance of better understanding, assessing, and developing community capacity.

The relationship between the A's and the maturation of local policy structure is illustrated through the case of Himeshima explicitly, and through the narrative cases from rural Japan. These cases contribute to the evidence that the A-A-A framework does indeed function in a cycle.

5.2.5. Contextual Influences

Contextual influences are the backdrop of the A-A-A cycle because they can affect any portion of the community capacity cycle. Qualities and amounts of the contextual influences may fluctuate over time and therefore need to be assessed and considered contemporarily with the rest of the A-A-A cycle. Through analyzing the entire framework, including the contextual influences, a holistic and comprehensive view of community capacity can be gained, which can then be used to formulate appropriate policy structures.

The contextual influences that have been determined as most important in developing communities are: a) location; b) space and security; c) residential stability; d) distribution of power and resources/structure of opportunity; e) history and culture; f) economics; g) maturity of

civil society; h) political stability, accountability, and participation; and i) institutional development (Wachowski, 2007, see also Chaskin et al., 2001). Each one of these contextual influences will now be discussed in detail.

Location - In remote places, jump starting the community capacity cycle can be a challenge. Places that are far away from major transportation and industrial hubs, surrounded by especially difficult terrain, or are prone to natural disasters can have difficulty in opening and developing their markets, maintaining a stable resident population, and obtaining external resources (Wachowski, 2007). Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the affect that a community's physical location has on its community capacity potential.

Space and Security - The influence of space and security describes the dynamics of land use in the community, as well as the relative security that people in the community feel. The dynamics of land use change include the conversion of agricultural land to commercial or residential areas and any other change in the use of land resulting from developmental or environmental factors. Feelings of security can include the general safety and freedom from crime or oppression that people feel, as well as their ability to consistently live their lives as they wish. These factors tend to engage the thoughts of community residents, as well as represent some of the most basics needs and conditions for human comfort, and therefore impact upon the willingness and ability of community members to participate in community activities (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 24).

Residential Stability - Residential stability incorporates the concepts of migration to and from the community, as well as the density of acquaintance. Migration and movements of people to, from, and within a community directly affect the density of acquaintance of a community. The density of acquaintance is a reflection of the depth and quality of the relationships and trust among members in a community. Heavy inflows and outflows of people in a community affect the levels of trust and quality of relationships that people can engage in and therefore the levels of cooperation that can be achieved in a community. This is because the longer that people have the opportunity to get to know one another the higher the likelihood that they will trust one another, which in turns affects levels of cooperation and collaboration (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 24).

Distribution of Power and Resources/Structure of Opportunity. - The distribution of power and resources and the structure of opportunity within a community represent the social dynamics of the community in relation to resources and social mobility. These two conditional influences have been combined because they are similarly based in the empowerment of various groups of people within the community. Skewed distribution of power and resources can create or reflect rifts within a community and can affect the way that a community functions. They operate at many levels within the community and can be influenced by age, ethnicity, income, (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 24) relationships or various other factors (see also Lin, 2000, p. 787). Since power is associated with obtaining resources and so is community capacity, it is worth noting these separations and distributions within a community to facilitate community capacity development, rather than further perpetuate unequal power relations. The structure of opportunity contextual influence reflects the ability which members of the community have to gain and pursue opportunities (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 24). This can encompass either socio-political constraints or economic and class constraints, as well as necessary relationships (such as patronage) that affect the way in which members of the community have access to opportunities.

History and Culture - History and culture, which includes ethnic, religious, and class divisions, is also relevant for community capacity. History can include local group relations,

colonial relations and remnants, the historical residence of a community including land distribution, and the existence of predominant families, as well as significant events. These historical factors can become potential flashpoints during times of upheaval and discomfort within the community. Culture can be defined as the meanings, values, and ways of life of a certain group of people that makes them distinct from another group of people (Hofstede, 1980; Schech & Haggis, 2000). Historical and cultural factors need to be taken into consideration to better understand the social dynamics of the community (Putnam, 1993, p. 182), as well as to note and avoid potential issues during community capacity building efforts. This contextual influence is particularly relevant for those involved with external interventions, as the history and culture of an area are tacit knowledge for internal stakeholders.

Economics - The basic economic circumstance of a community is a fairly straight forward contextual influence and becomes a particularly important factor when dealing with developing communities. If a community has persistent economic problems, livelihood issues, and poverty it cannot be expected that it will have much in the way of community capacity. The economic situation and the struggle to improve it may adversely affect community capacity and capacity building efforts because it dichotomizes communities, separating the classes (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. 29). This issue becomes of unique importance when considering community capacity in a developing country since such nations continually struggle with poverty are vulnerable to economic fluctuations.

Maturity of Civil Society - The maturity of civil society reflects the ability of the people within a community to come together and accomplish actions outside the public and commercial realms. A mature civil society is one that allows people to gather freely without prejudice of intention or makeup of membership, as well as having instances of organizations with sophisticated organization, stable membership, observable actions, and viable networks (Hadiwinata, 2003). NGOs serve an important role in communities as they seek to combine development and empowerment to increase the bargaining power that local people have in relation to the state and the market. Furthermore, the success of the NGO is highly dependent on the local political situation in combination with the type of approach that the NGO takes, as well as having a focus on community development through the promotion of people-centered development (Hadiwinata, 2003, p. 24). This reflection on NGOs as a major component of civil society helps to demonstrate the connection that civil society has to Agents that make a mature civil society a relevant consideration for community capacity. Civil society is an important aspect of civic life and facilitates the A-A-A cycle by encompassing and enabling agents to adopt Actions and engage in activities. Since many developing communities either have a fledgling civil society or have been unable to fully develop the potential of their civil society due to adverse political circumstances, the maturity of a civil society is an important consideration to help determine the richness of its community capacity (Wachowski, 2007).

Political Stability, Accountability, and Participation - Political stability, accountability, and participation help to articulate the level of commitment that the local administration has to a community, as well as the interest that the community has in the political sphere. The political process and the interaction that a community has with its local and superior administrative units are also significant for determining community capacity. Communities that demonstrate a lack of understanding of their polity miss opportunities to improve their lives, as well as face further levels of disenfranchisement and decreased capacity (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 166). For this reason, it is necessary to ascertain a community's understanding of political processes, the role of community leaders, and the degree individual rights are respected. Additionally, in order to

assess the service to the community of the administration, institutional responses to citizens, administrative accountability, leadership capability, and administrative organization must be outlined and analyzed.

Institutional Development - Institutional development describes the prevalence and sophistication of organizations and the activities of educational bodies, media groups, and public service delivery providers. These institutes within a community comprise yet another layer of the A-A-A cycle of community capacity in that the more developed the institutes in a community are the more avenues a community has to produce community actions (Wachowski, 2007).

This contextual influence also plays a role in the sense of community that a community can have. As the institutions in a community, including government and civil society organizations, become more developed, they can contribute to shared goals and identities of the community, key aspects of a sense of community.

Table 18 provides some criteria for determining the kinds and effects of the contextual influences on the A-A-A cycle of community capacity.

Table 18 - Indicators for the contextual influences

Contextual Influence	Criteria
Location	- Ease of access to transportation hubs - Ease of access to production centers - Ease of access to external markets - Difficulty of terrain - Propensy of natural disasters - Hard infrastructure
Space and Security	- Changes in land use - Prevalence of crime - Notion of security
Residential Stability	- Rate of migration to/from community - Comfort community members feel with one another - Trust betwixt community members
Distribution of Power and Resources	- Similarity/dissimilarity of economic circumstances among community members - Relative access to resources - Blatant imbalances of power
History and Culture	- Ethnic, religious, or class divisions - Historical group relationships - Colonial effects - Historical land divisions - Powerful families - Relations with external entities (other communities or organizations) - Sentiments towards sites, events, or ideas - Significant historical events - Local traditions and values
Structure of Opportunity	- Constraints on opportunities - Necessary relationships for local success - Disenfranchised groups
Economics	- Relative level of income - Progression of economic growth - Instances of poverty - Vulnerable facets of local economy
Maturity of Civil Society	- Structure of organizations - Stability of group membership - Effectiveness of organizations (ability to achieve outcomes) - Nature of civil society organizations (issue-oriented, advocacy and empowerment oriented, long-term)
Political Stability, Accountability, and Participation	- Administrative stability - Administrative accountability and organization - Administration's response to citizens - Officials' leadership capability - Prevalence of community participation in political matters - Effort of polity to enact participatory governance - Community's understanding of legal rights and local political situation
Institutional Development	- Amount and function of independent institutions - Structural and practical development of government and civil society organizations - Norms conducive to community progression displayed by institutional leadership

Source: Author, based on Chaskin et al., 2001; Wachowski, 2007

The indicators in this table summarize the discussion above and provide some specific ways to identify each contextual influence in an assessment. This table reflects all the authors cited in the discussion on contextual influences. Indicators are the practical reflection of those concepts as interpreted by the author. These contextual influences can have a significant affect on community capacity, so each Influence should be given special consideration and discussed as in-depth as possible. As noted previously, this indicator table should merely be used a guide for discussing the contextual influences on a community. Furthermore, any other significant influence on a community's capacity that is not outlined in the table should also be included in a community capacity assessment.

5.3. Community-driven economics

In response to the issues presented in Chapter Two and the elaboration of community and community capacity presented in this chapter, a new concept for economics and development focusing on the community is offered. Within communities there is a call for a focus on local assets, resources, and production while maintaining local and international links for marketing and information exchange. There is also a need to redefine development away from merely economic growth because it does not effectively address the issues associated with poverty (Cling, 2002, p. 36). Identifying the community as the center of economics makes poverty alleviation, policy making, and development more successful and meaningful (Sastry, & Srinivasan, 2007, p. 387).

The modes through which community-driven economics can progress are: 1) linking people to obtain resources; 2) linking institutions with projects and business for human resource development; and 3) linking policy and business investment. Community-driven economics and small business development are the best ways to ensure that long-term economic development and stability proceeds and achieves widespread effectiveness, elevating many out of poverty and ensuring equitable access to a sustainable livelihood.

As stated earlier in the section on community, globalization has actually elevated the community as an important player in economics and policy development. Community-driven economics does not suggest the abandonment of global economics, but rather an incorporation of the interests of the community into global economic considerations. Local markets need external links, even global links to remain stable (Cox & Mair, 1998, p. 308). This means that communities must assert themselves as rightful players in the international market. Globalization is neither all good nor all bad (Koggel, 2008, p. 118), and all players should have a say.

Households should be the target for economic development because families bear the burden of poverty and make critical decisions in regards to consumption, health, and education, all of which are critical areas affected by poverty. Communities are made up of households and the various private, public, and non-governmental organizations that affect the daily lives of people (MacIver, 1970; McMillan & George, 1986; Gusfield, 1975); therefore the community becomes a direct and natural mode for effective economic policy creation to alleviate poverty and foster sustainable development (Cling, Razafindrakoto, & Roubaud, 2002; Dokecki, 1983; Kretzman & McKnight, 1993; Sachs, 2005).

Community-driven economics are crucial for successful human development and poverty alleviation. If the communities that are most afflicted by poverty do not insert themselves in the

global market, then their voice will never be heard and their position rarely considered (Collier, 2007). Furthermore, engaging in market activities and asserting the rights of the community is more cost effective and sustainable than continually relying on donors and various other types of assistance.

Refocusing economics on the community also has the benefit of preserving social life and human relations (Friedmann, 1992, p. 4; Miller, 1992, p. 35; Millar & Kirkpatrick, 2005, p. 20). Hypermobility of capital leads to community issues such as: deindustrialization, lack of investment, declining government funds, increasing conflicts, and the decline of institutions (Miller, 1992, p. 36). Community-driven economics recognizes that markets do not exist outside of social connections (Granovetter, 2002, p. 80), but rather are intrinsically related to them and a holistic approach to economic development and engagement is most productive.

The focus of economic policy should be based on local assets, resources, and production (Kretzman & McKnight, 1993, p. 8), thereby allowing communities to take ownership of policy by utilizing the resources at their disposal, and fostering sustainability because there is not an over-reliance on external resource owners. Furthermore, asset-based policy assessment, creation, and management reduces undue stress that accompanies the multivariate nature of "problem-solving" (Kretzman & McKnight, 1993; Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008) and allows pride to build within a community (community capacity) by cultivating small scale successes and ownership over local talents and assets.

Another departure from traditional economics that community-driven economics proposes is the abandonment of specialization. This does not mean that communities should not utilize their dominant resources or that they should strive to be totally self-sustaining units. What is being advocated is economic diversification at the local level to avoid over reliance on dominant products, particularly when they are bound for export. This is because economies dependent on single or small numbers of products experience high volatility (Sachs, 2005, p. 68), which is not conducive for long term economic development and quality of life.

This is not to say that each community should attempt to be an "island" totally isolated from surrounding communities and the world at large. Building networks is an important aspect of economic development in order to more easily obtain resources not within the community (Chaskin et al., 2002; Lin, Cook, & Burt, 2001). It also helps cultivate trade partnerships both locally and internationally. Global movements, such as the OVOP movement that promote local initiative, innovation, and empowerment in conjunction with local and international links for trade and information exchange provide a good model for community-driven economics.

Figure 21 - OVOP logos

Source: Oita OVOP Promotion Committee

The OVOP Movement began in rural Oita, Japan nearly 40 years ago. The concept was originally

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pioneered by a few communities and then further adopted by the prefectural government and recently supported for international development initiatives by the Japanese government's international aid agency. The basic concept of OVOP is that through the coalescing of community participation, the utilization of local resources, and the activation of networks, a community can be self-sufficient and prosperous, and contribute to global capitalism while maintaining local values and integrity. Although the OVOP moniker suggests that communities have one product, the spirit and success of the movement is primarily focused on and attributed to community capacity and value-adding to multiple local resources for consumption in a variety of markets.

The OVOP movement can be seen in Africa (Malawi, Kenya, Tunisia), Asia (Japan, China, Mongolia, Cambodia, Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia), South America (Chile, Guatemala), and Eastern Europe (Georgia). Each OVOP project is designed to be specific and complementary to its locality, thus incorporating the needs of the local community with the global economy. One of the mantras of the movement is "local yet global" (Hiramatsu, 2006, p. 10).

Ideally, parlaying the concept of community to continually larger scales (including the global community) will help fortify the networks and modes of communication that are necessary to connect communities to national and international institutions to ensure development and equitable prosperity (Sachs, 2005, p. 242; Friedmann, 1992).

Community-driven economics does not focus economic policy solely on financial and capital endeavors. Rather, a holistic community policy should be formulated that joins economic initiatives with community capacity building. This is a necessary contingent of community-driven economics because economies do not function in a vacuum and are very much related to the activities and capacities of the people and situation in which the economy functions.

This holistic policy conceptualizes economics in terms of people and the benefits that healthy economies have on families and the community environment, rather than focusing largely on production, marketing, and trade. There is a need for a paradigm shift in gauging the effectiveness of policy from measuring enterprise outcomes in dollars to measuring its humanistic outcomes and impacts. Community-driven economics advocates for policies that link people together and then links them to resources such as in associations, cooperatives, and microcredit groups. Organizations and enterprises should be linked with projects and institutions to cultivate human resource development to improve the capacity of individuals, strengthen networks, and foster innovation. Additionally, public-private partnerships should be further explored to link business with policy and continue to foster a greater sense of community and long-term investment in the economic advancement of the community.

The recent economic downtown and problematic international economic institutions have brought about much discussion on the current state of the international economic system. While dramatic shifts in the way that economic policy is formulated and executed may not occur swiftly, change will follow and it is necessary to ponder and explore the avenues which reform can take. This section demonstrates the necessity of considering not only prosperity, but also poverty and development whilst crafting economic policy.

5.4. Chapter Summary

Building from the foundation concepts, this paper adds to the conceptualization of community and community capacity and adds the new concepts of community leadership and

community-driven economics. With the clarification and introduction of these concepts, better analytical frameworks and development plans can proceed.

To review, this chapter presented a new conceptualization of community. A community is defined by its stakeholders, can be used as a unit for analysis and planning, and is understood to function as a system. Furthermore, although most of this chapter focuses on the local community, the underlying concept of the nesting international community was also offered so that the links between the local community and higher levels of community can begin to be created.

The basic components of community capacity are the Attributes, Agents, and Actions and can be conceptualized to function through the A-A-A cycle. The attributes have been recast as SCOR – sense of community, commitment, the ability to set and achieve objectives, and the ability to recognize and access resources. These modifications of the Chaskin Framework are easier to understand and more suitable for analysis. This chapter highlighted each "A" in order to better flesh out the concepts.

In the attributes section, several cases of rural revitalization in Japan were presented. Each case described their strongest attribute, as well as the various strategies that were undertaken to improve their community. Many approaches to community capacity building can be seen through these cases; however, there are some prevalent themes throughout them – the emphasis on utilizing local assets, formulating and exercising local and external networks, participatory governance, and bottom-up planning. SCOR facilitates the cycle of community capacity by providing a foundation through which more sophisticated actions (policy structure) can be developed.

Agents are the vehicle through which the attributes act to develop the community policy structure (actions) and this is done through leadership. Community leadership is an outcome of an advanced policy structure facilitated by community capacity development. The case of Himeshima, Japan shows the evolution of both leadership and development. Community capacity and community leadership were identified as twin cyclical concepts, both of which are important for community improvement.

Finally, the concept of community-driven economics was introduced. Advocating for people through community-driven economics is presented here as a mode through which policy can be refocused to effectively reach undeveloped areas. Community-driven economics involves crafting a holistic policy at the community level, focusing on local resources, involving all stakeholders and linking them to one another and to the resources they need. Movements such as the OVOP movement provide an example for crafting community-based economic policy and building international trade and knowledge networks, which provides some testament to the possibilities that widespread community-driven economics holds. While community-driven economics cannot solve all the ills of the international economic system, it holds some promise for bringing more people into the global economy and makes strides toward equity and sustainability.

Some of these concepts were observed and explored in the field through the case of Pagudpud. More discussion on the conceptual development of community and community capacity can be found through the analysis of community capacity using the newly crafted A-A-A framework in Chapter Seven where it was used as an evaluation guide.

6. Localization and Evaluation

Decentralization is a mainstay in political reform and is now being practiced to varying degrees in many countries around the world (Peters, 2001, p. 193). With this decentralized authority better institutes, practices and policy need to be developed at the local level. The localization of policy structure will make planning and evaluation at the local level clearer, as well as empower the community.

This chapter looks at localization and evaluation and their relationship to good governance and improved policy outcomes. This will be done by addressing the following questions:

1. What is localization and why is it important?
2. What can be done to facilitate localization?
3. What are the major issues with evaluation in developing countries?
4. How can these issues with evaluation be addressed?
5. What types of evaluation lead to better governance and benefit communities?

First, localization will be conceptually discussed and expanded. Localization is complementary to decentralization and governance reforms, but still remains an elusive concept. The first section of this chapter will clarify the meaning and role of localization.

Then a project of evaluation localization in Nepal will be introduced and examined. The localization of policy structure is complimentary to various levels of interventions, as it helps to provide reliable information about the target groups and the rate of change. Evaluation is a tool to facilitate decentralization and better governance. This can be seen in the aim of the JICA-Nepal SMES project to reform evaluation to improve governance. Localization of evaluation will also be examined through the MDG localization project in Jagna, Philippines. The SMES and MDG projects demonstrate that evaluation is an integral component of governance and a viable entry point for interventions aimed at improving governance.

Following the discussion on localization, there will be an examination of developing countries' evaluation systems. This discussion will identify the main problems with institutionalizing evaluation, such as the establishment of a culture of evaluation, the coordination of multiple stakeholders, overall evaluation capacity, and the establishment of appropriate legal frameworks and structures to support evaluation.

Finally, this chapter will conclude with the presentation of the approaches to evaluation that will facilitate the institutionalization of evaluation systems and improve governance, particularly in developing countries.

6.1. Localization

There is a need for a governance strategy that will contribute to human development and poverty alleviation (Cling, 2002, p. 43; Sachs, 2005, p. 243). Localization of policy management to the community level is one such strategy. Through encouraging people to organize and collect their demands at the local level and strengthening their position against other interests, it is possible to devolve more authority to the local level and alleviate problems with centralized governance in developing countries (Grindle, 1990, p. 222).

Furthermore, there is a growing recognition among international donors that development policies function better if there is ownership of them by the developing country's administration (Wood, Kabell, Muwanga, & Sagasti, 2008, p. xi). However, this call can be expanded even further to include ownership of development policy by the local people and the community in

which it is being implemented (Sachs, 2005, p. 243). Some organizations, such as DHAN, localize their projects for strategic reasons and to gain benefits from community empowerment (Sastry & Srinivasan, 2007, p. 384).

The nesting concept of community (see Chapter Five) is consistent with localization. Localization takes evaluation and policy structure down to the community level, while maintaining the relationships and connection between the levels.

Small parts (local communities) of the whole (the national community) need to recognize and assert their importance in the national policy structure, and the relationship between the various levels needs to be accentuated in order to establish a sense of community throughout the levels. By cultivating the sense of community and realizing the importance and relevance of the contribution at each level of a policy structure the flow of information between the levels will be improved; thus fortifying the relationships between them and further recognizing the intrinsic importance of the various levels of the policy structure.

Localization supports the policies of higher levels of administration, complementing their efforts (Olowu, 1989, p. 205). There must be strong leadership at the higher levels of administration to ensure commitment to development policies, as well as the virtues of localized authority (Erni, 2006, p. 316; Grindle, 1990, p. 222).

Globalization and localization are not competing processes (Voisey & O'Riordan, 2001, p. 41). In fact, globalization is enabled and driven by localization (Ray, 2006, p. 273). Local identity is a manifestation of the greater interconnectedness that globalization brings (Voisey & O'Riordan, 2001, p. 41). Localization is an adaptation to globalization; a restatement of identity and importance among other, often larger and stronger, identities (Voisey & O'Riordan, 2001, p. 41). Bridging the gap between global ambitions and local realities is necessary in order to make progress in human development, poverty alleviation, and various other global initiatives (Victor, 2006, p. 99).

It should be noted that there is a need for administrative and community capacity at the local level in order for localization to be successful. If localized authority precedes the institutionalization of effective policy implementation, it is unlikely that there will be an increase in the responsiveness of the local administration and community (Grindle, 1990, p. 222). This is where each country's PRSP could take a facilitative role. However, most PRSPs are not specific on the implementation and the level of decentralized governance (Cornwell & Brock, 2005, p. 1053). This indicates that there may be a lack of initiative, or at least a lack of vision, regarding the importance of localized authority.

Evaluation is an important part of the policy management cycle. Although the importance of evaluation is increasingly being recognized, it is often still conducted as a check by centralized authorities on localized authorities. In order for policy to be truly localized, evaluation also needs to be localized. The next sub-section examines the importance of localizing evaluation and two cases of how this is being undertaken.

6.1.1. Localization of evaluation

Evaluation can be an effective tool for the improvement of policy, facilitating program and project transparency, accountability, and effectiveness. Through localization of evaluation these desired outcomes become more impacting by empowering those directly involved in a project with the necessary information to make changes to reach their objectives. Although many

administrations and organizations are engaged in activities to localize evaluation, a clear concept of localization of evaluation has yet to be developed.

Evaluation is of the utmost importance to improve policy structure effectiveness and increase transparency. Evaluation also plays a crucial role in developing the capacity of relevant parties involved in a policy structure, as well as to create ownership of such policy structures through a participatory and local process (Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008). Furthermore, incorporating participatory evaluation methods at the local level by having local stakeholders as active participants in evaluation, not merely as disempowered subjects or information-givers (Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008), can make evaluation even more impacting and effective. This is largely because methods of participatory evaluation go beyond a mere examination of facts and outcomes related to economic aspects of a community, but become a process of information sharing in which all stakeholders benefit from both the results of the evaluation, in future planning and implementation and the process of evaluation as a capacity building exercise (Miyoshi & Tanaka, 2001). Involving local stakeholders in the process of evaluation also empowers them through ownership of the process and information (Fujikake, 2008, p. 2; Vernooy, Qiu, & Jianchu, 2003, p. 24).

Figure 22 is a visual representation of the localization of evaluation with the connection to its beneficial outcomes. The concept of localization is straightforward, although the processes involved in the localization of evaluation can often be complex. Localization means to take evaluation processes and procedures down to the local level and fortify the policy structure through the cycle of policy management, with an emphasis on evaluation. This is in contrast to the way that evaluation is typically done now, executed by external entities serving the needs of external donors and agencies (Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 23). Localization of evaluation is seen as a way to further promote participatory practices and ownership of evaluation down through the bureaucratic levels of evaluation (Bleiker & Kay 2007, p. 152; Kaufmann et al., 2002, p. II), as well as to promote accountability, transparency, and responsibility at the local level (Cling et al., 2002b). The localization of evaluation also ensures that relevant and accurate information is gathered from the local level and filtered through local perspectives and not lost through the vast scope of national policy directives (High & Nemes, 2007, p. 106).

Figure 22 - Localization of evaluation and its benefits

Source: Author

The localization of policy structure is complementary to various levels of interventions, as it helps to provide reliable information about the target groups and the rate of change. Evaluation is a tool to facilitate decentralization and better governance. This can be seen in the aim of the SMES project to reform evaluation to improve governance, demonstrating that evaluation is an integral component of governance and a viable entry point for interventions aimed at improving governance.

Evaluation is a useful tool in decentralization because of its knowledge sharing and capacity building potential. Sometimes, evaluation is seen as a way in which central powers maintain control of decentralized authorities (Cling et al., 2002b, p. 161). However, if a proactive culture of evaluation is established through participatory methods at the local level, then the effectiveness of decentralization will increase, as well as the true decentralization of authority and better governance at the local level.

The concept of normative institutionalism, where behaviors are determined by the norms and values within an organization, notes that "creation of positive organizational culture [is] perhaps the best way to create effective organizations (Peters, 2005, p. 28)." If a community is considered to be an organization, as is common in many discourses on public administration (see Fukuyama, 2004; Peters 2005), then it follows that creating a positive culture of evaluation is a good way to create an effective community in terms of community actions, as well as create effective evaluations.

The localization of evaluation is important in assessing and achieving national and international development goals because it provides the basic barometer of progress on goals and through the promotion of the evaluation cycle, ensures that projects are benefiting local communities and making their desired impacts in relation to the larger national and international development goals (Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 23). This becomes apparent through indicator selection. There is a need for common indicators among the administrative levels to ensure the effectiveness of localization (Cling et al., 2002b, p. 161). Thus, there needs to be a common philosophy on the indicators, but they must be chosen to be consistent with the local context.

a localized policy

Province X (District 1 & District 2 & etc..)

District 1 (Community A & B)

District 2 (Community C & etc..)

Community A

Community B

Community C

ised on Miyoshi, 2008

By incorporating local entities in evaluation, the most relevant and practical indicators can be selected to assess the delineation of the aggregate development goals. In turn, all of the localized information regarding aggregate development goals can be better collated and assessed at the regional and national level. Figure 23 displays the configuration of localization and how separate levels can be conceptualized in a policy structure. Communities form indicators for their local policy structure, then combine them to form the district level indicators, then the district indicators are aggregated to produce provincial indicators and accumulation continues level by level up through the various levels and policy structures.

In this section the concept of the localization of evaluation is clarified, along with its relationship with decentralization and development. Two cases of the efforts being made in the localization of evaluation, the JICA-Nepal Strengthening of Monitoring & Evaluation System
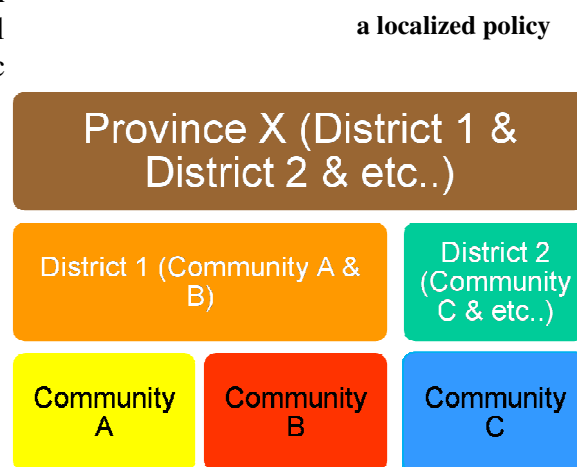
(SMES) Project and the Localized Monitoring System on the Millennium Development Goals (LMS) in Jagna, are discussed.

6.1.1.1. Strengthening the Evaluation System of Nepal

The major issues with the evaluation system in Nepal include a lack of evaluation capacity (evaluation reporting methods), lapses in the evaluation cycle (use of information in planning), a lack of a positive culture of evaluation (political ownership of evaluation), low involvement of stakeholders (both with donors and between ministries), and an inadequate legal framework for evaluation and appropriate organizational structures to support it (data collection mechanisms, complicated evaluation forms, and weak organizational structure) (Shrestha, 2009). In an effort to reform and improve evaluation in Nepal, particularly through the localization of evaluation, several government agencies in Nepal and JICA are coordinating on a project entitled the Strengthening of Monitoring & Evaluation System (SMES) Project. These issues are addressed largely through improvements in evaluation capacity through training and the localization of evaluation to harmonize and organize the levels of policy structure.

The SMES project is also consistent with the poverty alleviation objectives of the government of Nepal, especially in terms of its aim for good governance, which is provided through effective evaluation and the localization of evaluation. The government of Nepal has crafted a national development plan that outlines its strategy for poverty reduction. Nepal's key strategies for poverty alleviation include increasing economic growth, social development, including previously excluded groups, and good governance. In order to promote good governance, Nepal has made efforts to strengthen its monitoring and evaluation system, as well as the process and outputs of decisions-making, including government expenditure and improving its overall efficiency, reliability, and transparency (Japan International Cooperation Agency & National Planning Commission Secretariat - The Government of Nepal [JICA & NPCS] , 2007a, p. 1).

Nepal's tenth five-year plan (2002-2007) for development includes the adoption of bottom-up planning and devolution. This includes capacity development training, participatory monitoring, and the development of linkages between the central and local governments, coordination with various ministries and districts and the verification of evaluation at the different levels as planned programs (JICA & NPCS, 2007a, p. 9). The inclusion of these measures in the development plan of Nepal indicates a desire for the localization of evaluation.

The SMES project is a three year project commencing in October 2006 as a project of technical assistance between Nepal and Japan. The project includes Japanese and local coordinators, as well as representatives from various government agencies in Nepal including the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, the Ministry of Physical Planning and Works, the National Planning Commission, the Ministry of Education and Sports, the Ministry of Health and Population, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Local Development, and the Ministry of Forests. Most of the participants at the Training of Core Trainers (Tokyo, August 2007) had several years of experience with evaluation and were involved with the planning and evaluation sections of their ministry.

The main strategies of the SMES project include:
1.   the training of trainers, core trainers, and government officials at various levels in monitoring and evaluation;

2. training courses at the central and local government level in policy structure planning, appraisal, implementation, project management, and monitoring and evaluation;
3. improvements to training manuals and monitoring reporting documents to strengthen the information management, analysis, communication, and feedback system (JICA & NPCS, 2007a, p. 2).

The strategies of this project focus on the localization of evaluation, which can be seen through the training of local government representatives and the contents of the training of core trainers course, which further emphasize localization with the coordination of evaluation throughout the levels. These improvements also facilitate evaluation in the project management cycle.

ing pyramid
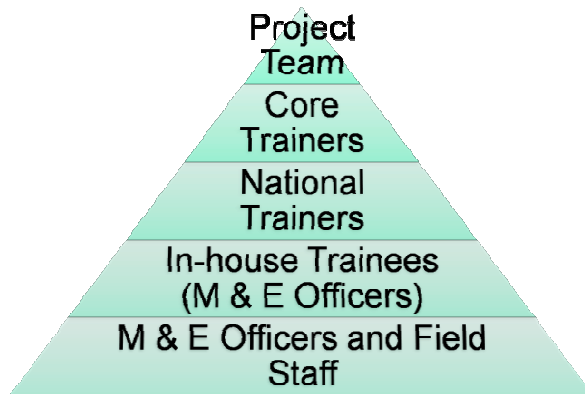
The trainings on evaluation include philosophy, procedures, and methods, as well as opportunities for the participants to discuss common problems with evaluation. The aim of the project is to establish a consistent, comprehensive, and functioning evaluation system in Nepal through improved evaluation capacity of the institutions and individuals involved in evaluation. Figure 4 shows the breakdown of the participants and trainees involved in the SMES project.

Project Team
Core Trainers
National Trainers
In-house Trainees (M & E Officers)
M & E Officers and Field Staff

\ & NPCS, 2007a

The core group of trainers is trained in Japan then return to Nepal to conduct yearly trainings of national trainers. Three additional trainings per year are conducted for district and local government officials in evaluation. The SMES project has the aim of training several cadres of trainers at all levels of government in Nepal, as well as providing the relevant technical skills for evaluation (evaluation capacity) as both a tool for improvement and for information sharing.

The core trainers training took place in Tokyo from July-August 2007. This training was designed for government officials involved with evaluation. This group of trainers is charged with the task of leading evaluation in their ministry and/or department and becoming core trainers. The Tokyo training included lectures from experts in the areas of evaluation systems and procedures, human resource development for M&E, aid coordination, as well as field trips to view Japanese local administrations in action.

In addition to the lectures and field trips, participants of this training were responsible for formulating action plans for themselves and their ministries to improve their evaluation system. The lectures on evaluation emphasized the localization of national policy and the operationalization of the evaluation system in a local context. A practical and operational evaluation system that has been localized can be undertaken through the harmonization of end outcomes throughout the policy structure by adapting the magnitude and indicators, depending on the level of the policy structure. According to this logic, the end outcomes of the local level of policy structure can be considered to be the small components of the aggregate end outcomes of the national policy structure.

The evaluation lectures noted that in addition to this localization of policy structure, evaluation can itself be a tool for change within an organization by examining the roles and

functions of the organization and building capacity through a participatory evaluation process (Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008). It was pointed out during the August 2007 training that the main weakness of the evaluation system in Nepal was that the system did not incorporate evaluation into the planning process, indicating a lapse in the policy management cycle. Furthermore, it was noted that the information from evaluation was collected by the central government but often was not utilized afterwards for planning or for feedback to the project or community in question; this also problematic.

Through the course of the Tokyo training, the participants were encouraged to discuss issues and ideas in regards to evaluation. Many recurrent issues came up, such as the difficulty of coordinating evaluation with multiple stakeholders, including donors, issues with participatory evaluation, and how to go about effective localization of evaluations. The participants seemed eager to improve their evaluation system and incorporate localization into evaluation; however there was a significant amount of discussion about how to have effective localization of evaluation and involve the local level in the policy management cycle up through national level policy planning. It was clear from both the topics of the training and the discussions of the participants that localization of evaluation is of key importance for evaluation reform in Nepal.

According to the results of a survey conducted by JICA as a part of the mid-term progress report for fiscal year 2007, several issues and challenges to the institutionalization of the evaluation system in Nepal were described including the utilization of results, quality of reports, human resources in M&E, updating and using report formats and guidelines, and the planning of M&E (JICA & NPCS, 2007b, p. 10).

The utilization of results and the planning of M&E activities reflect lapses in the proper functioning of the evaluation cycle. The low quality of the reports, inadequate human resources in monitoring and evaluation, and the lack of updating and utilizing report forms and guidelines demonstrate low levels of evaluation capacity. These issues are consistent with the issues found in the institutionalization of evaluation systems in other developing countries (discussed later in this chapter) and the lack of evaluation capacity and evaluation cycle described by Biju Shrestra (2009). There should be an increased awareness of these issues and the development of strategies for overcoming them. There should also be recognition of the importance of the evaluation process and a functioning evaluation cycle for effective evaluation and its institutionalization.

Although this survey describes some of the complications with evaluation reform in Nepal with the continued localization of evaluation and the evaluation capacity building trainings included in the SMES project, progress with evaluation institutionalization has been made. However, the additional potential benefits of the SMES project should not be overlooked by either JICA or Nepal. Such benefits include social and institutional development through the utilization of evaluation as an information sharing and capacity building tool.

The strategies of the SMES project facilitate the functioning of the evaluation cycle through the introduction of cyclical policy structure management methods. Ultimately the training of core trainers and the other trainings conducted through the project will serve to increase the evaluation capacity in Nepal. It is also hoped that a culture of evaluation can be developed through the trainings. Discussions on pervasive issues in evaluation, the promotion of a productive atmosphere of evaluation, as well as on participation and ownership of evaluation are encouraged during the trainings, which were observed in the August 2007 training of core trainers in Tokyo. The SMES project has strategies to address the issues with evaluation through localization, human resource development in evaluation skills, manual and reporting

improvements, and has the potential to be quite effective in improving the functioning, effectiveness, usefulness, and accountability of the evaluation system in Nepal.

The SMES project concluded in 2009. By the end of the program, it is expected that there will be enough growth of evaluation capacity, a perpetuation of the evaluation cycle, and the preliminary process of effective localization of evaluation that the evaluation reform and good governance can take hold in Nepal.

6.1.1.2.   The Localization of Evaluation of MDGs in the Philippines

The MDGs are broad goals, often presented in generic terms. However, there is a need for the MDGs to be contextualized, not only to the country level, but disaggregated further to specific regions and communities (Jahan, 2005, p. 4). The Localized Monitoring System on the Millennium Development Goals (LMS) is a pilot project supported by the EU to "operationalize the millennium goals" through localization to "facilitate monitoring, planning, resource mobilization and program implementation (Stanta Ana, Abano, & Paredes, 2006, p. 12)." The pilot project included three municipalities in Bohol, Philippines (Tubigon, Bilar, Jagna) and coordinated Local Government Units (LGUs) with partner NGOs to create a locally specific system to identify, assess, and monitor information and situations related to the MDGs and their associated development plans.

The project took one year to complete and finished in March 2006. After the primary commitment of the participating municipalities was confirmed, a Technical Working Group (TWG) was created and charged with the task of executing the project. The TWG is an interagency group made up of mostly senior staff from the municipal departments and representatives from the NGOs (Santa Ana et al., 2006, p. 13). Members of the TWG participated in a training that focused on the localization and contextualization of the MDGs, tools for MDG monitoring, localization and advocacy, participatory MDG reporting, as well as additional courses in monitoring software including Geographic Information System (GIS), DevInfo[5], and open source MDG Planning Matrix (Santa Ana et al., 2006, p. 14).

One of the most important outputs of the TWG trainings was the design development of the local MDG monitoring system in each municipality based on the local situation, needs, and capacity. The local framework has the goal of addressing poverty and improving people's well being and quality of life. The localized MDG monitoring system keeps track of the progress on the MDGs based on locally appropriate indicators. The system is also key to the policy management cycle overall, as it provides information for planning and evaluating the effectiveness of development programs in terms of real local impact on poverty and people's well being, as well as to improve service delivery and local governance (Santa Ana et al., 2006, p. 14).

The municipality of Jagna provides an example of a fully functioning system of evaluation and an incorporation of local monitoring and assessment into the policy management cycle. Under the guidance of Mayor Exuperio Lloren and cooperating agencies, Jagna gathered data and conducted surveys and household interviews to gathering information about problems, access and necessity regarding the components of the MDGs. After the initial assessment, Mayor Lloren then had the municipal department chiefs propose strategies to address their

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[5] DevInfo is a database developed by UNICEF for the international monitoring of the MDGs. Each participating municipality can collate and analyze the data that they collect on the MDG and produce related visual graphics. The data is also incorporated for provincial, national, and international data comparisons.

respective development issues (Santa Ana et al., 2006, p. 6). This data was then used to develop local targets under the eight MDG categories and incorporated into the 10-year Municipal Development Plan of Jagna (Lloren, 2007).

The LMS project provided some interesting lessons for the development of localized evaluation systems. The first lesson was that localization is possible, even in places with limited resources and capacity. Next, political will and the participation, commitment, and cooperation of top local officials is critical for the success of local monitoring and its sustainability. Partnerships and networking between governments, NGOs, and civil society is beneficial for garnering support for the MDGs and can help facilitate the creation of an evaluation culture. Another lesson from this project indicated that gender-sensitive monitoring is still challenging, especially in terms of identifying indicators, setting targets, and gathering information for gender and development planning. The localization of evaluation helps to build understanding and international partnerships on development issues. The final lesson from this project was that there is no single, comprehensive path to development and local consideration and approaches to monitoring and evaluation are the keys to making progress on development targets (Santa Ana et al., 2006, p. 19). The findings from this project confirm what other authors and practitioners have discussed on the localization of evaluation, particularly in terms of collaboration with various organizations and government administrations and the importance of a contextualized approach to evaluation.

The LMS localization pilot provides an interesting framework for the localization of international indicators for development. It is a useful tool, particularly in terms of complementing local planning and policy structure development for poverty reduction. The project definitely contributes to building evaluation capacity, especially in terms of data gathering techniques and software usage.

The case of Jagna provides an example of the localization and specification of aggregate poverty indicators and the harmonization of outcomes throughout the various levels of a policy structure from the local level to the international level. The development of an evaluation culture can be seen in through LMS. The training of the local working group in seeks to bring local stakeholders into the process of the evaluation, which develops a culture of evaluation. Involving local stakeholders provides a comprehensive and conducive environment for information exchange and benefits all parties. The results gathered from the evaluation must be cycled back into the planning of the policy structure at all levels, including the local level, otherwise the evaluation remains merely an exercise rather than an informational tool. Although the information from the pilot was used in the planning of the local policy structure, according to Mayor Lloren, it is unclear if other stakeholders in the evaluation were fully involved in the process or were mere information givers; thus potentially stunting the positive effects of this project.

6.1.1.3. Recap of Localization

Localization is important for the improvement of evaluation systems and the attainment of localized and aggregate development goals. The importance of localizing evaluation has been recognized, most notably in the cases of Nepal and the Philippines, and measures are being taken to incorporate the local level in the evaluation process. Although the reform toward localization is underway, there are still doubts and hesitations in its implementation. However, through trainings like the one that officials from Nepal are involved in and pilot localization projects, like

the one in Bohol, Philippines, effective localization of evaluation can be achieved and improvements in the evaluation system can be seen.

More emphasis should be placed on the localization of policy structure and evaluation and this can be done through decentralization policies and practices. However, in order for the real practice and effectiveness of the localization of evaluation and policy structure to be realized, better intervention strategies to address issues with evaluation in developing countries need to be implemented. Furthermore, more investigation into the situation behind the issues in evaluation needs to be done in order to gain a clearer picture of the issues so better policy structures can be developed. Additionally, a better understanding of the process and functions of the localization of evaluation and policy structure is necessary to improve localization and reap all the benefits that it can offer.

The implementation of localized evaluation is pivotal to the implementation of a fully functioning evaluation system having a complete policy management cycle, a productive atmosphere of evaluation (evaluation culture), and appropriate policy structure and organizational infrastructure. By localizing evaluation, local administrations build evaluation capacity through the process of evaluation, which, in turn, also promotes ownership of development projects and provides voice for local stakeholders. Localized evaluation increases the amount of transparency, responsibility, and accountability in all levels of the policy structure, which are some of the primary objectives of evaluation. The localization of evaluation is truly a key component for the success of projects and ultimately national policy. Its impact on the evaluation process should not be downplayed or overlooked.

The SMES project in Nepal emphasizes the localization of evaluation in the reform and institutionalization of its evaluation system. The project tackles the issues of evaluation capacity through trainings and the localization of evaluation itself. Additionally, the SMES project attempts to clarify the organizational structure of evaluation through localization and helps to build a culture of evaluation through bringing local stakeholders into the process of evaluation. The SMES project is an interesting example of evaluation reform through the institutionalization of the localization of evaluation.

In Jagna, an example of donor-driven localization of evaluation to improve international policy effectiveness can be seen. Through operationalizing international and national development indicators at the local level, better targeted policy structures can be developed. Localizing large aggregate indicators helps to bring relevance to the local level, improves the structure for coordination and organization of evaluation, and provides voice to the local stakeholders in international policy. These advantages then increase the local evaluation capacity and the impact of the policy.

These examples of efforts being made in evaluation improvement and localization demonstrate that there is responsiveness to the call for improving governance and poverty alleviation efforts. Furthermore, the SEMES project of Nepal and the Jagna case highlight some ways in which localization can be facilitated and evaluation can be improved through multi-level collaboration, coordination, and capacity building.

6.2. Crucial Issues with Evaluation in Developing Countries

Evaluation is, at best, complex and arduous in developed countries. Developing countries face special challenges when it comes to evaluation and the development of evaluation systems. Although each country has its own specific issues when it comes to their evaluation systems,

across many countries the primary lapses in evaluation stem from a general lack of human resource capacity to execute the evaluations properly. In addition to this overall lack of evaluation capacity, and usually as a result of it, many developing countries face issues with the full implementation of the policy management cycle. These lapses lend themselves to a critical view on evaluation altogether; thus making the establishment of a culture of evaluation difficult and causing problems with accurate and proactive evaluation execution and procurement of support and funds.

Since many developing countries rely on donors for development projects, there must also be a special consideration for the delicate balancing process that donor-influenced policy structures have to cope with in regards to their external stakeholders. The external stakeholder issue goes along with the difficulties in incorporating all relevant stakeholders into the evaluation process that is faced by many countries.

One last major challenge developing countries face in terms of reform of evaluation systems is the problematic institutional structure regarding evaluation and the legal framework. These issues will be looked at in detail in this section, using information from the participants of the Forum for the Institutionalization of Evaluation System (herein after referred to as the Forum), that took place in March 2007 in Tokyo. This JICA training course for the promotion of practical evaluation skills, as well as useable and effective evaluations systems, focused on building the evaluation capacity of central government officials from 12 countries[6]. By reviewing the inception reports from the participants of the Forum some clear issues with evaluation begin to emerge. These issues include evaluation capacity, the use of the evaluation in the policy management cycle, the cultivation of a culture of evaluation, the coordination and involvement of stakeholders, and the development of legal frameworks and organizational structures.

6.2.1. Evaluation Capacity

A lack of evaluation capacity is by far the leading challenge for reform and institutionalizing evaluation systems in developing countries. Although there is a lot of talk in the fields of development and public administration regarding evaluation capacity building (Cling et al., 2002b; Kaufmann et al., 2002, p. 23; Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002b, p. 291), it is difficult ascertain a concrete definition of evaluation capacity itself, except that it deals with the skills involved in conducing evaluations. Evaluation capacity is defined here as the ability for individuals, agencies, or organizations to perform effective evaluations. Components of evaluation capacity include the human resource capacity to execute an evaluation, appropriate evaluation methods and associated skills, a general understanding of the importance and process of evaluation, the selection and analysis of indicators, and efficient and reliable data collection skills and methods. Evaluation capacity is crucial for the development of an evaluation culture and the successful application of the policy management cycle; thus, effective evaluations overall.

Furthermore, the capacity to evaluate becomes increasingly more important as the shift in evaluation paradigms goes from top-down monitoring to participatory evaluation processes involving stakeholders at all levels. Thus, building evaluation capacity is pivotal to the success of a policy structure and helps to improve the process horizontally and vertically through reporting

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[6] The countries include Cambodia, Ghana, Indonesia, Laos, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Vietnam.

mechanisms (Cling et al., 2002b, p. 175; Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 25). Local stakeholders have the ability to evaluate and report on the minute functioning and execution of the program or project that stakeholders at higher levels may overlook. This makes the contribution that local stakeholders valuable and is consistent with the concept of delegated discretion (see Fukuyama, 2004).

All participants of the Forum described all or some aspects of evaluation capacity as lacking in their country. Cambodia reported specifically a lack of human resource capacity for evaluations (Chou, 2007). In Indonesia, there is a general lack of evaluation capacity and understanding of evaluation methods (Purwanto, 2007). There is a lack of an accepted evaluation framework in Mongolia, and this leads to overall low evaluation capacity, especially in terms of understanding, knowledge, and skills in evaluation (Munkhbat, 2007). Furthermore, there is difficulty in proper indicator selection leading to time consuming and costly evaluation, as well as low quality information reported in Mongolia (Dashbal, 2007). The current evaluation system in Nepal is problematic in terms of consistency of evaluation methods, reporting techniques, cyclical use of evaluation information and feedback mechanisms (Shrestha & Basant, 2007). In Pakistan, the low level of evaluation capacity can be seen in terms of problematic indicator selection (Akhtar, 2007). In Sri Lanka, the key factor in evaluation reform is finding the "right balance between 'Monitoring' and 'Evaluation' (Siriwardana, 2007)." In the Philippines, there is limited knowledge of the programs on the part of implementers and beneficiaries, as well as problems with the reliability of data collected, the selection of critical indicators, and the completeness of many reports (Carino, 2007). There is an overall lack of evaluation capacity in Myanmar, which can be identified by the low amount of trained staff in evaluation and the lack of use of appropriate evaluation methods and techniques, including indicator selection, data collection and use, as well as relying on mostly monitoring methods instead of comprehensive evaluations (Myint, 2007). The participant from Vietnam notes that there is generally low evaluation capacity, particularly at the local level (Nguyen, 2007).

Evaluation capacity encompasses all relevant skills, forms, and processes involved in evaluation and all participants of the Forum reported issues reported issues in this area, making it a top concern. It is clear that a necessary step in improving evaluation is fortifying human resources, technical skills, and other areas of evaluation capacity.

6.2.2. Evaluation and the Policy Management Cycle

Integrating evaluation into the management of a policy structure from the planning phase through completion and beyond is described as an integral part of the policy management cycle (Cling et al., 2002b, p. 151; Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 25; JICA, 2004; see also Chapter Three). Evaluation results are used to improve the effectiveness of a policy structure; this can only be done with the understanding of policy structure formulation and implementation that is articulated through evaluation. Incorporating evaluation into the cycle makes the purpose of evaluation and evaluation results clear throughout the evaluation process, which contributes to more focused and efficient evaluations and better policy overall (Vernooy et al., 2003 p. 149, Cling et al., 2002b, p. 174). Inclusion of evaluation in policy management leads to increased accountability, greater progress on poverty reduction outcomes, and higher levels of well-being in a population (Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002b, p. 269)

Analysis on the intended use of information and the actual use of information is important to improve the function of the evaluation in the policy management cycle. Effective evaluation

systems depend on many factors and constraints, but the design and the mechanism should match the intended uses of evaluation information, such as budget allocation process, policy planning process, or project management and delivery of government services (Mackay, 2006). Therefore, defining the purpose of the evaluation system and analyzing the current system against this purpose is an essential part of the diagnosis.

Although the full implementation and utilization of the evaluation in the policy management cycle is indicative of high levels of evaluation capacity, some countries specifically mentioned lapses in this area. In the case of Mongolia, information gathered in evaluations is not often used in the planning and implementation process (Munkhbat, 2007), which is indicative of the absence of a cyclical process of evaluation. For Sri Lanka, the donor-driven nature of evaluation there also leads to problems in the functioning of the policy management cycle, leaving gaps of information and inadequate feedback mechanisms (Siriwardana, 2007). The Philippines report that there is an inefficient feedback mechanism for evaluation, which undermines the usefulness of the information gathered from evaluations and highlights a blip in the policy management cycle (Carino, 2007). The participant from Myanmar states that there is "no long run evaluation for project performance according to the National Plan (Myint, 2007)." This statement demonstrates that there are notable gaps in the policy management cycle in Myanmar because there needs to be continuous reporting and synthesis of information on the policy structure with the intention of improving the current and future policy structure. Ghana has issues with the implementation and utilization of the policy management cycle. The participant from Ghana also notes that there is more of a focus on monitoring rather than full evaluation and results of evaluation are rarely used in planning or budgetary allocations (Abu-Bonsrah, 2007).

Incorporating evaluation into policy management is crucial to ensuring accountability, transparency, and effectiveness in a policy structure. Most participants of the Forum reported lapses in their evaluation cycle, which inherently affects the usefulness of evaluation, as well as the effectiveness of policy and poverty alleviation efforts.

6.2.3. Evaluation Culture

In addition to building the evaluation capacity of stakeholders and incorporating evaluation into policy management, it is also important to create an atmosphere of evaluation that seeks to bring all stakeholders into the evaluation process, rather than keeping some stakeholders, especially lower level stakeholders, weary or fearful of evaluation. Donors and administrators have used evaluation to determine whether or not the funding for polices should continue, often times causing implementers and lower level administrators to be disillusioned with the practice (Cling et al., 2002b, pp. 161-162; Gariba, 1998, p. 67). Sometimes this weariness spreads between administrative levels due to a misalignment of values and poor communication on what is expected of the evaluation (High & Nemes, 2007, p. 104; Mohan & Sullivan, 2006, pp. 8, 9). Some lower level stakeholders may skew evaluation results to appease higher level administrators or to preserve their positions (Morehouse, 1972, p. 870). The localization of evaluation can facilitate the creation evaluation culture.

The concept of evaluation culture draws attention to the necessity of active participation, a positive environment, and a positive perception of evaluation in order for it to be useful. Shifting the view of evaluation from a negative, punitive process to an information-gathering, participatory process will create an atmosphere of evaluation that will increase evaluation and program effectiveness (Cling et al., 2002b, p. 174). Enabling all stakeholders to evaluate and

think critically about their roles and outcomes through evaluation capacity building also creates comfort with evaluation and creates ownership (Cling et al., 2002b, p. 174; Patton, 2002, p. 184; WB, 2002, p. 2), thus adding to the atmosphere of evaluation. An established culture of evaluation combines a positive atmosphere of evaluation, evaluation capacity, and constructive participation of all stakeholders.

Many participants of the Forum recognized specifically that a culture of evaluation had yet to develop in their country, while some countries described factors that are indicative of a lack of evaluation culture. In Cambodia, there is a lack of budget to conduct proper evaluation, which could also be indicative of a lack of recognition of the importance of evaluation (Chou, 2007). The Mongolian participant says that there is no positive atmosphere of evaluation, no culture of evaluation and evaluation is often considered a threat by those parties being evaluated (Dashbal, 2007). A pronounced lack of evaluation culture negatively affects several aspects of evaluation and the establishment of a productive evaluation system in Nepal (Shrestha & Basant, 2007). One of the reasons for the stunted evaluation culture in Nepal is the political ownership of evaluation (Shrestha & Basant, 2007), which deters proactive evaluation processes. There is a significant lack of evaluation culture in Pakistan due to the generally negative view of evaluation in Pakistan and the difficulty of getting all necessary stakeholders to actively participate in the evaluation process (Akhter, 2007). Sri Lanka also faces significant challenges to the establishment of an evaluation culture. This is largely due to the perception that evaluation is donor-driven and outside of the control and realm of importance of local agencies (Siriwardana, 2007). In terms of problematic evaluation culture, there is a traditional mindset of local officials that hinders the evaluation process, a basic lack of political will for evaluation, uncooperative beneficiaries, and there is little policy support for the implementation of evaluation, which leads to few resources being allocated for evaluation purposes in the Philippines (Carino, 2007). A participant from Ghana also notes similar problems in terms of securing adequate funding for evaluation and the establishment of an evaluation culture (Mends, 2007). Many officers in the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning in Ghana seem to undervalue the importance of evaluation and are weary of the credibility of internal evaluation (Mends, 2007). There is little in the way of an established evaluation culture in Vietnam; therefore evaluation itself is undervalued, making securing funding difficult with little follow through on evaluation activities (Nguyen, 2007).

Promoting a culture of evaluation is necessary to facilitate participation of stakeholders and ensure that evaluations are used to improve policy. While a discussion on establishing a culture of evaluation is not necessarily on the forefront of improvement practice, noting that most of the Forum participants expressed issues related to a productive atmosphere of evaluation, building a positive culture of evaluation needs to be addressed.

6.2.4. Coordination with and Involvement of Stakeholders

It is necessary to involve relevant stakeholders in the evaluation process. However, it is difficult to incorporate many stakeholders in evaluation, especially when there is low evaluation capacity and no culture of evaluation. Furthermore, developing countries have the added aspect of the involvement of international donors, which further complicates the process.

The Cambodian participant cites the main problems with evaluation includes a lack of coordination of obtained data between the National Institute of Statistics and those responsible for evaluation for specific projects, which means that the projects must collect such data

independently; thus leading to potential redundancy and inefficiency (Chou, 2007). In Indonesia,the most pressing issues in evaluation are the coordination of evaluation with multiple stakeholders and this is affected by the lack of evaluation capacity and general understanding of evaluation methods (Purwanto, 2007). While seeking to reform evaluation within the civil service, the participants from Laos note that there is a lack of consistent and comprehensive evaluation systems and mechanisms there (Xaovana, 2007; Dalavong, 2007). Now, international donors, ASEAN member states, the international and the local business communities are expecting that the civil servants of Laos will perform their jobs in a timely and efficient manner with transparent methods and predictable systems, and this expectation is also echoed by the increasingly aware Laotian public (Xaovana, 2007; Dalavong, 2007)., but with the lack of consistency between the institutions and donors fulfilling this expectation is difficult.

Evaluation in Nepal is also complicated by the prevalence of varied evaluation systems of donor organizations and the lack of coordination of evaluation systems and information use between various ministries and organizations (Shrestha & Basant, 2007). Due to the strong sway of donors in Ghana there is little coordination with all stakeholders for all projects implemented by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (Mends, 2007). Also in Ghana, evaluation is often neglected when the projects are solely state administered and those projects with external donors have difficulty integrating evaluation methods and techniques with national ones (Mends, 2007). Interestingly, there are some participatory practices for evaluation in place in Vietnam; however, it is difficult to interest all stakeholders in fully participating in evaluation, leaving open the possibility for abuse of programs and funds (Nguyen, 2007). Like many other countries with strong external donors, Vietnam faces issues with coordinating evaluations with donor practices. The discrepancy is particularly noticeable in terms of indicator selection and overall evaluation practices (Nguyen, 2007).

Between the internal layers of decentralization and donors, coordinating policy and its accompanying evaluation is difficult. This issue is particularly poignant in developing countries that typically have multitudes of external donors in addition to their own levels of governance. Although the coordination of stakeholders was only specifically mentioned by half of the Forum participants, harmonization in policy and evaluation is clearly an area that needs to be tackled.

6.2.5. Legal Framework and Organizational Structures

To fortify the institutionalization of an evaluation system, it is necessary to have a sound legal framework to legitimate evaluation systems and organizational structure. This ensures credibility and objectivity of evaluations and the utilization of evaluation results, which was reinforced by the DAC Hanoi Roundtable (Managing for Development Results, 2007). This issue is faced by most developing countries in terms of establishing a fully usable and proactive evaluation system. A few participants of the Forum made specific comments on this matter.

In Nepal, consistency is further compounded by difficulties in evaluation data collection, complexity of reporting format, lack of a management information system, and an overall weak organizational structure (Shrestha & Basant, 2007). Sri Lanka discusses the lack of legal foundation for evaluation and defunct evaluation institutional arrangements and the negative effects that these have on obtaining funding for evaluation (Siriwardana, 2007). A participant from Ghana notes that there are problems with the methods of evaluation, particularly in terms of reliable data collection and clarification of roles and functions in evaluation (Abu-Bonsrah, 2007). In Vietnam, there are problematic evaluation methods in the current legal framework for

evaluation, noting that there are weak reporting mechanisms in place, inappropriate items in policies, laws, and regulations in regards to evaluation outcomes, and that the results of evaluations are not appropriately disclosed (Nguyen, 2007). With an appropriate legal framework and organizational structure, roles of evaluation would be better defined and many problems could be overcome.

Formalizing the processes and structure involved with evaluation is a vital step in institutionalizing evaluation systems (Managing for Development Results, 2007). Furthermore, provisions for the appropriate legal framework and organizational structures for evaluation becomes increasingly important when coordinating between multiple levels of governance and stakeholders, which is a necessary part of decentralization and localization.

The participants of the JICA Forum on the Institutionalization of Evaluation Systems pointed out several cross-cutting issues of evaluation including the need for building evaluation capacity, the necessity of continuity in the evaluation cycle, the development of a culture of evaluation, the need for coordination and involvement of all stakeholders, particularly local stakeholders, in evaluation and the creation of legal and organizational structures for evaluation. Although there is no grand prescription for ameliorating these issues, the following section will look at various types of evaluation and how they can help overcome these and other issues.

6.3. Evaluation Improvements

Problems with evaluation have not only been noticed by administrators in developing countries, but have been observed in developed nations and international organizations, as well. As evaluation began to be recognized as a valuable administrative tool, Morehouse (1972) acknowledged that many evaluations were unsuccessful because the research methodology employed did not match the situation which they were being applied, often being too simplistic in comparison to the complex reality (p. 873). While evaluation methods have matured, there is a continuing need for the development of adequate and contextual evaluations, particularly in terms of policy, community organization (Figueira-McDonough, 2001, p. xii), and poverty alleviation initiatives (Cling, Razafindrakoto, & Roubaud, 2002a, p. 14).

In recent years, with the development of the conceptualization of community capacity, several indices and assessments of community capacity have come about (see Bush, Dower, & Mutch, 2002; McKnight & Kretzmann, 1996; Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007). Community capacity assessments incorporate many of the approaches to evaluation described in this section, as well as providing a more contextualized and holistic view of the community in the evaluation.

The last sub-section described the major issues with the establishment of evaluation systems in developing countries as a lack of evaluation capacity and culture, little to no integration of evaluation into the policy management cycle, poor coordination and involvement of stakeholders, and ill-formed legal frameworks and organizational structures. With these issues in mind, this sub-section proceeds to delve into some approaches to evaluation that will contribute to the improvement of evaluation overall and help ease the issues presented in the previous sub-section. The approaches discussed in this sub-section are asset-based assessment, qualitative evaluation, participatory evaluation, and concept-driven evaluation.

6.3.1. Asset-based Assessment

The first lady of the United States, Michelle Obama, worked with the pioneers of the asset-based approach, John McKnight and Jody Kretzmann, in her hometown of Chicago. She had this to say about asset-based development:

> "We can't do well serving these communities…if we believe that we, the givers, are the only ones that are half-full, and that everybody we're serving is half-empty. That has been the theme of my work in community for my entire life -- that there are assets and gifts out there in communities, and that our job as good servants and as good leaders is not only just being humble, but it's having the ability to recognize those gifts in others, and help them put those gifts into action. Communities are filled with assets that we need to better recognize and mobilize if we're really going to make a difference…(Obama, 2009)."

Mrs. Obama correctly identifies the need for practitioners and leaders to recognize that there is something of value in the people and the communities they are involved with and an asset-based approach helps to identify this.

As stated in Chapter Two, this work seeks a proactive and positive approach to human development, poverty alleviation and its associated administrative procedures. Asset-based assessment is one such approach. This approach focuses on a community's capacities and assets, rather than on needs and problems (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993, p. 1; see also Boyd et al., 2006, p. 191; Gaarder et al., 2003; Robinson, 1997, p. 25), which can often be insurmountable and cast the efforts of the community in a negative light.

Asset-based development and assessment starts from the positive aspects of a community and allows policy and sense of community to develop from there. Assets are necessary for people to thrive, and they need to be sustainable in order for them to have exponential impacts on the lives of people (WB, 2002, p. 1).

Asset mapping is an exercise that is commonly used in asset-based assessment (see Beaulieu, 2002; Gaarder et al., 2003; McKnight & Kretzmann, 1996). Asset mapping is a way of illuminating the resources that a community has at their disposal in the hopes that these local assets can then be mobilized for policy management, human development, and poverty alleviation (Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 4).

The recognition of assets is the first step to being better able to use those assets. One of the goals of asset-based assessment is to provide insight into to how to better combine and leverage local assets for the benefit of the community (Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 12). Taking an asset-based approach helps to highlight and emphasize the local resources in a community with the intention of utilizing them. An asset-based approach asserts that local actors are significant contributors to local policy development (Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 12), as well as improvements in their own lives. An asset-based approach to assessment and policy making is consistent with the concept of community capacity, specifically in relation to the attributes of recognizing and accessing resources and setting objectives.

There is not necessarily one established methodology to asset mapping or assessment (Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 13). This is why it is referred to as an approach, rather than a tool with prescribed steps. Many authors and practitioners have fashioned their own methodology based on an asset-based approach, but they are typically highly contextualized to a country, situation, or issue. For instance, Gaarder and colleagues (2003) developed an asset mapping tool that can be used to identify assets that are useful for the community management of HIV/AIDS in the developing community of Garifuna. This makes an asset-based approach to assessment and

development consistent with the ideology presented earlier in this work in Chapter Two, emphasizing context and the capabilities of local people.

Sustainable community development depends on the realization of community capacity, including the commitment to invest in community initiatives, which taking an asset-based approach recognizes (Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 11). The asset-based approach to assessment and development has many advantages, but it has yet to be widely established, particularly in developing countries (Gaarder et al., 2003, p. 12).

6.3.2. Qualitative evaluation

Qualitative evaluation has been recognized as an important complement to traditional quantitative evaluations at all levels (Madey, 1982, p. 223; Patton, 2002). Previously, evaluation had been used to describe how a policy, program, project worked, but it was later realized that understanding why it worked (or did not work) was also important (Madey, 1982, p. 224). Qualitative data helps to answer questions of why in an evaluation. It enriches quantitative data by improving sampling framework, the focus of the evaluation design, and the instruments used for data gathering, as well as help to establish the priority of information needs (Madey, 1982, p. 227).

Qualitative evaluation can be defined as the collection and analysis of qualitative data (Fujikakae, 2008, p. 1). It can be further classified in two ways: 1) as a complement to quantitative data to offer a broader evaluation of the target; or 2) the evaluation of phenomena that cannot be thoroughly explained using quantitative data (Fujikake, 2008, p. 1). Qualitative research methods are described in Chapter Three and also carry over into the discussion on qualitative evaluation, evaluation itself being a research method. Qualitative methods that can be used in evaluation are relatively open-ended and can be employed during any stage of data collection (Madey, 1982, p. 225; Weiss, 1998, p. 83). With qualitative evaluation, there is an emphasis on understanding, rather than precise measurement (Weiss, 1998, p. 83).

Qualitative evaluations can be useful for specific program or project evaluations, as well as process evaluations because they tell the story of those involved with it (Patton, 2002, pp. 10,159; Weiss, 1998, p. 83). Although both qualitative and quantitative data are important for constructing a comprehensive and balanced evaluation (Jackon & Kassam, 1998, p. 4; Patton, 2002, p. 5; Weiss, 1998, p. 256), it is qualitative data that can lead to improvements in processes (Patton, 2002, p. 134; Weiss, 1998, p. 83) and the achievement of outcomes at the local level. This is because qualitative data can be more easily related in context to those directly involved in a policy's implementation (Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002b, p. 288). This is particularly true when policies dealing with human development and poverty alleviation can be difficult of quantify (Patton, 2002, p. 175).

Traditional evaluations that focus only on quantifiable measures can also fail to assess the added value of programs, particularly when they deal with human resources and leadership (High & Nemes, 2007, p. 110). This reinforces the relevance of including qualitative evaluation in policy management. Qualitative evaluations provide rich, dynamic, and contextual (Weiss, 1998, p. 85) data that adds depth to numerical figures (Madey, 1982, p. 229) and an understanding of a situation on humanistic terms. Qualitative evaluation can be particularly useful at the early stages of the policy management cycle because is can lead to better decisions being made about the policy while it is being implemented (Weiss, 1998, p. 85).

6.3.3. Participatory Evaluation

There is a broad understanding of participation, particularly in relation to evaluation, in the fields of development and public administration. The World Bank's Deepa Narayan (1993) defines participatory monitoring and evaluation (PM&E) as "a process of collaborative problem-solving and use of knowledge…that leads to corrective action by involving all levels of stakeholders in shared decision-making" (cited in Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan, 1998, p. 191). The Narayan definition offers a starting point for the consideration of PM&E, but is vague in that it does not specify the role of various stakeholders. Although Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan (1998) state that "local people are active participants - not just sources of information" (p.192) their general definition is still too narrow and can lead to broad interpretation.

Based on their work with participatory evaluation in China, Vernooy, Qiu and Jianchu (2003) describe PM&E as "the joint effort or partnership of two or more stakeholders to monitor and evaluate, systematically, one or more research or development activities (p. 23)" with emphasis on the "participation of stakeholders in deciding how project progress should be measured and results acted on (p. 24)." While this definition offered by Vernooy and colleagues gives more indication to the type of action required by stakeholders, it still limits them to a largely consultative position.

Gail Fults (1993) discusses participatory evaluation as a management tool (p. 20). She advocates having community members in a group report their progress in various program activities, discuss the outcomes, and reach a consensus on how well they are doing and of their next plan of action (Fults, 1993, p. 86). Fults's description of participatory evaluation is more proactive in that community members work together in a group to assess activities, but her angle is still that of the donor without much acknowledgement of the importance or benefit to the local stakeholders.

Edward T. Jackson and Yusuf Kassam (1998) see participatory evaluation as a process that:
> "…empowers communities, organizations, individuals to analyze and solve their own problems; values the knowledge and experience of local citizens in analyzing their economic, political, social and cultural reality; uses learning and education to promote reflection and critical analysis by both project participants and development workers; serves the purpose of improving program/organization in the interests of the beneficiaries; involves active participation of project beneficiaries who play a decisive role in the entire evaluation process; promotes the beneficiaries' ownership of a development program; uses participatory methods of obtaining data and generating knowledge using qualitative and quantitative techniques; is participatory and collective that creates better, more in-depth and more accurate knowledge of the performance and impacts of a development intervention (p.2)."

Jackson and Kassam's conceptualization of participatory evaluation is very comprehensive, acknowledging the importance of stakeholder ownership and knowledge and stressing advantages to both beneficiaries and external stakeholders. For the sake of this work, the more active conceptualization of participatory evaluation offered by Jackson and Kassam (1998) is accepted.

Systems, such as communities, need feedback in order to function properly and collectively prosper (Bogenschnieder, 1996, p. 131). Without clear objectives and ways to assess them, policies are less likely to succeed (Bogenschnieder, 1996, p. 132). Overall, participatory evaluation seeks to obtain practical knowledge for policy management, as well as to actively

engage stakeholders in the process (Thurston, Farrar, Casebeer & Grossman, 2004, p. 481; see also Bogenschnieder, 1996, p. 130). In each instance of participatory evaluation, it is necessary for the evaluation coordinator to consider what the objective of the evaluation is (Weiss, 1998, p. 103).

Participatory evaluation is necessary because stakeholders should be involved in all stages of the policy process from agenda setting, goal setting, policy continuation and termination (Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 159; Fults, 1993, p. 86; Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 23). Furthermore, as Jackson and Kassam (1998) suggest, stakeholders should be involved in the process in a meaningful and engaging way (see also Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 159). In terms of evaluation, stakeholders should be involved in the planning, collection, analysis, and dissemination stages of the evaluation process (Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 159). Not only should stakeholders be involved in the evaluation process, but the results of the evaluation should be widely available and easily understood by the public (Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002b, p. 271). Asking stakeholders to reply to surveys or questionnaires does not qualify as participatory evaluation (Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan, 1998, p. 192)

Stakeholders should be involved in policy management and evaluation because they have valuable information related to the policies that affect them and the conditions under which they live (Bogenschnieder, 1996, p. 132; Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002a, pp. 127-128; Smith, 1999, pp. 12-14). In participatory evaluation the evaluation practitioner should take the role of a facilitator in order to support learning throughout the evaluation process (Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 159; Fults, 1993, p. 88; Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 10; Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan, 1998, p. 192; Patton, 2002, p. 185; Secret, Jordan, & Ford, 1999, p. 121). The facilitator must create a process and an environment that allows each stakeholder to speak freely and learn without fear of retribution, and hierarchical powers are minimized (Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 11). If only external evaluators are involved in the evaluation it can lead to distrust of the external evaluator, sabotage in the data collection efforts, or even termination of the entire evaluation (Secret et al., 1999, p. 125).

Participatory evaluation provides voice to local people, particularly those who otherwise may have difficulty being heard (Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 5; Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002a, pp. 127-128). This function of participatory evaluation leads to better democracy (Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 15) and governance in terms of transparency and accountability (Kaufmann et al., 2002, p. 54). Participatory evaluation, especially assessments on poverty alleviation initiatives, has deepened the general understanding of poverty as a multidimensional phenomena and provides a solid basis for political reform (Razafindrakoto & Roubaud 2002a, p. 128). Outcomes of participatory evaluation include ownership of the evaluation, social justice, community capacity building, more responsive public services, and knowledge transfer of research techniques (Bogenschnieder, 1996, p. 132; Secret et al., 1999, p. 121; Vernooy et al., 2003, pp. 24-25).

More meaningful information is generated from participatory evaluation than from externally dominated evaluations (Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 159; Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 23). Exogenous evaluations also remove the possibility for learning and knowledge sharing by local participants (High & Nemes, 2007, p. 111). Community stakeholder participation in evaluation can also lead to more civic engagement with policy; thus more community capacity and social capital (Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 159). Having the capacity to analyze and understand their situation leads to better results with poverty alleviation initiatives (Gariba, 1998, p. 68; WB, 2003, p. 1).

Participatory evaluation contributes to these capacities, therefore contributing overall to the effectiveness of human development and poverty alleviation initiatives.

One of the advantages of using participatory evaluation is that it leads to the empowerment of local people (Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 169; Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 2; Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 24). For this reason, participatory evaluation can also be described as empowerment evaluation, as Fujikake (2008), Jackson and Kassam (1998), Secret and colleagues (1999) did. Empowerment evaluation follows the cycles of reflection and analysis (Fujikake, 2008, p. 2) that are described in action research, again bonding the two concepts together.

Some of the drawbacks of participatory evaluation include difficulty in utilizing the data, the penchant for local elites to keep those who are voiceless and disempowered in their current situations (Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002a, p. 129), the difficulty in executing a locally dominated evaluation, fading hope and expectations of outcomes related to the evaluation (Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002a, p. 129), and the overall cumbersomeness and time it takes to conduct participatory evaluations (Thurston et al., 2004, p. 489; see also Smith, 1999). Furthermore, there is a limit to how many people can actually be involved in a participatory evaluation (Weiss, 1998, p. 104), which leads to some level of exclusivity in the participatory group and limitations on the quality of he data collected. Due to these limitations, participatory evaluation remains a scantly used methodology remaining more or less in the realm of things that are "really good ideas."

6.3.4. Concept-driven evaluation

In order for evaluations to be effective and to fulfill their determined purpose, it is necessary for them to be constructed around a theoretical or conceptual framework (Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008; Chen, 2005), rather than solely on a method. Once the conceptual framework guiding the evaluation has been established it can be introduced to those involved in the evaluation. After the participants have been sensitized to the concepts, how it manifests in that particular setting or among the group can be examined (Patton, 2002, p. 456). Furthermore, action research requires a driving principle and aim in order for the process to flow (Gustavsen, 2006, p. 17) and a concept-driven evaluation fulfills this need. It should also be noted that this process then in turn contributes to further development of the theory or concept (Gustavsen, 2006, p. 17; Patton, 2202, p. 221).

6.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter covers three main areas: 1) localization, 2) issues with evaluation, and 3) improvements to evaluation. These areas are expanded upon to better illustrate the importance of localized governance in relation to human development and policy effectiveness and the role that evaluation plays.

Localization is examined as a complement to decentralization to better contextualize policy management and evaluation. Localization encourages people to organize and collect their demands at the local level and strengthens their position against other interests. It is also consistent with the nesting concept of communities, fostering the development of policy links between the levels of governance and recognizing the importance of delegate discretion. Localization is important because it contributes to good governance and empowers local

stakeholders, which leads to better success with human development and poverty alleviation efforts.

The localization of evaluation and policy can be facilitated through a consorted effort on the part of leaders and administrators at larger bureaucratic agencies, recognition of the importance of the role of local stakeholders, and trainings to build administrative capacity at the local level. These issues were discussed through the examination of the JICA-Nepal SMES program and the LMS project in Jagna, Philippines. The cases demonstrated how interventions to promote localization can be organized and implemented through the coordination of various local and extra local stakeholders.

The major issues with evaluation in developing countries, according to participants of the JICA Forum on the Institutionalization of Evaluation System (*ibid*) (2007) are:

1. the need to build evaluation capacity;
2. the necessity of continuity in the policy management cycle through incorporating evaluation;
3. the development of a culture of evaluation;
4. the need for coordination and involvement of all stakeholders, particularly local stakeholders, in evaluation; and
5. the creation of legal and organizational structures for evaluation.

These issues are cited as the major constraints to the development of evaluation in developing countries and their continued impact is seen in the failure of many human development initiatives and stunted efforts in poverty alleviation.

These issues can be addressed through improvements in the way that evaluation is being approached and implemented. The third section of this chapter suggests some progressive approaches to evaluation in response to the issues such as: a) asset-based assessment, b) qualitative evaluation, c) participatory evaluation, and d) concept-driven evaluation. These types of evaluation contribute to better governance and benefit communities more than traditional approaches to evaluation. Furthermore, they address some of the issues with evaluation, particularly building evaluation capacity, continuity in the policy management cycle, developing a culture of evaluation, and bringing stakeholders into the process. Legal frameworks and organizational structures are not necessarily addressed here, but could be facilitated by the adoption of the evaluation approaches offered here.

7. Pagudpud Case

This chapter looks at the case of Pagudpud, Ilocos Norte, Philippines and the field work that was conducted there at the end of 2007 and in 2008. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an initial understanding of the situation in Pagudpud and its policy structure, and to describe its community capacity. The research questions addressed here include:

1. How can community capacity building strategies be integrated into a community-level policy structure?
2. What does community capacity mean in the context of a developing community?
3. Can the A-A-A framework be developed into an assessment tool?

These questions are addressed through an analysis of the municipal policy of Pagudpud, the 10-K Initiative, under the direction of Mayor Marlon Sales, as well as through an assessment of their community capacity that was compiled through interviews, surveys, and observations in the community. Before moving onto the analysis, some background information on the Philippines and Pagudpud is presented in the next section.

7.1. Background on the Philippines

Like the rest of Asia, the majority (70%) of the poor in the Philippines live in rural areas (Quibria, 1993, p. 1). The incidence of rural poverty in the Philippines has not improved much since 1985. By the year 2000, rural poverty in the Philippines only decreased by 4%, while urban poverty decreased by 14% (Bautista, 2006, p. 2).

The Philippines had been under the Spanish colonial empire, which had large cultural effects because of Christianity (Mulder, 2003, p. 6). Their experience also played a role in the local demand for democracy, justice, self-determination, and political representation (Mulder, 2003, p. 6). This background helped to form the active, although not necessarily effective, socio-political environment that is present in the modern day Philippines.

However, the colonial past of the Philippines has led to some struggle with national identity (Mulder, 2003, p. 29). There is common shared language in the archipelago, Tagalog, but the prevalence and preference of local languages or even English is evident. Local and regional identities are stronger than the national identity (Mulder, 2003, p. 35). It can also be noted that overall association with a national identity is weak, marked only by impositions of the state (Mulder, 2003, p. 34), largely through values-based education (Mulder, 2003, p. 71). However, there are some commonalities among the national Filipino community, including a shared history and geography (Mulder, 2003, p. 30).

Through an analysis of Filipino culture, Niles Mulder (2003) described the prevailing trends of:

- a distrust in the capacity for moral leadership of groups, especially the state (p. 72);
- high demands of family loyalty (p. 73);
- high dependence on others (p. 73);
- a large gap between the haves and the have nots (p. 73);
- the rich having power and guiding political processes (p. 73);
- an American orientation in education and the media (p. 73);
- self-esteem defined by English language skills (p. 73);
- religious attitudes that lead to indifference and gullibility (p. 74);

- beliefs that poverty promotes perseverance and self-sacrifice, gambling and corruption (p. 74);
- the media exemplifying a slave mentality and serving as a pacifier (p. 74);
- respect for seniors and leaders leads to an admiration of despicable behavior (p. 74);
- knowing how to get along with others as an important part of social acceptance (p. 78);
- a lack of consideration for discrimination of groups/tolerance for corruption as a result of following the silent majority (p. 79);
- a lack of civic action, high levels of indifference and exploitation (p. 79);
- people vocalizing complaints with little action taken to ameliorate the problems (p. 80);
- the poor being seen as less than virtuous, depending on others without personal responsibility (p. 80);
- people being highly identified with groups, which supersedes autonomous conscience (p. 82);
- Philippine-bashing or self-flagellation is common and viewed as a way to cope with an unjust society presided over by a weak government (pp. 82-83).

These trends portray a self-effacing, timid, and sometimes contradictory social culture. Many of the trends identified by Mulder can also be seen in the analysis of community capacity in Pagudpud.

Currently, the Philippines can be considered a post-authoritarian presidential democracy with a strong pre-martial law presidential tradition (Pollard, 2004, p. 12). Democracy and the participation of people are very important aspects of governance in the Philippines, or at least they should be (Bautista, 2006). The role of civil society was defined in the Philippines Constitution of 1987 (Bautista, Carino, Sajo, & Sanz, 2006, p. 11). Civil society plays a role in governance at the national level through the National Anti-Poverty Commission and at the local level through local poverty councils (Bautista et al., 2006, pp. 11-12). The Department of Agriculture creates policy from the idea that farmers and fishers should be the drivers of agricultural development, thus promoting the development of associations and cooperatives of farmers and fishers so that they can be involved in governance (Bautista, 2006, p. 12).

The Agriculture and Fisheries Modernization Act of 1997 (AFMA) is the framework for rural development and has the goals of food security and poverty alleviation through the promotion of people's empowerment (Bautista et al., 2006, p. 14). The Macapagal-Arroyo administration further amended the bill with the program Ginintuang Masaganang Ani (GMA), which has the same basic tenets as AFMA, but focuses on the inclusion of rural stakeholders in the policy management cycle (Bautista et al., 2006, p. 15).

Unfortunately, despite the intention of having the farmers and fishers included in the entire policy management process for regional development there were never fully integrasted into the process due to a lack of government effort (Bautista et al., 2006, p. 13). Additionally, the mandated funding for the AFMA was not made available and was only recently re-implemented (Bautista et al., 2006, p. 14). Development programs in the Philippines generally suffer from poor planning and implementation, overly complex design, inflexibility in adapting to local conditions, and a lack of participation by stakeholders (Quibria, 1993, p. 62). The Philippine Department of Agriculture blames these issues primarily on budget constraints, but there is also a problem with the pejorative way that farmers and fishers are viewed by government administrators, thus reducing actual stakeholder participation (Bautista et al., 2006, p. 17). This

conundrum is most likely the result of the culturally held negative views on those in poverty, considering that most rural people are farmers or fishers and most rural people are impoverished.

Many of these similar themes are found in the Pagudpud case. While the local government attempts to bring development and modernization to the municipality, it is often hampered by political considerations and a lack of empathy for those in poverty in the same way that national development policy in the Philippines is stifeled.

7.2. Background on Pagudpud

Pagudpud has a population of 21,857 people (Socio-Economic Profile [SEP], 2006, p. 1) and is the third most populous municipality in Ilocos Norte. There 16 barangays[7], of which Pancian is the largest. Almost one half of the total land area of Pagudpud consists of mountainous areas (SEP, 2006, p. 1) and 70% forested area (M. Sales, 2007). A large portion of the forested area in Barangay Pancian has been declared a natural park and critical watershed by Presidential Proclamation No. 1275 on April 20, 2007 (Department of Environment and Natural Resources, 2007). Pagudpud also has the largest stretch of national highway in Ilocos Norte (M. Sales, 2007), going along the north cost of North Luzon.

Pagudpud is underdeveloped. There are no major facilities or conveniences within the municipality. There are many small shops around the town that serve the basic needs of the local people. Many other things can be purchased or traded at the market built in 2004, which is adjacent to the pink-orange municipal office complex, or at the traditional market situated behind the complex. Market days are Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday; however, some

Figure 25 - Map of the Philippines

Source: www.aguidetoasia.com

vendors remain in the market all week long, although most of the stalls remain vacant on non-market days (Viola, 2007). Many people buy their goods at the larger market in Bangui or travel to Laoag City[8] to purchase major secondary goods.

Several of the barangays are on the coast (such as Balaoi, Saud and Pasaleng) and derive their income from farming, fishing, handicraft production, and a blossoming tourist industry. Roadside markets with handicrafts, small restaurants, hotels, and other small shops line the road

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[7] Barangay is the smallest unit of governance in the Philippines. It was the traditional governing unit and was reinstated by Ferdinand Marcos in the 1970's in an attempt to re-establish Filipino identity. (Ferdinand Marcos Museum, 2007)

[8] Laoag is a city in Ilocos Norte and the closest major city to Pagudpud.

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and huddle near the tourist attractions in these areas. Due to an increase in the amount of tourists to Pagudpud in the high season (February through May), a few homestays have also been established to provide affordable lodging and supplementary income for the local residents.

The overall hard infrastructure of Pagudpud seems to be well maintained and in good condition. This includes the national highway, smaller locally maintained roads (some of which were ordered refurbished by Mayor Sales at the request of residents (Viola, 2007)), public buildings, electricity and water supplies. Although the infrastructure was intact, there are some supply issues when it comes to water and electricity. There are frequent brownouts during times of high electricity consumption and complete blackouts during inclement weather. Although, 100% of the barangays and 85% of households have access to electricity (SEP, 2006, p. 3), household and business freshwater supply is sometimes problematic, but there are few problems with irrigation. Housing stocks are generally conservative, consisting of wood or brick construction with thatch or corrugated iron roofs.

Other social services in the municipality include two hospitals (in Pancian and Balaoi), one rural health center, five health stations (Pasaleng, Cauayan, Baduang, Dampig, and Saud), and seven health sub-stations (Balaoi, Saguigui, Subec, Burayoc, Caparispisan, Aggasi, and Tarrag). As for the education sector, there are 12 elementary schools, three complete primary schools, six incomplete primary schools, three public secondary schools, one private secondary school, and 16 day care centers (SEP, 2006, p. 3).

Movement within and through the municipality relies largely on public transport. The intercity buses makes stops along the national high and individually hired tricycles, which operate through personal contacts and the tricycle post in the town center operated by the tricycle drivers' union, PATODA. Many families have access to their own private transportation, mostly tricycles, with some having cars or light trucks.

7.3. Pagudpud's Policy Structure

Pagudpud's municipal policy is explored in this section. The policy initiatives of Pagudpud's mayor, Marlon Sales, is outlined and explained in the context of community capacity building strategies. The policy

Figure 26 - Mayor M. Sales addressing a crowd from an arch

Source: Ubasa, 2008

structure initiated by Mayor M. Sales is being analyzed because his leadership style is crucial to making progress in the community (Laslo & Judd, 2006, p. 1252).

Mayor M. Sales[9] began his tenure in 2004 and is not a native to the municipality, but rather is a part of the neighboring political family in Bangui. Although many mayors in the Philippines have a reputation for entrenched politics and a "do-nothing, this-is-the-way-it-is" attitude, Mayor M. Sales has set himself apart as someone who is truly concerned about the development of Pagudpud and the improvement of life there, even winning a national award for public service in early 2008.

Mayor M. Sales began his term with good intentions, but

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[9] The mayor's brother, Teteng Sales had been the previous mayor; thus the current mayor will be referred to as M. Sales.

he had trouble formulating effective projects, enacting proactive policies, and motivating his constituents to become involved (M. Sales, 2008a; M. Sales, 2008b; E. Sales, 2007). These issues are typical of those that plague all conscientious administrators. Although Mayor M. Sales is competent, he received some assistance with his administrative concerns through the JICA Training Course for Municipal Mayors: One Village One Product Movement[10] that he attended in Oita, Japan during October 2006.

When Mayor M. Sales was first asked what he gained from the JICA training, it was difficult for him to answer specifically (M. Sales, 2007). However, as the mayor began to take ownership of the lessons and concepts from the training, the methods of interaction with his constituents and his policies began to reflect the administrative capacity that he gained. This can be seen through the emphasis that Mayor M. Sales puts on gathering information from the people to formulate projects. For instance, every Monday is peoples' day at Municipal Hall, where anyone can have an audience with the mayor. The construction of the farm to market roads at the request of the people is also another example (FPQ, 2008; Viola, 2007). The mayor asserts that his local policy, the 10-K Initiative, which was introduced in December 2007, is based on the concept of community capacity (M. Sales, 2008c).

The 10-K Initiative is a mode through which community capacity can be built as local policy is directed through the considerations of the people. The 10-Ks are derived from the local language in Pagudpud, Ilocano, and can be seen in Table 19. The English translations that are provided here are the translations that were rendered by an assistant of Mayor M. Sales during the filming of a portion of the multimedia presentation for the promotion of the 10-K Initiative on September 27, 2008 and they reflect the meaning of the words to those who are involved in cultivating and promoting the policy. These broad ideas are used to generally frame the mayor's policy, which largely focuses on the development of the tourism industry in Pagudpud. Furthermore, "support the K initiatives" has become a slogan for community members to get behind various development and social activities (M. Sales, 2008c).

Table 19 - 10-K Initiative

Ilocano	English
Kammayet	Unity
Kinatalna	Peace
Kinaurnas	Peace
Kinapundo	Truth
Kinalintag	Justice
Kinadalus	Cleanliness
Kinasatun-at	Health
Kinaspasnet	Sincerity

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[10] The JICA training course involved using cases of successful rural revitalization in Oita, many of which were affiliated with the OVOP movement. The case studies found in Chapter Five are part of the training course study tours.

Kinarong-ay	Progress
Kinaragsak	Joy/happiness

Mayor M. Sales and the Pagudpud LGU construct various projects and programs based on the 10-K Initiative. Although not every component of the policy structure that is referred to as a part of the 10-K Initiative contributes to the development of community capacity, many parts display at least the nascent ideas outlined in the community capacity building strategies. Tables 20 to 26 outline the local level policy structure in Pagudpud in terms of those parts of the 10-K Initiative that build community capacity. The policy is outlined according to the logic framework, which is an organizational tool for policy management (JICA, 2004; Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002).

Table 20 - Pagudpud Volunteers for Progress (PVP)

End Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Outputs	Activities	Inputs
Kammayet – unity Kinatalna – peace Kinaurnas – peace Kinapundo – truth Kinalintag – justice kinarong-ay – progress	Build community capacity Increased volunteerism spirit	Organization to coordinate volunteer activities 34 blood donors	Promotion of the 10 K initiatives Blood Drive	Organize Pagudpud Volunteers for Progress Association Red Cross Blood Workers, Public Space
Strategy Type: *Organizational development* *Inter-organizational collaboration*				

The Pagudpud Volunteers for Progress (PVP) organization was conceptualized to help promote volunteerism and to support the policies of the mayor. The PVP is headed by its president, Mr. Edimar Ubasa, a former local legislator and construction contractor (Ubasa, 2008; M. Sales, 2008b). The objectives of the organization are to fortify base support and understanding of the 10-K Initiative and to conduct community-oriented activities such as the annual blood drive. The creation of the association is part of the mayor's policy and can be considered an organizational development strategy that contributes to community capacity.

Furthermore, the activities that the PVP conducts help to bridge the gap between various organizations and people within Pagudpud, for example by contacting the Laoag branch of the Red Cross for the blood drives. This is an example of inter-organizational collaboration, another community capacity building strategy. Although the PVP can be considered a part of the development of the community capacity in Pagudpud, its collaboration with local organizations is minimal at this time. Additionally, its propensity to be seen as merely a political loudspeaker for the mayor may counteract its effectiveness for true vision setting and community capacity building.

Table 21 - Waste Removal Project

End Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Outputs	Activities	Inputs
Kinadalus – cleanliness Kinasatun-at – health kinarong-ay – progress	Cleaner municipality Build community capacity Additional income source	Fertilizer NGO Waste legislation still not passed Garbage Truck Promotion of K initiatives	Organized organic fertilizer NGO Introduction of waste separation legislation Purchased garbage truck with K slogan	Waste removal project
Strategy Type: *Organizational development* *Community organizing*				

Source: Author

The waste removal project was one of the first endeavors of Mayor M. Sales, starting in December 2005 with the waste separation proposal he made to the local legislature (M. Sales 2008c). The project aims at public awareness of trash collection and separation of recyclable goods and includes components for sustainable organic fertilizer that would be both economically and environmentally beneficial (M. Sales, 2008a). However, due to political in-fighting and a lack of public understanding on the benefits of the program, it has stalled in the local legislature. Some redeeming components of this project include the organization of the organic fertilizer NGO and the garbage truck with the slogan supporting the K Initiatives, which can be considered a community organizing strategy. Although this project is not being as successfully implemented as it could be, the efforts toward community capacity building can be seen.

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Table 22 -10-K Initiative Promotion

End Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Outputs	Activities	Inputs
Kammayet – unity Kinapundo – truth kinaspasnet – sincerity kinarong-ay – progress kinaragsak – joy/happiness	Build community capacity	Direct community vision	Promotion of the 10 K initiatives	Multi-media presentation of the 10 K initiatives Slogan tee-shirts
Strategy Type: *Community organizing*				

The 10-K Initiative promotion is an effort by the mayor to promote a collective vision within the community of Pagudpud. The promotion includes efforts by the PVP, t-shirts supporting the 10-K Initiative during PVP activities, and the creation of a multimedia presentation to further explain the initiatives to the public and to appeal to levels of government for support for the local policy (M. Sales, 2008c). The promotion is somewhat *ad hoc*, but is incorporated into various other parts of the mayor's policy and is clearly visible throughout Pagudpud. This can be considered a type of basic community organizing because it has the intention of motivating the people to become active in the opportunities, activities, and projects that are presented as a part of the 10-K Initiative, as well as fortifying the overall sense of community through the sentiments of the 10-K.

Table 23 - Barangay Health Workers (BHW)

End Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Outputs	Activities	Inputs
Kinadalus – cleanliness Kinasatun-at – health kinarong-ay – progress	Better health in the barangays	Trained Barangay Health Worker in each barangay	Barangay Health Worker Training	Funds and experts from Department of Health Health worker trainers
Strategy Type: *Leadership development* *Inter-organizational collaboration*				

To help attain the end outcomes of cleanliness, health, and progress, the municipal mayor helped to recruit new Barangay Health Workers (BWHs) and to secure additional training in first aid and midwifery from the national government. This kind of training contributes to the human resource development in the community and empowers people, largely women, to become active members of the community through the BHW organization and through assisting residents in their barangay. This training produces a corps of BHWs that embody community leadership because they have the skills and the willingness to take actions when necessary in their community. Furthermore, this portion of the policy shows inter-organizational collaboration between the Pagudpud BHW and the Department of Health, which also contributes to community capacity, in this case especially in terms of the development of human resources (leadership development).

Table 24 - K Therapists

End Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Outputs	Activities	Inputs
Kinarong-ay – progress	Increased tourism Links between policy and livelihood	Group of 'K' therapists to coordinate with tourism activities	Promotion of the 10 K initiatives	Organization of 'K' therapists group
Strategy Type: *Leadership development* *Inter-organizational collaboration*				

The K therapists are a group of people who are involved in various tourism activities around Pagudpud, including the homestay association, the shell craft makers, and other vendors. Representatives from the various sectors were introduced to the 10-K Initiative and asked to voice their support for them throughout the community, as well as be the link between the local tourism operators and the LGU (M. Sales, 2008c). This group was organized in response to the 10-K Initiative to solidify the community vision of being a prominent tourist destination. This action is a kind of leadership development because it encourages participation and promotes commitment to the ideals of the 10-K. It is also a form of inter-organizational collaboration because it brings together several factions of the tourism industry. Interestingly, this is one of the only portions of the 10-K Initiative that serves to provide collaboration between local groups in Pagudpud that are on a relatively similar level of governance, as opposed to the other inter-organizational collaborations that were between community-level groups and the national government agencies.

Table 25 - Training for Weavers

End Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Outputs	Activities	Inputs
Kinarong-ay – progress	Better quality and design of weavings Higher income	Better skilled weavers	Training for weavers	Funds and experts from Department of Tourism Organization of Tourism Committee
Strategy Type: *Leadership development* *Inter-organizational collaboration*				

Mat weaving using rattan is a traditional skill that is present in Pagudpud. The mats are generally for home use and are made for personal consumption. There is, however, great potential for this skill to be utilized to generate income. This potential was identified by the Tourism Committee as a resource that can be tapped and enhanced to provide unique local goods for tourists (Viola, 2007). It was on this basis that the Tourism Committee and the LGU collaborated with the Department of Tourism to provide training in dying and handbag design for the local weavers (Viola, 2007). The inter-organizational collaboration between the weavers, the Tourism Committee, the LGU, and the Department of Tourism is clear, and this training can also be described as a leadership development strategy in terms of its contribution to local skill enhancement and the encouragement of participation.

Table 26 - Homestays

End Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Outputs	Activities	Inputs
Kammayet – unity Kinarong-ay – progress	Increased tourism More tourist facilities Increased income for women and seniors	Establishment of homestays Homestay association	Organization of homestay association Training for homestay operators	Funds and experts from Department of Tourism Coordination of the Tourism Committee
Strategy Type: *Organizational development* *Leadership development* *Inter-organizational collaboration*				

Due to limited investment in large scale hotel and tourist operations and high demand for accommodation by tourists, homestays were established in Pagudpud as a means to promote tourism, as well as to generate income for local people, mainly women and senior citizens, who rent rooms in their homes to out-of-town guests. The Tourism Committee noted the sizeable discrepancy between local homes and the standards that tourists expect, so they organized the homestay operators into an association and coordinated with the Department of Tourism to provide hospitality training. The Department of Tourism provides accreditation to operators that complete the training and continually fulfill the Department's standards. The Homestay Association also sets standards and monitors compliance (Viola, 2008a). The homestays contribute to community capacity through the organizational development of the Homestay Association, leadership development through the training and activities within the association, and inter-organizational collaboration between the Homestay Association, the Tourism Committee, the LGU, and the Department of Tourism. This component of the 10-K Initiative incorporates many aspects of community capacity building and can be considered a model for program construction that takes community capacity aspects into consideration.

Table 27 - Most Outstanding Barangay Evaluation

End Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Outputs	Activities	Inputs
Kinalintag – justice Kinarong-ay – progress Kinaragsak – joy/happiness	More information about conditions in each barangay Incentive for policy compliance More community participation	Trained evaluators Completed program evaluation Selection of Most Outstanding Barangay award	Training of evaluators Most Outstanding Barangay Evaluation	Organization of Most Outstanding Barangay Evaluation
Strategy Type: *Community organizing* *Leadership development*				

Source: Author

The Most Outstanding Barangay Award is a yearly review of the situation in each of the 16 barangays of Pagudpud. LGU staff train people from each barangay on how to conduct the household surveys, which provides basic information on the situation in the barangay such as the number of toilets, births, and deaths (Viola, 2008b). This evaluation is also an opportunity for each barangay to show the progress they have made on the projects requested and rendered by the municipality in addition to their own barangay level initiatives (M. Sales, 2008). This information is then used to evaluate the overall policy of the municipality, to identify needs and to create new projects for the following year. Based on the results of the evaluation, an award

for the Most Outstanding Barangay is given to the barangay that has progressed the most and has been most compliant with municipal policy (M. Sales, 2008). Although the survey itself does little in the way of actually building community capacity, training local people to administer the surveys is a form of leadership development and awareness building for those involved. Furthermore, the use of the evaluation to provide an award for the Most Outstanding Barangay provides motivation for barangay officials to make improvements in their area and to collaborate with the LGU to create projects that will meet their needs; thus being a strategy for community organizing.

Greater community capacity leads to more community outcomes, which in turn leads to increased community capacity (Miyoshi, 2006; Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007). Increased levels of community capacity lead to more sophisticated community activities (Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008) and, therefore, contribute to development and poverty alleviation. Pagudpud has created a policy structure, the 10-K Initiative, with the vision of creating a thriving tourist destination without alienating the interests of the community.

What can be seen in the 10-K Initiative is that efforts are being made to incorporate community capacity building strategies into the policy structure. However, it must be noted that this overview of Pagudpud's municipal policy structure in relation to community capacity building strategies is meant to be illustrative and not necessarily demonstrative in terms of the results reaped by crafting such policies. This section merely highlights the incorporation of the lessons on community capacity learned from the mayor's JICA training into the local policy structure, in addition to the utilization of the concept of community capacity in formulating local policy in a developing country.

Great strides have been made in the area of organizational development and also in preliminary leadership development. Although there are instances of inter-organizational collaboration, they are largely orchestrated by the LGU between local organizations and the national government. What can be said at this time is that this policy structure is currently being implemented and is continually evolving. There is potential that the groundwork for community capacity building that has been laid can be improved upon.

While the 10-K Initiative provides a sound base through which community capacity can be built, continued efforts are needed, which should include the introduction of more community capacity building strategies into the policy structure. There is a general vision in Pagudpud formulated behind the idea of improvement within the community; the achievement of the goal of tourism is far from omnipresent within the community (FPQ, 2008). To this effect, more efforts in community organizing could be incorporated into the policy. The people of Pagudpud view themselves as largely committed and responsible, but there is little willingness to act as stakeholders and participate accordingly (FPQ, 2008).

To improve the effectiveness of the policy structure, additional leadership development strategies could be conceptualized and introduced to further motivate people to take an active interest in the development of their own community. Increased collaboration between local organizations could also benefit the commitment of the community, as well as the ability to recognize and access local and external resources and even set objectives. Due to the widespread benefits of local inter-organizational collaboration, it must be suggested as the key consideration here.

Furthermore, more activities in participatory governance should take place. Mayor M. Sales orchestrated the policy structure around his vision of where he would like the community to go; however this may not be consistent with the view that the community itself has. The evidence of

the failed waste removal project speaks to this. With better participation in policy formulation and evaluation, the policy initiatives can be made more successful and potentially flawed projects, such as the waste removal project, can be eliminated or retooled.

7.4. Community Capacity Assessment

This analysis of community capacity is the first attempt to use the A-A-A framework as an assessment tool. Chapter Two demonstrated the importance of community capacity and Chapter Three looked at the relevance that it has to governance. Based on these backgrounds, developing a way to better understand community capacity in context is a logical next step.

Evaluation was chosen as the best way to assess community capacity because without evaluation of a community's experience with capacity building, efforts are not likely to be sustainable (Honadle, 1981, p. 578).

Many authors have recognized the importance of governance assessment to improve policy performance and to reach community outcomes (see Balassanian, 2006; Gaarder et al., 2003; Gobar, 1993; Kaufmann et al., 2002). The assessment of community capacity is a form of governance assessment that focuses on the impacts that policy has on the community at large.

A basic description and conceptualization of the community capacity of Pagudpud can be rendered by analyzing the data gathered through interviews, surveys, and observations against the basic parameters of community capacity as outlined by the A-A-A cycle. The analysis here reflects qualitative statements that were rendered by informants in response to questions on community capacity. Qualitative measures were chosen because social relations are difficult to quantify and community impacts of policy are highly defined by social factors (MacIver, 1970, p. xiii). Although the line of questioning was open-ended and qualitative in nature for the interviews and surveys, the data gathered from the surveys was coded and turned into a basic quantitative analysis of community capacity. This quantitative data can help to better portray the trends in community capacity found in Pagudpud and complements the otherwise strictly qualitative data (Weiss, 1998, p. 256). It is recognized that statistical measures of capacity are problematic (Gorgan, 1981, p. 650), which is why the statistics found later in this section indicate the frequency of coded themes, rather than measures of capacity.

Since there is no single, well-established method to assess community capacity, the A-A-A framework is offered to guide the process. However, it should be noted that I do not advocate for a unanimous, specific methodology (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 545), because each time an assessment of community capacity is commenced it will be highly context-specific and based on the objectives of the assessment and the capabilities of the implementers.

Furthermore, it should be noted that this analysis of the community capacity of Pagudpud also represents my journey as an evaluator and researcher. I came to the understanding that community participation was an important part of community capacity evaluation (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007; Pavey et al., 2007). However, my initial interpretation of participation was basic and relegated the community members to a merely consultative position. Through my experience in the field and more intense research on participatory methods, I realized that participation of stakeholders means more than just asking them questions. The lessons I learned through the process of conducting the survey and interviews helped to build my foundation of knowledge on what are truly participatory methodologies. This allowed me to develop more participatory measures, which are detailed in Chapter Eight. It can also be noted that there is

room in a comprehensive evaluation for fully participatory methods and evaluator-directed methods. Their complementary nature will become apparent in this chapter and the next.

This community capacity analysis reflects seventeen months since the first of the projects of the mayor's motivational municipal policy, the 10-K Initiative. Therefore, these tables represent the situation of community capacity in Pagudpud at the beginning of the introduction of community capacity building strategies. It serves as the starting point from which further community capacity building strategies can be formulated.

7.4.1. Focal Point Questionnaires

The Focal Point Questionnaire (FPQ) is designed to gather brief information about community capacity from a wide variety of community members. The questionnaire is designed to be quick and provide only a modest amount of information and can thus be defined as an informal survey (Kumar, 1987, p. 24). The concept behind the FPQ is to gather information from a broad spectrum of people within the community, as well as having a somewhat random sampling. A generally random sample ensures a more complete and accurate representation of the population (Weiss, 1998, p. 164).

To conduct the FPQ, the administrators station themselves at one highly trafficked location within the community. Examples of community focal points include the central post office, bank, market, city hall, or a special event of gathering. This method renders a convenience sampling (Kumar, 1987, p. 25; Weiss, 1998, p. 254).

The focal point that was chosen for this survey was the annual town fiesta, which is a popularly attended event within the community. The FPQ was administered by two students (Dane Tabangcay and Bituen Ventura) on the first night of the town fiesta on April 22, 2008 and by three students (Dane Tabangcay, Bituen Ventura, and Jurinda Acesta) and Mrs. Linda Viola on the farmers and fishers' night of the town fiesta on April 25, 2008.

The questionnaire administrators were briefed as to the purpose of the questionnaire, as well as in techniques of administration. Special consideration was made to ensure the understanding of the English terms and to clarify the related local terms, as well as the intention of each question. The administrators were further instructed to be careful to not lead respondents to desired responses and to report answers as accurately and succinctly as possible. This was particularly important because interviewers often edit the answers to open-ended questions (Kumar, 1990, p. 12). Additionally, administrators were urged to look for patterned responses and frequently used local terms. The administrators introduced the survey as a part of my study on the community of Pagupud and also introduced themselves.

The FPQ is written in English, but the administrators translated and clarified the questions in the local language of Ilocano (Kumar, 1990, p. 10). Although the questions are related to specific criteria and components of community capacity, they were presented to the respondents randomly. Furthermore, the questions were open-ended to promote spontaneity, genuine responses, and to allow respondents the opportunity to tell their own story (Kumar, 1990, p. 11).

The FPQ was administered orally with the administrators writing the answers on the FPQ question sheets. This was done to ensure the clarity of the responses, and to facilitate the understanding and intention of the questions, as well as to reach as many demographics of people within Pagudpud, including those who were illiterate or unable to speak English. The respondents could remain anonymous if they so chose, however, if the respondent was interested, their contact information was collected to identify potential candidates for in-depth interviews.

Although the nature of the FPQ renders quantitative data, the questions are open-ended to illicit responses that are more qualitative in nature. This was done to be consistent with the qualitative nature of the overall case study, but to also provide some base data for the analysis of community capacity that became the groundwork for the latter truly qualitative photo and video evaluations described in Chapter Eight.

There are some limitations to using this method of data gathering that should be acknowledged. Due to the small sample size and length of the survey, the results do not allow for elaborate statistical analysis, credibility may be an issue and the results are not generalizeable (Kumar, 1990, p. 6). However, since this survey was conducted as part of a case study, there is no intention to generalize the results. The objective for the survey was to attain a general understanding of the community capacity in the area. Furthermore, since the bulk of the interview data for the case study came from key informants, particularly those acquainted the mayor; there was concern that the information gathered would be tainted by elite bias (Madey, 1982, p. 231). In order to obtain data that would counterbalance this bias, the FPQ was designed and executed.

Coding presents another limitation to this method. It is understood that open-ended questions are difficult to code (Kumar, 1990, p. 11). However, since the purpose of this survey is to provide a general understanding of the community capacity of Pagudpud, this limitation is noted and accepted. Effort has been taken to ensure that the coding categories and the way that the data has been inserted into them is a true representation of the respondents' voice (Weiss, 1998, p.168). Furthermore, the qualitative assessments of community capacity of the photo and video evaluations will complement and further explain the situation; thus reducing the significance of the coding errors.

The tables below depict the basic demographic breakdown of the respondents of the Pagudpud FPQ. Table 29 demonstrates the breakdown of male and female respondents across the various age brackets.

Table 28 - FPQ gender and age breakdown

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
Under 18	2	3	5
18 – 24	6	4	10
25- 49	9	14	23
50 and up	8	7	15
Totals	25	28	53

Source: Author

The survey administrators were asked to question an array of Pagudpud residents, including those from various age brackets. 28.3 % of the respondents are ages 24 and under, 43.4% are ages 25-49, and 28.3% are above 50 years old. This is a reasonable distribution of ages across the population. Additionally, with a breakdown of 25 men and 28 women, it can be said that the findings of this survey are reasonably gender balanced.

The next table, Table 29, describes the various occupations of the respondents in relation to their gender.

Table 29 - FPQ occupation breakdown

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Civil Servant/Administrator	1	4	5
Farmer	8	0	8
Fisher	6	0	6
Handicrafts	0	2	2
Manual Laborer	2	0	2
Manufacturing	1	0	1
No answer	2	2	4
Religious Work	1	0	1
Retired professional	0	2	2
Service Industry	1	7	8
Student	3	4	7
Unemployed	0	3	3
Vendor	0	3	3

Source: Author

The respondents represent diverse occupations across the municipality with a heavy concentration in the most prevalent occupations of fishing, farming, and the service industry. Interestingly, all of the respondents who identified themselves as farmers were men, while a majority of service industry workers were women, suggesting a possible household dichotomy.

Table 30 shows the number of respondents from each of the municipality's barangays.

Table 30 - FPQ breakdown by barangay

Barangay	Respondents
Aggasi	2
Baduang	2
Balaoi	7
Burayoc	1
Caparispisan	4
Caguayan	1
Dampig	0
Ligaya	6
Pancian	1
Pasaleng	5
Poblacion 1	5
Poblacion 2	4
Saguigui	3
Saud	5
Subec	5
Tarrag	1

Source: Author

The most densely populated barangays in Pagudpud are those closest to the plaza and Municipal Hall, which are Poblacion 1 and Poblacion 2 (SEP, 2006). Ligaya and Saud are the adjacent barangays to Poblacion 1 and Poblacion 2, and also have high population concentrations. The results of the survey reflect these population centers with 37.7% of the respondents. Seven respondents hailed from Balaoi, which is a resort area that is also home to a significant amount of fishers whom may have been attracted by the fiesta's farmer and fishers' night. The high amount of respondents from Pasaleng, five, can also be explained by the draw of the town fiesta's farmers and fishers' night considering these are the primary occupations in that barangay. Overall, the distribution of respondents across the barangays is relatively representative.

In order to obtain information about the community capacity attributes in Pagudpud, the indicators examined in the FPQ are presented in Table 31. These indicators are based off the expansion of the concept of community based on the Chaskin framework (see also Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008). This indicator list is not an exhaustive list of indicators related to the attributes of community capacity, rather these are the specific ones addressed by the FPQ. The questions that correspond to each indicator can be found in the last column. The related responses to these questions, and all FPQ questions, can be found in the appendix.

Table 31 - FPQ attribute indicators

Community Capacity Attribute	Indicators	Questions
Sense of Community	Overall goal/vision	Is there a shared vision of the people of Pagudpud? What is it?
	Shared sense of identity	What are some things that people in Pagudpud have in common?
Commitment	Responsibility taken for community situation	Do people in Pagudpud take responsibility for the things that happen here?
	Members recognize themselves as stakeholders	Do people in Pagudpud generally pursue interests in Pagudpud or do they feel they need to go outside of Pagudpud?
Ability to set and achieve objectives	Progress made towards goals	If someone speaks of change in Pagudpud, how likely are things to change?
	Some past objectives achieved	Is Pagupud a place where things get done?
Ability to recognize and access resources	Variety of types of resources	What are the assets of Pagudpud?
	Access to resources	How easy is it for you to get what you need in Pagudpud?

Source: Author

Similar to the attributes, the FPQ tried to ascertain which community agents were present in Pagudpud. Table 32 shows the various indicators for the community agents and the questions used to obtain this information in the FPQ. These indicators are generated from the description of social agents as described by Chaskin and colleagues (2001). The questions to obtain the information related to the community agents are straightforward and directly related to the desired response.

Table 32 - FPQ agent indicators

Community Agent	Indicators	Questions
Individual	• Formal leaders in government, businesses, organizations, or movements • Informal leaders (e.g. people of reverence, clout, or high civic standing)	Who gets things done in Pagudpud?
Organizations	• Established groups (e.g. social organizations, commercial associations, religious groups, age-related groups, government sponsored organizations) • Informal civil society organizations (e.g. recreation leagues, neighborhood constellations) • Businesses • Government agencies • Institutes • Educational institutes	What organizations are important in Pagudpud?
Networks	• Interpersonal networks (through families and acquaintances) • Organizational networks • Political networks • Business networks	Who (person or organization, inside or outside of Pagudpud) can you go to to get something you need?

Source: Author

The various categories of community actions are descriptive in nature and some accompanying indicators can be found in Table 33, as well as the corresponding questions that were administered in the FPQ. Similar to the attributes, and agents, the community actions have been expanded upon the parameters described by the Chaskin Framework (see also Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008). The table below only lists the indicators relevant to the FPQ.

Table 33 - FPQ actions indicators

Community Action	Indicators	Relevant Questions
Governance; Planning and Decision-making	• Local administrative functions	What kinds of things has the local government done recently?
Production of Goods and Services	• Locally made goods for local markets • Basic services provided locally • Production of secondary (beyond basic) goods	What kinds of things can you get in Pagudpud?
Communication	• Various modes of interpersonal communication • Technology-based communication • Public modes of mass communication	Where do you get most of your information from?
Organization and Advocacy	• Development of local groups to serve local needs and issues • Issue-based groups and communications	Do you participate in any organizations? If so, which ones?

Source: Author

There are eleven important contextual influences identified as a part of the A-A-A, each with multiple indicators. Considering this, it was not prudent to incorporate questions on each contextual influence into the FPQ. However, it was necessary to gather some general information about the situation in Pagudpud that might otherwise affect its community capacity.

Therefore, the following questions were incorporated into the survey to address the contextual influences:

- What are the best things about Pagudpud?
- What could be better in Pagudpud?

These questions, in particular, are intentionally vague and open-ended in an attempt to elicit information from the respondents on the general atmosphere in Pagudpud or any other item that might otherwise not be addressed in the survey. Table 34 shows the contextual influences and their corresponding indicators that were used in coding the responses to these two questions. This abridged table is based off the conditioning influences described by Chaskin and colleagues (2001) and the findings from my earlier research related to community capacity in Indonesia (see Wachowski, 2007).

Table 34 - FPQ contextual influences indicators

Contextual Influence	Criteria
Location	• Hard infrastructure
Space and Security	• Prevalence of crime • Notion of security
Residential Stability	• Comfort community members feel with one another • Trust betwixt community members
Economics	• Relative level of income • Progression of economic growth • Vulnerable facets of local economy
Political Stability, Accountability, and Participation	• Administrative stability • Officials' leadership capability

Source: Author

7.4.1.1.   Focal Point Questionnaire Results
7.4.1.1.1.   Attributes

There is some sense of community in Pagudpud. 72% of the responses[11] in relation to the overall goal or vision of the people reported statements related to progress, tourism, or a better way of life. Two respondents stated their goal was for Pagudpud to be well known in the world, most likely for tourism as another six responses indicated. One respondent shared his vision "for every Pagudpudian to have a sustainable and stable living and a way to prosperity and progress." This is a bold vision and expresses a very common sentiment among Pagudpud residents.

The second indicator of a shared sense of identity is also present in Pagudpud. 81% of the responses indicated that hospitality, friendliness, and cooperation were traits that people in Pagudpud shared. While most of the respondents provided only personality traits to describe their identity, the consistency of the answers shows that these are widespread values held by community members and are important parts of their sense of community. However, 13.8% of the responses were related to work, which is another factor in the identity of Pagudpud community members.

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[11] Some respondents provided more than one answer to the questions, so the analysis is based on the total numbers of responses and may not directly represent the number of respondents.

Commitment describes the responsibility that community members take for their situation, as well as their ability to recognize themselves as stakeholders and these were two of the indicators that the FPQ assessed. 96.5% of the responses indicated that people were responsible in Pagudpud and 92.2% said people were committed. However, it should be noted that answers on commitment were self reported with many people wanting to make a positive impression on the surveyors. Therefore these figures may not accurately reflect the level of commitment in Pagudpud.

It was difficult to ask a question directly related to whether or not community members saw themselves as stakeholders, mostly due to the academic jargon and confounds with self-reporting. Therefore, establishing if people felt it was important to stay in Pagudpud for the long-term was another way to identify if people were really investing themselves in the community as stakeholders. 66% of the responses indicate that people in Pagudpud do not see themselves as stakeholders because they wish to leave to seek "greener pastures" as 32 responses directly noted. Contradicting the earlier overly positive responses on the commitment in Pagudpud, these results indicate a weakness in the community capacity attribute of commitment.

Understanding the community's ability to set and achieve objectives is difficult as well. In fact, when asked about change and the likelihood of success, most of the respondents, 57.9%, did not give an answer at all. However, the remaining responses indicated a heavy reliance on the local government, 28.6% of given responses, to achieve objectives and there was little faith in their ability to make progress in a timely fashion, 57.1% of given responses.

Furthermore, on achieving objectives, 87.5% of the responses show that people feel Pagudpud is a place where "things get done." However, it should be noted that this question was confusing for the respondents, as reported by the survey administrators. This could be due in part to the intentional vagueness, so as not to steer respondents into answering about the actions of the government alone. This confusion would support the contention that the community is very reliant on the direction of the LGU to set and achieve objectives.

There is a general sentiment that it is difficult to get things inside Pagudpud with 44.9% of responses indicating that obtaining resources is not easy. One respondent said "there are times when I can't get what I need." Of those who responded that it was easy to get resources in Pagudpud, their response was then qualified with "if you cooperate" or "if you have patience." This further reinforces the notion that life in Pagudpud, a developing community, can be arduous.

The responses to the question on resources are related both to the access of indigenous and external resources. A total 82 responses were gathered when respondents were asked about the resources of Pagudpud. The responses can be categorized as natural resources, 58% of responses, or human resources, 29.6%. This indicates that there is an awareness of the community some of the variety of resources at their disposal, but many of the answers were related to tourism, 40.7% (promoted by the LGU), and not necessarily related to other productive capabilities; although it should be noted that seven responses were related to locally produced products such as rice and coconut products.

7.4.1.1.2. Agents

Regarding individual community agents in Pagudpud, the results from the FPQ indicate that people feel that ordinary citizens, 35.8%, and local officials, 47.8%, are active in the community. The findings from this question support early evidence that people in Pagudpud rely on the LGU

to provide direction for activities and development in the municipality. However, there is strong support that people are also active as individuals.

There were 76 responses to the question on important organizations in Pagudpud, further reinforcing that there is bright and vibrant civic life in the community. However, although there is a general awareness and broad participation (see the section on community actions) in organizations, the nature of these activities is not evident from the survey. What can be noted is that 78.9% of the responses on important organizations were localized versions of larger, often national or regional, organizations. This indicates that local organizations, which represented only 14.5% of the responses, are not as popular, active, or well-known in Pagudpud.

Gaining an understanding of networks with a simple survey was not an easy task. However, there was one network that became quite evident through the FPQ, the local political network. When responding to the question about who they would go to get something they need, 85.3% of the responses indicated local officials. Many of these officials were named specifically, such as Mayor M. Sales (28 responses), Vice Mayor Matilde Sales (5 responses), or Barangay Captain Cagawad (4 responses). Another eight responses indicated affiliations with provincial and national politicians. There were no answers that indicate networks of any other nature.

7.4.1.1.3.   Actions

Figure 27 - Pagudpud Municipal Hall

Source: Author

The FPQ responses to the first category of community actions, governance, planning, and decision-making, indicate that there is recognition of the actions and accomplishments of the local government. 68.1% of the responses identified governance actions that have been undertaken, such as building farm to market roads (4 responses), refurbishing the municipal plaza complex (7 responses), supplying irrigation (10 responses), the town fiesta activities (7 responses), tourism promotion (2 responses), and activities related to the waste removal project (3 responses).   This supports the contention that the LGU is the most noticeably productive faction in Pagudpud.

There is a large amount of products produced in Pagudpud, nearly all of which is for local consumption or the local tourist market. All of the respondents identified products produced and available in Pagudpud, most of which are marine, 41.7% of responses, or agricultural products, 51.5% of responses. There were no responses about services available in the community or about secondary goods. This data can be interpreted as support for the assertion that Pagudpud has an underdeveloped economy.

Interestingly, this question evoked the most responses in the local language of Ilocano, including *palay* – rice, *niyog* – coconut, *bawang* – onion, and *ikamen* – rattan mat. This suggests that there is pride in the local products and production.

The most prevalent mode of communication, in terms of information gathering, in Pagudpud comes from the national mass media, with 63.9% of the responses. Otherwise, people rely on one another, through interpersonal communication, to get information, 20.6%. Of those relying on interpersonal communication for their information, 40% of them rely on information from local officials. There was only one response relating to the local media, which indicated that the respondent accessed the public information posted at the municipal hall. With most people relying on the national media there is some potential for local issues to go un-noticed in

Pagudpud. This is supported by the evidence that only one respondent commented on local information posted at Municipal Hall and the rest of the respondents rely mostly on interpersonal communication. These factors suggest that people in Pagudpud may be susceptible to information control or manipulation, which may relate to their poverty in economic terms.

The last category of actions analyzed in the FPQ, organization and advocacy, seeks to understand the level of participation in the community. 73.6% of the respondents indicated that they were involved in an organization. The survey indicates that most of the activity, 64.3% of responses indicating organizational involvement, is in localized national organizations. These organizations are usually local groups that are issue or demographic-based and can be found in nearly all municipalities in the Philippines. It should be noted, however, that there is little network activity between the various organizations. Most of the groups have strong connections with the national government, such as SANJERA (farmers' organization) and the Ministry of Agriculture. Only 23.8% of activity is in local organizations, and only 4.8% in advocacy organizations. Another 11.9% of organizational activity is in religious organizations, which are another form of localized national or international organizations. The small amount of activity in truly local organizations indicates that the civil society in Pagudpud is undeveloped, which is a contextual influence that may have a negative impact on community capacity.

7.4.1.1.4. Contextual Influences

Only two questions were asked to briefly gauge the scope of the various contextual influences in Pagudpud: 1) What are the best things about Pagudpud? and 2) What could be better in Pagudpud? A variety of responses were given to these questions, but a few themes arose. Many people felt that their natural resources were the best things in their community; 59.2% of the responses were related to natural resources.

Two categories of contextual influences were remarked upon in this question, space and security and residential stability. 18.4% of the responses indicated positive sentiments to the atmosphere, peacefulness, and security found in the community. One respondent used the local term "*liank kin talna*," meaning peace and order, in response to the question. 11.7% of the responses were related to residential stability, indicating trust and comfort between community members. Another notable response to this question came from Ms. Dianne Shayne Faylogna of Balaoi. She said that the best things about Pagudpud are "the beautiful spots that God has created in this place and the hospitable Pagudpudians."

Interestingly, there were 66.1% more positive responses than negative responses (responses to "what could be better?"). 30.6% of the responses were related to the unfavorable economic condition in Pagudpud. 25.8% of the responses indicated negative sentiments toward the space and security of the community, particularly in terms of environmental integrity with 75% of those responses being related to cleanliness and the environment. It should be noted that although the percentage of negative responses related to space and security is higher than the positive responses (25.8% negative versus 18.4% positive) this is related to the total responses to each question. There were actually 16 negative responses compared to 19 positive responses related to space and security. There were two negative responses related to residential stability and trust between community members. A few other responses to these questions are related to other contextual influences. These results suggest that the positive/negative dichotomy on the contextual influences of residential space and stability and space and security may balance out and have a neutral impact on Pagudpud's community capacity.

One response indicated some lack of political stability and three responses reflected poorly on the location of the community, particularly in terms of transportation infrastructure. According to the data, the remaining contextual influences may have little impact on Pagudpud's community capacity. However, with the generalness of the questions and the small amount of responses, it is hard to speculate.

These are the general results from the FPQ and are discussed more specifically and analyzed in relation to community capacity in a later section.

7.4.2. Interviews

Although there were numerous unstructured interviews that were used to help build the picture of community capacity in Pagudpud, there were a few formal, in-depth interviews (IDI) that were conducted to get a directed and accurate response from some key informants. This section will outline the key informants that were interviewed and give them voice as they describe their view of community capacity in Pagudpud.

Interviews that could be conducted appropriately in English were conducted by me and the ones that needed to be conducted in the local language were conducted by Ms. Linda Viola. IDIs were conducted from April 28 – May 3, 2008 at the home or business of the respondent, the home of Ms. Linda Viola, or a community event. The interviewer administered the questions and wrote the responses. Due to the length of the interview, some repetitiveness of the questions, and the complex nature of some of the questions interviewers were advised to use their best judgment to obtain the most correct and useful information from the respondent. The IDI includes the basic questions that are in the FPQ, as well as more specific questions correspondent to the various criteria related to the components of the A-A-A.

Seven respondents volunteered and were interviewed for the IDI in Pagudpud. The respondents were chosen based on their willingness to participate in the survey and their position in the community. This makes the sampling for the IDIs purposive and opportunistic (Weiss, 1998, p. 164). One interviewee, Edimar Ubasa, was recommended by the mayor because of his civic activity, making the use of snowballing (Weiss, 1998, p. 254).

Each IDI is nine pages long and took at least one hour to complete; therefore finding respondents hardy enough to complete the interview was a challenge. Furthermore, the respondents were chosen to provide a wide breadth of views to be somewhat representative of the community at large.

The occupations of the respondents are typical of the norms in Pagudpud. The ages of the respondents range from 32 to 55 and covers the largest age demographic of active adults within the community. The areas in which the respondents hail from was also considered in the selection of the respondents, so that as many areas of Pagudpud could be represented and to see if there were any special considerations based on locale within the municipality (incidentally, there were special concerns regarding transportation in Pasaleng and Pancian). Table 35 displays the relevant demographic data of the IDI respondents. The results of the IDIs are detailed in the following sub-sections and incorporated into the analysis of community capacity in the next section.

Table 35 - IDI respondents

Name	Occupation	Age	Sex	Barangay	Interviewer
Villamor Ramos Calventas	High school teacher/principal	55	Male	Pasaleng	Cindy Banyai
Lourdes Farriano	Housewife	33	Female	Unknown	Linda Viola
Marlita Lagundino	Housewife/mat weaver	32	Female	Unknown	Linda Viola
Warly Manigdig	Fisher	36	Male	Balaoi	Linda Viola
Demesthines Ravelo	Furniture maker	44	Male	Pasaleng	Linda Viola
Marlon Sales	Mayor	42	Male	Poblacion 1	Cindy Banyai
Edimar Ubasa	Construction supervision	38	Male	Tarrag	Cindy Banyai

Source: Author

Like the FPQ, the IDI questions were administered orally and translated into Ilocano, when necessary to ensure clarity and intent of the questions. The interviewer asked the questions and wrote the responses, leaving the sole responsibility of the interviewee to tell their story and opinions. The IDI respondents answered most of the questions in the interview template, except for Lourdes Farriano and Malita Lagundino, who answered only half of the questions due to time constraints.

Table 36 shows the breakdown of the questions and their related SCOR indicator and category.

Table 36 - IDI attributes categories, indicators and questions

Community Capacity Attribute	Indicator - Relevant Questions
S - Sense of Community	• Overall goal/vision – Can you identify a shared goal or vision of ____? • Recognition of mutual circumstances – Would you say that you are in a similar situation as the other members of ____? What are some things that people in ___ have in common? • Evidence of trust amongst members – Would you say that it is easy to trust people in ___? Are there any people or groups of people that you are cautious of? • Positive relationship between members – How often do you gather with other people from ___ (i.e. celebrate special occasions, have food or drinks) either in your home, the home of others, or in public? • Shared sense of identity – How would you identify yourself (ethnicity, religion, locality, etc..)? Do you feel that many people in ___ identify themselves similarly?
C - Commitment	• Responsibility taken for community situation - Do people in ___ take responsibility for the things that happen here? • Members recognize themselves as stakeholders - Are people committed to ___? • Active participation in community activities - Do people in ___ generally pursue interests in ___ or do they feel they need to go outside of ___? What kind of activities do you participate in?
O - Ability to set and achieve objectives	• Issues/desires identified – What are things that you would like to see done in ____? • Plans for action in place – In regards to your ideas, are you or others taking steps towards accomplishing those goals? What other kinds of actions are being undertaken in ___? • Progress made towards goals – Do you feel that progress is being made in regards to the desires of the community? • Some past objectives achieved – In the last 2 years, have you noticed any changes in ___? What were they? • If someone speaks of change in ___, how likely are things to change? • Is ___ a place where things get done?
R - Ability to recognize and access resources	• Variety of types of resources – What types of things can one find in ___? • Multiple ways to access various resources – How do you get the things you need in ____? • Recognition of indigenous resources - What kinds of assets are there in ___? • Use of indigenous resources – Do you use resources from within ___ or do you rely on resources outside of ___?

Source: Author

For the IDI, I formulated the questions from the modified A-A-A, which is based on the Chaskin Framework and Miyoshi & Stenning (2008). The questions are open-ended to be consistent with qualitative research practices and to allow the respondents to exercise their voice, but also provide data relevant to the assessment. Furthermore, the questions in the table leave a blank space for the definition of the community. During the administration of the IDIs, Pagudpud was referred to as the community and inserted in the blanks in the questions.

Table 37 shows the IDI agent indicators that served as prompts during the interview. There were no specific questions to accompany specific indicators, rather questions such as "can you name some ___?" were asked to guide the conversation.

Table 37 - IDI agents indicator prompts

Community Agent	Indicator
Individual	• Formal leaders in government, businesses, organizations, or movements • Informal leaders (e.g. people of reverence, clout, or high civic standing or activity)
Organizations	• Established groups (e.g. social organizations, commercial associations, religious groups, age-related groups, government sponsored organizations) • Informal civil society organizations (e.g. recreation leagues, neighborhood constellations) • Businesses • Government agencies • Institutes • Educational institutes
Networks	• Interpersonal networks (through families and acquaintances) • Organizational networks • Political networks • Business network

Source: Author, based on Chaskin et al., 2001

The categories, indicators, and questions related to actions in community capacity are presented in Table 38. These questions were posed in the same fashion as the questions relating to the attributes of community capacity.

Table 38 - IDI actions categories, indicators and questions

Community Action	Indicator – Relevant Questions
Governance; Planning and Decision-making	• Local budgeting • Local administrative functions (oversight of situations within the locality and public goods and services, response to citizens, accumulation and reporting of local data) - Does the local government respond to citizens appropriately? • Project planning and execution – If a project is announced in __, what is the likelihood that it will be complete? Useful for the local people? • Participatory methods utilized for planning and evaluation – Are the community members of ___ consulted by the local government in order to make improvements to the community?
Production of Goods and Services	• Locally made goods for local markets – What kinds of local goods can be found in local markets? • Locally made goods for external markets – What kinds of locally made goods are sold elsewhere? • Basic services provided locally – What kinds of services can be found in __? • Production of secondary (beyond basic) goods – What kinds of things must be purchased outside of ___?
Communication	• Various modes of interpersonal communication – How do you stay in contact with your friends and family members? • Technology-based communication – How often do you use telephone? Email? How easy is it to access telephone? Email? • Public modes of mass communication – Where do you get your information about __? About the rest of the world? • Avenues through which information can be disseminated (free from censor or repression) – What other forms of communication do you use in ___? How confident of this information are you?
Organization and Advocacy	• Development of local groups to serve local needs and issues – What local organizations are you familiar with? What local organizations are you involved with? • Freedom of association – Are there any restrictions to the places or ways that people can gather together in ___? • Issue-based groups and communications – Are there any groups in __ that are concerned with particular issues? Do they provide information to the public that is relevant to their cause? • Evidence of actions taken in response to issue-specific advocacy – Is there an example of a local organization successfully accomplishing a change within ___? Does the local government work together with local organizations?

Source: Author

Table 39 outlines the categories, indicators, and related questions on the contextual influences affecting the A-A-A. Since the FPQ glossed over the contextual influence, considerable attention was paid to them through the IDIs to ensure a comprehensive picture of the situation in Pagudpud. Like the attributes and actions, the contextual influence questions were delivered in a similar way and formulated by me.

Table 39 - IDI contextual Influences categories, indicators and questions

Contextual Influence	Indicator – Relevant Questions
Location	• Ease of access to transportation hubs – How easy is it for you to get around __? Out of ___? What methods of public transportation are there in ___? How often do you use public transportation? • Ease of access to production centers – How easy is it to access the places for production in __? • Ease of access to external markets – How easy is it for you to get your products to markets outside of __? • Difficulty of terrain – Are there any physical aspects of __ that make transportation of people or goods difficult? • Propensity of natural disasters – How often are there natural disasters in __? What kinds? • Hard infrastructure – Are the roads/railways in __ in good condition most of the time?
Space and Security	• Changes in land use – Has there been any change in land use (i.e. conversion of farmland to commercial land, changes of ownership of land) recently? • Prevalence of crime – Is there a lot of crime in ___? What kinds? • Notion of security – How safe do you feel generally in ___?
Residential Stability	• Rate of migration to/from community – Have you noticed people moving in or out of ___? For what reasons? • Comfort community members feel with one another – How comfortable do you feel with your neighbors? Other people in ___? Are there any people with whom you have difficulty or feel uncomfortable with?
Distribution of Power and Resources	• Similarity/dissimilarity of economic circumstances among community members – In relation to other community members of __, do you feel that you are better off, worse off, or the same? • Relative access to resources – How easy is it for you to get what you need in ___? • Blatant imbalances of power – Are there any groups of people in __ that you feel have an advantage over others?
History and Culture	• Ethnic, religious, or class divisions – What are the various kinds of ethnicities or religion that can be found in ___? Are there any notable issues between these groups? • Historical group relationships – In the past, has there been any difficulty between groups of people in ___? • Colonial effects • Historical land divisions – Have there been any grievances over land in __? • Powerful families – Can you name some families in __ that have power (economic, political, land)? • Relations with external entities (other communities or organizations) – Are there any other places in which __ has had issues with in the past? • Sentiments towards sites, events, or ideas - Are there any places in __ that have historical or cultural value? Are there any special events in ___? Are there any ideas or concepts that people in ___ find to be unanimously valuable? • Significant historical events – What kinds of significant historical events have happened in ___? • Local traditions and values – Can you name some important local traditions and values?
Structure of	• Constraints on opportunities – Are there groups or activities that you are not allowed to partake in? Why? • Necessary relationships for local success – Are there certain people in __ that you

Opportunity	need to know or get along with in order to be successful? • Disenfranchised groups – Are there any groups in __ that are noticeably less well-off than others?
Economics	• Relative level of income – Do you feel that people in __ have about the same amount of income or are there some people that have noticeably more? Who? • Progression of economic growth – Do you feel that __ is becoming more or less prosperous? • Instances of poverty – Does there seem to be a lot of poverty in __? • Vulnerable facets of local economy – Are there any industries in ___ that are struggling? Why?
Maturity of Civil Society	• Structure of organizations – Of the organizations that you are familiar with, do they have good organization? • Stability of group membership – Do those organizations have a relatively stable membership? • Effectiveness of organizations (ability to achieve outcomes) – What kinds of things has your organization achieved recently? • Nature of civil society organizations (issue-oriented, advocacy and empowerment oriented, long-term) – What kinds of issues does your organization deal with?
Political Stability, Accountability, and Participation	• Administrative stability – Do you feel that the local administration is largely stable? • Administrative accountability and organization – Do you feel that the local administration is largely accountable? Organized? • Administration's response to citizens – If a request is made to the local administration, what is the likelihood that something will be done? • Official's leadership capability – Do you feel that the government leaders in __ are capable or able to help the people in __? • Prevalence of community participation in political matters – How often do you vote in local elections? National elections? Have you ever made a request or complaint to the local government? What was the result? • Effort of polity to enact participatory governance – Has the local administration asked your opinion about community matters? Has there been any action taken on that? • Community's understanding of legal rights and local political situation – How involved in local politics are you? Do you feel you have a good understanding of your legal and political rights?
Institutional Development	• Amount and function of independent institutions – What kinds of institutions (schools, hospitals) are there in __? • Structural and practical development of government and civil society organizations – How easy is it for you to get something (license, accreditation) from the local government? • Norms conducive to community progression displayed by institutional leadership – How do you feel about the leaders of local organizations and government in __? Are the ethical? Compassionate? People to be emulated?

Source: Author

The following sub-sections detail the interviews with each of the IDI respondents. A brief description of the person serves as an introduction to their opinions on the community capacity and situation in Pagudpud.

7.4.2.1. Villamor Ramos Calventas

Villamor Ramos Calventas is a 55 year-old high school principal from Barangay Pasaleng. He has three grown children and is adjusting to life without his wife, whom he lost to breast cancer in early 2008. Mr. Calventas is an outspoken and jovial man. He cares deeply about his community and his students and is not afraid to say and do things that he thinks will lead to improvement. Mr. Calventas considers himself a religious man, with most of his civic activities involving the church. However, he also participates in the barangay court, which is a local institution that helps officiate disputes within the barangay.

Mr. Calventas is not firmly in the mayor's camp, but typically favors the vice mayor because of her patronage relationships with the school and some of its students. It was his distance from the mayor that made him a good candidate for the IDI, as well as his eagerness to contribute his ideas about the community in Pagudpud.

Attributes – Related to sense of community, Mr. Calventas identified several shared goals among the people in Pagudpud. They include the desire to develop the town into a tourist destination, seeing progress overall, and maintaining a peaceful atmosphere by keeping out crime and nightlife. As for a shared identity in the community, he says that they are a farming and fishing community and that the people are peace-loving, industrious, cooperative and always willing to help one another. Although Mr. Calventas says that he shares many characteristics with other people in the community, he says that he is different from them because he wants to stay in the community and contribute to it, rejecting a promotion to oversee education at the provincial level to remain in Pasaleng. His comfort with his fellow community members is further reinforced by his frequency of gathering with others, which increased to three times a week after the passing of his wife. Mr. Calventas says that it is easy to trust people in Pagudpud and he "hasn't yet met a person in Pagudpud who wants to hurt another." He did note that there were some incidents that arose from quarrel.

Mr. Calventas reports that people are committed and responsible in Pagudpud, but in his "honest assessment" most people are going abroad to work, but coming back to Pagudpud to retire and buy property later in life.

Mr. Calventas supports the policy of tourism promotion, but does not want much night life because it promotes "moral degeneration" and the community "won't be able to avoid [local] women becoming prostitutes." He would also like to see refrigeration units to protect the fishers' catch and better irrigation rules. Overall, he thinks that progress is being made on the objectives that are set in Pagudpud, but they are slow and he accepts "that change does not happen overnight." When asked if he felt that his wishes would be acted upon, Mr. Calventas said "I expressed my opinion, but politicians think of themselves as the most powerful, but really the citizens should be the most powerful." To get things done, Mr. Calventas says that politics play a big role and that "even good ideas will be ignored if they are on the wrong side of the fence." He also noted that people can expresses their desires in scheduled barangay meetings, but there should be more so the people can express themselves more. Changes that Mr. Calventas has noticed include an improvement in telecommunication beginning in 2001.

Primary goods can be found in Pagudpud, according to Mr. Calventas, but one must go to Laoag to buy appliances. Mr. Calventas says that he goes to Laoag often for shopping, and that people in Pancian and Pasaleng often go to the next municipality of Bangui to get their daily goods because it is easier to get them there than to the Pagudpud town center. Local busses from Pancian and Pasaleng do not do to the Pagudpud town center and private transport must be hired to get there. Other resources that Mr. Calventas discussed included the natural resources, such as timber, virgin forests, and the seas, as well as diligent and cooperative people.

Agents – Mr. Calventas cited the mayor and the vice mayor as the most important individual community agents in Pagudpud and the Philippines because "in the Philippines, politicians make things happen." As for organizations, he said that the parent-teacher association (PTCA) is important for educational development, as well as extra fundraising for local infrastructure and special projects. Network agents enumerated by Mr. Calventas include the political networks of the municipal councilors and the local (barangay) assemblies.

Actions – According to Mr. Calventas, the local government responds to the needs of the people, sometimes. He said that he would like to see the power for local government officials to recommend people for jobs and contracts reduced. The local government tries to avoid this favoritism with special bidding on projects, but projects are still impede by tensions between the mayor and the vice mayor. Mr. Calventas sees the twice yearly barangay assembly meetings as a way for local people to voice their concerns, but he would like to see more meetings.

Mr. Calventas noted that there are several services available in Pagudpud, such as electricity that is provided for from the province, the library, public Internet, market, and an extension hospital in Pasaleng where a doctor from Bangui comes twice a week. However, he says that there is no Internet in Pasaleng, instead he stays in contact with people through his cell phone and gets his information from books, newspapers, magazines, television, and going to Municipal Hall to ask people about projects and other community affairs. He goes on to say that satellite news networks, such as CNN and Fox, are more reliable than local television stations.

Mr. Calventas states that residents can gather with anyone they like in Pasaleng, but that may be different in other parts of Pagudpud. Overall, there are no groups of people that intimidate Mr. Calventas.

Mr. Calventas further indicated that local government works with local organizations, and local organizations have had some success, which can be seen in the actions and management of a local consumers' cooperative and another organization for land use.

Contextual Influences - It is easy to get around Pagudpud during the day if you are along highway because there is a highway bus every 15-30 minutes, says Mr. Calventas. However, it is difficult for those living in the interior barangays, because they must use tricycle or personal transportation to get around Pagudpud. Mr. Calventas also notes that the bus to Manila only runs in the afternoon from Pasaleng. Public transportation modes in Pagudpud include tricycle and bus, which must be used by people going to the market everyday. However, Mr. Calventas says he does not use public transportation unless he has to go the mountains, instead opting for his personal motorbike. According to Mr. Calventas, other physical aspects of Pagudpud that make transportation difficult are the interior barangay roads, which are not in good shape, but he says that the LGU is trying to cement them.

Natural disasters that afflict Pagudpud include typhoons, landslides, droughts and the occasional ocean disturbance says Mr. Calventas. Mr. Calventas states that there has been some change in land use with some people reclaiming farm lands for commercial or residential development.

In regards to comfort with his neighbors Mr. Calventas had this to say:

> "I am very comfortable, especially in my neighborhood because co-relatives [and I] share land, but there are personal differences. There are some people with whom I have difficulty with, but in general things are ok. There are minor difficulties with the government and with people who have different beliefs."

He feels that overall Pagudpud is safe, with little crime. Mr. Calventas says there is some population influx to Pagudpud, especially in Pancian, but that also people are moving into Balaoi

where there is still land left. He said that there are disputes over land, but they are being settled in court and that no one is "dying."[12]

Mr. Calventas notes that there are two families that have more power than others, the Sales and the Benemeritos, and that this contributes to political disturbances, especially since the former mayor, Teteng Sales, killed the previous mayor, Benemerito. Mr. Calventas says that the politics of those events are still in play, but that he "doesn't really know what the difference is [between the familial-political factions]." Otherwise, Mr. Calventas says that most other households in Pagudpud have one income and are generally similar.

When asked about significant local culture or traditions, Mr. Calventas said that Filipinos are clanist, meaning that there are strong feelings toward their group. Also, although Mr. Calventas feels that Pagudpud is becoming more prosperous, he says that there is still poverty and some people want to consider themselves in poverty because "some people just don't want to work!" However, he does note that those involved in farming and fishing are struggling because of lack of access to appropriate technology, but that the LGU is trying to help with that.

Related to the organizations in Pagudpud, Mr. Calventas says that they have standards, but differ on how they are managed and how stable their membership is. Since Mr. Calventas is largely involved in religious groups, he says that they mostly discuss God and the relationships between people, but not other issues in the community.

Mr. Calventas does not feel that the local administration is stable now, especially compared to the past. However, he says that the local administration is accountable and that they follow the rules, but there are problems because they do not agree on the procedures. According to Mr. Calvents, a request for assistance to the local government will be well received if there is the financial capability and you have the "right connection." Overall, Mr. Calventas feels that the local leaders are capable, but they need to settle the difference between them.

Mr. Calventas is an active citizen, voting in every election. He said "Yes, I have a good understanding of my legal and political rights, but most people aren't aware. Only 20% of people in Pasaleng go to college, most people have only a primary school education and they aren't aware of their rights." Mr. Calventas also said that the local administration asks his opinion, but they have acted on his suggestions only one time. He says that he only has "an advisory position in politics."

Local service delivery is quicker and easier than dealing with the central government, says Mr. Calventas. He said that obtaining things such as a driver's license or a postal id can be done easily at Municipal Hall, but things that need to be sent to Manila can take up to three months. Mr. Calventas noted "I have yet to encounter problems getting something from the local government."

7.4.2.2. Lourdes Farriano

Mrs. Lourdes Farriano is a forty eight year old housewife who has lived in Pagudpud for the past 33 years with her husband Pepito Roland. Aside from her household duties, Mrs. Farriano is involved with the women's club.

Attributes – Mrs. Farriano considers herself similar to other people in the community and she says she shares with them the activity of household gardening. She says that she does not readily trust people in the community, but there are no people or groups of people that she is particularly

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[12] Mr. Calventas made this statement before an elderly couple was killed in a land dispute in September, 2008.

weary of. Mrs. Farriano says she gets together with people in the community on special occasions such as birthdays, weddings, and burials.

According to Mrs. Farriano, people are responsible and committed to Pagudpud, but she notes that the younger generation prefers to go out of the country.

Mrs. Farriano would like to see a potable water system and better street lighting, and she says that steps are being taken to see her ideas to fruition. She also says that steps toward progress are being made in the community because people cooperate. In the last two years, Mrs. Farriano noticed that the barangay woods were established. When asked about the likelihood of change in Pagudpud, Mrs. Farriano lamented "Politics, there's too much politicking."

Mrs. Farriano notes that it is possible to obtain Ilocano products in Pagudpud, such as mats, pillows, and furniture. Otherwise, Mrs. Farriano plants her food and relies on herself to obtain the things she and her family needs. For bigger, secondary goods, such as televisions and motorbikes, Mrs. Farriano says that it is necessary to get them outside of the community.

Agents – Mrs. Farriano did not make any comments in regards to community agents.

Actions – According to Mrs. Farriano, the local government is responsive to the local citizen if the requests are "good for the whole populace." In regards to communication, Mrs. Farriano says that she does not use the internet, further noting that it is difficult for her to access it. However, she does communicate with people through cell phone and letters. As for local organizations, Mrs. Farriano points out that the PVP is a local organization that tackles local issues.

Contextual Influences - Mrs. Farriano did not answer many of the questions relating to the contextual influences on Pagudpud. However, she did say that it is not easy for people to get around or outside of Pagudpud. She noted that there are public busses and tricycle available for people, but that she does not use them

7.4.2.3. Marlita Lagundino

Mrs. Marlita Lagundino is a 32 year-old woman who has resided in Barangay Balaoi for 14 years. She is married to Ronal and has three children Raymond, age 13, Marazin, age 10, and Reviel, age 4. Mrs. Lagundino is a housekeeper and a mat weaver, and she is involved with the mat weavers' association.

Attributes – Mrs. Lagundino says that she is not necessarily in the same position as others in the community, but that she shares with them the activity of household gardening. She says that it is not so easy to trust people in Pagudpud and that there are some people that she is wary of, but she did not specify whom.   She meets together with other people in the community only for special events such as weddings and birthdays.

Mrs. Lagundino states that people in Pagudpud are committed and responsible, but that people who leave the community earn more, especially the overseas workers.

She would like to see improvements to the wooded areas and the water system. Mrs. Lagundino feels that there is some progress being made on these things and that they can be accomplished through cooperation. In regards to other achievements that she noticed in the last two years, Mrs. Lagundino specifically noted that the road to her place had been paved.

Easily made goods can be obtained in Pagudpud, according to Mrs. Lagundino. She noted that you have to work to get other things and that she relies on mostly local goods. Mrs. Lagundino says that the warm-hearted people are one of the assets of Pagudpud.

Agents – Mrs. Lagundino did not respond to any of the prompts on community agents.

Actions – Mrs. Lagundino thinks that the local government responds appropriately to its constituents. Otherwise, she did not comment on the actions in Pagudpud.

Contextual Influences - Mrs. Lagundino did not respond to any of the questions on the contextual influences on Pagudpud.

7.4.2.4. Warly Manigdig

Mr. Warly Manigdig is a 36 year-old fisherman who has lived in Balaoi, Pagudpud his entire life. He is married to a woman named Editha and has two children, Eddy, age 10, and Princedrick, 8 months. Mr. Manigdig is the president of the water system in his community and also participates in the fisherman's association.

Attributes – Mr. Manigdig identified the shared vision of Pagudpud as peaceful and cooperative. A common trait of people in Pagudpud is that they are sharing and cooperative according to Mr. Manigdig. He says that it is not easy to trust people and that he is cautious of some people, although he is willing to help people that need it. Mr. Manigdig gathers with people yearly.

People are committed and reliable in Pagudpud says Mr. Manigdig, but that the youngsters prefer to look for jobs abroad. Mr. Manigdig participates in barangay activities.

Future objectives that are important to Mr. Manigdig include nicer forests and electricity and he says that steps are being taken to accomplish these objectives. He says that progress is being made overall, particularly in barangay development. In the last two years, Mr. Manigdig noticed that five semi-permanent houses were built in his area. The things that are most likely to be changed in Pagudpud are the roads and buildings according to Mr. Manigdig.

Local resources in Pagudpud include shell crafts and mat weaving, says Mr. Manigdig. He also notes that he gets most of his basic goods locally, but that you must go outside of the municipality to get things like televisions.

Agents – Mr. Manigdig identified only individual agents in Pagudpud. He named the mayor and the local and barangay officials as important community agents.

Actions – The local administration responds to its citizens appropriately according to Mr. Manigdig. He says that the local government does consult with the people to make improvements to the community.

In terms of production of goods and services, Mr. Manigdig said that woven mats can be bought locally and that they are also sold outside of Pagudpud, along with locally produced coconuts and fish. Local services that he noted included homestays, restaurants, and hotels.

Mr. Manigdig gets his information from the television, meetings, and other people. He is most confident of the information that comes from the mayor or other head offices. He said that he never uses the telephone or the Internet, saying that it is not easy to access these things if you can't afford it.

The agriculture groups focus on local issues, according to Mr. Manigdig. He also points out that the farmers' association has made successful changes to the community. He also notes that the local government does work together with local organizations.

Contextual Influences - Mr. Manigdig says that it is easy to get around Pagudpud without being scared and that the most popular forms of public transportation include bus, tricycles, and motorbike. He says that he uses public transportation when the need arises and that it is easy to get to places of production if there is always transportation available. He says that it is "not bad" for him to get his products to the market, noting that the roads were usually in good condition.

Mr. Manigdig says that there are seasonal typhoons and sometimes there are high tides. He generally feels safe in Pagudpud, especially because the barangay is patrolled at night. Mr. Manigdig feels comfortable with people in Pagudpud and is only weary of aggressive people.

The only people that Mr. Manigdig have noticed going in and out of Pagudpud are the tourists who come to "see the beauty of the place." In relation to other people in Pagudpud, Mr. Manigdig says that he feels a little bit better off than them because he finished high school and he reads a lot.

Mr. Manigdig said that no groups have any particular advantage over another in Pagudpud. However, he did name the powerful families as Sales, Garvidas, and Benemeritos.

There have been issues with land grabbing, says Mr. Manigdig, as well as with illegal fishing and lumber culling in Balaoi.

Special events and historical areas named by Mr. Manigdig include the town fiesta and the crashed World War II plane, the Stingray, in Cagayan. Other things that people in Pagudpud find unanimously valuable, according to Mr. Manigdig, include the time since the Sales took over. Local customs include helping others without pay and being kind to elders, according to Mr. Manigdig.

People are generally on the same level, says Mr. Manigdig, except the professionals who have a higher standard of living. He also notes that there are some groups that are noticeably less well off than others. However, Mr. Manigdig feels that Pagudpud is becoming more prosperous overall.

Mr. Manigdig feels that organizations in Pagudpud are well organized and have a relatively stable membership. He also feels that the local administration is largely stable, accountable, and organized. When asked if he felt the local leaders were capable, Mr. Manigdig said, yes, specifically citing the mayor. He also said that the LGU acts when they can help people. Mr. Manigdig says that there is "very good governance" in Pagudpud and that the local leaders are ethical and are people to be emulated.

Mr. Manigdig says he participates in local and national elections and that he has a good understanding of his political rights and responsibilities. He said that he has not made a specific request to the local government, but they have asked his opinion on things.

Institutions that operate locally that were named by Mr. Manigdig include hospitals and schools. He says that it is easy to obtain documents from the local government if "your papers are complete."

7.4.2.5. Demesthines Ravelo

Mr. Demesthines Ravelo is a 44 year-old furniture maker from Barangay Pancian. He is married to Anita, 38, and has three children Denorak, 18, Abigail, 17, and Demesthines Jr., 15. Mr. Ravelo has lived in the community for 35 years and is a member of the furniture makers' cooperative. Ms. Linda Viola and I visited the Ravelo family to celebrate the wedding of their son, Denorak. It was during the wedding festivities that Mr. Ravelo agreed to be interviewed by Ms. Linda Viola.

Attributes – Mr. Ravelo feels that he is in a similar situation as other people in the community. He says that people in Pagudpud share the values of unity, thriftiness, and cooperation. Mr. Ravelo thinks that it is not easy to trust people in Pagudpud and that he is particularly cautious of people who are against the local administration. He said that he enjoys

getting together with people in the community for occasions such as weddings, baptisms, and birthdays.

According to Mr. Ravelo, people in Pagudpud are responsible and committed to community work. He also says that most people "stay put in their barangay." Mr. Ravelo enjoys participating in the barangay festival.

To improve the community, Mr. Ravelo would like to see good roads and electricity [lights] by the road. He said that action is being taken to see these wishes fulfilled, as well as the desires of the community overall. He also noticed progress in terms of conservation of the forest. In the last two years, Mr. Ravelo said that houses have been built and there has been improvement in agriculture.

Mr. Ravelo notes that some of the resources of Pagudpud include tourist spots, green forests, and the sea. He says that he gets the things he needs by working hard, such as planting more trees. Mr. Ravelo states that he uses goods from the locality.

Agents - Mr. Ravelo only commented on the network agents in Pagudpud. He pointed out the network of the overseas workers from Saudi Arabia and the political network that he formed with Mayor M. Sales through the furniture makers' cooperative.

Actions – According to Mr. Ravelo, the local government helps people, consults local people for community improvement, and is likely to finish projects that are initiated. As for goods and services, Mr. Ravelo says that vegetables are available locally, furniture is made locally and sold outside of the community, and services such as health and school services are available inside the community.

Mr. Ravelo communicates with people face to face at gatherings. Otherwise, he does not use the Internet and says that it is not easy to access it, but he does use cell phones and letters. He gets the rest of his information from the local government, television, and newspapers and he is confident of this information.

It was noted earlier that Mr. Ravelo is involved with the furniture makers' association, which he says also takes on issues that are relevant to the community. He is also involved in the Barangay council and other barangay activities and says that the local government works with local organizations to improve the community.

Contextual Influences - In regards to public transportation, Mr. Ravelo stated that there are busses and motorbikes available and that he uses them very often. He also notes that the roads are in good condition most of the time.

Mr. Ravelo says that typical natural disasters in Pagudpud include typhoons and droughts. As for safety, Mr. Ravelo indicated that there is no crime and he feels safe in the community. He says that he is comfortable with his neighbors and that he is "equal" to them. Mr. Ravelo did note that there had been some trouble in the past because of politics and land grabbing. He also said that the mayor, vice mayor, municipal council members, and barangay officials have an advantage over other members of the community. OFWs are better off in the community, according to Mr. Ravelo, although he feels that the community is becoming more prosperous overall.

Mr. Ravelo also pointed out the Stingray in Cagayan as a significant historical artifact in Pagudpud. He said that Pagudpud Day on July fifth and Rizal Day are important events in the community.

Of the organizations that Mr. Ravelo is familiar with, he says that they are well organized and have a stable membership. He also feels that the local administration is stable, accountable,

and organized and that the local leaders are capable. Mr. Ravelo went on to say that the local leaders are compassionate and people worthy of admiration.

Mr. Ravelo feels that he has a good understanding of his political rights and he regularly votes in local and national elections. He did lament that there were many requirements in order to obtain documents from the LGU.

7.4.2.6.   Marlon Sales

Mr. Marlon Ferdinand T. Sales is the 42 year-old mayor of Pagudpud. Mayor M. Sales is in the second year of his second term as mayor, which means that he will not be able to run in the next election. However, he wife is considering running for the position in the next election. He is married to Emelin Garvida Sales (called Kleng) and they have three children Sean, age 9, Ylaine, age 6, and Joshua, age 4. He also has another son, Miko, age 13, from a previous relationship, who does not reside with the family in Pagudpud. He has lived in Pagudpud for 13 years and is involved with the organizations PVP, the Mayor's League, and the Province of Ilocos Norte Shooters. The family lives together in a house with an attached work yard and shop that is owned by the family of Mrs. Sales in Barangay Poblacion Two. I conducted this interview while at Saud Beach.

Attributes – The vision of the community, according to Mr. Sales, is to have an improved lifestyle and education. He says that people in Pagudpud have occupation, namely fishing and farming, in common, as well as culture and values. In terms of trust, Mr. Sales says that it is moderately easy to trust people, but that people are cautious of politicians. He indicated that he meets with people frequently and he identifies himself as "Pagudpudian, a resident."

In relation to the commitment that people have in Pagudpud, Mr. Sales says that some people are responsible and that more people are committed since the introduction of tourism. He said that this is because "people are more concerned because having jobs, income will improve their life." Mr. Sales is concerned that most profession people leave the community because there are no jobs.

Mr. Sales would like to see more tourism development to generate employment, as well as to increase incomes and education. He says that steps are being taken to achieve these ends. In general, Mr. Sales feels that progress is being made in Pagudpud, but one "can't always assess the needs of the community because some people have a 'wait and see' attitude and this is part of the culture." In the last two years, Mr. Sales noticed that people are more concerned about the community, but they still need encouragement and to see results in order to continue forward. Mr. Sales also noted that there is not much action being taken on ideas by community members and that the government must initiate community change. Overall, he feels that not much is happening in Pagudpud and that people must work hard because there is not a lot of financial capital.

Resources in Pagudpud that Mr. Sales commented on include beautiful beaches, scenery, mining, shell craft, mat weaving, and hospitable and friendly people.

Agents – Mr. Sales described some informal leaders as individual agents in Pagudpud. He enumerated, Mr. Ubasa as the leader of the PVP, Kleng, as the leader of the tourism committee, and Joy, a tourism officer. Other agents that Mr. Sales discussed include the farmers' association and political networks.

Actions – When asked about the response of the local government, Mr. Sales noted that it was not always possible to respond appropriately because there needs must be prioritized due to

limited financial resources. He is quoted as saying "you can't give everything." Mr. Sales also was not entirely optimistic about project completion in the community; saying that completion depends on funding, meaning that projects must sometimes be undertaken in phases. However, he says that the projects are useful to the community because they are requested by the community. When there are problems, Mr. Sales says that he would like more feedback from the community to solve them, so he is trying to institute a community based monitoring system.

In regards to goods and services, Mr. Sales noted that some agricultural products, shell crafts, and mats were sold outside of Pagudpud. When asked about a local organization that was helping the community, Mr. Sales responded that the Kabigan Multipurpose Cooperative was one. He said that the cooperative uses the fees to provide credit to their members, which can be paid back at a later date. He gave the example of loaning money to a farmer for fertilizer that the farmer can pay back after the harvest. Mr. Sales also mentioned some other organizations that work with the local government including the PVP, the BHWs, and the farmers' cooperative.

Contextual Influences - To get products to market, Mr. Sales says that people in Pagudpud have to hire transportation, but that this can be done somewhat easily. He did note, however, that the fact that everything must be transported by land creates some difficulty for people in Pagudpud, but that the roads are generally adequate.

Mr. Sales says that there are typhoons every year and earthquakes as well. A major change in land use noted by Mr. Sales includes the change of some coastal land for tourist use. Mr. Sales went on to say that the previous leaders were land robbers, which lead to some grievances over land. However, he says that the community overall is very stable and that there is little crime. However, Mr. Sales did say that people were moving in, mostly for business. Mr. Sales says that he is generally comfortable with his neighbors, but that there are some people he is cautious of.

According to Mr. Sales, food, clothes and cars must be purchased outside of Pagudpud. Special events of note to Mr. Sales include Rizal Day and the coastal clean up in September. Mr. Sales says that there is not a noticeable difference between groups of people because there is widespread poverty, 70% of the community according to him, particularly among farmers. However, he does feel that the community is becoming more prosperous, but that all local industries were suffering.

As for organizations, Mr. Sales said that some of them have good organization and stable memberships. He does not feel that the local government is yet stable due to limited financial resources, but he does think that it is accountable and organized. He only moderately feels that local leaders are capable and that they are limited by financial capacity.

Mr. Sales participates in every local and national election and says that he understands his legal rights moderately well. When asked how involved he is in local politics, he responded "I'm the mayor! So, very." Mr. Sales says that it is moderately easy to get documents from Municipal Hall and that it is easier than before. He feels that he wants the leaders of local organizations and the government to do better, but that overall they are ethical and people to be emulated.

7.4.2.7. Edimar Ubasa

Mr. Edimar Ubasa is 38 years-old and has lived in Pagudpud all of his life. He is married and has two small children and resides in Barangay Tarrag with them. Currently, he has no official position in the community, but previously he had been a Municipal Council member and

a market inspector. His civic activities include being the President of the PVP, and a member of Alpha Phi Omega International, the Association of Ilocano Writers in Ilocos Norte, and Editor in Chief of Ariwanas, the municipal public paper.

Attributes – Mr. Ubasa identifies the common goal of Pagudpud as "aiming for a community with peace loving people with respect because Pagudpud is a tourist destination." He goes on to say that the daily living condition is improving because of respect. He also noted that the overall goal of the PVP is to make Pagudpud sustainable and progressive. Commonalities among people in Pagudpud include being peace-loving, hospitable, industrious, and law-abiding according to Mr. Ubasa. Mr. Ubasa says that sometime it is easy to trust people in the community because there is no crime and that there is no one in particular that he is weary of. He gives the example of tricycle drivers returning belongings to their owners to support his claims. Mr. Ubasa identifies himself as an Ilocano and an Aglipian (a type of Catholic) and he says that others in the community share this identity.

Mr. Ubasa says that people in Pagudpud are responsible and cooperative, as well being committed what is around them. He also says that some people leave the community, but that interest in staying in the community is increasing.   Mr. Ubasa is very involved in the community, stating that he is involved with helping development progress, cleanup activities, especially on shore and in the water, and the campaign against illegal activities.

Mr. Ubasa would like to see full development of the tourist facilities because it will increase the standard of living in the community. He says that measures to see his objectives completed are being taken by the PVP and the local government to convince investors to come to the area. He also notes that each barangay is involved in barangay development. Overall progress is being made on community objectives, according to Mr. Ubasa. In the last two years, Mr. Ubasa says that he has noticed an increase in entrepreneurial spirit by the people in Pagudpud. Before, he said, that people "people didn't mind about business." Mr. Ubasa says that if he is the one who speaks of change, then it is likely to happen. However, he is not so confident of talk of change by others and only by the LGU if the whole plan is implemented.

Things that can be found in Pagudpud, as described by Mr. Ubasa, include the falls, mountains, river, sea, "water for living", as well as the still developing products of shells, coconut, furniture, commercial crops, and fishing. He says that you can buy things locally, particularly agricultural products, but you have to go outside of the community to buy clothes and appliances.

Agents – The mayor was identified as an individual community agent by Mr. Ubasa. He also cited the PVP as an organizational agent, noting that they contribute to the development of the community and they do it for free. He stated that the Association of Ilocano Writers was a valuable network agent, mostly because they are a partner in advertising for the blossoming local tourism industry.

Actions – Mr. Ubasa thinks that the local government responds appropriately to its constituents and that it is reliable and useful in terms of project outcomes. He says that the LGU and the people are "partners" and that Municipal Hall opens freely for public consultations once a week and officials sometimes go around and ask community members their opinions on matters.

Mats and coconut products from Pagudpud are sold in Laoag and Manila, according to Mr,. Ubasa. He says that services that can be found in Pagudpud include hotels, janitors, and housekeepers, mainly for the tourism industry.

Mr. Ubasa says that he often uses the telephone, but never uses email. He notes that it is easy to access both forms of communication. Mr. Ubasa gets his information by roaming around, and the files he obtained from when he was a council member, as well as from the television news, print media, and from reliable networks. He says that he is confident of the information that he receives because he does not rely on one person, but rather "asks again and gets inputs from other individuals."

Two groups that Mr. Ubasa thinks are concerned with community issues include the women's' organization and the periculture center organization, which is for community development and is organized by the government. An example of a local organization successfully achieving a goal given by Mr. Ubasa is the farmers' organization, SANJERA, which contributed to the campaign for food security through improvements in rice production. Mr. Ubasa confirmed that the local government does work with organizations active in the community.

Contextual Influences - Mr. Ubasa sys that you "can go anywhere anytime" from Pagudpud. He said that he typically uses his motorbike and uses the public bus about twice a month. One limitation that Mr. Ubasa noticed was that the roads are still being developed. He confirmed that it is possible to reach places of production through personal or rented transportation, but that this can be difficult because you have to go to other parts of the province. Additionally, transportation can be difficult when there is flooding, which can cut people off for one to two days says Mr. Ubasa.

The land use plan was enacted in 2002 and this means that land use cases are not so complicated anymore according to Mr. Ubasa. Mr. Ubasa is "proud to say it's safe in Pagudpud" and that the "safest place is your hometown." He says that he is comfortable with his neighbors and that he is only cautious of "bad people."

When asked about his standard of living in comparison to others, Mr. Ubasa said "we just aim for good goal, not for competition" and that he was a "a little higher, a little bit better" off than others. In general though, Mr. Ubasa feels that there are no groups of people that have a better situation than others in the community, except he did name some powerful families such as the Sales, Garvidas, Benemeritos, and Calbans.

Mr. Ubasa noted that there had been problem in the past, in the early 1980s, with land grabbers and the insurgency. He goes on to say that there were many land issues because of the land robbers, erroneous land surveys, and with lots that had multiple owners, especially in Barangay Subec. Mr. Ubasa says that the local government tried to warn people of the problem with a billboard outside of Municipal Hall. He also lamented that this issue discouraged many investors.

Special events in the community, as noted by Mr. Ubasa, include each barangay's festival, Rizal Day, the town fiesta, Foundation Day, the year-end celebration, and the bat festival. He says that the battle cry of the mayor "prosperity should be shared with all" is a value that is unanimously shared in the community. Mr. Ubasa identified the Stingray and another site from World War II as historically significant to the area. Other local customs, as described by Mr. Ubasa, include kissing the hands of the elderly after coming from church, and the "*Baynihan* spirit," meaning helping one another for free.

Mr. Ubasa feels that the community is becoming more prosperous, but that there seems to be "a little" poverty. He notes that the farming and fishing industries are particularly struggling.

Organizations are well organized and have stable memberships according to Mr. Ubasa. He also thinks that the local government is stable, accountable, and organized. He says that the

mayor is capable, but that "sometimes politics in the Philippines makes them [local leaders] lazy." Mr. Ubasa states that obtaining documents in Pagudpud is easy if you follow the regulations.

Mr. Ubasa votes in every election and considers himself to be very involved in local political activity. However, he feels that people sometimes just vote for a name, not which candidate is going to do a good job. Mr. Ubasa feels that he has a good understanding of his political rights and responsibilities, and that overall the local leaders are ethical, at least some of them now and some in the past, and are compassionate and people to be emulated.

7.4.3. Analysis of Community Capacity
7.4.3.1. Attributes

Sense of community - The sense of community encompasses a sense of friendliness and familiarity betwixt the people. A collective identity as Ilocanos exists among the community members of Pagudpud (Ubasa 2008), but the collective identity is not necessarily specific to Pagudpud. Often times, people identify themselves with their barangay. This is particularly true for people who live in barangays farther away from the town center, such as Pasaleng and Pancian (Calventas, 2008). One of the most common sentiments among the people of Pagudpud is that they are hospitable people (FPQ, 2008). This sense of hospitality naturally lends itself to the development of Pagudpud as a tourist destination. Furthermore, there are no strong, over-arching principles, goals, or visions that guide the community yet; but many respondents noted that there is a shared interest in seeing progress and improvement in Pagudpud through developing the area into a notable tourist destination (FPQ, 2008; Calventas, 2008; M. Sales, 2008b; Ubasa, 2008), and a desire for peace (Calventas, 2008; Ubasa, 2008) and cooperation (Manigdig, 2008; Ravelo, 2008). Feelings of trust between people in Pagudpud is mixed, with most respondents of the IDIs divided, but noting that there are people they are weary of, particularly politicians (M. Sales, 2008b) and people who are against the administration (Ravelo, 2008).

Commitment - Community members are largely committed to the community, but do not necessarily recognize themselves as stakeholders. This can be seen through the trend and the positive sentiments of young people towards leaving the community to work overseas (FPQ, 2008; Calventas, 2008; Farriano, 2008; Lagundino, 2008; Manigdig, 2008; Ubasa, 2008). Although some people send money back or re-settle in Pagudpud later in life, there is no real sign that these OFWs or *balik bayan* consider themselves as stakeholders in the community. The *a priori* concern of OFWs is income for their immediate family, not necessarily the improvement of the community. However, some efforts are being made to welcome OFWs back into the community, as well as to entice them to donate back to the community of Pagudpud. This can be seen through the *Balik Bayan* Night and the crowing of Mr. and Mrs. *Balik Bayan* (based on the amount of their donation) every year during the town fiesta.

Ability to set and achieve objectives - Formal leaders such as elected officials can generally assess the situation of the community and achieve objectives, often through participatory methods such as the barangay meeting or face to face contact with constituents (Calventas, 2008; M. Sales, 2008b; Ubasa, 2008), and achieve objectives, as well as be responsive to the needs of their constituents. However, the speed of this process varies. This is particularly true because Mayor M. Sales faces political opposition from his Vice-Mayor to more cumbersome participatory methods of objective-setting (Calventas, 2008), as well as other political

complications. In Pagudpud overall, it seems as though individuals feel free to voice opinions and demand results from local administrators, organizations, and institutes. However, the results of these demands depends on the political will of the local administrators (Calventas, 2008; Farriano, 2008); thus resulting in little faith in change overall (FPQ, 2008).

Ability to recognize and access resources - Although many resources of Pagudpud are being exploited, they are not necessarily recognized by or utilized for the benefit of the community. Contemporary use of natural resources and tourist promotion can be seen, but there is minimal diversification in the recognition of local resources, which can be inferred from the similarity in responses to questions regarding resources on the FPQ and in the IDIs. Many respondents cited the natural beauty of the area as a source of their resources (Calventas, 2008; Ravelo, 2008; M. Sales, 2008b; Ubasa, 2008), as well as hard working and friendly people (FPQ, 2008). However, it seems as though sectors of human resources may also lie untapped and under-utilized, which is reflected in the lack of diversity in means of production and services provided in the town, as well as the propensity for overseas employment migration.

Table 40 provides an overview of the community capacity attributes of Pagudpud. This information helps to provide a baseline for inquiry into the situation of the community, as well as point to some potential areas for intervention, such as commitment or ability to recognize and access resources. A consolidated effort to increase these attributes in Pagudpud may have a positive effect on the other attributes and lead to overall community improvements.

Table 40 – Attributes of Pagudpud

Attribute	Indicator Description
Sense of Community	• Sense of friendliness and familiarity • Collective identity as Ilocanos • Attachment to barangay • View selves as hospitable, kind, hardworking, peaceful, cooperative • Share general vision of progress and improvement in Pagudpud
Commitment	• Largely committed and responsible • Do not recognize themselves as stakeholders • People often leave for economic reasons
Ability to Set and Achieve Objectives	• Formal leaders assess community and achieve objectives • Speed of progress varies, • Mayor is facing political opposition • Individuals feel free to voice opinions and demand results • Actual results vary depending on political will • Little faith in change
Ability to Recognize and Access Resources	• Some use of natural resources • Tourist promotion • Minimal diversification in the recognition of local resources • Many human resources untapped • Obtaining resources locally is not easy

Source: Author, FPQ, IDIs

7.4.3.2. Agents

The community agents of Pagudpud include individuals, organizations, and networks, both formal and informal. Individual community agents include elected officials such as Mayor M. Sales, Barangay Captains, such as Lorenzo Domingo, *Sanguinian Bayan* (Council Members), such as Efren Cimatu, and other local administrators (FPQ, 2008). Other individual agents include formal leaders of organizations such as Mrs. Emelin Sales and Mrs. Linda Viola, as well as local business owners (particularly those with strong family and political ties) such as the brother of Mayor Sales, and the Garvida and Benemerito families[13].

There are many organizations at work as community agents in Pagudpud and there is a large and active membership to many of them. A full list would be difficult to compile, but the most frequently noted and discussed organizations in Pagudpud are the Boy and Girl Scouts (operated through the schools), the Tourism Committee, the Seniors' Group, the farmers' organization (SANJERA), the tricycle drivers' union (PATODA), Barangay Health Workers (BHW), religious organizations, the youth organization (SK), shell craft makers' organizations, the Barangay

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[13] The Benemeritos are the former political ruling family and the Garvidas are a powerful business family. Mrs. Emelin Sales is a Garvida.

Police, parent-teacher organization (FPTCA, particularly important in addressing needs within the barangay (Calventas, 2008)), Pagudpud Volunteers for Progress (PVP, organization endorsed by the mayor to drum up support for his initiatives (Ubasa, 2008)), tour-guides' organization, and the Women's League. From this brief list of organizations is can be seen that there is a large variety of organizations in place, from social to community-based, to issue-based, and that the organizations cover a wide breadth of the community including women, youth, the elderly, and the devout. However, as noted earlier, most of the organizations that people in Pagudpud are involved in are localized national organizations, with little activity in endogenous organizations. The notable exception is the PVP, which is a truly local, issue-based organization with much activity, but limited membership.

Networks in general are difficult to see and enumerate particularly interpersonal and informal networks. However, some examples of networks in Pagudpud that can be seen include the national and international organizational networks (such as the Boy/Girl Scouts and Kiwanis), local political and business networks (Sales/Garvida/Cimatu/Benemerito families), provincial political networks (Pagudpud has strong connections with Governor Marcos-Keon of Ilocos Norte), OFWs, repatriated Filipino migrants (seeking business opportunities in Balaoi's tourist area), national and international tourists, police officers (FPQ, 2008), networks with and within the LGU, and local organizational networks (such as the BHW). Table 41 identifies the community agents of Pagudpud.

Table 41 – Agents of Pagudpud

Agents	Indicator Description
Individuals	• Elected officials – Barangay Captains, Council Members, Local administrators (Mayor Sales, Captain Lorenzo Domingo, Councilor Efren Cimatu), • Formal leaders – Mrs. Emelin Sales (head of Tourism Committee), Mrs. Linda Viola (head of seniors' group) • Business leaders
Organizations	• Boy Scouts/Girl Scouts • Tourism Committee • Seniors' group • SANJERA • PATODA • BHW • Religious organizations • SK • Shellcraft makers' organization • FPTCA • Boatmen's organization • PVP • Tourguides' organization • Barangay police • Women's League
Networks	• Local political and business networks (Sales/Garvida/Cimatu/Benemerito families) • LGU networks • Provincial political networks, • OFWs • Repatriated migrants • Tourists • Police officers • Local organizational networks (BHW), • Nation and international organizational networks (Boy/Girl Scouts, Kiwanis)

Source: Author, FPQ, IDIs

7.4.3.3. Actions

Governance, planning, and decision-making actions are the category of actions that demonstrate the energy of the polity and the involvement of the community in politics. In Pagudpud, the construction of the municipal market, refurbishment of Municipal Hall, road construction (including farm to market roads), the economic stimulus plan (tourism and local goods promotion), irrigation assistance, coordination and assistance with trainings and seminars (mat weaving/dying, adventure tourism), the organization and execution of the town fiesta, purchase of the garbage compactor and introduction of waste disposal plan, purchase of a new

police cruiser, and the introduction and use of participatory planning methods (including household livelihood assessments) by the mayor are examples of governance actions. These actions seem to be improving, especially with the introduction of participatory methods. People feel that the local government is largely stable, accountable (Farriano, 2008; Lagundino, 2008; Manigdig, 2008), organized and reliable (Calventas, 2008; Ubasa, 2008).

Only a moderate amount of goods and services can be seen and procured in Pagudpud. Outside of primary goods, most residents of Pagudpud travel to Laoag for secondary commercial products (M. Sales, 2008b; Ubasa, 2008), entertainment, and even schooling. Community members of Pagudpud even have to travel outside of the municipality for banking services. Otherwise, goods and services that can be found in Pagudpud include local handicrafts (mat weaving, shellcrafts), traditional noodle soup (*miki*), tourist sites (Maria-Ira, Bat Cave), a construction company, homestays, hotels, and resorts, subsistence and small-scale agriculture production for the local market, fish and marine products for the local market, motorcycle and auto repair, basic goods market, internet shops, coconuts and coconut products, and rice for the local and external domestic market. Many of the services described by IDI respondents are directly related to the tourism industry, not necessarily to serve the local people (see Ubasa, 2008).

The modes of communication in Pagudpud are also basic. The spread of information largely relies on word of mouth and face to face contact, as well as cell phone (text message) communication (Calventas, 2008; Farriano, 2008; Manigdig, 2008; Ravelo, 2008). Pagudpud is Internet accessible, but it is rarely used *en masse* and is out of reach for some financially (Manigdig, 2008) or because of their location (Calventas, 2008). Most public announcements are posted in municipal complex area and some rely on direct communication with the LGU for their information (Calventas, 2008; Manigdig, 2008; Ravelo, 2008). Furthermore, most people rely on television (from the national station and international stations), radio, and newspapers (provincial and national newspapers) to get information about the happenings outside of Pagudpud (Calventas, 2008; FPQ, 2008; Ubasa, 2008).

There does not seem to be much in the way of organization and advocacy at this point in time. There is basic organization in civil society organizations, generally stable memberships (Calventas, 2008; Manigdig, 2008; Ravelo, 2008; M. Sales, 2008b; Ubasa, 2008), and evidence of some issue-specific organizations such as the PVP (Farriano, 2008; M. Sales, 2008b; Ubasa, 2008) and other organizations that are involved with community issues such as the furniture makers' cooperative (Ravelo, 2008) and Kabigan Multipurpose Cooperative (M. Sales, 2008b). However, the depth, sophistication, and effectiveness of these organizations are not entirely evident. There is little in the way of outcomes for many organizations, despite the large amount of members and activities. This is consistent with Mulder's (2003) assertion that civic activity in the Philippines is lacking (p. 78). Organizations for social purposes are particularly active, as well as activities in the *Sitios*, sub-communities within the barangays, and within the schools. Organizational activity spans all ages and demographics within the community (FPQ, 2008). Table 42 provides a summary of the activities in Pagudpud.

Table 42 - Actions of Pagudpud

Actions	Indicator Description
Governance; Planning and Decision-Making	• Construction of municipal market • Road construction • Economic stimulus plan • Participatory planning methods • Irrigation assistance • Town fiesta • Renovation of Municipal Hall • Coordinate attendance to trainings and seminars • Garbage compactor purchase and introduction of waste disposal plan • Purchase of new police cruiser
Production of Goods and Services	• Local handicrafts • Traditional noodle soup • Establishment of tourist sites • Homestays • Hotels and resorts • Subsistence and small-scale agriculture production for local market • Fish and marine products for local market • Motorcycle and auto repair • Basic goods market • Internet shops • Coconuts and coconut products for local market • Rice for local and external domestic markets
Communication	• Word of mouth • Face to face • Cell phone (text message) communication • Internet accessible • Public announcements • Television (national and international) • Radio • Provincial and national newspapers
Organization and Advocacy	• Basic organization in civil society organizations • Few issue-specific organizations • Organizational activity on a social level • Organizations span ages and occupations

Source: Author, FPQ, IDIs

7.4.3.4. Contextual Influences

The contextual influences on Pagudpud play a large role in the community capacity of the area, as well as in the ability for the area to alleviate poverty. First of all, the location of Pagudpud is not conducive to economic development. The municipality is relatively isolated at the very tip of Ilocos Norte, more than an hour's drive to the nearest city with an airport, Laoag. Although Pagudpud has access to both land and sea transportation, it is still far away from major transportation and production hubs, such as Manila. Furthermore, transportation in Pasaleng and Pancian is more easily accessible to Bangui, which further separates these barangays from the hub of Pagudpud town center (Calventas, 2008).   The physical location of Pagudpud can confound market development, networking, as well as the ability for the community to obtain external resources. Although some IDI respondents noted that it is possible to transport goods to market and places of production through hiring transport (Manigdig, 2008; Ubasa, 2008).

People in Pagudpud generally feel safe and secure. There are not many instances of petty crime, which in turn, helps to foster trust among community members (Calventas, 2008; Ravelo, 2008; Sales, 2008). There are natural disasters such as typhoons and droughts, which may affect the overall stability of the community. This contextual influence does not have many negative effects on the community and may even contribute to an increase in the trust and social capital of Pagudpud.

The distribution of resources is somewhat unbalanced in Pagudpud. Although most of the people in the community find themselves in similar economic circumstances (Manigdig, 2008), some well-connected people live markedly better lives in comparison (Calventas, 2008; Manigdig, 2008; Ravelo, 2008; Ubasa, 2008). The majority of the community lives a basic life with the majority of needs being met, but there are a few families in the community that maintain a lot more physical, financial, political, and social resources than most of the other community members. It can be inferred that the distribution of resources has a moderate affect on the community capacity in Pagudpud.

The structure of opportunity has a moderate affect on the functions of the community capacity cycle in Pagudpud.   Most community members have similar circumstances and opportunities; however having a relationship with those that have resources is the key to success, both economic and political in Pagudpud (Calventas, 2008). This supports the findings from Mulder (2003) described earlier in this chapter (pp. 73, 79). Nepotism is prevalent in politics and business and relationships are of vital importance to obtain and sustain anything in the municipality. A common saying in the area is "it's the 'know-who' that matters more than the 'know-how' (E. Sales, 2008)."

There is some flux in the residency in Pagudpud. Most people in the community have lived there, or in the vicinity, for generations and it seems as though they will continue to do so. There are many instances of young people leaving to work or attend school in other larger cities. Also, there are some circumstances of people leaving to work as OFWs. Some areas are experiencing people moving in, either re-settled OFWs or new residents trying to capitalize on the tourist market in Pagudpud. This contextual influence plays a role in the development of sense of community, as well as trust and commitment. With many people going outside of the community for work, there are lessened opportunities for the development of trust and identity among community members. Furthermore, with the transient nature of the OFWs, it is difficult for new residents to truly see themselves as part of the community and as stakeholders.

This biggest issue with history in Pagudpud is the political turmoil of the recent past between the Sales family and the Benemeritos (governing family in the 1980s and early 1990s) (Calventas, 2008). The difficulties between these families play a role in politics, business, and

sometimes even social events. Additionally, there are ongoing political issues between the mayor and the vice-mayor that affect the effectiveness of the LGU and any plan or project in all of Pagudpud (Calventas, 2008). A point of interest for the municipality of Pagudpud's history is the political affiliation that the governing polity has with Governor Marcos-Keon (nephew of former President Marcos) and the lingering positive sentiment in the area towards the Marcos family. Furthermore, there seems to be a cultural reverence and acceptance of seemingly minor abuses of power and position by politicians, wealthy families, and other people with authority. It can be noted that this sentiment is not particular to Pagudpud, but rather, common all over the Philippines (Mulder, 2003, p. 79). The historical and cultural impediment to community capacity in Pagudpud can be considered significant.

The overall economic conditions of the community are poor (Calventas, 2008; Ubasa, 2008), an estimated nearly 70% of the population is in poverty by national standards (M. Sales, 2008b) and the area, in the past, has been the recipient of national and international assistance. This means that the basic economic conditions will guide the hearts and minds of the people, as well as the direction of the local government. For these reasons, it can be noted that the economic conditions have a large affect on the community capacity.

The immature civil society in Pagudpud significantly reduces the capacity of the community. Large civil society groups, such as the Boy Scouts and those that are localized from the central government, are well developed and serve many functions within the community. However, indigenous civil society organizations are not as sophisticated and often lack internal and external networks, as well as basic functional organization, funding sources, and successful outcomes. Local civil society groups will need to become better developed in order to promote Pagudpud's community capacity.

Political stability, accountability, and participation have a significant effect on the community capacity cycle in Pagudpud. Also, there is a sense of apprehension regarding politicians (M. Sales, 2008b) and their activities stemming from the volatile political history of Pagudpud concerning the Benemerito administration (Calventas, 2008; Ubasa, 2008). This is also consistent with Mulder's (2003) description of a lack of trust in public officials in the Philippines (p. 73). However, there is still some reverence for political leaders and some have faith remaining in other administrators such as the barangay captains and the *Sanunguin Bayan*, Municipal Council (FPQ, 2008). This may be related to the amount of poverty in the municipality and the lack of virtue associated with it (Mulder, 2003, p. 80). Some current political tensions are having a large impact on the administrative actions in the municipality. The current political instability can be seen in the infighting of the Sales family (divided between Mayor Sales and his brother/sister-in-law) that impedes the implementation of planned municipal actions. However, it should be noted that the local administration is reported to be largely accountable and compassionate towards its constituency (Calventas, 2008; Manigdig, 2008; Ravelo, 2008; Ubasa, 2008).

Institutional development has only a moderate impact on community capacity in Pagudpud. The local institutions are in need of further sophistication to have a broader, more positive effect on community capacity. Public institutions, such as schools and hospitals, function perfunctory and basic (Manigdig, 2008; Ravelo, 2008). However, it can be noted that there are minimal instances of private institutes. Table 43 offers a glimpse at all of the contextual influences at play in Pagudpud.

Table 43 - Contextual influences of Pagudpud

Contextual Influence	Indicator Description
Physical Location	• Relatively isolated • Far from hubs
Safety and Security	• Safe and secure • Low instance of petty crime • Not many natural disasters
Distribution of Resources	• Basic life needs being met • Few families maintain a lot more resources
Stability of Residency	• Little influx in residency • Young people leaving to work in cities or as OFWs • Older OFWs returning • Some new residents in Pancian, Pasaleng, and Saud
History and Culture	• Well known political problems within the Sales family and with Benemeritos • Cultural acceptance of power discrepancies • Political affiliation with Marcoses
Structure of Opportunity	• Similar circumstances and opportunities • Relationships with those that have resources important • Nepotism prevalent in politics and business
Economics	• Overall economic conditions poor
Maturity of Civil Society	• Large civil society groups well developed • Local civil society organizations not sophisticated, but have large, stable memberships
Political Stability, Accountability, and Participation	• Current political instability • Polity seems largely accountable • Participation of community in political activities high, especially at the barangay level
Institutional Development	• Public institutions function perfunctory and basically • Minimal instance of private institutes

Source: Author, FPQ, IDIs

Overall, Pagudpud seems to be at a very basic level of the community capacity cycle resulting in basic community functions. The community in Pagudpud has a minimal to adequate amount of the community capacity attributes through which they will need to further execute the A-A-A cycle. Pagudpud has an array of community agents through which the capacity attributes can function to produce a variety of community actions. The sophistication of community actions can be considered to be basic with a high point being the level of governance activities that take place, particularly those participatory in nature. These governing activities will help to continue the cycle of community capacity and fortify the community and improve their capacity in the long run. Although some contextual influences have little to no effect in Pagudpud (safety and security and stability of residence) some contextual influences (location, economics, history and culture, and political stability, accountability, and participation) play large and often detrimental roles in the effectiveness of the A-A-A cycle in Pagudpud. The community agents

(including individual leaders and organizations) will have to continue to devise interventions and strategies to further promote community capacity and community actions in Pagudpud to further push the community capacity cycle to ever increasingly more sophisticated levels.

Major issues that become apparent through the A-A-A assessment are a the small amounts of cooperative and advocacy activity, a lack of dialogue on the true issues that are important to community members, young and talented community members leaving to work outside of the community, the lack of commitment to the community by all stakeholders, a lack of internal and external markets, and the lasting effects of the political rows within the LGU.

7.4.4. Potential Use of Assessment Results

The conceptual framework of the A-A-A cycle of community capacity is designed to be understood and used by its relevant stakeholders. It is not the intention of this author that the framework be used for external evaluation because that would run counter to the paradigm under which it was created – to view assessment and evaluation as an information sharing and capacity building process in and of itself (Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008, pp. 43-44). An evaluation of the A-A-A can accompany a typical evaluation as a part of the management process and thus assist local stakeholders in identifying assets and challenges within their community and formulate effective policies, practices, and interventions.

That being said, it would be ill advised of this author to offer outside advice in response to the results of this narrative. However, if the position of one of the community stakeholders was taken theoretically, appropriate interventions could be formulated according to the findings of the assessment. For instance, the mayor of Pagudpud, after executing, reviewing, and publishing the results of this assessment, could consider the following policy responses:

1. Leadership development strategies[14] could be introduced to foster the growth of community and individual capacity, small and medium sized business development, and to mitigate the reliance on family networks and nepotism for success. This would be in response to the overall low level of community capacity, the small amount of business activities, and the contextual influences of distribution of resources and structure of opportunity found in Pagudpud.

2. Organizational development could be implemented to improve the effectiveness of the local civil society. The organizational development should focus on fortifying the efforts of local indigenous organizations and allowing space and providing support for the acitivies of the local organizations already in existence. This can also be accomplished through inter-organizational cooperation at the local level.

3. Community organizing can be further developed through an expansion of the 10-K Initiative. This will help to bring about a better sense of community as well as make necessary improvements to the standard of living in Pagudpud.

4. The promotion of market channels is another strategy that could be considered in response to the overall low economic condition of and minimal amount of activities in the community, as well as the contextual influence of distance from major markets.

5. In order to improve the effectiveness of the local governance, the mayor should make steps toward correcting the local political instability. This could be accomplished

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[14] Leadership development strategies focus on skills, commitment, engagement, and effectiveness of individuals (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 25)

through continued leadrdship development efforts around the community combined with better problem solving and reconciliation efforts between aggrieved parties.

These two examples are interventions that could be pursued by a local government official, such as the mayor, in response to the A-A-A analysis of Pagudpud. These strategies are not an exhaustive list of all the possible interventions that a mayor could take and they are not the same responses that another type of stakeholder in the community might take; however, they provide an example of the ways in which this assessment can be useful to a local stakeholder.

For the sake of argument, the position of a local NGO practitioner in Pagudpud could be taken as well. In this case, the NGO practitioner would not necessarily be offering policy interventions, but would rather use the information obtained from the assessment as a capacity building exercise for his/her organization and make appropriate modifications to the projects and practices to improve the impact and effectiveness of his/her organization. Therefore, in accordance with the results, an NGO practitioner could take the following measures:

1. Forming and executing projects using local networks. As can be seen through the narrative, local networks are strong and it would be both advantageous and necessary to use local networks to facilitate the implementation of a project; or

2. Coordinating with, but not relying on, the local government for project facilitation. Due to the cumbersome nature of the current political situation it would be prudent for an independent organization to accomplish as much as it can outside of the official administrative realm to avoid delays that may arise from political divisions within the local administration.

Again, these examples are not all of the possible reactions to the A-A-A assessment, but rather a mere illustration of some of the ways in which the results can be used.

Having an available method and procedure for the analysis and assessment of community capacity will help community agents formulate policy that will fit and serve a community appropriately. Simply by framing a community in terms of its attributes, assets, and abilities will provide improved guidance in any sort of activity planning. The A-A-A conceptual framework for community capacity seeks to provide this comprehensive look at a community along with an appropriate structure to consider the important factors needed for rural development and poverty alleviation.

7.5. Chapter Summary

Pagudpud shares much in common with places around the world that wish to see improvement in their community. This beginning of this chapter outlines some ways in which the local administration is working toward improving the lives of the people in Pagudpud, as well as some community capacity building strategies that will help to facilitate the success of local activities. The preliminary policy structure of Pagudpud, the 10-K Initiative, was analyzed here using the logic framework and its community capacity was assessed through the A-A-A framework. What can be seen is that there are many activities being undertaken in Pagudpud and community capacity building is taken into consideration.

By looking at the 10-K Initiative, it can be seen that community capacity building considerations can be paired with product or activity focused plans. This is how community capacity building strategies can be integrated into a policy framework.

This chapter also describes the community capacity of Pagudpud through an informal survey, the FPQ, and interviews, IDIs. The data depicts Pagudpud as a community only beginning to

develop its community capacity while struggling with detrimental factors such as poverty and a fierce political history. Pagudpud is forming a sense of community around its goal of becoming a well renowned tourist destination. Reaching their collective objectives is hindered by lapses in commitment, particularly in the desire for young people to leave the community and the OFWs not viewing themselves as stakeholders. Objective in Pagudpud are mostly set and met by the LGU, leaving the community overly reliant on government direction.

Some physical and human resources are recognized and tapped, but they are minimal and uniform, precluding the revelation of latent resources. Pagudpud relies mostly on individual agents and conducts a basic level of activities. This analysis demonstrates the need for greater consideration of community capacity building strategies and participatory governance in policy formulation.

Community capacity in a developing and rural context takes on much the same form as it would in an already developed or urban community. Chapter Eight looks more closely at how the people in a developing community conceptualize community capacity and may offer more insight into this issue.

The trial run of using the A-A-A framework for analysis of community capacity in Pagudpud demonstrates that it can indeed be developed into an assessment tool. However, the results presented in this chapter more aptly reflect the author's definition and interpretation of community capacity and were not participatory in nature, which leads to a rather generic and external assessment and understanding in this case. Chapter Eight presents a practical, participatory approach to understanding community capacity on the terms of the community members.

8. Exploring the Community Capacity of Pagudpud

The last chapter provided an introduction to the Philippines and the situation in the municipality of Pagudpud through an analysis of the local policy structure and a formal assessment of community capacity. Although the information presented in Chapter Seven helps to develop the picture of community capacity in Pagudpud, it still does not represent the voice of the people. The methodology chosen for the A-A-A assessment rendered descriptions of the situation and allowed some informants to discuss their opinions. However, the assessment was not truly participatory because the stakeholders served as mere information givers, not participants in the design and execution of the assessment (see the section on participatory evaluation in Chapter Six).

To better understand the community capacity of Pagudpud, to provide a true outlet for the voice of the community members, and to actually execute a participatory evaluation, a new methodological approach to community capacity assessment has to be taken. This chapter describes the reasoning and structure of a new kind of participatory evaluation of community capacity combining non-traditional research methods, particularly action research and the use of photography and video. The following questions are addressed here:

1. How can action research be used in evaluation?
2. How can photography be used in evaluation?
3. How can video be used in evaluation?
4. What are the benefits of participatory evaluation using non-traditional media?

These questions are answered through the conceptual development of participatory photo evaluation (PPE) and participatory video evaluation (PVE). After the conceptual presentation of the evaluation frameworks, the case trials in Pagudpud are presented, followed by a discussion on the benefits of using the methods.

8.1. Conceptual Development of Non-traditional Participatory Evaluation

Various forms of administration, from local to central governments of both developed and developing countries, NGOs and donor agencies, have become increasingly interested in issues of transparency and accountability. The word 'evaluation' often evokes images of statistics, forms, and official judgments. These images often lead to a fear of evaluation, which ultimately reduces its usefulness and can interfere with the collection of true and valuable information (Weisman, 1998, p. 156). This atmosphere surrounding evaluation can be changed if evaluation is seen as a tool for local practitioners and community actors to improve policies and projects that affect them, which empowers the community and leads to more effective policies.

Many have reached the conclusion that evaluation is an effective tool to achieve goals, improve administrative systems, reach targeted outputs and increase the likelihood of reaching outcomes (Mohan & Sullivan, 2006; Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan, 1998; UNDP, 1997; Weiss, 1998). Evaluation can also serve to be a capacity building tool, in terms of human resource skills for practitioners and in targeted groups when participatory methods are utilized (Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008; Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan, 1998; Vernooy et al., 2003).

Exactly what constitutes participatory evaluation has been discussed in major international donor agencies such as the WB (see Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan, 1998, p. 4) and the UNDP (see UNDP, 1997), as well as by individual donor agencies (see JICA, 2004); practitioners (see Sharma, 2000) and academics (see Fujikake, 2008; Miyoshi & Tanaka, 2001).

Some consider merely consulting stakeholders as participatory[15], as is often found in methods of PRA (Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002a, pp. 127-128), social impact assessments (Gariba, 1998. p. 64), and traditional project evaluation (Patton, 2002). However, this kind of participation limits the ownership that can be taken by stakeholders and beneficiaries in related projects, programs, and policies (Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008, p. 43; Cling et al., 2002a). Contemporarily, more comprehensive approaches to participation are being embraced where stakeholders play an active role in determining their contribution, as well as the nature of the activity (Miyoshi & Tanaka, 2001; Vernooy et al., 2003).

Evaluation is being widely adopted to improve the accountability, transparency, effectiveness and impact of policies, programs, and projects. While it is necessary to gather various kinds of data to contribute to a comprehensive evaluation, participatory evaluation adds to management effectiveness, the usefulness and relevance of the information gathered, improves future policies, programs, or projects, as well as the accountability of all involved in the process (Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 23; Small, 1995, p. 944; Patton, 2002, p. 269). Information that is gathered in participatory evaluation and the knowledge gained is richer and can more accurately depict specific circumstances than when an evaluation is implemented by external professionals (Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 159; Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 1). Evaluation is necessary to improve policies, programs, and projects and participatory evaluation increases the benefits of traditional, external evaluation.

Traditional evaluation does not bring ownership to beneficiaries and is not adept enough at creating flexible projects and programs that can meet changing demands, whereas participatory evaluation meets both these needs. Since active participatory evaluation takes a bottom-up approach, participants feel ownership over the process and findings (Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 169; Fujikake, 2008, p. 2; Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 4; Patton, 2002, p. 184; Razafindrakoto, & Roubaud, 2002, p. 12). Ownership is related to empowerment. When people have the ability to contribute to and control the factors affecting their life, their power and comfort increase. Ownership over the process and the information contributes to the overall usefulness of the evaluation by helping to compel those involved to act on the findings to improve the policy, program, or project in question (Patton, 2002, p. 221; Small, 1995, p. 950).

Power and knowledge are intertwined (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2006, p. 71), and participatory action research seeks to provide stakeholders with knowledge and information, so the relationship between participatory evaluation and empowerment is further heightened (Small, 1995, p. 944). Furthermore, it is necessary to give voice to and grant ownership to those affected by a policy structure in order to gain a better understanding of the economic, socio-political, and institutional conditions in each situation (Cling et al., 2002a, p. 156). Therefore, giving voice to stakeholders through participation is useful in policy-making at higher levels, in addition to being effective at helping marginalized and otherwise silenced groups through the creation and dissemination of knowledge through discussion, photography, or other non-traditional media (Park, 2006, p. 83; Bleiker & Kay, 2007, p. 156).

The knowledge that is gained through participatory evaluation using non-traditional media is not limited to only narratives, descriptions or visuals of a particular situation, but rather includes learning on various levels. Participants benefit from the process of truly participatory evaluation by predicting and setting their own goals (within the project itself), measuring outcomes (of the project and the target of their evaluation), comparing the results with their predictions, and

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[15] This can be seen in the broad definition of participation that is adopted by the WB and UNDP (see Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan, 1998, p. 4; UNDP, 1997)

recommending or pursuing a course of action in relation to their findings (Fults, 1993, p. 88; Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 3; Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan, 1998, p. 192). Furthermore, the interaction that participants have allows for joint learning between them and an exchange of ideas in the re-casting of shared situations and events (Lykes, 2006, p. 273; Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, pp. 550-551; Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 24).

The learning that occurs at the individual and group level through participatory evaluation using non-traditional media has the benefit of building community capacity. As noted earlier, the main components of community capacity are SCOR: S – a sense of community, C - commitment, O - the ability to set and achieve objectives, and R - the ability to recognize and access resources.

Participatory evaluation has already been acknowledged as a development intervention (Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 2; Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 23) that can help give voice to its participants. Additionally the skills of critical analysis, the leadership roles that participants must undertake, and the dialogue that occurs during the evaluation serve to develop the leadership capabilities of those involved (Wituk, Ealey, Clark, Heiny, & Meissen, 2005, p. 91; Millar & Kilpatrick, 2005, p. 21), which in turn builds community capacity (Millar & Kilpatrick, 2005, p. 28; Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 25).

Participatory evaluation through non-traditional media helps to develop the sense of community in a group by providing a forum through which participants can express themselves, share opinions, ideas, and discuss solutions to collective problems, as well as to further establish their collective identity (Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 149). The process helps to build trust between participants (Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 11; Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 149), an essential component of the sense of community. Discussions on the issues and events that are shared by the group members allow them to formulate a shared story (Lykes, 2006, p. 273), which further facilitates the development of their sense of community.

Commitment is another component of community capacity that is improved through participatory evaluation. The process of selecting desired outcomes and making recommendations that occur in the evaluation helps increase the likelihood that those involved in the decision process will be committed to their implementation (Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan, 1998, p. 192; Small, 1995, p. 944) and increases their accountability to do so (Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 25). Related to commitment, evaluation that empowers people, such as non-traditional participatory evaluation, encourages participants to become more active and participate in other activities within their community (Fujikake, 2002, p. 2); thus demonstrating the continuing affect that this method has.

The ability to set and achieve objectives is inherently increased through the implementation of the non-traditional participatory evaluation. As discussed in the paragraph above, future action plans are sometimes discussed in these meeting and this agenda setting is related to community capacity. These action plans typically reflect the more specific needs and expectations of the participants and the process of participatory evaluation facilitates the development of their management skills and capacity to establish those objectives (Vernooy et al., 2003, pp. 149-150). Furthermore, the task of taking photos or making a video that is undertaken in an evaluation group serves as an exercise to develop the skills associated with setting and achieving objectives and gives participants a sense of accomplishment.

The final component of community capacity is the ability to recognize and access resources, which is of key importance in order for a community to advance on their own terms. The discussions and the involvement in the process of non-traditional participatory evaluation

provides a forum through which individual participants become aware of their own abilities and resources (Small, 1995, p. 944), as well as those in the community at large.

8.1.1. Participatory Photo Evaluation and Participatory Video Evaluation

Participatory photo evaluation and participatory video evaluation are qualitative approaches to concept-driven participatory evaluation that utilize concepts from action research and collaborative inquiry through the media of group work, taking photographs or making a video, and public exhibition. Amongst these approaches a few themes can be found:

1. the need to recount actual details, experiences, and stories (all types of evaluation, qualitative research, using photography or creating a video);
2. emphasis on the process not the outputs (evaluation, participatory evaluation, action research);
3. providing voice to stakeholders or other groups (participatory evaluation, qualitative research, action research, using photography or making a video); and
4. practical utility of theories and information (evaluation, participatory evaluation, action research).

These themes provide common ground between the various approaches and lend themselves to the creation of a hybrid methodological framework; thus PPE and PVE are being developed. With respect to the underlying theoretical background, the definition of participatory photo evaluation is the systematic collection and assessment of information related to the outcomes, operation, or process of a policy structure, organization or relationship that incorporates stakeholders in the entire process actively by coalescing around the task of taking photos. The definition of participatory video evaluation is the systematic collection and assessment of information related to the outcomes, operation, or process of a policy structure, organization or relationship that incorporates stakeholders in the entire process actively through production of a video.

PPE and PVE advocate for the use of either quantitative or qualitative research, but acknowledges that qualitative data provides rich information that can be used to accurately describe a circumstance and that the photos and their related stories are inherently qualitative.

The stakeholders are the drivers of the evaluation, and the owners of the information that it generates, with the evaluation practitioner serving a facilitative and supporting role. The rich amount of information that can be gathered and shared in a PPE or PVE is beyond quantification and runs counter to its purpose of providing contextual data that colors the background of easily surveyable numerical indicators, thus facilitating decision-making processes. It is possible for photos, video, or narratives to be coded and quantified; however the process of participatory evaluation is as important, or even more important, than its physical outputs (Pavey et al., 2007, p. 109).

By combining the concepts of action research, with participatory evaluation a useful management tool in addition to a beneficial community intervention emerges (Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 9; Small, 1995, p. 949). PPE and PVE incorporate ideas from participatory evaluation and action research. Both action research and participatory evaluation: 1) gather data (Weisse, 1998); 2) focus on a specific task (Patton, 2002, p. 221; Friedman, 2006, p. 134; Ladkin, 2006, p. 482; Small, 1995, p. 942); 3)involve discussion and consensus building for

outcomes (Friedmann, 2006, p. 135; Fults, 1993, p. 86; Small, 1995, p. 946); 4) promote learning and knowledge sharing (Bogenschnieder, 1996, p. 130; Friedman, 2006, p. 132; Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 2; Patton, 2002, p. 179; Thurston et al., 2004, p. 481); 5) promote ownership of policy initiatives (Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 2), and 6) have the belief that local people have valuable knowledge (Bogenschnieder, 1996, p. 132; Heron & Reason, 2006, p. 144; Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002a, pp. 127-128; Smith, 1999, pp. 12-14).

While these approaches have some common ground, they differ on their outcomes. Participatory evaluation is a management tool that aims for policy improvement and has community capacity building as an added benefit. While action research can be used to gather data of any sort for any reason, as long as there is active participation and benefits for the participants. Participatory evaluation can be considered a type of action research and PPE and PVE types of participatory evaluation.

PPE and PVE have their roots in action research and participatory evaluation, but are conducted with the purpose of providing information for policy-making, as well as to reach target groups and provide them with voice, thus building community capacity. For this, participants in a PPE or PVE need to select the indicators and their correspondent value in order to differentiate these methods from mere action research. These new tools secure a practical place for action research and participation because they link them to evaluation, which is advocated to be performed as an integral and continuous part of the policy management cycle.

PPE and PVE are concept-driven evaluations, meaning that there is a broad theoretical framework that guides the evaluation, rather than simply a 'toolbox' methodology. This is accomplished through the organization of target groups to undertake the photo or video project guided by the presentation of a concept (see Harper, 2001, p. 10). However, this does not necessarily mean that participants of the evaluation are merely at the whim of the concept. The ideology should be presented to them and reinterpreted through the group process (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 543) to become more relevant and useful to the local stakeholders.

One of the key differentiating factors of the PPE and PVE versus other types of participatory evaluation is the role of the facilitator. In traditional evaluation there is typically an evaluation practitioner, an external expert that instructs and conducts the evaluation. However, in PPE and PVE, the one who organizes the evaluation is known as a facilitator. The National Democratic Institute describes a facilitator as "Someone who helps a group of people understand their common objectives and assists them to plan and achieve them without taking a particular position in the discussion (NDI, 2009, p. 22)." The facilitator can be an internal or external stakeholder in the evaluation; the role is not superior to any of the other evaluation participants.

The job of the facilitator is to introduce the related concepts, to encourage discussion between the participants, to guide the group to consensus on the evaluation design and implementation, whilst generally following the cycles of action research (see also Heron & Reason, 2006, p. 151). The facilitator helps to create openness in the group to ensure all voices are heard (Gibson & Woolcock, 2008, p. 177), allows the participants to take the lead (Small, 1995, p. 944), and helps to empower local people through the process by not imposing themselves as an external expert (Dobbs & Moore, p. 159; Park, 2006, p. 84; Weisman, 1998, p. 156). A leadership role is still taken by the facilitator; however, there needs to be awareness and flexibility on his or her part (Ladkin, 2007, p. 485), particularly as co-creators of knowledge (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 556).

There is room within this framework for either internal or external facilitators. However, external facilitators cannot be full participants of the group (Heron & Reason, 2006, p. 147).

External facilitators may also diminish the leadership development potential of a project because an internal facilitator takes on a larger leadership role within the group and, perhaps, in the community. On the other hand, it can be noted that outsiders may bring a unique perspective to the evaluation and help guide participants through stimulating conversation (Pavey et al., 2007, p. 91). Outside researchers that organize non-traditional participatory evaluations must realize the value of relinquishing control of the evaluation process and outcomes to the participants (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, p. 551).

Evaluation groups of between six to twelve participants ensure that the size is manageable, but a variety of characters and experiences are included (Heron & Reason, 2006, p, 151). PPE and PVE follow general cycles of action research with the output of the group being photographs or a video that are relevant to the important indicators that the group decides upon. Herron and Reason (2006) suggest a possible first meeting agenda as follows:

1. welcome and introductions;
2. introduction by initiators, broad topic of inquiry to be considered;
3. people discuss what they have heard informally in pairs, followed by questions and discussion, leading to possible modifications of the inquiry topic;
4. introduction to the process of cooperative inquiry (PPE and PVE);
5. discussion in pairs followed by questions, whole group discussion on topic;
6. clarification of criteria for joining the inquiry group;
7. practical discussion: number of cycles, dates, times, venues, financial and other commitments (when, how, and of what photographs will be taken or the topic and format of the video);
8. self-assessment exercise in pairs, individuals use the criteria to assess whether they wish to include themselves in the group or not (pp. 151-152).

This agenda is then discussed and modified to guide each subsequent meeting of the project group. This basic outline was used to guide the meetings of the photo and video groups in the case trial in Pagudpud.

8.2. Pagudpud Case Trial

A case study can be defined as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin, 2003, p. 13)." The photo project at Pasaleng National High School gathers data on the implementation and utilization of the method of participatory photo evaluation, while the video project with a group of local leaders in Pagudpud gathers data on the implementation and utilization of the method of participatory video evaluation. These cases test the real-life applicability of the method design, as well as observe the process of its implementation and the outcomes that it generates (see also Becker & Ragin, 1992; Ragin, 2000). These cases not only test the PPE and PVE methods, but seek to contextualize and develop the concept of community capacity as presented in the A-A-A framework.

Data was gathered during the case studies through participant observation (Harper, 2001), as well as through unstructured interviews and group discussions (Patton, 2002, p. 342). A case study approach was selected because the method under inquiry requires groups of people to reflect on ways of improving what they are doing or understand things in new ways (Patton, 2002, p. 179). This can be done best through a case study.

8.2.1. Participatory Photo Evaluation Trial

Figure 28 - Photo group

Source: Author

I decided to work with a group of students at Pasaleng National High School for the evaluation. Pasaleng is the third largest in area of Pagudpud's 16 Barangays, although its population is low and sparse (SEP, 2006). The school is adjacent to Barangay Pancian, the largest (SEP, 2006) and most mountainous barangay (Mariano, Aringay, & Garcia, 2000), where many students from the high school reside.

I was able to gather the group of students at Pasaleng National High School through their principal, Mr. Villamor Calventas, who is known to be a contentious figure within the community. Since the bulk of data that I gathered already had been derived from the mayor's contacts, I felt that it was important to attempt to get the views and opinions of those outside of his circle. This identifies this case selection as an information-oriented selection (Flyvbjerg, 2007, p. 396) because there was a predicted quality of information when selecting this group. Furthermore, working with high school students seemed far less politicized, since it is difficult to rebuke the opinions of the youth.

In accordance with the principles of non-traditional participatory evaluation as outlined earlier in this chapter, it was my intention to utilize local facilitators for the PPE trial and the PVE trial. I arranged to meet with two local facilitators upon my arrival in Pagudpud. However, before we could start their training and coordinate a schedule, both local facilitators had fallen through. Due to limited time and resources on my part, I had to proceed and facilitate the trials myself. Although not an ideal circumstance, the process proved to be worthwhile and rendered interesting and useable results.

8.2.1.1. Participatory Photo Evaluation Work Plan

For this case community capacity (the A-A-A cycle) is the driving concept of the evaluation,. To review, community capacity is the ability of a community to produce outcomes through its actors by utilizing the resources (human, social, physical, organizational, and financial) at its disposal (based on Chaskin et al., 2001; Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008). The attributes of community capacity are the basic constructs of community capacity and can be used to design indicators. The attributes are: S- sense of community, C- commitment, O- ability to set and achieve objectives, and R- the ability to recognize and access resources (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 12; Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008, p. 41).

The concept was introduced and discussed as a part of the PPE; thus providing the framework that guided their evaluative works and discussions. It is important to evaluate these components of community capacity because they are related to the ability of a community to

attain positive outcomes (Chaskin et al., 2001) and lead to economic development (Gobar, 1993, p. 23) and successful local policies, including poverty alleviation.

The photo project was initially planned for October 3rd – 6th, 2008. The stated purpose of the project was to learn how people in Pagudpud view their community, to introduce and contextualize the concept of community capacity to people in Pagudpud, and to encourage community members to think critically about the situation and events in Pagudpud. The overall intention of this project was to generate information for my research and the development of the new research methodology (the PPE) that sprang from that inquiry. These purposes and intentions were conveyed to the project participants.

The initial schedule was designed to reflect the cycles of discussion as described by Heron & Reason (2006), and included the initial concept discussion that is crucial for a concept-driven evaluation (Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008) and the integration of photography (Harper, 2001, p. 10). The concept guiding this evaluation is the A-A-A cycle (based on Chaskin et al., 2001; Miyoshi & Stenning, 2008).

In Table 44 the sample first meeting agenda can be seen (based on Heron & Reason 2006, p. 151).

Table 44 - Proposed 1st Meeting Agenda

Welcome and introduction of facilitators and potential participants
Introduction of broad concept of photo voice
Questions/Discussion
Concept presentation
Discussion of concept in pairs
Group discussion and questions
Decide on themes for photos
Discussion in pairs on plan and desire to join project
Wrap-up and good-byes

Source: Author, based on Heron & Reason, 2006

This agenda reflects the crucial introduction of the intended methods and the cycles of discussion. By constantly asking the group for their reactions, questions, and opinions, the facilitator can avoid totally dominating the discussion and can, instead, lead the group to discussion. Asking the group to discuss possible themes and subjects for their photographs was based on Lykes (2006). It is very important to allow the group dynamic to take precedence over the course of the meeting with as little interjection by the facilitator as possible (Heron & Reason, 2006).

The proposed agenda for the second meeting of the photo group can be found in Table 45. It progresses in much the same way as the first, only this time using actual photographs that the group took as discussion stimuli. Additionally, this agenda includes work in pairs, which allows for better and more in-depth discussion by the participants, giving all participants ample opportunity to express themselves.

Table 45 - Proposed 2nd Meeting Agenda

Questions and discussion on experience taking photographs
Break into pairs and distribute photographs for discussion and story telling (facilitators encourage those who can to write stories about particularly interesting photographs)
Discussion on experience in pairs
Choose notable photographs for group discussion
Record individual and collective accounts and feelings based on the photographs in advance of public presentation
Wrap-up and good-byes

Source: Author, based on Heron & Reason, 2006

The selection of notable photographs for the large group discussion was another idea incorporated from Lykes (2006, p. 272). Additionally, with the large amount of photographs that the group was going to take, discussing them all *en masse* would not be efficient, so the solution was allowing the group to select photographs most important to them.

In advance of my trip to Pagudpud, I prepared a Power Point presentation to train the local facilitators and guide the first meeting of the photograph group. The Power Point presentation followed the outline of the agenda and also included my objectives, the purpose of the project, an introduction to action research and collaborative inquiry, and the concept of community capacity with some accompanying cases from Japan. Following the introduction of each concept a few questions for discussion were presented.

The concepts and theories behind action research with photography and community capacity are complicated and employ very specific terms that may not be familiar to people outside academia. For this reason, it was necessary to break the concepts down to their essence so that they could be easily understood and used by the participants (Small, 1995, 943). This was done by recasting the terms in everyday English language for the initial presentation of the concept, as well as having the participants conceptualize and discuss the terms in their native language of Ilocano.

The concept of action research is framed as a way to learn together and was communicated in the slide presentation as "learning by doing on the part of the researcher and the participants." Additionally, the idea of power through knowledge was to be introduced stating that the point of participatory action research was to "contribute to empowerment and social change through the dissemination of information." The group members are also encouraged to express themselves creatively.

The next concept to be presented to the photo group is that of collaborative inquiry. Here, the main point is to reinforce the idea that the goal of the project is to hear from the participants. A slide entitled "hearing from you" emphasizes two main points of collaborative inquiry, which are: 1) to understand your world, make sense of your life and develop new and creative ways of

looking at things; and 2) to learn how to act to change things you want to change and to find a better way to do those things.

The next slide on collaborative inquiry is called "seeing each other as equals" and notes "good research is research conducted with people rather than on people," which will help the group better understand their roles and the value of their input. The following slide notes "You can do it! We can do it!" and implores the idea that the opinions of the group and their ability to work out ideas and create things together is important.

After the presentation of these twin concepts, there is a slide with some questions asking the group their feelings about the concepts presented, as well as their personal understanding of them. This will allow the group some time to discuss and reflect upon the concepts so that they can begin to gain ownership over them, contextualize them, as well as to give the participants some time to decide if they would like to continue their participation.

The concept of community is introduced next using the diagram with the star that I created (see Chapter Five). The discussion after this concept is very importance because it allows participants to really contextualize what community means to them and other members of the group.

Community capacity is the next concept that is to be introduced. Its definition was further abridged for the evaluation to state that "community capacity is the ability of a community to act by using the assets and resources they have." The circular diagram of the A-A-A cycle (see Chapter Five) is also included on the slides to facilitate the understanding of the concept by the participants.

The formal definitions of the community capacity attributes are presented, as well as more simplified versions of them. Sense of community is described as "belonging, building, and being together." Commitment is said to be "responsibility and participation." The ability to set and achieve objectives is "thinking of what you want and how to get it." While the ability to recognize and access resources is "using what ya' got and getting what you need." I created these summations of SCOR to better communicate the ideas to the people of Pagudpud. To better illustrate the attributes some cases of rural development from Japan were briefly introduced (the same cases used to describe the attributes in Chapter Five) as well. A group discussion on the concepts follows their introduction.

I planned on inviting members of the community to view and discuss the photographs in a final public presentation. During this presentation, participants are asked to discuss the photograph with the new viewers, as well as amongst themselves. It is hoped that the photograph exhibition would further promote dialogue on the concept (Bleiker & Kay, 2007, p 157; see also photo elicitation, Harper, 2001, p. 16) and expand the project to another level. I planned to administer a short feedback questionnaire to the participants and casually conduct unstructured interviews with the presentation attendees.

The interview guide was constructed following advice offered by Patton (2002) for unstructured interviews (p.342) and building an interview guide (p. 343). The follow-up questionnaire was designed to help me gauge not only the interest they had in the project, but ways that I can improve it in the future by assessing its results. The last question is open-ended in an attempt to elicit responses that I cannot predict and allow the participants an opportunity to tell me anything that they wish, further promoting their voice and ownership of the project.

The schedule and the conceptualization of the project reflect the process of participatory research, research, education, and action (Small, 1995, p. 943). The research here is the discussion amongst the participants on the concept and their reflections on the photographs. The

action is the taking of photographs and their public exhibition. The education is the results of the knowledge created and shared during discussions and the presentation, as well as the skills and capacity that are developed through the process of the project.

8.2.1.2. Actual Process in Participatory Photo Evaluation Process

On September 25th, 2008, I went to Pasaleng National High School to meet with Principal Calventas to discuss the photograph project. He was more than pleased to assist and he quickly gathered students to join the project. His prompt action urged me to start the first meeting immediately, ahead of schedule. For the group I asked Principal Calventas to assemble a group of six to twelve (Heron & Reason 2006, p. 151) students, but he suggested the previously assembled group of fifteen student leaders would work better. We decided to try to work with the slighter larger group instead so as not to exclude anyone unnecessarily.

Once the group was assembled on the grounds of the school just outside the principal's office, I launched directly into my introduction, the purpose of the project, and the concept of community capacity. Throughout the presentation, I did my best to remain only a facilitator, posing questions and providing structure for the meeting, rather than offering my own opinion.

The students seemed eager to be a part of the project. Principal Calventas and another teacher often assisted with translating some of the presentation to ensure that all of the participants understood. After I discussed my hopes for the photograph project, Principal Calventas noted that it was similar to photojournalism, a concept with which the students were familiar.

From my general introduction I proceeded to the introduction of action research and collaborative inquiry, which was an attempt to allow the participants to understand what I was trying to do, as well as to further encourage their active participation.

The next topic of the presentation was community. I presented the definition of community through a model showing a relationship between all actors in an area including institutions, local administration, civil society, private business, and residents. One girl replied to the question of how she defined her community by saying that her concept of community was "a place with a common goal where people work together."

The next part of the presentation was about the concept of community capacity using cases in rural Japan. The group was asked if they were interested in hearing about the Japanese cases, which included photographs of the various communities, and they enthusiastically replied that they would. Participants usually responded to calls for their reactions after each component was presented.

Upon completing the discussion on community capacity, the group was eager to receive their cameras. I told the group that they were free to photograph anything they liked and advised them to be prepared to discuss the meaning of why they chose to take a particular photograph. The group was reminded also to consider the concept of community capacity. The meeting had taken a while -- over an hour -- and at this point the group was ready to leave. The cameras were distributed and the group dismissed without having the plenary discussion as prescribed by the agenda and the Power Point presentation. As the participants scattered I told them that I would be back in four days to collect the cameras for printing. I also asked Principal Calventas to assist me with collecting the cameras and ensuring that the participants were aware of their deadline.

On September 29th, I returned to the high school to collect the cameras and meet briefly with the group to see how their endeavors had gone. All but one of the cameras was returned and the

participants were giddy with their work, discussing the adventures they had going around the community and taking pictures amongst themselves. Of particular notice, a group of girls was proud that they had found a new waterfall that they hoped would someday become a tourist attraction in their area.

When the larger group was convened they were asked what they learned through their experience. Replies included "we learned to work in groups" and "how to communicate with each other." Although not specifically asked to do so, many participants decided to work in groups, which in my estimation added to the experience. For the future, I suggest pairing people together to take photographs because the experience seemed to be rewarding for the participants and further encouraged discussion and knowledge sharing. The group also added that they became aware of events going on in their community as some of the participants stumbled upon some people from the local government handing out aid to people who had been adversely affected by the recent typhoon.

Difficulties were encountered while developing the photographic film. I had hoped to be able to print two copies of each photograph: one for the participant and one for myself. However, the technological leap pushed the cost of film printing beyond accessibility. I had to travel to the nearest city, Laoag, one hour away by bus to find a place that had the capability to develop film. I opted instead to have the film developed and put onto disk so that they could be viewed on the school's computers and then printed using the digital printing facilities in Pagudpud.

Before meeting with the group for the discussion about the photographs, I reviewed the photos and chose some to print to facilitate the discussion. Many of the participants worked together and went to the same places, and each person took photographs of virtually the same thing, so I felt that printing only some of them did no disservice to the participants and their intended subjects. The photographs were printed in color on regular white paper to reduce costs. After this process there were still over one hundred photos for the group to look over.

The workshop was conducted on October 2nd and the group was assembled, awaiting my arrival that afternoon. Principal Calventas reviewed the photographs first, and soon a large group of students, even some not involved with the project, clamored around to see the photos. All involved were excited to see the photographs and beamed with a sense of accomplishment. The students then passed the photographs around and chatted amongst themselves.

We then began the meeting. I apologized for not being able to print all of the photographs as originally intended and explained that they could have their cameras back, as well as a CD of their photos, their negatives and an index sheet. I asked the students to break into groups of 2-3 to discuss the photographs and write about them. The groups were asked to consider aspects of community capacity from my presentation as well as the following questions: 1) what is the photograph of?; 2) what is the meaning of the photo?; 3) why was this photo chosen (by the photographer or the group)?; and 4) how does it make you feel?

The group chose their sub-groups, as well as some of the photographs. The rest of the photographs were distributed randomly. We took approximately one hour to discuss and record reflections. The groups scattered for their discussion with colored paper, tape, and markers to assist with their discussion. I periodically went around to the groups to take photos and view their progress and style, as well as to prompt questions and encourage discussion. I encouraged the students to write and discuss in any language they felt comfortable; however, the principal and teacher instructed them to use English[16]. Many groups discussed only a little, opting instead

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[16] Having the participants express themselves in whatever language they feel comfortable ensures that the

to focus on writing. Some groups wrote and discussed nearly all of the photos; some only managed a few.

When it seemed as though most groups were finished, I reconvened the larger group and asked each smaller group to choose 3-4 photos to share with the larger group. Most of the participants presented one of the photos, most described the photo with prose and metaphor, but some were more direct and analytical. After each presentation, I asked the group for comments and questions, but received none.   I prompted them with questions like: How does this photo make you feel? What is the relationship between this photo and the community? Do you agree with the presentation, and why? These questions often generate some responses.

After all the presentations were made, the participants collected their cameras and CDs and then moved to the computer lab to view the CDs. I asked them to choose about 20 photos for presentation and to write about each photo they chose and to bring it to the exhibition on October 6th. Because it was the end of the school day, only 18 photos were actually chosen. I repeated the message regarding the story writing and presentation to the principal, teacher, and the few lingering students in hopes they would relay the information to the others. Some students chose identical photos, so I asked them to work together and make another selection. Also, some of the photos were rather poignant or interesting, so I specifically requested that they were included in the exhibition and asked some of the remaining participants to assist by writing an accompanying narrative. Also, some narratives were discussed in the larger group, so I asked that those stories be written so they can be included as well.

In the end, the principal collected the CDs[17] and everyone left. The principal and the teacher thanked me and told me that the students really learned from the experience. I gave them the feedback questionnaire and asked them to have the participants fill it out and bring it to the public presentation. I pointed to the importance of the open-ended question, and they said they would be sure to bring its importance to the attention of the other participants.

Over the weekend, the participants wrote their narratives and answered the questionnaires in preparation of the public exhibition that was to be held on that Monday, October 6th. More about the exhibition can be found later in this chapter. The next section here displays the photographs that the group chose and their accompanying narratives.

8.2.1.3.   Photographs and Narratives

The photos in this section were chosen by the photo group for the public exhibition. Most photos were given titles by those who wrote about them. However, if there was no title for the photograph, I assigned one to it for reference.

Most of the photos have an accompanying narrative that was written by the participant or participants who chose the photo for the exhibition. Two of the narratives were written explicitly by the photographer of the corresponding picture, "Weavers are Survivors" and "The Role of Waves in a Man's Life." The remaining narratives were not necessarily written by the same person or group who took the photo. This came about because participants were encouraged to select and write about the photos that expressed the community's capacity in their opinion.

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participants feel that their opinions are important and that the expression is clear. However, students in the Philippines study in English and generally have a good command of the language, so using English in this case did not severely limit their expression.

[17] It was not my intention to have the principal collect and keep the CDs, he told the students they can view them anytime, which made me feel better, but the situation was not ideal.

The narratives that were written in English are printed here in the same way that they were written, even if there are some issues with grammar and expression. Narratives that were written in Ilocano were translated by Francis Louie Mendoza and are denoted with a pound sign next to their title. The Ilocano narratives can be found as they were originally written in the appendix. The photos and narratives presented in this section are intended to provide the voice of their creators and therefore are presented here without interpretation or analysis, which will be discussed in a latter section. However, I wrote a brief description each photo for clarification.

The Long Road#*[18]

Figure 29 - The Long Road

Source: Shane Dela Cruz

The photo has a long gray, paved road disappearing into the lush green mountains as its focus running through the center of the image. The misty green mountains form the backdrop reaching up toward the fluffy, white clouds that dominate the blue sky. The sun is clearly behind the photographer as there are shadows of some palm trees running along the road visible on the pavement. The sides of the road are predominately lined with dark green foliage including palm trees that stick well above the mainly low-lying greenery. Some electric poles and lines running down the road can also be seen. In the forefront of the picture to the right there is a blue cement fence followed by a stick fence and a thatch dwelling. One of the left side of the road a large coil of orange plastic next to a stick gate can be seen.

Narrative - Long road with beautiful green surroundings that depicts the beauty of life in barangay Pasaleng.

A scenery that shows a straight alley represents that the people have a clear vision of their dreams and direction in life of the people; the realization of their goals; the nearness of morning; the pot of gold at the end of the shooting star is within reach.

Both sides show the cleanliness and beautiful scenery that depicts the progress and harmony in the town. The green mountains at the back show the care and the generous attention necessary so that the treasures we have been taking care of will not totally be destroyed.

Girl Scouts of the Philippines#

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[18] A * indicates that the title was given by the author and not the group.

Figure 30 - Girl Scouts of the Philippines

Source: Jenny Calina

This photo shows seven girls posing for the photo in white t-shirts with red and white scarves tied loosely around their necks. The girls are amongst many other girls in similar garb whom all are gathered in an open air venue with yellow and red flags hung high around the interior perimeter of the venue. The girls all appear to be between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. There is one older woman in the center of the girls and she is their teacher. Most of the girls are brandishing smiles. Four of them are displaying the three-finger Girl Scout salute with their right hands. Two of the girls are giving other amusing gestures, one the party on signal and the other a playful two-finger photo pose. All of the girls have medium to long length black hair and brown skin. Most of the girls are close together, but there is one girl in the back who is not smiling. One girl in the front, left of the photo has a blue hat on and the girl next to her is wearing black sunglasses. Behind the girl with the hat there is someone making a disdained face and there is another group of girls behind the main group of girls that have drawn their attention towards this disdained person.

Narrative - Every year we celebrate the legacy left by the founder of the Girl Scouts of the Philippines founder, Josefa Llanes Escoda. Twenty two students participated in a seminar held September 27th to celebrate the 110th anniversary of the founding of the Girl Scouts. This included a trip to Dingas, Ilocos Norte – where Escoda was born. Additionally, the students were introduced to the values and requirements of being a girl scout, as well as briefing them with the necessary preparations and skills needed when they go out camping. These qualities will not only do them good but also promote them individually as respected women all over the world. This is because Filipino Girl Scouts help one another to promote the betterment of society.

Creative Hands

The focus of the photo is an older woman in a blue sleeveless shirt and black shorts sitting with her legs folded behind her next to a rolled tan woven mat. The end of the mat has many hanging strands and the woman is manipulating the strands closest to her with her hands. The woman seems to be concentrating on her manual manipulation of the mat, although her facial expression is partially shrouded by her shoulder-length black wavy hair and her downward facing glance. The woman is on a gray cement floor with a cement wall behind her.

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Figure 31 - Creative Hands

Narrative **-** Mat-weaving is one of the biggest source of income in the community. This process takes a lot of patience to finish a good product to sell. This only proves that people in the community are patient.

I felt proud after looking at this picture because people in the community know how to use the resources wisely!

Weavers are Survivors

The image is a sea of green with a bit of light colored sky in the upper right. In the middle-left of the green is a woman with a tanned complexion and black hair clad in a green long-sleeved shirt and gray bottoms holding a curved cutting tool with a bamboo handle in her right hand. In her left hand, the woman is holding on to some of the long, green leaves that are growing in the middle of the area. Below the long-leaved plants are some lower growing bushes with rounded leaves, and a magnolia tree above them on the right. The woman has a virtually blank, yet serious expression.

Narrative **-** Using the hand in a natural way makes a man survive!

Weaving mats is one of the major sources of income of Filipinos. This work is just a little bit harder than any other job a social person knows but, is it hard for the experts?

Certainly not! They just do this job as they play their hands with the leaves of "sarakat".

This process of earning the money takes a lot of time to present a new product.

First is the cutting process. With the aid of bolos and big knives, weavers cut the long, thorny leaves of sarakats. In "budak" (smaller than sarakat trees) they cut their stems and choose the best leaves to be made. This is not an easy task. The thorns are the great and big opponents of the weavers. But of course, weavers win. They know how to avoid those bloody thorns.

Figure 32 - Weavers are Survivors

Second is the stripping of the leaves by using the "diris". Diris is a metal device which are places inside a wood with inch spaces to each other. Diris is like a man's teeth but with greater space.

The third process is drying. The sun again proves that it plays a very important role in mat-weaving. They would dry the stripped leaves because heat makes them hard and firm. Drying takes two times every weaving. There the color green turns into brown.

After drying, next is the "ap-lot" process. Using the ap-lot (ilocano term for a metal places between two woods), they make friction against each other. Meaning, they would rub the two materials, the ap-lot and the dried leaves. Ap-lot also takes two times every weaving.

Are your hands ready? Well, it is the final process, weaving the stripped and dried leaves of the sarakat and budak.

According to some expert weavers, they could finish 3-4 mats (ikamen in ilocano) in just one week. An ordinary mat costs P200-400. But some, it depends on the size. The greater the size, the greater the price-value. Does it sound tiring? Sounds tiring but exciting source of income. See…Weaving is not a joke. A weaver needs many hours and days to finish a mat.

Weaving captured the community man's heart to be processed. This proves that they are very hardworking and patient. For sure, they will survive!

roQue_

Field and Sea*

The scene is not vibrantly colored and is overexposed on the right side.   The image shows a fairly barren field with the sea just over the horizon edged with a few high rising palms and low bushes. In the right forefront of the photo is tree that is brown and dried with no leaves or life. On left there is a tan colored area where nothing can grow. The open field is yellow and green and there may be some workers to the right, but it is hard to see exactly.

Narrative **-** There is no accompanying narrative for this photo.

Figure 33 - Field and Sea

Source: Katherina Mae Esperjo

Caring Hands

This photo shows a young, tanned woman with long, black hair tied back in a pony tail in a brightly colored, flowered, sleeveless dress holding a baby. The rotund child also has tanned skin and black hair and is wearing a white shirt and underpants.   The woman is looking with care at the child as she is placing something in the child's mouth. The child is looking at the photographer. They are seated upon a plastic, white loveseat in front of a brown wooden wall on a brown and tan tiled floor. There is a yellow sheet concealing a door behind the woman's right shoulder and the hind quarters of a blond puppy can be seen on the floor under the chair to the right.

Narrative -
    All of us never forgets
    the most important-shining
    mothers, who still there
    for us.
    Whenever I see those
    pretty, loving and industrious
    mothers, I miss the times

Figure 34 - Caring Hands

Source: Roque Riveral

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when I'm still young, when
I'm still in the warm
arms of her. And the way
she takes care of me
and guide me.
Mother who our lights
whatever there darkness
to possess us in the battle
of our life.

The Role of Waves in a Man's Life

The photo shows a young boy on a craggy shore pointing toward a raging sea. The brown, barefooted boy is standing on a gray, holed rock formation in the left front of the image. Just behind the boy is a low, green plant group. The rest of the ground is comprised of black, wet, bumpy rocks holding back the sea. The white capped waves of the pale blue ocean are marching one by one vigorously toward the blunt shore. The pale blue-gray and cloud draped sky melds with the vast sea. There is a point in the right rear of the image where the charging white waves are crashing with great force into the black, rigid shore. The boy is clad in knee-length red shorts with white trim and a green tee-shirt with red on the shoulders and collar and some sort of image on the front. The boy's face cannot be fully seen because he is facing toward the sea.   Only his black mushroom cut black hair revealing his right ear and the profile of his eyes and cheeks can be seen. He is pointing with his left hand, his index finger extended.

Figure 35 - The Role of Waves in a Man's Life

Source: Roque Riveral

Narrative - It was that great sunny day when I captured an eye-catching photo depicting a seven-year-old boy pointing to the great, strong waves on the rocky shores. There the waves splashed back and forth!

Somehow I had figured out what is on his mind.

Waves are ridges or swells moving along the surface of the sea and they are reflections of man.

Waves are simply playful. They move their bodies gracefully and dances to the tune of the whisper of wind. As they dance to the tune they encounter struggles that lead to failure. These struggles must not be considered as catastrophes but a great opportunity on them. Why? Of course, the greater the problems, the more knocks of opportunities to change themselves. In other word, they come as challenges.

Applying to a man's life, a man spends his time having good times but to his un-expectations, great challenges will face him which will bring his life more oppressed and miserable.

Waves are pleasers and good friends to be kept forever. They give man happiness. When feeling blue, the man can run to the sea and there they could express their feelings and ideas.

Waves can talk to man anytime. They are always available. Their noisy splashes are their voices. The sea is understood to be feeling in a hot temper when big and strong waves come along the seashore. It does have peace of mind when waves are calm.

Waves are sensitive. They have sensitive emotions like a man. Waves do cry when a man treats them as dump sites. Is it just right to throw man's wastes to them and leave them carrying them through the years they live? Well, they are very humble. Though they are treated as that kind of un-useless creature, they just live the way they want. They do not disturb a man and say "Hey, it's yours. Come and pick them up!"

Waves are good teachers. They teach only for the best. In times of calamities, a man is taught to live in better next time. After the "Great Revengers" or tsunamis strike, they would leave at he survivors a quotation, "Ah, this is the waves opportunity to make us improve ourselves. We must live with the waves in an equal way though we are humans."

Waves are deserving to be awarded as the "most helpful" parts of the sea. Without waves, are there surfers? Come to think of it, surfing without waves? They promote tourism in the community. Meaning, they play a very important role in making the community rich and famous.

Waves are music. They create soft and loud voices from their splashes. They make the world more tunic and rhythmic.

It is a fact that the boy behind that picture is a nephew of mine. In reality, the boy trusted the sea as a friend of his. Most of the times of his daily life during his childhood, he spent watching the waves talking to them both in times of sadness and loneliness. He was also used to be scolded by his parents because he spends more time in the sea than in school. Poor boy, the sea is his own school. But at least he met new friends, the waves.

Truly, the waves make the world. Men make the world…

What wave do you think of yourself?

<div align="right">

(DHAN) ROQUE MAGAOAY RIVERAL
ROVICZ-01

</div>

A Time to Reap the Golden Grain
A field of rice is most prominent in this photo. The tall, yellow rice stalks are being harvested alongside the still growing low green ones. Two workers in shorts and long sleeve shirts, their backs to the photographer, gather the stalks and leave them in piles, evidence of which is behind them, under a grey, cloudy sky. Only a small area of the field has been cleared so far, with a vast field ahead of the workers stretching all the way to the green, hazy mountains in the distance. Another pair of workers can be seen between the prominent two and the

mountain. The fields are rectangular shaped and surrounded by taller, green trees and bushes. There is a dark grey material in the front right corner of the photo, an apparent mistake on the part of the photographer.

Narrative -In this photo, despite of the grueling heat of the sun the farmers are cheerfully cutting the golden rice stalks that promise abundance.

More foods on the table more money in the pocket are one of the aims of the farmers for it is one of the sources of living at Brangay Pasaleng. It contributes a lot for the economic life of the people. Through it, the farmers can send their children to school and be educated. They can also build good houses, acquire properties that help improve their life status. Aside from this, they can also create jobs for the jobless, send their children abroad to look for greener pasture which after all can contribute to the economic growth of our country.

Farming and harvesting are difficult and challenging but fun and enjoyable and gives life for all.

So, let's love farming so that there is life forever.

Figure 36 - A Time to Reap the Golden Grain

Source: Christine Mal Tenorio

Figure 37 - Pancian Church

Source: Higie Mae Gabat

Pancian Chapel*

The modest blue church was photographed as it was being passed by vehicle on the road running in front of it. The main structure has a dark brown wooden double door with windows on each side with white grating. Directly above the doors there is an awning that reads "Gup. Mother of Perpetual Help" and just below that "Pancian Chapel" in a darker blue wiring. In line with the door and the writing on the roof, there is a structure holding a bell with a cross atop it. Below each window is a neatly pruned, double tiered rows of small green shrubs in a cement box painted white. Next to them, on each side of the door, there are two skinny, immature palm trees in independent buckets. To the left of the main building is an addition of gray brick without a roof that is unfinished with a worker that can be seen inside with a white tee-shirt. Further to the left of that is another, smaller structure with a corrugated iron roof. The chapel has a modest surrounding lawn dotted with green, rocks, and dirt with tall, green trees beyond that to the left. On the right there is a parking lot and a white capped truck with dark tinted windows can be seen parked close to the building, half hidden from view. In front of the truck there seems to be a tall standing corrugated covered area.

Behind the parking lot are a few tall palms and a few other trees. In the forefront of the photo, there is a chain link and cement pillar fence painted bright blue to demark the perimeter of the church, with a swinging gate to the right. On the interior of the fence are some small green and yellow decorative plants, while outside there are rocks, dirt, and a bit of grass leading to the road. In between the fence and the building, just to the left of the door is a tall wooden cross.

Narrative - There is no accompanying narrative for this photo.

Rocky River*

This photo shows a small, white, frothy river streaming through a rocky bed in the midst of a green jungle. The river starts in the back right of the photo and juts from left to right to avoid large gray boulders, eventually exiting the photo in the front left corner. Broad green leafed branches hang over the river and in the forefront of the photo, the shadow of which the photographer is standing in. The sun is shining through the branches to highlight the river in the middle and rear of the photo.

Narrative - There is no accompanying narrative for this photo.

Figure 38- Rocky River

Source: Shane Dela Cruz

Are you willing to help…?

This photo shows a sand and grass covered passage running alongside a green forested area. In the far right of the photo, on the right side of the passage, there is a small grey cement house. Just to the left of the house, standing in the middle of the passage is a shirtless man wearing blue and black shorts looking toward the photographer. There is a black tube hanging about one meter above the ground running from the passage into the forest toward a thatch structure that is built high in the trees more than two meters above the ground. The thatch tree house is to the left middle of the photo situated on the left side of the passage. There are three boys in the forest near the tree house. One boy is in blue and black and seems to be looking back at the man near the cement house. Another boy is in red shorts and a black shirt and is walking toward the boy in blue. In between these two boys it seems as though there is another shirtless man who is digging in the sand. Sitting under a tree very close to the tree house is another boy in white. Behind the tree house farther to the left of the photo is another man in shorts and a white tank top that is pulled up slightly to expose his bulging stomach walking down the slope toward the passage.

Narrative -

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Figure 39 - Are you willing to help?

Source: Marjorie Molines

ARE YOU WILLING TO HELP…?

Each place is faced with challenges peculiar to it time but there are problems that have remained unsolved. Throughout the history of civilization and have still to see a solution. One of these is the fate of Mother Nature. In this barrio folks I've witnessed their concern and cooperation to serve their place to establish stable condition.

Although calamities and phenomenon would pass, they were not enable to let their place shattered cause they believe that in unity there's stability and progress.

The serious problems of our times is how to save the earth from the destruction of man himself because they abused their own planet. Are [*sic*, our] forest are denuded, are [*sic*, our] rivers and lake are drying, are [*sic*, our] atmosphere is clogged with fumes emitting from our factories. Unless nations joined together to soured these environmental problems, the earth, which is the planet able to sustain life, will be destroyed.

At this moment, I want everybody of you to know that Ive chosen this scenery to present here today, was just to emphasize the importance of our ecosystem and how we Filipinos taking good care of our natural resources given to us by our almighty God. I think I have captured the best, since of all the message I wanted to express have been conveyed in this picture. Because I can see from the peoples here in these photo the cooperation and concern for their country. Their progressive, unattainable and dominant country…

The Boat and the Shore#*

The most prominent images in this photograph are the shoreline and a small fishing boat. The long wooden boat is painted bright blue and is balanced by three bamboo rods perpendicular to the frame of the boat that meet another balancing log on each side about 1.5 meters from the hull. The boat is pulled far up the shore into the area where some low lying plants are growing and stationed next to pile of brown sticks. The shore is comprised of grey and black sand that is being met by the frothy white waves. The sea is light blue tinged with sandy green that stretches out to meet the grey cloudy sky and the dark green covered mountains to the right. The edge of a small thatched roof can be seen just to the right of the boat.

Narrative - Life is not always of pain or misery. Surely, there will always be a time for joy and laughter.

This is how I perceive this endeavor. The darkness of the sky seems to show that a strong rain is about to fall. Yet after the rain, the sun will shine again and the water will soon calm itself. During which time the people living by the seaside would be able to return to the sea and catch fish for their living. Fishing is the leading source of livelihood in Pasaleng.

Figure 40 – The Boat and the Shore

Source: Armaine Vidad

Figure 41 - Principal Calventas' Pond

Source: Mayrose P. Beneraba

Principal Calventas' Pond*

Here a small pond can be found taking up the bulk of the photo surrounded by low green plants inside a greater forested area. Behind the pond to the left is a green bush with yellow flowers and to the right of that about two meters away is a similar bush with orange flowers. Inside the circular pond in the forefront of the photo, many green lily pads can be seen floating on the water. In the middle of the lily pad collection several tall standing pink flowers rise above the green. The water of the pond is dark but the back of the pond reflects the green bushes and low lying plants that surround it.

Narrative - There is no accompanying narrative for this photo.

Flag of the Great Leaders

The Filipino flag flies high in the center of this photo, which was taken on the grounds of Pasaleng National High School. The flag pole is in the middle of a cement platform with three stairs and a railing painted light blue surrounding it. To the right of the platform is a small grassy area decorated with small plants and stones with a large palm tree to the back right. To the left of the platform is a similar area only without grass and with less decorative items. Behind the platform one of the school buildings can be seen, a white cement building with a corrugated iron roof and a blue metal framed window that is open. The window has blue checkered curtains on the inside. On the corner of the building, in between the split of the palm tree originating in the decorative area to the right of the platform, a small satellite dish can be seen with some brown substance on the inside of it. To the left of the flag platform the back of a black motor scooter can be seen. The forefront of the photo is a flat cement area before the flag platform.

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Figure 42 - Flag of the Great Leaders

"FLAG OF THE GREAT LEADERS"

This Philippine flag hoisted in a school ground speaks many unspoken words. School children pay respect to it every morning. The day starts the national anthem. The foundation of the flagpole is a rustic platform combined with a pedestal that conveys a message, "The quality of Philippine education is declining"

Our unwavering flag symbolizes freedom, dignity, and honor and the aspiration of our country. Out countrymen must respect the flag that the sun symbolizes freedom, the three stars symbolize peace and unity of Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao; and the three colors; white describing equality, blue is truthfulness and justice and red is bravery and patriotism. Each of us has responsibility to pay respect to our country.

Caring and Helping One Another#

This photo shows fifteen men working to repair the Patapat Bridge that had been badly damaged in the several landslides over the past few years. The men are all tanned Filipinos young and middle aged. One man in the front left of the photo wearing a green shirt and jeans with a New York Yankees ball cap on walks precariously over the wooden support beams carrying a measuring tape. Behind him to the left another man in a blue and orange shirt looks down and another younger man wearing a black long sleeved shirt and white ripped jeans is to his right looking on. Behind them to the right a man in a red shirt and jeans surveys the

Figure 43 - Caring and Helping One Another

Source: Shane Dela Cruz

other workers while standing on the yellow crane. To the right front of the photo there is another man in a white long sleeved shirt and jeans with a large straw hat on bending down toward a tool box with his back to the camera carrying a long, thin wooden board. In front of him is another man in a long white sleeved shirt and jeans, only this man is wearing a small white fishing hat. He is squatting down working on one of the wooden supports. Behind these two men there are another three men on the flat wooden surface. The man on the left is wearing a blue long sleeve shirt, black pants and an orange baseball hat and he is looking to the right. Next to him a man in a white shirt and camouflage pants is bending down doing something. Further to his right a man in a red shirt and jeans looks on. All of these men have their back to the photographer. In front of them a man in a blue shirt and black shorts is walking over the metal supports to the right toward another group of men who are sitting down. A man in red and a man in yellow are sitting side by side. In front of them, toward the photographer, a man in a red shirt and jeans is bending down. And in front of him another man in a black print tee shirt, jeans, backward baseball cap carrying a black satchel strapped across his chest is looking at the photographer, but his image is cut off in the photo. The work on the bridge consists of many crisscrossing metal rods with wooden support beams below and around them. The crane is situated behind the work area on a cement remainder of the old bridge. Behind the crane the green plants of the adjacent mountain can be seen as well as the white cement part of the bridge that was undamaged.

Narrative - Helping one another in the community is the key to everyone's benefit.

In this regard, we see the people working together to build Patapat Bridge are also working to establish Pagudpud as a tourist destination. This is because the bridge would be able to make this place more accessible for tourists and allow easier transport of goods in and out of the province. This project would especially be beneficial for Pancian, Pasaleng and Balaoi.

In fact, the construction of the bridge has observably been quite fast. This community needs to provide jobs so that the people can live peacefully and progressively.

Figure 44 - Construction on Patapat Bridge

Construction on Patapat Bridge*

This photo is the macro view of "Caring and Helping One Another." The men working on the bridge and the crane are to the left of the photo. The image is centered on the dirt temporary road to the right of the cement bridge that was cut for use while the bridge is under construction. To the right of the dirt road a rock cliff with some small green plants rises. There is someone wearing a white shirt and khaki pants with a black bag slung across his chest. The lush green of the mountain forest can be seen further in the distance, as well as another misty set of hills behind that leading up to the grey cloudy sky.

Narrative - There is no accompanying narrative for this photo.

A Hard Way to Success

A grey gravel road leads in the lush green forest under a grey, cloudy sky. Behind the small green plants lining the road to the right are yellow fields of ready-to-be-harvested rice, behind which a brown house can be seen. Electricity poles line the left of the road. Three young boys are in the middle of the road. They all have white shirts and black backpacks on their backs. The smallest boy, who is in the middle, is wearing over sized sports shorts. One boy and the small boy are to the left of the road and the other is a bit in front of them on the right side of the road. All of the boys are looking toward the photographer.

Figure 45 - A Hard Way to Success

Source: Ronelie Anne Esperjo

Narrative -

A HARD WAY TO SUCCESS

This dirt road symbolizes one of the challenges to success.

Despite the unpaved barangay road, the school children cheerfully and innocently enjoying the grandeurs of life in this hidden valley, engulfed with verdant hills and mountains.

The barangay road paves the way to progress and development for it is in here where the people transport their goods to market. If this barangay road will be cemented, maybe the people will be progressive.

The school children sans shoes. This innocent children having fun walking in this kind of rough road just to reach the school for their mind and heart development.

This picturesque backdrop of lusty green symbolizes prosperity and bounty. Pasaleng abounds with thick tropical forest.

Bagong Lipunan Lodge*

This off center and tilted photo is of the abandoned luxury resort of the Marcos-era, Bagong Lipunan Lodge. The photographer snapped the picture while standing on the slope underneath the building. The white cement structure sits on a hill in the midst of the dense, green forest that surrounds it. The name Bagong Lipunan Lodge is painted on the front in red. The building has no roof or windows, has numerous grey and black areas where the paint has worn off, and the railing on the balcony on the second floor is missing its right third.

Narrative -

Figure 46- Bagong Lipunan Lodge

Source: Christian Y. Malabo

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Description:

The photo shows a beautiful and a wonderful community. This is one of the pride scenery of the Philippines. It is one of the tourist destination among all places. "Paraiso ni Anton."

Meaning:

This picture means peace, harmony, grace and wisdom.

Somebody would choose this picture for they know that this place is a place of love and calmness and when the time comes you enter this kingdom, you will feel like you are in a past year's or a century's temple of green or a king. This is a historical place for with this, you will learn knowledge and make something description about the mast.

8.2.1.4. Community Capacity Analysis of Photos and Narratives

While the photos and the narratives portray what the group feels is representative of their community's capacity, further analysis can also be made. This sub-section will categorize the photos and narratives into the appropriate SCOR attribute in order to better understand their meaning in relation to the A-A-A. Some of the photographs that were described in the previous sub-section are not categorized here because they do not have accompanying narratives, thus making their categorization too speculative in nature. Furthermore, these photographs are analyzed using only the SCOR component of the A-A-A because it was the prevailing concept guiding the evaluation, whereas the other components were not introduced in detail to the evaluation participants.

S: Sense of community – Starting with "The Long Road," the sense of community in terms of their collective vision is described as:

> "A scenery that shows a straight alley represents that the people have a clear vision of their dreams and direction in life of the people; the realization of their goals; the nearness of morning; the pot of gold at the end of the shooting star is within reach."

This view of progress and prosperity within reach of the people is consistent with, although in prose, to the collective visions of progress and development as described by respondents of the FPQ and the IDIs.

The photograph of "Bagong Lipunan Lodge" also shows sense of community, both because it portrays the shared history that the community has both in terms of the area and the hotel remnant. It also reaffirms the shared goal of becoming a prominent tourist destination. Tourism development was often referred to as a shared vision in the FPQs and IDIs.

The photo "Weavers are Survivors" helps to define the identity of people in Pagudpud, portraying them as industrious. The final lines of the narrative display this: "Weaving captured the community man's heart to be processed. This proves that they are very hardworking and patient. For sure, they will survive!" The idea that people in Pagudpud view themselves as industrious, hard-working, and patient is also something that came through the FPQs and the IDIs. The photo "Caring Hands" confirms this view as well when it refers to the "pretty, loving, and industrious mothers."

"A Time to Reap the Golden Grain" shows the harvest of rice or *palay*, which is a vitally important activity in the community and becomes intertwined with their identity. "The Boat and the Shore" displays the other major component of occupational identity in Pagudpud, especially in Pasaleng, fishing. Prominent activities like these that cultivate identity are a part of sense of community. The written expressions for these photographs further defines that harvesting rice and fishing are key components of the identity of the community and depicts how people

understand and sympathize with one another in the struggle to produce their products. One can see that despite the arduousness of the tasks, there is contentedness and pride in the activities, which further contributes to their sense of community.

Another component of sense of community that is related to identity is shared conditions and values. The photograph "The Role of Waves in a Man's Life" and its accompanying narrative tells in prose some of the shared situations of people in the community, such as facing the rolling waves while fishing, and the values shared by the community, such as reverence, respect, and awe for the sea.

C: Commitment - "Caring and Helping One Another" is a photograph that contributes to the understanding of commitment in Pagudpud because it displays the value of contributing and working together to accomplish goals. Its narrative also speaks to the development of sense of community and the achievement of objectives, but it clearly highlights the commitment to one another as the necessary component to achieve their shared vision and objectives. This level of commitment to one another, particularly without remuneration is often repeated in the IDIs.

The photograph "A Hard Way to Success" also shows commitment in Pagudpud as it tells the story of children coming home from school with no shoes, describing the endeavor as "[symbolizing] one of the challenges to success."

O: Ability to set and achieve objectives – The narrative for the photograph "Are You Willing to Help?" depicts the compassion of the authors for environmental preservation and overcoming environmental issues in the community. This photograph and narrative together tell the issues at hand, what the community would like to see done, and some things that they are doing to meet these objectives. The narrative states:

> "The serious problems of our times is how to save the earth from the destruction of man himself because they abused their own planet. Are [*sic*, our] forest are denuded, are [*sic*, our] rivers and lake are drying, are [*sic*, our] atmosphere is clogged with fumes emitting from our factories. Unless nations joined together to soured these environmental problems, the earth, which is the planet able to sustain life, will be destroyed. At this moment, I want everybody of you to know that I've chosen this scenery to present here today, was just to emphasize the importance of our ecosystem and how we Filipinos taking good care of our natural resources given to us by our almighty God."

Keeping the land clean and preserving the forests were reported as desirable objectives in the FPQs and IDIs; however through this photograph and narrative, the importance of these issues is further emphasized.

"The Flag of Our Great Leaders" also describes the ability to set and achieve objectives, or perhaps rather laments its misdirection. The narrative says "The foundation of the flagpole is a rustic platform combined with a pedestal that conveys a message, 'The quality of Philippine education is declining.' Our unwavering flag symbolizes freedom, dignity, and honor and the aspiration of our country." The message could be satirical in nature, calling for greater emphasis on the educational needs of the community. Any way that it is construed, the photograph and its narrative serve as a good stimulus for discussion in the community and brings up an important issue that was not addressed in other components of the community capacity assessment, education.

While it may easily be considered to portray a sense of community, "The Girl Scouts of the Philippines" can also be interpreted to display the ability to set and achieve objectives. The participants in this organization do display community characteristics in their group, their participation actually is mode through which objectives are set and achieved. This can be seen in

the community activities that the group undertakes, as well as the objectives of those involved to become "respected women all over the world." Their participation in the Girl Scouts places them on the path toward their objectives, as well as displaying their commitment to get there.

R: Ability to recognize and access resources – "Creative Hands" shows a woman weaving a mat using local resources, which is a direct representation of the resources that the community has at their disposal. The last line of the narrative speaks to this as well: "I felt proud after looking at this picture because people in the community know how to use the resources wisely!" The photograph "Weavers are Survivors" describes the importance of not only the physical materials needed for mat weaving, but the skills involved as well. Furthermore, *sarakat*, or rattan, was repeatedly identified as an important local resource in the FPQs and IDIs.

The photographs "The Role of Waves in a Man's Life" and "The Boat and the Shore" both identify the sea as an important resource for the community. It is deemed important for the products that it renders and its potential uses for the tourism industry. This again confirms the findings of the FPQ and the IDIs.

In "A Time to Reap the Golden Grain" the skills and industriousness of the farmers are described as valuable resources to community. This can be seen from this quote in the narrative:

> "It contributes a lot for the economic life of the people. Through it, the farmers can send their children to school and be educated. They can also build good houses, acquire properties that help improve their life status. Aside from this, they can also create jobs for the jobless, send their children abroad to look for greener pasture which after all can contribute to the economic growth of our country."

The hard work of the farmers is seen as the route through which other objectives of the community can be met. The skills and characteristics of the people in the community are sometimes referred to in the FPQs and IDIs, particularly in terms of sense of community, but they may not be entirely recognized as a resource in the same way that this photograph conveys.

8.2.1.5. Participatory Photo Evaluation Trial Summary

Overall it seems that the photograph group participants enjoyed their experience with the project, gaining technical experience in photography and narrative writing, working together and understanding their community. The summary discusses the outcomes of the photo project. All of the quotations are from the feedback survey that the group participants answered after they completed the project.

One participant explained that he or she "enjoyed very much about this project for a reason that I feel like I'm a professional photographer." The participant felt he or she gained some photography skills and was recognized for them. Another participant said "Participating in this project is really an opportunity for us to share to this whole world the hidden beauty of our place." This quote demonstrates that the participant was happy to have his or her voice heard and to share the community with others.

Specifically in regards to what was learned through the project, one participant said "What I'd learn is on how to choose your subject to capture. I also learn on how to relate and communicate to other people. I learn also what are the present problem here in our community." This statement confirms that participants gained technical skills in photography and critical thinking through participation in the photo project.

In the free response section of the feedback survey one participant fully described his or her experience:

"In this participatory photo, you are given the chance to show your talent and skills. How to use the camera wisely and how to use your eyes in a resourceful way. Spread your eyes and see the beauty of the world. In making presentations (essay) for those pictures I learned how to manage my time wisely to finish them. Though it is hard to write them in an English language; I have to dig out what is truly in my mind. And in that, I have proven that I can. I am very rich in ideas."

This quotation demonstrates the overall impact that the project had on the participant, which was to solidify the tangible lessons and skills taught in the project, to recognize the value of things in the community, and provide an opportunity for esteem building among participants.

The discussion of the community resources and issues was another area that participants relished. One participant recounted their experience: "I enjoyed discussing with the group about what we'll going to take and why. I remember, it was raining, but that doesn't stop us to continue our work, we even laugh ourselves as we ran under the rain. I really enjoyed it."

Many respondents noted that the project could be better if there was more time, organization, and funds for the project. As one participant puts it: "It would be better if we have complete tools and materials to used so that our project would be much good."

Participants noted that they learned how to choose subjects to photograph, how to think and interpret their community, how to communicate with people and work together, and about the valuable things in their community. The additional comments generally reinforce the things that the participants enjoyed, learned, or thought could be better about the project. However, many also reflected on their personal experience and voiced concern about the direction they would like to see their community take.

The group's participants were empowered with the skills that they had learned through the course of the project, in addition to the information that they shared and the knowledge that they created. Furthermore, the findings of this project indicate promise for action research and non-traditional media as evaluation tools. Although the participants did not fully understand their role or the purpose of the project, through its process the participants learned and gained confidence. Using a photography project as an evaluation method allowed for increased expressiveness and information gathering through an enjoyable activity for which it was easy to attract participants.

8.2.2. Participatory Video Evaluation Trial

The participatory video evaluation trial was run simultaneous to the PPE trial, however it was run at a different schedule to better meet the needs of its participants. The PVE follows the same principles as the PPE outlined earlier in this chapter and for the purpose of this case was similar in every way but two. First, the group that was assembled to try the PVE was comprised of adult local leaders that were personally invited to join the project by the mayor. A list of the participants and their affiliated group can be found in Table 46.

Table 46- Participatory Video Evaluation Participants

Name	Organization
April Faith Cartillo	SK (youth group) Representative
Jovelyn I. Montenegro	K-therapists
Linda T. Viola	Seniors Group
Virgilio Alcodia Jr.	Kagawad (farmer's association)
Joel A. Pedronan	Chairman Kabigan Cooperative
Edimar Jingo B. Ubasa	PVP
Daniel C. Lauro St.	PATODA (tricycle drivers' union)
Emelin Garvida Sales	Tourism Committee
Mila A. Tamargo	Department of Education

The second difference is that the main task of the group was to produce a video instead of take photographs. This made the project more collective in nature because there was only one video camera. Otherwise, I used the same Power Point slides, following the same objectives, approach and concept. Furthermore, I facilitated the meetings following the same basic meeting agendas that were used to guide the PPE trial. Since the PVE trial follows the PPE trial so closely, it would be redundant to discuss the work plan in detail. Rather, the next sub-section will look at the actual process of the PVE trial in Pagudpud.

8.2.2.1. Actual Process in Participatory Video Evaluation Trial

The PVE was scheduled to commence on September 24 and run through October 1, 2008. On September 24 I presented the project idea to the mayor. We assembled a list of twelve

Figure 47 - Mr. Pedronan, Mr. Ubasa, and Ms. Montenegro (from left) at the first video group meeting

Source: Author

people to be involved in the video project. Although they are from various sectors of the community, they are all within the mayor's circle. The outcomes of the video are still interesting and useful, but the tailored nature of the group is acknowledged. Tentatively the video group was scheduled for three meetings the following week. Mayor Sales sent a memo to invite the participants to join the group, as well as the initial meeting time. It was during this meeting that we arranged a joint presentation of the PPE and PVE outcomes to the community on Monday, October 6 at the community recreation center.

The first meeting of the video group was September 29 at the Municipal Library. I introduced myself and

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described my objectives and purpose. I then introduced the concept of community capacity. The group stopped me to say they needed paper and pens to take notes. I was embarrassed by my omission, but impressed with their eagerness to understand. This demonstrated that the group were indeed willing participants and truly engaged in the learning process. We then continued and they asked questions to clarify the concepts. They discussed the meaning of community noting that it involves cooperation, starts from home and grows outward. Mr. Ubasa was asked to translate and explain the concepts again in Ilocano.

After the completion of the concept introduction, the group broke into smaller groups to discuss the concepts more in-depth and in Ilocano – they had been using mostly English for my benefit. It was at that time the concepts became more clear and meaningful to the participants – according to Ms. Linda Viola. Some group members, Mr. Virgilio Alcodia Jr., Mr. Daniel C. Lauro St., and Mr. Joel A. Pedronan sat outside and wrote their own thoughts with little discussion between them. The remainder of the group was writing and conversing together inside the library.

After a while we reconvened and each member of the group gave their opinions and ideas. I was pleased to see the expressiveness of the participants and how the various concepts could be related to their lives and which things were important to them. Particularly, Mr. Pedronan, the fisherman, spoke of the feelings of reverence for the water that he had since his childhood, as well as his and other fishermen's fear of typhoons in relation to safety and livelihood. Mr. Lauro, the tricycle driver, focused on health as a primary issue for development. Ms. Linda Viola discussed the traditions and values of the community. She particularly spoke about people being hospitable and committed to their barangay or even the whole municipality, the tradition of people getting together to show sympathy and help each other with rice and money in times of need, and the local culture, for instance celebrating birthdays with friends and neighbors.

Mr. Ubasa led the group, talking mostly about eco-tourism and various development plans. Many of the group members deferred to him because of his former leadership position – even referring to him as SB[19] – and his strong style. Ms. April Faith Cartillo, the youth representative, spoke about young people liking sports, but have little time for recreation because of their studies. She also talked about a community service event that her organization was holding to plant trees and contribute to the beautification of their surroundings.

Ms. Jovelyn I. Montenegro, a K-therapist, discussed tourism that is in ecological and biological balance and the need to focus on conservation, particularly keeping the community green and maintaining a sustainable number of tourists. Mr. Alcodia, a farmer, took up the topic of leadership, stating that leaders need to have the capacity to lead and serve, must be able to take their responsibilities and set a good example in their family and in the community, need to teach and encourage people in the community, and need to fight against improper things and accomplish tasks. Ms. Mila A. Tamargo, a high school principal, talked about education and the negative effects that household poverty and school underfunding has on the children in the community.

The group decided to film their clips in the order that they wished to presented and review the film. Mr. Ubasa took the camera and everyone's notes saying he would do the filming on behalf of the group. Filming proceeded from September 30 until October 3.

The second video meeting was scheduled for the morning of October 4. Unfortunately, many people decided not to come to the second video meeting, namely Ms. Catillo, Mr. Alcodia, Mr. Pedronan, and Mr. Lauro. Three participants flatly cancelled, one I could not contact because he

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[19] People were referring to his former position on the Municipal Council.

did not leave a phone number, and one didn't come. I asked those who did not attend the meeting to join us for the public exhibition. I think that these participants chose not to continue with the project because they were not fully included in the group discussion, had difficulty communicating in English, and generally held lower socio-economic positions in the community compared to the other group members, which may have led them to feel marginalized, dissuading them from further participation. Mr. Ubasa's command of the group further exacerbated these issues, at one point even telling Mr. Pedronan that tourism was to be the focus of the video, not fishing. Mr. Pedronan did not join in the group discussion much after the comment from Mr. Ubasa. With the exception of Mr. Lauro, these participants did not participate in the public exhibition either.

Since we could not use the library for this second meeting, the meeting was held at the mayor's house. As we watched the clips, the members explained what we were seeing and I asked them to consider the concept of community capacity, as well as the reason the clip was chosen, its meaning and feeling. From time to time I asked pressing questions such as "if the people receiving aid are indigent anyway, what is the impact of aid?" Questions like this stimulated the discussion of the group. For this particular question the group concurred that helping people in their time of need is appropriate even if they will continue to be poor.

The video provided a wealth of information and grounds for interesting discussion. Although the other members could not join, I still feel there was a benefit in our meeting, although limited in scope. Again, Mr. Ubasa led the discussion and presented the material, particularly because he filmed all of it, but some of the other members were at the same places he was filming. Ms. Tamargo was the next most active member.

Discussion of the video occurred organically and was prompted by me as a facilitator. The following question was asked to prompt discussion: "What are the linkages between the different sectors of local production and the tourism effort?" Some answers included: a) "trying to kill many birds with one bullet," and b) "education plays a vital role in community because telling the students to be humble, polite and hospitable will attract tourists."

The group was also asked: "With such a positive sentiment toward leaving here to find work, how can you convince people there is something here for them?" This question stimulated a long discussion between the participants. The first assertion made by the group was that it was possible to create jobs locally. Eventually, however, the conversation returned to reality to confirm that many people, particularly professionals, do not wish to stay in the village because of a lack of proper employment for them.

The discussion went on specify nurses, because there is a large amount of students who study nursing and a local demand for nurses, yet people still leave the community for higher paying nursing jobs abroad. One participant said "dollars equal progress" which speaks to the commonly held belief in the community that progress is directly related to funding, specifically from money that is earned abroad. Through the discussion it was also noted that the young people want to be progressive and add to the improvement of their community; however, they feel the best way to do that is to work overseas. Furthermore, it is seen as a sign of "self-solidarity," which is better than relying on government or patron generosity. This is just one example of a discussion that was prompted and stimulated through the video viewing.

The video and discussion was quite lengthy, taking over two hours in total. The group was visibly fatigued and "ran out of English" as they said, because they were using mainly English to describe the scenes to me, although I tried to encourage further discussion in Ilocano. Finally, the group decided to present the video at the public exhibition without editing it.

8.2.2.2. Video Contents

This section describes the various clips the video group included in their film. A description of the clip is given, and some of the accompanying group discussion is included here to put the clip into context and to give it meaning. The clips are given numbers in sequential order so that it will be easier to analyze and discuss them later.

1. *Gaway-gaway* dance - The video begins with a dance performance at the induction of the PTCA officers' ceremony. When asked why this clip was chosen, the group deferred to Ms. Viola because she was the most knowledgeable on culture and arts because she had been a music teacher before her retirement. She said that we were seeing the *gaway-gaway* dance, a traditional dance celebrating the planting of *gabi*. She went on to explain that during planting the husband and wife work together and they are "happy under the sun", which is what the dance is meant to depict. Ms. Viola said that the clip made her proud because it is an Ilocano dance.

2. *Palay* (rice) fields - The next clip is that of some rice fields, which the group said is meant to represent cooperation and unity. One participant explained *samberga*, a traditional method of rice cultivation and preparation. They went on to say that using this method preserves the local culture and is more useful to farmers in remote areas that are difficult to reach with vehicles and modern equipment, such as thrashers. Next we see a *carabao*, a grey, horned local bovine, which is the traditional way of transporting rice and ideal for muddy roads. The irrigation system for the rice fields is also filmed, because, as the participants explain, rice farmers "cannot rely on rainfall alone."

3. *Kubo-kubo* consultation - The mayor is the subject of the next clip. He is filmed consulting with community members at a *kubo-kubo*, a thatched-roofed sitting area found in the barangays. The participants say that this is a way that the mayor discovers problems in the community. One participant noted "The mayor is not only waiting in Municipal Hall, but comfortable to interact with people." Mr. Ubasa goes on to say that "the mayor believes that ideas come from the bottom-up" and that this becomes his basis for helping and planning for development.

4. The wake - A wake is filmed for the next clip. This clip shows the traditional way that the community supports a family of the deceased, by coming to show support and not sleeping, but rather staying awake all night playing games and listening to music, which keeps the grieving family and the deceased company.

5. Public market – The group described the public market as the center of economy, but noted that it was primitive and there are not enough tables for all of the vendors, leading some to set up their display on the ground. There were calls for development of the market. A few participants pointed out that the variety of products in the market shows that there are plenty of resources for the people in Pagudpud and some products are made by the vendors themselves.

6. Tricycles - This clip shows the "number one transportation in the municipality," the tricycle. Although they have been in use for more than twenty years, the participants said that the tricycle represents progress and that they are partners in development. It was also noted that tricycles are easy for commuters, that they transport people and products, and can reach remote areas.

7. Patapat viaduct – The Patapat viaduct overlooks the sea and green mountains, which shows the scenery of Pagudpud. One participant was pleased that tourists enjoy their natural sights.

8. Dying *sarakat* – This clip shows some women in the community as they dye the materials in preparation for mat and handbag weaving. They are outdoors mixing a liquid in a half-drum over a flame and putting the *sarakat* in the mixture and stirring. One participant elaborated that the sarakat is first bleached in the sun before it is colored, then it is cut into small pieces, the smoke is used to infuse the color, then the pieces are washed. Another participant pointed out that the *sarakat* products made in Pagudpud are not like others because they still use natural and traditional materials. However, another participant noted that if they had more advanced facilities, they would use them. The group said that this process was a means to gain income to "uplift their way of life" and "to keep their standard of living." It was also noted that this dying clip was a part of a government sponsored training that was conceived to address the needs of tourists.

9. Drying *palay* – In this clip, a blue net is spread out on the road with golden rice kernels spread on it. The group explained that a net is used so that "when rain comes it can go through and can be carried away." "The farmers dry their *palay* and get it ready to be milled so that if rainy season comes they have something to eat."

10. Barangay officials – Here some local officials are having a meeting. Mr. Ubasa indicates that it is an accounting meeting and that they are discussing what is going on in their barangay. Another participant said that this shows the support of the Barangay Council and how problems are solved.

11. Kalibaro grotto, "Paraiso ni Anton" – In the video here a lush forest and small waterfall can be seen. There is a small shrine up on the incline. The group indicated that this place is a favorite stopover for tourists and that some claim the spring has healing power, while others use it as battery solution for busses. It was also noted that the area was named after the Secretary of the Department of Public Waste who developed the area. I then prompted a question regarding the sentiments and significance of place to local people. One participant responded that local people come here to get water. Another noted that grotto was built so people can pay respect to the image (statue of the Virgin Mary) and there was a vision of one man to put a grotto there to protect area. Yet another participant responded that this was "because we are religious." The group also said that the area is important to local people because there are stalls, which was a project of the LGU, where local people sell their goods and this provides income for people.

12. Distribution of relief goods to typhoon victims in Balaoi – This clip shows the mayor and others from the LGU distributing aid from the municipal, provincial, and national governments at the *purok* center (barangay center) to those that had been adversely affected by the most recent typhoon. Provisions include rice, canned goods, sugar, coffee, noodles, candles, and matches. One participant noted that people cannot go out to fish after a typhoon, which brings about the need for aid. The people were shaking the mayor's hand after they received their provisions, and one participant said that this was "a way of the people to say thank you." The mayor wanted to address the people, but there was no stage, so he climbed up onto an arch. I asked the group a question about how the people receiving aid feel; the group

responded that they feel happy and relieved because most are poor. I prompted another question about the impact of aid if the people are perpetually indigent and Mr. Ubasa responded that there is a "need to teach how to live, not only give." He also evoked the biblical "teach a man to fish" analogy.

13. Hannah's Place – Hannah's Place is an upscale resort hotel on the beach in Barangay Balaoi. It was recently built and has many amenities, including a restaurant. I posed the question "How does this type of place make you feel?". One participant indicated that it means progress and that "Pagudpud is moving." Another said that tourists will buy local goods. Another group member said with pride that it looks like Boracay (a famous resort island in the Philippines).

14. Things around the community – This series of clips shows different things in the community, but did not generate much discussion. The clips include a shot of the Kabigan Farmers and Fishermen Multipurpose Cooperative, a sari-sari general store, sacks of rice, the mayor having an audience with the people, and the sunset.

15. Pagudpud South Central Elementary School – This part of the video shows the various activities local children partake in during the school day, as well as the campus of their school. I questioned why some students were in uniform while others were not and was told that uniforms are not required. Ms. Tamargo replied "we do not impose uniforms for those who cannot afford it." Before the beginning of the school day, the children can be seen cleaning their campus. I asked the group the meaning of this. They replied that this was part of their training, that a dirty school was not conducive for learning, and that the school cannot afford janitors. Mr. Ubasa noted that he is the president of this school's PTCA and that his children attend this school.

The school day activities begin with the flag raising. The group explained that the flag is raised everyday to pay respect to Filipino life and spirit. The students say the pledge and sing the national anthem. Another participant says that Filipinos are nationalistic with a sense of patriotism. This comment garnered a lot of discussion in Ilocano. Morning exercises follow the national anthem. The group explains that the exercises make the children ready for school and teaches them spirit. I prompted the question "Would you rather substitute it (the morning rituals) for something more local in origin?" The group then said that it was a presidential decree from the Department of Education and that in the past it was done entirely in English, but now it is done in Tagalog. One participant stated that it would be nice if it were in Ilocano. Another participant then chimed in and said that the students sometimes sing the provincial march. This comment sparks some of the group members to break out into song.

16. Showing community in Barangay Ligaya – In this clip a group of men can be seen lining an irrigation canal. One participant explained that this is an example of *bayanihan*, the cultural term meaning to work for one another without pay. The group then goes on to explain that the blocks are being are provided by the municipality, and the people in the barangay provide the labor. In response to a question about how the project comes about, the group replies that the local people request the project and after its approval by the LGU the community implements the improvement themselves.

17. Building makeshift houses – Here a group of men can be seen hammering the outside of a house to make some sort of repair. Mr. Ubasa exclaimed that this was the "Ilocano way" and that this method was used because they have no means to build it permanently.

18. *Kubo-kubos* – This clip shows a *kubo-kubo*, the thatched sitting area seen earlier in the video. The participants explained that there is one *kubo-kubo* in each *situo*[20]for use by anyone in the *situo* for any reason; it is often used for meetings. They went on to explain that there is map in each *kubo-kubo* showing the *situo*, including fields and houses. One participant advised that this is so visitors can locate places in the *situo*.

19. *Daklis* (fishermen) – Many people, young and old, men and women, can be seen in this clip standing on the beach pulling on large ropes attached to a net. I asked the group why the people were working together; they answered they were working together because two to three people cannot handle the task by themselves, but through working together it can be easily done. Another participant remarked that there were some people around and some visitors who were just curious about the activity. Yet another participant explained that the owner of the net will decide what share of the catch he will give to those who helped him pull it out.

The camera then pans to a man chopping a log. Mr. Ubasa then explained that he was chopping up the log for fuel and that it was left on the beach from the typhoon, making it available to anyone who wished to use it.

Some boats can also be seen in the clip. All of the boats are blue, as this is the color assigned to the municipality by the department of transportation, decided upon by the local government and historical tradition. Each municipality has its own color used for transportation originating in the area so that the Coast Guard can more readily recognize local vessels. The group also noted that the color shows the identity of the ships and is used to spot those who are fishing in the area illegally.

The image and the conversation return to the fishermen themselves and the task of pulling in the net. One participant stated the sometimes the fishermen sing as they are bringing in the nets, but this group was not. Another participant chimed in that women and men often go fishing together. The compensation for assistance was further explained by the group, with those who were rowing boats to move the net getting double the share of those only standing on shore and pulling the net. One participant stated that this activity demonstrates the unity and cooperation of the people in the community. Another participant said that the people in the clip feel happy because they depend on the sea for their livelihood and with this catch they will have something to give to their children.

The *copradoras*, fish vendors, can be seen waiting for the catch on shore. The group explained that there is an agreement between the owner of the net and the *copradoras*. Some pay for the fish upfront and some pay after they have sold the fish. In the video a man can be seen directing and coordinating the people pulling in the net. One participant called this man the "commander" and said that he shows the people with his hands which side of the net needs to be pulled.

20. Selling ice cream – Here a vendor can be seen selling ice cream to some children at a *purok* center (similar in function to a kubo-kubo). One member of our group said "ice cream makes you feel refreshed, but after the calories have burned you are

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[20] A *situo* is a sub-unit within the barangay.

hotter!" Another participant commented that for children, the taste of ice cream is good and the color is nice.

21. Barangay Hall and the day care center – This clip pans across a Barangay Hall and a day care center. The says that meetings are held in the hall and the day care, which is a pet project of the LGU, takes children ages three to five in order to prepare them to enter kindergarten.

22. Girl Scouts – In this clip, some girls in their Girl Scout uniform can be seen walking down a barangay road. The group said that the Girl Scouts are a great help to the community because they conduct programs that are a benefit to all members of the community, such as the construction of public toilets for visitors in the municipals complex.

23. More *palay* – This clip starts out by showing another image of palay drying on the side of the highway. Mr. Ubasa then exclaims "Ilocanos will dry palay anywhere!" The view then moves on to another kubo-kubo and another ice cream vendor then pans back to the rice. I ask the group "how do you feel about rice?" The group responds by saying that they feel happy when they see rice because then "we know we will enough rice to support the community." However, one participant noted that "sometimes we have to import rice from other places, but with a good harvest there is no need."

24. Classroom – In this clip we can see the school again, this time inside one of the classrooms. The camera pans up to show that the ceiling is in disrepair. Mr. Ubasa then says that they do not have enough funds for basic repairs, but even still the children show a desire to learn. Ms. Tamargo then asks Mr. Ubasa "What is the PTCA doing about that?" To which Mr. Ubasa responded that the local government cannot fulfill all of the needs of the school.

25. Pipe transporting – This clip shows a group of men manually moving pipes off of a large truck and onto the ground using wooden boards. One participant said that this shows the unity of the people, as well as their resourcefulness and a lack of proper equipment such as cranes.

26. School lunchtime and recess – This clip was filmed at the school again, only this time the children can be seen around the campus running, chatting, and playing games together. There were some children playing a game of "Chinese Garter" with a rubber band. I then asked the group how the children knew about the game and if they themselves had played the game as a child. Ms. Tamargo replied that the school didn't teach the children how to play the game, but that they somehow knew. She also stated that she did not play the game when she was in school. Ms. Montenegro happily stated that she played the game when she was a youth.

27. Basketball – Here a group of young, adult men are seen playing basketball on a makeshift net affixed to the outside of a house. Mr. Ubasa said that this clip shows that the people of Pagudpud are "sports-minded" and that they will find any way that they can to play. He again pointed to their resourcefulness, because they were playing even though they had no real court. Mr. Ubasa went on to say that basketball helps players to develop and build camaraderie and cooperation. He also said that the men can play, even if they had a hectic day, which adds to their relaxation and that basketball helps "youngsters stay away from vices."

28. Finished canal – The last clip of the video shows the same canal in Ligaya seen earlier in the video, only this time it is completed. The group says that this was the result of a unified effort.

8.2.2.3. Community Capacity Analysis of the Video

As with the analysis of the photographs earlier in this chapter, a brief analysis of the SCOR portrayed in the video will be covered in this sub-section. The clips will be categorized and discussed in relation to their meaning to the attributes of community capacity.

S: Sense of community – Many of the clips from the video depict aspects of the sense of community of Pagudpud, particularly related to identity. Clips number 1 (*Gaway-gaway* dance), 2 (*Palay* (rice) fields), 4 (The wake), 11 (Kalibaro grotto, "Paraiso ni Anton"), 14 (Things around the community), 15 (Pagudpud South Central Elementary School – flag raising morning ritual), 17 (Building makeshift houses – the "Ilocano Way"), 18 (*Kubo-kubos* – map and boundaries of community), 19 (*Daklis* (fishermen) – net pulling activity, boat color, song, fishing method), 20 (Selling ice cream), 23 (More *palay*), 26 (School lunchtime and recess), and 27 (Basketball) are all related to the identity and shared values of the people of Pagudpud. The aspects of identity discussed in the video were not specifically addressed in the FPQ or IDIs, making the contribution of the data from the video unique in this respect. Not many aspects of the video can be associated with the other components of sense of community, such as a shared vision.

C: Commitment – Very little of the video can be perceived as portraying the commitment of the people in Pagudpud. Clip number 15 (Pagudpud South Central Elementary School) may be considered, because in the discussion Mr. Ubasa described his participation in the parent-teacher group at the school and he also describes the commitment of the children to their education, despite the adverse conditions that may be present at the school. Clip number 16 (Showing community in Barangay Ligaya) demonstrates the commitment that the residents of that barangay have for its improvement by showing their labor contribution to the irrigation system there. The local term *bayanihan* is representative of local people's commitment to their community in Pagudpud. The concept of *bayanihan* was discovered in the IDIs and FPQs and was further discussed and refined as a sign of commitment in the video.

O: Ability to set and achieve objectives – Quite a few of the clips in the video are related to the community's ability to set and achieve objectives. Clips numbered 3 (*Kubo-kubo* consultation), 8 (Dying *sarakat*), 10 (Barangay officials), 11 (Kalibaro grotto, "Paraiso ni Anton"), 12 (Distribution of relief goods to typhoon victims in Balaoi), 21 (Barangay Hall and the day care center), and 24 (Classroom) show examples of the government's objective setting and achievement. However, it should be noted that clip 24, which shows the school in disrepair, could be interpreted as negative feedback on the local government's ability to deliver service appropriately and meet local objectives and concerns. Clips 8 (Dying *sarakat*), 13 (Hannah's Place), 16 (Showing community in Barangay Ligaya), and 28 (Finished canal) are examples of members of the community achieving their own objectives. Clip 8 shows the local people involved in the dying and weaving process contributing to their knowledge through the dying training, which helps to fulfill their personal objectives of higher skills and potentially a better income. Much of the response on objectives in the FPQ and IDIs related to the government's

efforts. However, the video shows the activities of the private citizens and their ability to achieve objectives, which further demonstrates the usefulness of the video project.

R: Ability to recognize and access resources – It was easy for the group to film some of the more obvious resources in Pagudpud and through the discussion pride and value was discovered in some less obvious places as well. Clips displaying the natural and physical resources of the community are numbers 2 (*Palay* (rice) fields), 5 (Public market), 7 (Patapat viaduct), and 11 (Kalibaro grotto, "Paraiso ni Anton"). Clips 6 (Tricycles), 8 (Dying *sarakat*), 9 (Drying *palay*), 25 (Pipe transporting), and 27 (Basketball) show the human resources of the community, namely ingenuity and other skills. Many of these same resources had been identified in other parts of the community capacity assessment, but through the video the importance of *palay* was emphasized, as well as the dedicated and persistent characteristics of the local people.

8.2.2.4. Participatory Video Evaluation Trial Summary

The PVE evaluation contributed visually to the understanding and contextualization of the concept of community capacity for the participants. Furthermore, many of the themes found in the other analyses of community capacity (FPQ, IDIs, and PPE) are supported by the PVE, such as the recognition of local natural resources. However, the cultural importance of rice became more apparent through the time that was devoted to it in the video. This speaks to the ability of PVE to provide voice and emphasis better than the FPQ and perhaps even the IDIs, where respondents have the tendency to merely list resources instead of explain their significance.

Through the video, much more of the identity of the community was discussed and discovered. This was something that was otherwise difficult to craft questions about in the FPQ and IDIs, as well as being difficult for respondents to articulate. However, through the video, important values, local customs, and traditions were easily portrayed.

As with the other analyses, it was difficult to uncover the true commitment of the community. In the FPQ and IDIs, many respondents merely answered questions related to commitment and responsibility affirmative, perhaps in an attempt to cast the community in a positive light. The PVE did provide some insight into the participation of local people in their community and further solidified the important of the local concept of *bayanihan*, which had only been touched upon in other analyses.

The ability to set and achieve objectives was aptly represented in the video and supported the results from the FPQ and IDIs in showing that the local government often takes the lead and is very active in providing services to its citizens. However, the PVE showed the activities of local people outside of the government, such as the hotel in Balaoi, the canal improvement, and building houses and basketball nets. This helped to better show the kinds of activities that are being undertaken by community members and the objectives that are important to people.

Overall, the value of the PVE as both a complement to other community capacity analyses and to provide further insight to the community can be clearly seen. The new information gathered on the community, and the process of the group, make the PVE an interesting evaluation method which benefits the community (see discussion later in this chapter).

The participants who remained throughout the duration of the project enjoyed and gained from their experience. Furthermore, the message of valuing local resources, building community pride, and providing voice resounded with the participants.

Not all of the participants responded to the questionnaire[21], thus limiting the quality and breadth of feedback. Some of the questionnaires were answered by participants of the public exhibition. The question of what could be better is not specific enough, often rendering answers about what could be better in the community instead of the desired response about the project.

However, it can be seen that most respondents enjoyed participating in the project. Ms. Tamargo stated "I enjoyed watching every bit of the video and understood better the situation of Pagudpud and felt a sense of pride of being one in the community." Other respondents concurred and stated that they enjoyed the "photo taking, adventuring, [and] meeting with God's gifts – nature and man." The group enjoyed viewing and taking the video footage, as well as interacting with the people in their community and the events and resources there. Mr. Ubasa specifically commented that he "Enjoyed taking video footage roaming around the community."

Respondents said they learned about their community, working together with others, communication skills, and the importance of their local resources and traditions. Mr. Ubasa commented on what he learned from this project. He said "The primitive way of life is a tradition need not to be neglected but to be preserved as a foundation of development." Ms. Tamargo responded "I learned the art of questioning to come up with specific responses. I also learned the sense of cooperation and camaraderie."

Participants were encouraged to provide feedback on ways to improve future projects. More time, organization, assistance, and funds were noted. Ms. Tamargo said that she would have liked even more shots of the community and its people, while Mr. Ubasa would have liked more time and organization, and another respondent said that more funds for the project were needed.

8.2.3. Public Exhibition

Figure 48 - Photo display at public exhibition

Source: Author

The public exhibition was the culmination of both the photo and video projects. It served to complete the policy management cycle in relation to evaluation by allowing for public feedback and comment on the evaluation, as well as providing a forum through which the group participants can solidify the concepts of community capacity that they learned through the process and make strides in terms of their leadership development. Exhibiting the photos also served as a way to bring the evaluation and the community capacity building potential to a larger portion of the community through promoting dialogue between those that attend the exhibition (Bleiker & Kay, 2007, p. 157; Harper, 2001, p. 16).

Technically, according to the design of the evaluations, the public exhibition is a part, the final stage, of either a PPE or a PVE. However, for clarification because the trial cases were run separately, but the public exhibition was held jointly, the public exhibition is discussed here separate from the trial cases.

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[21] Only Mr. Ubasa and Ms. Tamargo's responses were specifically identified.

8.2.3.1.   Public Exhibition Preparation

On October 4, after the PVE group's review of the video at the residence of the mayor, the mayor and I discussed the arrangements for the public exhibition. We decided to hold the exhibition in the people's center, a large, open building in the municipal complex that is typically used for sports or performances. We also agreed to gather some boards for the photos and the projection screen for the video, which the mayor would provide from municipal supplies. Then, we discussed who would be invited to the exhibition. Local high school journalism and leadership groups, as well as some barangay officials and the BHWs were invited. The mayor's assistant in charge of tourism was assigned to assist with the preparations. Mayor M. Sales then drafted a communication in English to be sent to those invited to the exhibition and had it translated into Ilocano by another assistant. Another assistant delivered the communication to the group leaders via motorbike that night and the following day. In the end, between 100 and 200 people were invited to the exhibition; however, due to the rush of the invitation, it was hard to estimate how many would actually show up.

Mayor M. Sales and the local government staff assisted with preparing the center for the presentation including donating the space, chairs, projector, tables, exhibition boards, and snacks.   The venue was large, so there was plenty of space. On one side I set up three boards and posted the photos from the PPE on them. I put a table in the middle of those boards with the questionnaires. On the other side, the screen and the chairs were set up to view the video, and a public address system and podium were placed in front of the chairs.

8.2.3.2.   Actual Process of the Public Exhibition

The exhibition was held on October 6, 2008.   The meeting was convened at the Municipal People's Center near Municipal Hall. The exhibition was slated to begin after lunch and by about 2:00 PM approximately 150 people had gathered for the event. Due to my quasi-participation and my emphasis on preserving the true nature of the engagement and equipment limitations, I was unable to audibly or visually document the entire exhibition. However, I took notes on what I observed. Ms. Montenegro took notes to document the occasion as well, particularly recording the discussion in Ilocano for my benefit. This section is a reflection of these documentations.

Figure 49 - Public exhibition participants

Source: Author

People chatted with one another as they arrived, looked over the photographs, took the questionnaires, and then found their seats for the video presentation. The video presentation was prefaced with a prayer, an introduction by a local government staff, a message from the mayor urging people to voice their opinions for the betterment of Pagudpud, and a brief introduction of

the concepts of action research and community capacity by me that were similar to the preliminary presentations that I gave to the PPE and PVE groups. This was an important part of the video presentation, as it is another cycle in the concept-driven evaluation and it is necessary for the new participants to gain the knowledge and awareness of those concepts in the same way that the small group participants did.

The photograph group was part of the audience for the video presentation and they participated accordingly. During the video presentation, the video group[22] took the microphone to describe the images in much the same way as they did in the meeting that they first viewed the video. Ms. Tamargo took the lead narrating the video, incorporating her own views and those that were discussed in the earlier video group meetings into her presentation. Notably all members of the video group took turns with the microphone, narrating, voicing their opinions, and eliciting responses from the audience. They demonstrated their leadership in this way. Ms. Viola even led everyone in singing the fishermen's song during clip number 19 (*Daklis* (fishermen)).

The presentation and dialogue were conducted in English or Ilocano, depending on the comfort of the speaker. The high school students were often eager to exercise their English abilities, while the older audience participants tended to use Ilocano. Although the responses were largely positive instead of critical, all involved seemed to enjoy and value their contribution and my interest in their thoughts.

The video group members also posed questions to the audience, and another microphone was available for the viewers to also make their contribution to the discussion. I took an observational role during this process, sometimes encouraging various video group members to take the microphone in response to personal conversations that we were having in regards to the video.

Figure 50 - Mr. Ubasa leads the video discussion at the public exhibition

Source: Author

Much discussion was focused on the clip showing the rice harvest. One exhibition participant used the term *bayanihan* to describe the way that people work together for the rice harvest. Other comments focused on the pride of using traditional harvesting methods to produce a crop that is so valuable to them. The rice clip (2) also shows a *carabao* (cow) and some exhibition participants described the importance of the carabao as symbolizing hard work and loyalty, being "man's best friend" and pollution free, and showing that poverty is not necessarily a hindrance to development, but a challenge for success.

Clip 16, which showed some community members building a canal, sparked statements on unity. One exhibition participants commented that there is a need to "build bridges not walls" between people.

In response to clip 17 (Building makeshift houses), one exhibition participant stated there is "no place like home" and confirmed that repairing homes using any means available is a part of their local identity. Another participant commented on the house building as well, noting the use of the local *amahaw* leaves for the repair was also part of their identity.

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[22] The same participants that came to the video viewing on October 4th with the addition of Mr. Lanuo.

A teacher, who had previously been a fisherman, stood up during the clip on fishing and told his story. He stated that fishing trained him to be more intelligent. In relation to the video clip he commented "you can see the ingenuity of the Ilocano – the harder the life, the sweeter the life."

About two-thirds of the way through the video presentation, a snack was distributed and a lot of the activity of the audience participants dwindled in the later afternoon heat after that. Additionally, I noted that Mr. Ubasa had a tendency to dominate the microphone and often sounded as if he were campaigning on behalf of the mayor, which may have led discouraged others' participation.

Mr. Calventas indicate that he enjoyed the video presentation but was disappointed that the responses were overtly positive instead of generating critical discussion on ways to improve the community and move forward. His response may have been related to the 'campaigning' of Mr. Ubasa since Mr. Calventas is openly critical of the mayor. I encouraged him and his students to take the microphone and initiate a more critical analysis.

Sometimes during the video I shared my experiences and tried to ask questions leading to critical discussion, but I often didn't receive any public response to this. Mr. Calventas noticed my efforts and the failure of the audience to respond as well. I tried to interject as little as possible, opting instead to let the group lead, but, I did encourage the group to keep the video moving forward due to its length and to pose some tough questions to pull the exhibition participants through lulls. My interest and enthusiasm sometimes invigorated the crowd.

After the video was finished, many attendees viewed the photos and filled out the surveys. Unfortunately, the video presentation was long -- nearly two hours -- so many people were eager to leave upon its completion, not giving full attention to the photo component of the exhibition.

The attendance of the mayor and the barangay officials at the public exhibition exposed them to the various opinions and situations that members of their community felt were important, and they can in turn use this information in their policy making. Mayor M. Sales was pleased with the results of the project and was impressed with the amount of information that he received from it, stating to me "this is the kind of participatory tool I was looking for." He further noted that he did not have many skills in conducting participatory governance, but that he is interested in it. He immediately wanted training in this method for local government staff so he could do it with lots of different groups in Pagudpud.

8.2.3.3. Public Exhibition Summary

Most of the respondents to the video presentation surveys enjoyed participating in the public forum. Respondents felt that the video accurately portrayed their local way of life, culture, and the natural beauty of Pagudpud. One of the free responses indicated this: "The picture on the video had totally depicted the culture we have!!"

Some respondents made reference to the introductory presentation making reference to community, community capacity, and information sharing and knowledge. The general tone of the responses indicate that many of respondents left the exhibition with positive thoughts about their lives and community, as well as information about areas that they would like to see better developed. One respondent said, "I think this is an effective tool because in every video it shows that we should not lose hope to success." Another respondent spoke to the usefulness of the PVE "The project will help the youngster to think many more ideas that will make our town

more progressive." Other responses indicated feelings of pride, being "warm hearted", and happiness.

In the additional comments, many people remarked on areas of their community that they would like to see more progress, the things they think the local government and the people should do, as well as the impression that the video had on them. The video impacted one respondent, particularly eliciting the following quotation in the free response question: "I like this video because I learn a great lesson in my life and this lesson will serve as my inspiration to achieve my dream in life." Another respondent was equally moved: "For me, this project has a great impact to us, as students and community people. I think the project aims to motivate us and give more power to us through knowledge gained…"

During the presentation itself, many people in the crowd participated in the public discussion. However, since many people viewed the questionnaire as going to directly to me, they felt the need to respond in English, which may have contributed to the low number of respondents.

Most of the respondents to the photo display questionnaire had positive connotations about the photos and the photo project itself. Only one respondent seemed dissatisfied with the project, noting particular objection and bad feelings about the photo of the abandoned Bangong Lipuan Lodge. The respondent lamented, "The money spent to this was from our taxes" and "This project is useless now. Millions of money was spent to this. So we must have to monitor the beauty of it [!?!]."

Many respondents saw the relationship between this project and the discussion on the development of Pagudpud, and the value of their local resources (in terms of human, physical, and cultural resources). One respondent said "I think this project will help us think more strategies in improving our community and put us in the foot of success." Another respondent stated "Having a project like this may lead for a better community to a higher quality society through evaluating the geography of a community and its people and even the mother nature."

Some respondents made reference to their community and one mentioned community capacity. For example, one response to the question "What so you think about this project?" was: "This is a very worthy and commendable project to be aware of the importance of community capacity as an answer of sustainable growth and development."

Two respondents said that the "Bagong Lipuan Lodge" photo struck them, one admired "The Role of Waves in a Man's Life", one on "The Long Road" and some noted generally yes that the photos stuck them and a few commented on how they appreciated the beauty and the local culture that was presented in the photos. Many respondents used the additional comment space to discuss their feelings in response to the photos and the video, make comments about the community in general, as well as to add some stories or commentary on individual photos. For instance, one respondent discussed the importance of farmers: "Our farmers are the backbone of the masses. Farming is one of the primary source of job in our country especially in out town Pagudpud. Without our farmers, we don't have life like this."

The photos helped exhibition participants to reflect on their own ideas about and experiences in the community. One respondent discussed the importance of fishing for livelihood. "In the photos, I suggest that they must take the photos of the fisherman because in Pagudpud, fisherman is one of the occupation of the people and most of them, this is one of the best features about Pagudpud without them…" Another respondent added to the story of the mother and child saying "A mother carrying her baby. The baby is near the heart of her mother, where she feels the love and care of her mother." Two respondents discussed *sarakat*, the material used in mat weaving.

Commenting on the impact of the photo exhibition overall, one respondent said:

> "The photos makes us interpret about the cultures and livings of Pagudpud. How we live, how we work hard just to live enough. How we innovate simple things using our minds just to turn simple things to valuable ones. How we lead and manage the community to make a more stronger and a more working community."

The public exhibition took empowerment to the next step by putting the group members in the center of attention as the ones to guide their fellow community members through the group process and lead the discussion through their photographs and video. It is at this point that empowerment makes the leap to leadership development, as those involved with the project gain confidence and start to take initiative on issues that affect them within the community thus sparking dialogue with others to create change. This kind of activity and discussion within the community builds its capacity.

The varied groups that participated in the forum provided interesting and varied feedback. However, a smaller, more intimate group would probably have provided for more in-depth conversation, possibly more critical in nature. The organization of the forum was *ad hoc*, but the process and results were positive. More planning would lead to more effectiveness. Patience and perseverance on the part of the exhibition conveners is important in this context.

8.3.Implications of Findings

The trial cases and the public exhibition show the usefulness of the PPE and PVE method as a tool for both governance and community capacity building. This section is devoted to fully explaining the potential uses and benefits of these methods. Both examples from the cases and support from the literature are used here to make the case for PPE and PVE utilization.

8.3.1. Contribution to Governance

The PPE and PVE are evaluations and the importance of evaluation in relation to governance was established in Chapter Three and Chapter Six. However, since the methods also incorporate techniques of action research, community participation, and the use of non-traditional media, the link to improved governance through the use of the methods needs to be further highlighted.

As was touched upon earlier, conducting evaluations endogenously and on an ongoing basis is an important part of the cycle of policy management and is a practice that ensures appropriate policy design, as well as buy-in and engagement of stakeholders (Balassanian, 2006, p. 27; Dobbs & Moore, 2002, p. 170).

If either PPE or PVE were incorporated into an evaluation system that was consistent with the policy management cycle, it could prove to be a very important tool in gathering stakeholder feedback in a truly participatory fashion. Mayor M. Sales recognized the potential of the methods during the public exhibition. PPE and PVE answer calls to supplement passive evaluation techniques with effective and interesting participatory evaluations (Kaufmann et al., 2002, p. vi; Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002, p. 144).

PPE and PVE contribute to accountability and transparency in governance (Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 13; Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 149) because of their trul participatory evaluative nature. Using PPE or PVE will also help policymakers ensure that their initiatives will produce the intended outcomes because they provide knowledge on the present situation and feelings of community stakeholders (Small, 1995, p. 949). The methods also contribute to the development

of more contextual policy (Bodorkos & Pataki, 2009, p. 1124; Jackson & Kassam, 1998. P. 14) by providing voice to local stakeholders. This also reinforces the need to incorporate PPE or PVE into the evaluation system in the policy management cycle, in order to best produce continuous and relevant information on the progress of policy outcomes. For the Pagudpud case trails, the intent of the PPE and PVE was to provide an overview of the community capacity there and not provide specific feedback on a particular policy, program, or project. Therefore, these results may be best utilized as a sort of ex-ante evaluation with the methods later being used to look at policy specifics.

8.3.2. Contribution to Community Capacity

While the benefit the PPE and PVE make to governance is straightforward, the potential use of the methods as an approach to community capacity building can be even more impacting. The methods inherit all of the community capacity building potential that action research and participatory evaluation have. They are also easy to organize and coordinate, as well as unique and interesting to participants.

In terms of PPE and PVE being participatory evaluations, they bring the benefits of social learning (Balassanian, 2006, p. 26; Fults, 1993, p. 88; High & Nemes, 2007, p. 111; UNDP, 1997, p. 30; Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 149), policy contextualization (High & Nemes, 2007, p. 111), empowerment and provision of voice (Fujikake, 2008, p. 6) and ownership of local policy (Fults, 1993, p. 242; Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2002, p. 128; Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 149).

PPE and PVE are both a means and an end in community capacity, empowering people to realize their potential and use their capabilities, as well as to confirm ownership of the policy by the community (UNDP, 1997, p. 12). Additionally, assessing community capacity can building it if a truly participatory approach to the evaluation is taken (Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, pp. 543-544), as it is with the PPE and PVE.

As a form of action research, PPE and PVE benefit the community through the empowerment and increased ownership of local situations and initiatives by participants (Small, 1995, p. 944), the activation of local capabilities (Bodorkos & Pataki, 2009, p. 1123), and social change (Bodorkos & Pataki, 2009, p. 1123; Kirk & Shutte, 2004, p. 238).

PPE and PVE can be categorized as a leadership development strategy for community capacity building. This is due in part to its background as an action research method whereby participants explore their current realities, desires for future development, and expound upon ways to pursue those goals (Kirk & Shutte, 2004, pp. 244-245). Additionally, projects with the intention of community development inherently result in leadership development in terms of enhanced human resource capital and social capital (Saegert, 2005, p. 10; Zacharakis & Flora, 2005, p. 303).

All participants of the case trials, including those that participated in the public exhibition, were engaged and began dialogue and personal thought on community issues. According to the feedback surveys, some were even inspired to become more active in the improvement of the community. This indicates the beginning of leadership development at large.

Furthermore, Ms. Tamargo, as a participant in the PVE trial, indicated that she began to think about her community in new ways after her participation in the project, giving additional support to the leadership development contention. In fact, particularly, among the video group, leadership development was observable through their actions, discussion, and demeanor at the public exhibition, where each member actively took the lead during the video presentation.

PPE and PVE contribute to the development of a sense of community because it helps to increase the trust between community members, as well as the understanding and cooperation to achieve common goals and the reinforcement of local identity (Jackson & Kassam, 1998, p. 11; Pavey et al., 2006, p. 106; Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 149). They do so through their facilitation of community discussion and through providing a forum through which community members can get to know one another.

The methods also contribute to development of pride in their community (Fujikake, 2008, p. 6). In the PVE trial case, the reinforcement of local identity can particularly be seen. Through the public exhibition surveys many respondents indicated that the video and photos helped to inspire feelings of pride in their community.

The use of photography and video helps to stir conversation and allows a starting point for community members to share stories and explore their collective history (Lykes, 2006, p. 273). They help local participants in an evaluation record their perspective in ways that traditional evaluation are limited (Rietbergen-McCracken & Narayan, 1998, p. 212). This unique aspect of the PPE and PVE also contributes to the development of sense of community through the discussion on their shared history and the creation of a new shared story.

The commitment of the community is increased through the use of PPE and PVE because it is mode through which local stakeholders can directly participate (Pavey et al., 2006, p. 106; Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 149). Furthermore, not only do participants take the opportunity to participate in PPE or PVE projects, they may be encouraged to participate in other civic activities (Fujikake, 2008, p. 6).

The ability to set and achieve objectives is increased through the use of PPE and PVE because it helps local stakeholders create a clearer picture of their expected outcomes of the local policy structure, as well as collect their thoughts and ideas on areas where they would like to action (Vernooy et al., 2003, p. 150). Furthermore, the learning that takes place through the PPE and PVE process contributes to the potential of change because "knowledge and learning are fundamental dimensions of historical processes of innovation and social change (Johnson, 2007, p. 277)." The methods can ultimately facilitate social change (Bodorkos & Pataki, 2009, p. 1123; Mendis-Millard & Reed, 2007, pp. 543-544).

PVE and PPE contribute to the community's ability to recognize and access resources by helping them to recognize and activate local capabilities (Bodorkos & Pataki, 2009, p. 1124). In the Pagudpud trial, new natural resources were discovered by the photo group and in both of the groups, the participants own resources were recognized and accessed. These discoveries could have a resonating effect, encouraging the participants, including the exhibition participants, to think more critically and work more diligently to identify resources within their community.

8.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter introduced the newly constructed methods participatory evaluation using the non-traditional media of video and photography. PPE and PVE are qualitative, concept-driven evaluations that incorporate tenets of action research and collaborative inquiry into their design. The use of PPE or PVE fulfills the call from academics and practitioners that evaluation be useful and provides voice to local stakeholders, render viable, accurate and practical information, and emphasize outcomes and the process of evaluation.

By looking at the trial cases of PPE and PVE that were conducted in Pagudpud, Philippines, it can be seen that action research can be incorporated into participatory evaluation and that

using non-traditional media, such as photography and video, is an interesting and useful method of data collection, as well as an activity that a group can coalesce around. The findings reveal that these types of evaluation have the dual function of providing information for policy-making and build community capacity by empowering people through information dissemination, critical community discussion, and leadership development.

Unfortunately, these trial cases had a few issues that should be corrected in future research. The first is that the projects should have been conducted by an internal facilitator in order for them to reach their full potential community capacity building development. However, as explained earlier, that was not possible in this trial. Additionally, in participatory evaluation, it is necessary for the participants to be involved in the indicator selection and the judgment of the indicators against their selected criteria. In these trial cases, the participants chose images that depicted their interpretation of community capacity using the A-A-A framework presented in the beginning of the projects. It would have been better if there had been more discussion allotted to the internalization of the framework and the selection of local indicators and criteria that the groups could analyze. While there is much potential for these methods, there is still a need for further refinement and research on their implementation, the long term benefit of their use, and other potential benefits and drawbacks.

9. Summary of Work

T here is a moral, economic, and security imperative to give credence to grass roots alternative development and poverty alleviation. With more than a billion people continually enduring hardships due to human poverty and structural inequities, there has never been a more opportune time to refocus on how to make the global economic system work for everyone. Poverty reduction strategies should not be created in a vacuum from the top-down, but rather be a component of proactive and participatory development enacted within the community. It is for this reason, that community capacity, which attempts to describe, incorporate, and promote social and economic activities in a community and their stakeholders, is significant in relation to human development poverty alleviation.

Globalization has brought modernity to the doorsteps of the developing world and brought the lives of people in developing countries closer to their already developed neighbors. The state of the world is what makes this work relevant and the desires of so many to improve it provide further impetus for the pursuit of proactive governance and equitable standards of living.

The field of development has evolved from focusing on only economic development to including ideas from participatory development, sustainable development, and human development. These permutations of the original concept of development can be grouped under the umbrella of alternative development and serves as the leading paradigm guiding this work. Special consideration was also given here to rural development, due to the high instance of poverty in rural areas, and community development, because of the concepts being advocated for throughout this work.

"Strong communities are those that offer members positive ways to interact, important events to share and ways to resolve them properly, opportunities to honor members, opportunities to invest in the community, and opportunities to experience a spiritual bond among members (McMillan & George, 1986, p. 14)." The strength of communities can be described through identifying the attributes of community capacity. Human development can be best undertaken by understanding the importance of community capacity and then building strategies for development or revitalization through consideration of community capacity.

The development of larger conceptualizations of community is heavily reliant on the development of social capital between its various stakeholders. Social capital describes the bonds between people and has been recognized as a contributing factor to community development and community capacity.

Community capacity has become somewhat of a buzzword as of late and there is much contention over its meaning and use. This works contributes to the clarification of it meaning and places the concept into a useable analytical framework that is applicable to policy management and evaluation. Community capacity is established here as a holistic approach to analyzing factors that affect governance and development. According to the understanding of the literature and its real world application, community capacity has been intrinsically linked to local stakeholders and the provision of opportunities for them to exercise their voice.

Community capacity is becoming increasingly more important as authority is being decentralized, as it is in many countries. This is because communities with a high amount of community capacity have a better understanding of the assets at their disposal, as well as a greater understanding of knowing what they need and want and avenues to achieve such. Community capacity facilitates governance and the A-A-A framework is a tool through which communities can better identify and assess their situation to further facilitate local activity

planning. Human development and poverty alleviation is aided by considering community capacity because it helps to illuminate alternative, local, and organic ways in which a community can utilize its assets for local improvements that best reflect the needs and desires of the local people.

Community capacity is the ability of all members of a community to access and use their assets to set and achieve objectives. Community capacity in the context of a developing community needs special consideration, especially in comparison to already modernized and developed contexts. The A-A-A framework also provides the special considerations that are specific to any context by articulating many factors that can be easily overlooked by traditional planning, such as the identification of multitudes of stakeholders and community agents and taking the entirety of the community into consideration as a preliminary step in planning. The expansion of the contextual influences offered here also helps to make the A-A-A framework more applicable to developing communities.

Through the analysis and exploration presented in this work, community capacity can also be seen as a framework to guide human development and poverty alleviation. Community capacity building strategies such as leadership development, organizational development, community organizing, and inter-organizational collaboration help to make governance overall more effective and contribute to the institutionalization of decentralization through the creation of a populace that is well equipped facilitate localized participatory policy management.

Understanding the necessity of community capacity in participatory governance is the key link between concept and application. Community capacity can only be valuable as a conceptual framework if it is applicable to governance frameworks and mechanisms. This work seeks to link the two areas through formulating community capacity into an easily understandable framework, the A-A-A, which can be paired with public administration tools, such as the logic framework and methods of evaluation found in the policy management cycle. With a clear linkage between concept and application more effective governance, particularly in terms of human development and poverty alleviation, can be achieved.

Governance is established here as the system through which authority is exercised and has grown to include governments at various levels, service agencies, and private enterprises involved with public service delivery. Democracy and participatory governance are the most prevalent and popular forms of governance and are practically implemented through local governance, decentralization, and localization. Localized governance is important because it contributes to democracy through the development of political, organizational and leadership capacity at the local level, thus increasing people's participation, as well as providing a check to higher levels of authority, thus increasing good governance.

Public administration has moved governance toward democratic participation and the global market. Some tools have emerged to facilitate participation of stakeholders to promote good governance. A policy management cycle that includes evaluation and links it and public feedback to the next policy planning phase increases the efficiency of public management and the effectiveness of policy. The logic framework is an organizational tool that can be used to describe any portion of a policy structure in its entirety, and provides common structure and vocabulary for public administration, while evaluation is becoming the most important and useful public administration tool for the promotion of good governance.

The major paradigms ascribed to in this work are post-modernism, post-positivism, and contextualism because they are the most appropriate for studying about community capacity and governance, particularly when participatory methodologies are being used. Reflexive research,

adaptive research, ethnography, qualitative research, and action research are also outlined here as major approaches that were taken for this research. Specific methodologies employed to obtain data for this work were secondary research, case studies, observation, photography, focus groups, interviews, and surveys. This work seeks to emphasize the idea that qualitative data, complementing quantitative data, is essential for effective policy making.

Despite the limitations inherent in using these methods and the specific ones that were incurred through the field research, this work was still able to make a coherent case for the abridgement of the concept of community capacity and the development of non-traditional participatory evaluation.

9.1. Contribution to Conceptual Development

Part of the academic contribution of this work is the development of the concept of community capacity. The concept of community capacity was introduced and developed in relation to the agents responsible for community capacity building. Community leadership was also designated as a twin concept to community capacity. The reorientation of the global economic system to focus on community-driven economics is also proposed as way to incorporate the newly progressed concept into a practical paradigm to facilitate human development and poverty alleviation.

Community has been established here as a suitable starting point for evaluative research and policy management. Community is both the place we live and the people and things we know. These qualities help to build the localized concept of community, as well as distill the concept to its foundational components in order for it to be expanded beyond the smallest propinquity. Through recognition of importance and efforts of inclusiveness, a truly international community can be born.

Furthermore, communities should be recognized as complex systems with multiple stakeholders. By conceptualizing these complex relationships and functions, which is more similar to reality, useable analytical frameworks for policy creation, leadership promotion, and other development strategies can be better created.

The cases of rural revitalization from Japan in Chapter Five highlight the refined concept of community capacity. The Chaskin Framework, which this work is based off of, is simplified, particularly in visual representation, into the Attributes-Agents-Action (A-A-A) cycle. The A-A-A cycle represents the refinement of the terms of the Chaskin Framework, emphasizes the importance and role of the contextual influences, and demonstrates the cyclical nature of community capacity. The cases of rural development from Japan also help to contextualize the attributes of community capacity by focusing on a community with a particularly strong and noticeable SCOR attribute. All of these aspects were uncovered through the cases studies from Japan. This model is one of the main contributions of this work.

The case of Himeshima stands apart from the other Japanese case studies because it focused on the agents of community capacity. Himeshima provides a better understanding of the significance of community capacity and the effects of community agents in relation to community leadership. Community leadership is the ideal outcome of community capacity development and is what community agents should be striving for because it ensures that the community develops according to its own objectives consistently. Community capacity and community leadership evolve simultaneously. The singular instances of leadership facilitate the

progression of the A-A-A cycle to produce a more mature policy structure with more varied and sophisticated outcomes, higher levels of community capacity, and more leadership.

Pagudpud shares much in common with places around the world that wish to see improvement in their community. This case of Pagudpud shows some ways in which a local administration can work toward improving the lives of the people they serve, as well as some community capacity building strategies that will help to facilitate the success of local activities. The policy structure of Pagudpud was analyzed using the logic framework and its community capacity was assessed through the A-A-A framework. What can be seen is that there are many activities being undertaken in Pagudpud and community capacity building is taken into consideration through the 10-K Initiative. This is how community capacity building strategies can be integrated into a policy framework.

In terms of governance, this work emphasized the need to focus on the localization of policy structure and evaluation and this can be done through decentralization policies and practices. This can be considered another expansion on the concepts of localization and evaluation.

Localization encourages people to organize and collect their demands at the local level and strengthens their position against other interests. It is also consistent with the nesting concept of communities, fostering the development of policy links between the levels of governance and recognizing the importance of delegate discretion. Localization is important because it contributes to good governance and empowers local stakeholders, which leads to success with human development and poverty alleviation efforts.

Localization is important for improvement of evaluation systems and the attainment of aggregate development goals. The importance of localizing evaluation has been recognized, most notably in the case of Nepal and Bohol, Philippines, and measures are being taken to incorporate the local level in the evaluation process. Although the reform toward localization is underway, there are still doubts and hesitations in its implementation. However, through trainings like the one that officials from Nepal are involved in and pilot localization projects, like the one in Bohol, Philippines, effective localization of evaluation can be achieved and improvements in the evaluation system can be seen.

The implementation of localized evaluation is pivotal to the implementation of a fully functioning evaluation system that is incorporated into a complete policy management cycle, a productive atmosphere of evaluation (evaluation culture), and appropriate policy structure and organizational infrastructure. By localizing evaluation, local administrations build evaluation capacity through the process of evaluation, which, in turn, also promotes ownership of development projects and provides voice for local stakeholders, as well as increase the amount of transparency, responsibility, and accountability in all levels of the policy structure, which are some of the primary objectives of evaluation. The localization of evaluation is truly a key component for the success of projects and ultimately national policy and its impact on the evaluation process should not be downplayed or overlooked.

The major issues with evaluation in developing countries described here are:
1. the need to build evaluation capacity;
2. the necessity of continuity in the policy management cycle through incorporating evaluation;
3. the development of a culture of evaluation;
4. the need for coordination and involvement of all stakeholders, particularly local stakeholders, in evaluation; and
5. the creation of legal and organizational structures for evaluation.

These issues are cited as the major constraints to the progress of evaluation in developing countries and their continued impact is seen in the failure of many human development initiatives and stunted efforts in poverty alleviation. These issues can be addressed through improvements in the way that evaluation is being approached and implemented. This work suggests some progressive approaches to evaluation in response to the issues such as: a) asset-based assessment, b) qualitative evaluation, c) participatory evaluation, and d) concept-driven evaluation. These types of evaluation contribute to better governance and benefit communities more than traditional approaches to evaluation. Furthermore, they address some of the issues with evaluation, particularly building evaluation capacity, continuity in the policy management cycle, developing a culture of evaluation, and bringing stakeholders into the process. Legal frameworks and organizational structures are not necessarily addressed in work, but could be facilitated by the adoption of these evaluation approaches.

9.2. Contribution of New Methods

This work has facilitated the creation of two new types of non-traditional participatory evaluation, participatory photo evaluation (PPE) and participatory video evaluation (PVE). The use of PPE or PVE fulfills the call from academics and practitioners that evaluation be useful and provides voice to local stakeholders, render viable and accurate and practical information, and emphasize outcomes and the process of evaluation. These methodologies sprung from the quest to assess community capacity through the newly developed A-A-A framework and the desire to explore truly participatory research and evaluation techniques.

PPE and PVE combine the concepts found in traditional evaluation, participatory evaluation, and concept-driven evaluation with methods of qualitative and action research. The benefits of these hybrid methods are wide ranging, encompassing both administrative and community development functions. By looking at the trial cases of PPE and PVE that were conducted in Pagudpud, Philippines, it can be seen that action research can be incorporated into participatory evaluation and that using non-traditional media, such as photography and video, is an interesting and useful method of data collection, as well as an activity that a group can coalesce around. Designing a dual evaluation/development project using PPE or PVE provides a unique opportunity for community members to engage in a proactive dialogue that will inspire greater participation, as well as being a practical administrative tool.

9.3. Future Research and Final Thoughts

The concept of community capacity is far from being refined and while the A-A-A framework provides a practical starting point for the incorporation of community capacity into policy considerations it is still far from being a universal framework. At the very least, the A-A-A provides an easily understood framework and diagram that can be contextualized and used by local stakeholders once there is ownership and understanding among them. There is still a need for more research and broader understanding of the concept of community capacity and the links between social capital and human development.

Community-driven economics and community leaders are two concepts that are introduced in this work in response to the problems of human development and poverty alleviation. Since this is one of the first conceptualizations of community-driven economics and community

leadership, there is a need for further research into their parameters and implications, as well as their uses and incarnations.

While there is much potential for the methods PPE and PVE, there is still a need for further refinement and research on their implementation and their other potential benefits and drawbacks. This work is the first to advocate on a practical level for the use of non-traditional media in truly participatory evaluations. Typically evaluation is held in the realm of administration and photography and film is held in the realm of the arts, both with little understanding of the other. However, through the trial cases, the benefits of both evaluation and non-traditional media as an administrative and community capacity building tool can be seen. Through further research into these methods, broader understanding of their benefits and the experience of their use will be uncovered.

Our globalized world can no longer remain blissfully ignorant. We must be aware of the situations that exist in our international community and our impact or potential impact on them. Poverty can no longer be seen as 'their' problem because, inevitably, it will at some point affect 'us.' While we cannot go out and change the lives of all people directly, we can ensure that those who are engaging in human development, poverty alleviation, and local policy creation are doing so with an arsenal of tools that will truly affect change and benefit the quality of lives that we all want to live.

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11. Appendix
11.1.   FPQ Results
11.1.1.   FPQ Attributes Responses

Table 47- FPQ Attribute Results

Community Capacity Attribute	Relevant Questions	Responses
Sense of community	What are some things that people in Pagudpud have in common?	(total responses - 79) Identity: hospitable/friendliness/cooperation- (64 responses) Hospitable - 22, fond of merry-making, friendly - 11, helpful - 5, can be trusted, easy to get along with - 2, kind - 5, courteous – 2, cooperation – 6, unity – 3, accommodating, lively, respectful – 3, love, people Identity: work – (11 responses) standard jobs and family, having no job, kinds of jobs - 2, hardworking - 7 Other – (4 responses) people are responsible, are to be from pagudpud, some are bullies and some are good, "kinnamaylg", nature lovers
	Is there a shared vision of the people of Pagudpud? What is it?	(total responses - 50) Progress/tourism/better way of life – (36 responses) promote tourism - 5, become a city - 5, to see progress in 10 years - 14, to have buildings and condos - 2, to be well known in the world - 2, "for every pagudpudian to have a sustainable and stable living and a way to prosperity and progress", peaceful life, "to see Pagudpud more beautiful for tourists", for pagudpud to be a better place to stay - 4, to have a better way of living, (3 responses) No because of political instability – 2, no Other – (11 responses) if the politicians are cooperative and not corrupt there will be progress, yes - 7, "panqagdur-as", to have better unity, to have officers who are not corrupt
Commitment	Do people in Pagudpud generally pursue interests in Pagudpud or do they feel they need to go outside of Pagudpud?	(total responses - 50) In PGD – (33responses) Some go out to look for job opportunities of "greener pastures" – 32 (better job and higher pay), leave because of poor situation of town Leave PDG – (17 responses) some prefer to stay because of the love for Pagudpud - 2, in Pagudpud – 11, stay to fight for survival, no place like home, pagudpud is a paradise, older people prefer to stay
	Are people committed to Pagudpud?	(total responses – 51) Yes - 47 not at all, some are not – 2, maybe
	Do people in Pagudpud take responsibility for the things that happen here?	(total responses – 57) Yes - 52, some not all - 2, some slightly, not at all

Ability to set and achieve objectives	If someone speaks of change in Pagudpud, how likely are things to change?	(total responses - 49) (28 responses) no answer – 21, don't know - 7 local government – (6 responses) responsibility of the government - 2, peaceful change during elections, if by officials and people, depends on availability of funds, through LGU not likely – (12 responses) Not quite fast, hard if people won't cooperate, hard to change - 7, not likely - 2, not easy – 1 likely – (responses 3)ok if construction of road, step by step, ok
	Is Pagupud a place where things get done?	(total responses - 48) Affirmative – (42 responses) Sometimes - 4, yes – 38 Negative – (6 responses) no – 4, pagudpud is a complete place, not yet (difficulty in interpreting this question on the part of the interviewers and interviewees)
Ability to recognize and access resources	What are the assets of Pagudpud?	(total responses - 81) Natural resources – (47 responses) Scenic spots - 10, Saud beach, Kapigan Falls - 2, abundant natural resources - 2, farms - 2, beaches – 12, sea, rice fields - 2, mountains, white sand, shells, coconut products – 3, leaves of labig, clean surroundings, green forests - 5, the falls, "good people, green forests, well preserved environment Human resources – (24 responses) cooperative people -2, industrious people - 2, hospitality of people - 2, hardworking fishermen, ability of the people, the lovely kind and energetic people, human resources - 2, respectful people, hardworking and productive farmers, noble people - 2, the people themselves, "good people, green forests," good people – 3, culture, humility of people, fishermen, carpenters Tourist development – (6 responses) resorts - 4,tourist destination – 2 (also - Scenic spots - 10, Saud beach, Kapigan Falls - 2, beaches – 12, white sand, shells; total responses related to tourism - 33) Products – (3 responses) products, ikamen, produced goods (also coconut products – 3, leaves of labig; total 7) Other – (1 response) peaceful
	How easy is it for you to get what you need in Pagudpud?	(total responses - 49) Able - (16 responses) Easy – 6, easy if cooperate - 2, very easy – 4, very easy if you have patience, ok - 3 Difficult – (22 responses) not so easy – 5, hard – 7, hard if its financial, there are times when I can't get what I need, fast because of good transportation, have to work hard for it – 7, sometimes Other – (11 responses) nabayong, di masyado, don't know – 10

Source: Author

11.1.2. FPQ Agents Responses

Table 48 - FPQ agents results

Community Agents	Relevant Questions	Responses
Individuals	Who gets things done in Pagudpud?	(67 responses) tourists - 3, , don't know/no answer – 8, Local officials – council, LGU officials - 13, police officers - 3, barangay officials - 3, barangay chairman - 4, official leaders, Kagawad, mayor - 4, barangay captain –Reynold Garvida/LolabLapa, politicians, (32) Local people - The people through the guidance of the LGU, residents – 16, MMSU students, farmers, everyone – 4 "we believe in unity", (24)
Organizations	What organizations are important in Pagudpud?	(76 total) Localized national orgs - PCO – periculture organization - 3, NGOs - 3, cooperatives - 3, , Z(S)ANJ(H)ERA - 7, LGU -2, , baranagay health workers (BHW) - 12, PATODA - 4, all -4, senior citizens' org - 3, boy scouts, girl scouts , women's league -3, farmers' org - 4, civic orgs, SK-7, bgy orgs, bgy police, assoc. of bgy councilors, FPTCA, Parent-Teacher Association – 1, WOPIC - 2, OSCA – 2, sanunguin kabtaan (60) Local orgs - shellcraft org, boatman org, tour guides' org, youth basketball org, Pgd volunteers for progress – 6, community orgs (11) Other groups - Organization of the Sabbath – b/c they give medicines, religious groups (2) none, no answer – 3 (4)
Networks	Who (person or organization, inside or outside of Pagudpud) can you go to to get something you need?	(109 total responses) Local officials - Sangunian Bayan - 7, Captain Lorenzo Domingo, LGU officials - 10, police officers - 3, mayor - 18, Mayor Sales – 10, bgy captain – 11, bgy officials - 4, bgy assistant, bgy chairman - 2, Mrs. Luz Allado, DSWD - 6, BHW -2, vice mayor - 4, Malapit, Vice Mayor Matilde Sales, SB – Pastor Aringay/Efren Cimatu Sr./Joseph Caliw-Caliw, Aurthur, Bgy. Cpt. Cagawad - 4, SB – Flordelino Sauralio – 2, SK Chairman – Alice Flation (93) Other officials - governor - 2, congressman - 2, Inec Director, Michael Keon (gov), Philippine National Police – 2 (8) No one, agriculturalists, DTI, DOST, JESDA, JICA, health center, my mom (8)

Source: Author

11.1.3. FPQ Actions Responses

Table 49 - FPQ actions results

Community Actions	Relevant Questions	Responses

Governance; planning and decision-making	What kinds of things has the local government done recently?	(total responses - 69) Local administrative functions (47) - farm to market roads - 4, plaza - 6, roads - 4, give goods during typhoons, establish day care center, financial/medical assistance, dikes, irrigation – 10, promote tourism - 2, contests, sports competitions - 2, trainings/seminars, hanging bridge, renovate municipal building, change heavy equipment, garbage compactor, launch Kangayedan festival, preservation of natural resources, festival - 2, cleaned, kubo-kubo – 2, high school facilities, picking up of garbage None - 7, pasayak, no answer – 11, shellcrafts, building resorts – 2,
Production of goods and services	What kinds of things can you get in Pagudpud?	(total responses - 132) Local goods for local markets – (132) Fish and marine products – (55 responses) Fish- 16, seaweed - 8, marine products - 4, shells – 10, shell products – 11, fresh sea minerals, white sand – 4, coral reef Agricultural products (68 responses)- coconuts (niyog) - 23, mats (ikamen)- 9, labig -2, rice - 5, , orchids - 2, bananas, , coconut (buko) juice, saba - 3, nateng, food, halo-halo, fruits, ngirad, bonsai, sigay, bagas, bua (betelnut) - 4, gamet, bawang (small onions), sanja, , sarokat, , mango, vegetables - 2, root crops, palay, leaves souvenirs – 2, lumber, meats – 5, Furniture, valuable goods,
Communication	Where do you get most of your information from?	(total responses - 97) Interpersonal communication – (20 responses) police officers - 2, officials - 2, other residents of Pgd - 6, bgy officials, observation, bgy captain, cellphones, "the old ones", LGU, DTI, MMSU, organizations – 2, Local media - municipal office, National mass media – (62 responses) TV – 31, radio - 19, newspapers - 9, books - 2, magazines - 1, Other mass media - internet – 5, dream satellite no answer – 8, "I saw. I read. I ask." – Clifford L. Faylogna, 18, Balaoi,
Organization and advocacy	Do you participate in any organizations? If so, which ones?	(total responses - 56) Local orgs – (8 responses) shellcraft makers' org – 4, K therapist, Caparisian Cooperative, Sitio orgs, math club in school Advocacy orgs - (2 responses) Pagudpud Volunteers for Progress, campus ministry Religious orgs – (5 responses) Pentecostal org, church org, WOPIC (church organization), Couples for Christ, religious orgs Localized orgs – (27 responses) senior citizens' org - 4, NGOs, Sanhera - 4, , women's club - 2, BHW, Balikatan, civic org, cooperative, PATODA, PAYAW – org of fishers, barangay police, TANAP, BSPU, YCAP, SK – 2, FPTCA, Parent-Teacher Association, SK, farmers' organization

| | | Yes- 10 (not used in total calculation) |
| | | no – 13, no answer – 1 |

Source: Author

Source: Author

11.1.4.   FPQ Contextual Influences Responses

Table 50 - FPQ contextual influences results

Relevant Questions	Response
What are the best things about Pagudpud?	(total responses - 103) Space & security (positive) - (19 responses) clean surroundings – 5, peaceful, trouble-free, linak kin talna (peace and order), warm hospitality, you feel at home, clean beaches -2 , green forests – 3, nature, oxygen, everything – exp the people and the place, green fields Residential Stability - (12 responses) - "The beautiful spots that God has created in this place and the hospitable Pagudpudians." – Dianne Shayne Faylogna, 17, Balaoi, respectful people, good and wise people, kind people, Friendly people, hospitable people – 2, warm beautiful people – easy to get along with, caring people, the people, everything – exp the people and the place Natural resources – (61 responses) tourist spots - 5, scenic spots - 6, Saud Beach, Kapigan Falls – 5, beaches - 18, rice paddies - 2, coconut – 5, different kinds of fish, farms, mountains – 3, Blue Lagoon - 2, white sand, sarakat – 2, betelnut, labig, shells, agtalon, water resources, aba, laya, agkalap, Other – (11 responses) products- 3, municipal hall, the new market, fiesta - 2, White Beach Resort, resorts - 2, good associations and orgs

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What could be better in Pagudpud?	(total responses - 62) Space & security (negative)- (16 responses) (environment responses – 12) Cleanliness in the market/poblacion, more green surroundings – 2 (clean and green program - 3), plaza, playground, cleanliness - 4, more order, more rules in nature preservation, improvements to the mini-park, be a drug free place Residential stability (negative)- (2 responses) cooperation, teamwork Location – (3 responses) roads, more transportation to the interior, roads going to rice fields should be cemented Economics – (19 responses) better developed tourist spots - 4, more facilities for the beaches, tourism – 4, dikes to protect the rice fields, more job opportunities - 3, to be a 2nd class municipality, well developed beach resorts, foreign investment, establishment of bigger hotels, better house, water system Political stability - better if the officers have unity Other – (21 responses) beaches, naruos, no answer – 13, no idea -1, nothing – 5,

Source: Author

11.2. IDI Results
11.2.1. Villamor Ramos Calventas

Table 51 - Calventas Information

Basic Informant Information	Response
Name	Villamor Ramos Calventas
Age	55
Occupation	High School Teacher/Principal
Family	3 kids ages 24, 21, 19, wife deceased (died March 2008 of breast cancer)
Years lived in Community	55 years – born in Pagudpud
Position in Community	Religious
Organizations	Unit leader for Couples for Christ Barangay Court – used for dispute settlement in barangay
Contact	Pasaleng

Information	

11.2.1.1. Calventas Attributes Responses

Table 52 - Calventas Attributes Responses

Community Capacity Attribute Questions	Response
Can you identify a shared goal or vision of ____?	- Developing town as a tourist destination - Peaceful – keep out nightlife and crime - Still progressing - Farming and fishing community
Would you say that you are in a similar situation as the other members of ____?	Difficult because of respected position, people often come to me for advice/support
What are some things that people in ___ have in common?	Peace loving people, industrious, cooperative – always willing to help
Would you say that it is easy to trust people in ___? Are there any people or groups of people that you are cautious of?	Yes No – haven't yet met a person in PGD who wants to hurt another, crimes are from the outside, some minor incidents due to quarrel
How often do you gather with other people from ___ (i.e. celebrate special occasions, have food or drinks) either in your home, the home of others, or in public?	Meetings, fiesta, regular passing of time, before wife died only 1 time a week, but now 3 times a week, for enjoyment
How would you identify yourself (ethnicity, religion, locality, etc..)? Do you feel that many people in ___ identify themselves similarly?	Approachable, principled, can count on me (people talk to me and expect me to take action because they are too timid to do so themselves, also they don't trust politicians or think they will take action), social responsibility, important to have friends and help others, mostly identify with PGD and Pasaleng Other people are similar, but I have a desire to stay different from others I prefer to stay where the community is and where people are similar to me. Don't want to leave comfort zone – i.e. had an offer for a better teaching position to oversee activities of Ilocos, but chose to remain in Pasaleng
Do people in ___ take responsibility for the things that happen here?	Yes, responsible – education teaches consequences of actions
Are people committed to ___?	Yes, most

Do people in ___ generally pursue interests in ___ or do they feel they need to go outside of ___?	Honest assessment – most people are going outside of country, going abroad helps financially, but usually come home and stay for good- retire back home, own property
What kind of activities do you participate in?	Fiesta, foundation organization, meetings, conferences, sportsfest – coordinate activities, church activities – prayer meeting, attend church, barangay court – irregular, case by case – first try to settle within Sitiuo, then bgy captain and bgy council, then goes to bgy court, there has been only one case in the 10 years that I have served on the court
What are things that you would like to see done in ____?	Ask the local government to promote tourism, but no nightlife because then there will be moral degeneration and we won't be able to avoid women becoming prostitutes Refrigeration units for the fishermen's catch Irrigation rules
In regards to your ideas, are you or others taking steps towards accomplishing those goals?	I expressed my opinion, but politicians think of themselves as the most powerful, but really the citizens should be the most powerful – however, in the Philippines, first There are scheduled barangay meetings, but they should be more often so that local people can express themselves more
What other kinds of actions are being undertaken in ___?	x
Do you feel that progress is being made in regards to the desires of the community?	Yes, but slow – accept that can't change over night
In the last 2 years, have you noticed any changes in ___? What were they?	Yes, telecom has improved – since 2001-2002 – used to have to go to Laoag, mobile phones have helped communication – there are no land lines
If someone speaks of change in ___, how likely are things to change?	Want to see development, but not too much, (i.e. clubs etc..) Maybe depends on the political will and who will become the next mayor
Is ___a place where things get done?	Politics play a big role – to get things done, must be on the good side of the politicians – even good ideas will be ignored if on wrong side of the fence
What types of things can one find in ___?	Have most things in PGD- simple market, must go to Laoag for appliances, only general stores in PGD, but the goods in these stores comes from Laoag
How do you get the things you need in ____?	I buy most things in Laoag because I go there often – for Pancian and Pasaleng itseasier to go to Bangui than to PGD town center – because the local busses there don't go to PGD town center directly, must hire tricycle transport directly

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What kinds of assets are there in ___?	Natural resources – timber, still have virgin forests, sea, diligent and cooperative people
Do you use resources from within ___ or do you rely on resources outside of ___?	x

11.2.1.2. Calventas Agents Responses

Table 53 - Calventas Agents Responses

Community Agent	Criteria	Please name as many as possible
Individual	• Formal leaders in government, businesses, organizations, or movements • Informal leaders (e.g. people of reverence, clout, or high civic standing or activity)	Mayor and Vice Mayor – in the Philippines, politicians make things happen
Organizations	• Established groups (e.g. social organizations, commercial associations, religious groups, age-related groups, government sponsored organizations) • Informal civil society organizations (e.g. recreation leagues, neighborhood constellations) • Businesses • Government agencies • Institutes • Educational institutes	PTCA – important for educational development, extra fundraising and local infrastructure and special projects
Networks	• Interpersonal networks (through families and acquaintances) • Organizational networks • Political networks • Business network	Political networks – sessions for councilors and local assemblies

11.2.1.3. Calventas Actions Responses

Table 54 - Calventas Actions Responses

Community Action Questions	Response
Does the local government respond to citizens appropriately?	Yes, sometimes, but the power to recommend people for jobs should be reduced

If a project is announced in __, what is the likelihood that it will be complete? Useful for the local people?	Special biddings for projects for contractors –try to avoid going overtime for costs, audit fund, projects impeded by tensions between mayor and vice mayor
Are the community members of ___ consulted by the local government in order to make improvements to the community?	Barangay assembly is twice a year by law, but can make more
What kinds of local goods can be found in local markets?	x
What kinds of locally made goods are sold elsewhere?	Probably
What kinds of services can be found in __?	Electricity is from Ilocos Norte, library in OGD, internet, market, extension hospital in Pasaleng – doctor comes 2 times a week from Bangui
What kinds of things must be purchased outside of ___?	x
How do you stay in contact with your friends and family members?	Text, letter, mobile
How often do you use telephone? Email?	No internet in Pasaleng, but mobile phone everyday
How easy is it to access telephone? Email?	Mobile reliable – tower in Pasaleng
Where do you get your information about __? About the rest of the world?	Books written about PGD, municipal annual – all projects and businesses – go to municipal hall and ask people, website about PGD, watch tv, newspapers
What other forms of communication do you use in ___?	Cell phones, newspapers, magazines
How confident of this information are you?	Confident of tv – access to satellite tv – CNN and Fox, but not so confident of local tv
What local organizations are you familiar with?	x
What local organizations are you involved with?	x

Are there any restrictions to the places or ways that people can gather together in ___?	In Pasaleng can gather any time and no one will bother you, but it may be different in PGD
Are there any groups in __ that are concerned with particular issues?	No
Do they provide information to the public that is relevant to their cause?	x
Is there an example of a local organization successfully accomplishing a change within ___?	Have had before – cooperatives success because of management, in Pancian there is a consumers coop and another for land
Does the local government work together with local organizations?	Yes

11.2.1.4. Calventas Contextual Influences Responses

Table 55 - Calventas Contextual Influences Responses

Contextual Influence Questions	Response
How easy is it for you to get around __? Out of ___?	Easy along highway – highway bus is every 15-30 minutes, but not at night, to Manila only in the afternoons but it's difficult with interior barangays, they must use tricycle or personal transportation
What methods of public transportation are there in ___?	Tricycle, bus
How often do you use public transportation?	Every now and then if I have to go to the mountains, but those going to the market must use it daily
How easy is it to access the places for production in __?	Rice – most sellers come here, don't have to take products to the market, all transactions are through middle men Furniture is made by order
How easy is it for you to get your products to markets outside of __?	Some to Bangui/Laoag – easy because of bus transportation and the middle men
Are there any physical aspects of __ that make transportation of people or goods difficult?	Inter-barangay roads are difficult/rough – but the LGU is trying to cement them
How often are there natural disasters in __? What kinds?	Typhoon – 1 tornado in 50 years, flood/drought – rare, other minor ocean disturbances

Are the roads/railways in __ in good condition most of the time?	Mostly, sometimes there are landslides in December
Has there been any change in land use (i.e. conversion of farmland to commercial land, changes of ownership of land) recently?	There is a problem with more people reclaiming fields for residential or commercial development.
Is there a lot of crime in ___? What kinds?	No
How safe do you feel generally in ___?	Yes, safe, especially in Pasaleng
Have you noticed people moving in or out of ___? For what reasons?	Yes, especially in Pancian. There are people moving in and the population is increasing. There is still land available in Balaoi.
How comfortable do you feel with your neighbors? Other people in ___? Are there any people with whom you have difficulty or feel uncomfortable with?	Very comfortable, especially in my neighborhood because co-relatives share land, but there are personal differences. There are some people with whom I have difficulty with, but in general things are ok. There are minor difficulties with the government and with people who have difference beliefs.
In relation to other community members of __, do you feel that you are better off, worse off, or the same?	x
How easy is it for you to get what you need in ___?	x
Are there any groups of people in __ that you feel have an advantage over others?	Mostly Catholic – no religious quarrel
What are the various kinds of ethnicities or religion that can be found in ___? Are there any notable issues between these groups?	x
In the past, has there been any difficulty between groups of people in ___?	x
Have there been any grievances over land in __?	Land disputes, all settled in court, no one is dying
Can you name some families in __ that have power (economic, political, land)?	Sales, Benemerito (former mayor)
Are there any other places in which __ has had issues with in the past?	Politics – Former Mayor Benemerito was killed by Teteng Sales (former mayor) and the politics of it are still in play, but don't really know what the difference is.
Are there any places in __ that have historical or cultural value?	Kanyao, Pateng – ethnic groups

Are there any special events in ___?	Fiesta, Foundation Day
Are there any ideas or concepts that people in ___ find to be unanimously valuable?	Peaceful lives
What kinds of significant historical events have happened in ___?	x
Can you name some important local traditions and values?	Filipinos are clanists
Are there groups or activities that you are not allowed to partake in? Why?	None – but activities are chosen
Are there certain people in __ that you need to know or get along with in order to be successful?	x
Are there any groups in __ that are noticeably less well-off than others?	Not noticeable – some affluent families, but most people have one income
Do you feel that people in __ have about the same amount of income or are there some people that have noticeably more? Who?	There is no one group that is above others.
Do you feel that __ is becoming more or less prosperous?	More
Does there seem to be a lot of poverty in __?	Still there are some people in poverty, or want to be considered in poverty. Some people just don't want to work.
Are there any industries in ___ that are struggling? Why?	Fishers and farmers are struggling because they have no advanced technology. The LGU is trying to help with that.
Of the organizations that you are familiar with, do they have good organization?	The organizations follow standards. There is structure, but how they are managed differs.
Do those organizations have a relatively stable membership?	Organizations must have a stable membership.
What kinds of things has your organization achieved recently?	x
What kinds of issues does your organization deal with?	My organization does not have any main issues, but we discuss God and the relationships between people.
Do you feel that the local administration is largely stable? Do you feel that the local administration is largely accountable? Organized?	No, I do not feel that the local administration is stable. It was before and I hope that things will settle down. Yes, the local administration is accountable, they follow rules, but they don't agree on procedures.
Do you feel that the government leaders in __ are capable or able to	Yes, the government leaders are capable, but they have to settle the differences between them.

help the people in __?	
If a request is made to the local administration, what is the likelihood that something will be done?	If you make a request it is likely that something will get done if you have the financial capabilities and the right connections.
How often do you vote in local elections? National elections?	Yes, I always vote.
Have you ever made a request or complaint to the local government? What was the result?	x
Has the local administration asked your opinion about community matters? Has there been any action taken on that?	Sometimes the administration asks my opinion. Actions have been taken on my opinion one time.
How involved in local politics are you?	I have an advisory position in politics only.
Do you feel you have a good understanding of your legal and political rights?	Yes, I have a good understanding of my legal and political rights, but most people aren't aware. Only 20% of people in Pasaleng go to college, most people have only a primary school education and they aren't aware of their rights.
What kinds of institutions (schools, hospitals) are there in __?	
How easy is it for you to get something (license, accreditation) from the local government?	Obtaining a driver's license only takes about 1 hour, depending on the line, minutes for a postal ID. It takes longer to obtain things if they have to be sent to Manila, about 3 months. I have yet to encounter problems getting something from the local government.
How do you feel about the leaders of local organizations and government in __? Are they ethical? Compassionate? People to be emulated?	The leaders are approachable. The mayor and the vice mayor can help, but it would be easier if they could solve their differences. However, as long as they serve and respect the people, it's ok.

11.2.2.   Lourdes Farriano

Table 56 - Farriano Information

Basic Informant Information	Response
Name	Lourdes Farriano
Age	48

Occupation	Housewife
Family	Pepito Roland – husband
Years lived in Community	33
Position in Community	x
Organizations	Women's club
Contact Information	x

11.2.2.1. Farriano Attributes Responses

Table 57 - Farriano Attributes Responses

Community Capacity Attribute Questions	Response
Can you identify a shared goal or vision of _____?	x
Would you say that you are in a similar situation as the other members of _____?	Yes
What are some things that people in ___ have in common?	House, backyard gardening
Would you say that it is easy to trust people in ___? Are there any people or groups of people that you are cautious of?	No No
How often do you gather with other people from ___ (i.e. celebrate special occasions, have food or drinks) either in your home, the home of others, or in public?	Special occasions like birthdays, weddings, burials
How would you identify yourself (ethnicity, religion, locality, etc..)? Do you feel that many people in ___ identify themselves similarly?	x

Do people in ___ take responsibility for the things that happen here?	Yes
Are people committed to ___?	Yes
Do people in ___ generally pursue interests in ___ or do they feel they need to go outside of ___?	Some are interested in Pagudpud, the younger generation prefer to go out of the country
What kind of activities do you participate in?	Clean and green in the barangay, participate during fiesta
What are things that you would like to see done in ____?	Have a potable water system, more lighting along the streets
In regards to your ideas, are you or others taking steps towards accomplishing those goals?	Yes
What other kinds of actions are being undertaken in ___?	x
Do you feel that progress is being made in regards to the desires of the community?	Yes because the people cooperate
In the last 2 years, have you noticed any changes in ___? What were they?	Yes Barangay woods were built
If someone speaks of change in ___, how likely are things to change?	Politics, there's too much politicking
Is ___ a place where things get done?	Yes
What types of things can one find in ___?	Ilocano products such as mats, pillows, furniture
How do you get the things you need in ____?	Planting if it comes to food
What kinds of assets are there in ___?	x
Do you use resources from within ___ or do you rely on resources outside of ___?	x

11.2.2.2. Farriano Agent Responses

Table 58 - Farriano Agents Responses

Community Agent	Criteria	Please name as many as possible
Individual	Formal leaders in government, businesses,	

	organizations, or movements	x
	Informal leaders (e.g. people of reverence, clout, or high civic standing or activity)	
Organizations	Established groups (e.g. social organizations, commercial associations, religious groups, age-related groups, government sponsored organizations)	x
	Informal civil society organizations (e.g. recreation leagues, neighborhood constellations)	
	Businesses	
	Government agencies	
	Institutes	
	Educational institutes	
Networks	Interpersonal networks (through families and acquaintances)	x
	Organizational networks	
	Political networks	
	Business network	

11.2.2.3. Farriano Actions Responses

Table 59 - Farriano Actions Responses

Community Action Questions	Response
Does the local government respond to citizens appropriately?	Yes, as long as it is for the good of the whole populace
If a project is announced in __, what is the likelihood that it will be complete? Useful for the local people?	x
Are the community members of ___ consulted by the local government in order to make improvements to the community?	x
What kinds of local goods can be found in local markets?	x
What kinds of locally made goods are sold elsewhere?	x
What kinds of services can be found in __?	x
What kinds of things must be purchased outside of ___?	Tv, motors
How do you stay in contact with your friends and family members?	
How often do you use telephone? Email?	Not at all

How easy is it to access telephone? Email?	None
Where do you get your information about __? About the rest of the world?	x
What other forms of communication do you use in ___?	Cell phones, letters
How confident of this information are you?	x
What local organizations are you familiar with?	x
What local organizations are you involved with?	x
Are there any restrictions to the places or ways that people can gather together in ___?	Yes, in beaches people are not allowed to swim beyond the [swim area], not littering on the seashore and elsewhere
Are there any groups in __ that are concerned with particular issues?	Yes, the PVP
Do they provide information to the public that is relevant to their cause?	yes
Is there an example of a local organization successfully accomplishing a change within ___?	x
Does the local government work together with local organizations?	x

11.2.2.4. Farriano Contextual Influences Responses

Table 60 - Farriano Contextual Influences Responses

Contextual Influence Questions	Response
How easy is it for you to get around __? Out of ___?	Easy Not that easy
What methods of public transportation are there in ___?	Busses, tricycle

How often do you use public transportation?	Seldom
How easy is it to access the places for production in __?	x
How easy is it for you to get your products to markets outside of __?	x
Are there any physical aspects of __ that make transportation of people or goods difficult?	X
How often are there natural disasters in __? What kinds?	X
Are the roads/railways in __ in good condition most of the time?	X
Has there been any change in land use (i.e. conversion of farmland to commercial land, changes of ownership of land) recently?	X
Is there a lot of crime in ___? What kinds?	X
How safe do you feel generally in ___?	X
Have you noticed people moving in or out of ___? For what reasons?	X
How comfortable do you feel with your neighbors? Other people in ___? Are there any people with whom you have difficulty or feel uncomfortable with?	x
In relation to other community members of __, do you feel that you are better off, worse off, or the same?	X
How easy is it for you to get what you need in ___?	X
Are there any groups of people in __ that you feel have an advantage over others?	X
What are the various kinds of ethnicities or religion that can be found in ___? Are there any notable issues between these groups?	X
In the past, has there been any difficulty between groups of people in ___?	X
Have there been any grievances over land in __?	X
Can you name some families in __ that have power (economic, political, land)?	X
Are there any other places in which __ has had issues with in the past?	X
Are there any places in __ that have historical or cultural value?	X
Are there any special events in ___?	X
Are there any ideas or concepts that people in ___ find to be unanimously valuable?	X

What kinds of significant historical events have happened in ___?	X
Can you name some important local traditions and values?	X
Are there groups or activities that you are not allowed to partake in? Why?	X
Are there certain people in __ that you need to know or get along with in order to be successful?	X
Are there any groups in __ that are noticeably less well-off than others?	X
Do you feel that people in __ have about the same amount of income or are there some people that have noticeably more? Who?	X
Do you feel that __ is becoming more or less prosperous?	X
Does there seem to be a lot of poverty in __?	X
Are there any industries in ___ that are struggling? Why?	X
Of the organizations that you are familiar with, do they have good organization?	X
Do those organizations have a relatively stable membership?	X
What kinds of things has your organization achieved recently?	X
What kinds of issues does your organization deal with?	X
Do you feel that the local administration is largely stable? Do you feel that the local administration is largely accountable? Organized?	x
Do you feel that the government leaders in __ are capable or able to help the people in __?	X
If a request is made to the local administration, what is the likelihood that something will be done?	X
How often do you vote in local elections? National elections?	X
Have you ever made a request or complaint to the local government? What was the result?	X
Has the local administration asked your opinion about community matters? Has there been any action taken on that?	X

How involved in local politics are you?	X
Do you feel you have a good understanding of your legal and political rights?	X
What kinds of institutions (schools, hospitals) are there in __?	X
How easy is it for you to get something (license, accreditation) from the local government?	X
How do you feel about the leaders of local organizations and government in __? Are they ethical? Compassionate? People to be emulated?	X

11.2.3. Marlita Langundino

Table 61 - Langundino Information

Basic Informant Information	Response
Name	Marlita Langudino
Age	32
Occupation	Housekeeping, mat weaving
Family	Ronal – husband Children – Raymond (13), Mazarin (10), Reviel (4)
Years lived in Community	14
Position in Community	X
Organizations	Mat weavers association
Contact Information	Balaoi

11.2.3.1. Lagundino Attributes Responses

Table 62 - Lagundino Attributes Responses

Community Capacity Attribute	Response

Questions	
Can you identify a shared goal or vision of ____?	X
Would you say that you are in a similar situation as the other members of ____?	No
What are some things that people in ___ have in common?	House, backyard gardening
Would you say that it is easy to trust people in ___? Are there any people or groups of people that you are cautious of?	Not so Yes, those that are
How often do you gather with other people from ___ (i.e. celebrate special occasions, have food or drinks) either in your home, the home of others, or in public?	Special occasions as in wedding rites, birthdays
How would you identify yourself (ethnicity, religion, locality, etc..)? Do you feel that many people in ___ identify themselves similarly?	X
Do people in ___ take responsibility for the things that happen here?	Yes
Are people committed to ___?	Yes
Do people in ___ generally pursue interests in ___ or do they feel they need to go outside of ___?	Yes, but some go out of Pagupud to earn more like the overseas workers
What kind of activities do you participate in?	
What are things that you would like to see done in ____?	Improve woods and water system
In regards to your ideas, are you or others taking steps towards accomplishing those goals?	Yes by being cooperative
What other kinds of actions are being undertaken in ___?	X
Do you feel that progress is being made in regards to the desires of the community?	Yes
In the last 2 years, have you noticed any changes in ___? What were they?	Yes. Like cementing a part of the road coming to our place
If someone speaks of change in ___,	X

how likely are things to change?	
Is ___a place where things get done?	Yes
What types of things can one find in ___?	Easily made products
How do you get the things you need in ____?	Work for it
What kinds of assets are there in ___?	Warm hearted people
Do you use resources from within ___ or do you rely on resources outside of ___?	From within

11.2.3.2. Lagundino Agents Responses

Table 63 - Lagundino Agents Responses

Community Agent	Criteria	Please name as many as possible
Individual	Formal leaders in government, businesses, organizations, or movements Informal leaders (e.g. people of reverence, clout, or high civic standing or activity)	X
Organizations	Established groups (e.g. social organizations, commercial associations, religious groups, age-related groups, government sponsored organizations) Informal civil society organizations (e.g. recreation leagues, neighborhood constellations) Businesses Government agencies Institutes Educational institutes	X
Networks	Interpersonal networks (through families and acquaintances) Organizational networks Political networks Business network	X

11.2.3.3. Lagundino Action Responses

Table 64 - Lagundino Actions Responses

Community Action Questions	Response

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Does the local government respond to citizens appropriately?	Yes
If a project is announced in __, what is the likelihood that it will be complete? Useful for the local people?	X
Are the community members of ___ consulted by the local government in order to make improvements to the community?	X
What kinds of local goods can be found in local markets?	X
What kinds of locally made goods are sold elsewhere?	X
What kinds of services can be found in __?	X
What kinds of things must be purchased outside of ___?	X
How do you stay in contact with your friends and family members?	X
How often do you use telephone? Email?	X
How easy is it to access telephone? Email?	X
Where do you get your information about __? About the rest of the world?	X
What other forms of communication do you use in ___?	X
How confident of this information are you?	X
What local organizations are you familiar with?	X
What local organizations are you involved with?	X
Are there any restrictions to the places or ways that people can gather together in ___?	X
Are there any groups in __ that are concerned with particular issues?	X
Do they provide information to the public that is relevant to their cause?	X

Is there an example of a local organization successfully accomplishing a change within ___?	X
Does the local government work together with local organizations?	X

11.2.3.4. Lagundino Contextual Influences Responses

Table 65 - Lagundino Contextual Influences Responses

Contextual Influence Questions	Response
How easy is it for you to get around __? Out of ___?	X
What methods of public transportation are there in ___?	X
How often do you use public transportation?	X
How easy is it to access the places for production in __?	X
How easy is it for you to get your products to markets outside of __?	X
Are there any physical aspects of __ that make transportation of people or goods difficult?	X
How often are there natural disasters in __? What kinds?	X
Are the roads/railways in __ in good condition most of the time?	X
Has there been any change in land use (i.e. conversion of farmland to commercial land, changes of ownership of land) recently?	X
Is there a lot of crime in ___? What kinds?	X
How safe do you feel generally in ___?	X
Have you noticed people moving in or out of ___? For what reasons?	X
How comfortable do you feel with your neighbors? Other people in ___? Are there any people with whom you have difficulty or feel uncomfortable with?	X
In relation to other community members of __, do you feel that you are better off, worse off, or the same?	X
How easy is it for you to get what you need in ___?	X
Are there any groups of people in __ that you feel have an advantage over others?	X
What are the various kinds of ethnicities or religion that can be found in ___? Are there any notable issues between these groups?	X
In the past, has there been any difficulty between groups of people in ___?	X
Have there been any grievances over land in __?	X
Can you name some families in __ that have power (economic, political, land)?	X
Are there any other places in which __ has had issues with in the past?	X

Are there any places in __ that have historical or cultural value?	X
Are there any special events in ___?	X
Are there any ideas or concepts that people in ___ find to be unanimously valuable?	X
What kinds of significant historical events have happened in ___?	X
Can you name some important local traditions and values?	X
Are there groups or activities that you are not allowed to partake in? Why?	X
Are there certain people in __ that you need to know or get along with in order to be successful?	X
Are there any groups in __ that are noticeably less well-off than others?	X
Do you feel that people in __ have about the same amount of income or are there some people that have noticeably more? Who?	X
Do you feel that __ is becoming more or less prosperous?	X
Does there seem to be a lot of poverty in __?	X
Are there any industries in ___ that are struggling? Why?	X
Of the organizations that you are familiar with, do they have good organization?	X
Do those organizations have a relatively stable membership?	X
What kinds of things has your organization achieved recently?	X
What kinds of issues does your organization deal with?	X
Do you feel that the local administration is largely stable? Do you feel that the local administration is largely accountable? Organized?	X
Do you feel that the government leaders in __ are capable or able to help the people in __?	X
If a request is made to the local administration, what is the likelihood that something will be done?	X
How often do you vote in local elections? National elections?	X
Have you ever made a request or complaint to the local government? What was the result?	X
Has the local administration asked your opinion about community matters? Has there been any action taken on that?	X
How involved in local politics are you?	X
Do you feel you have a good understanding of your legal and political rights?	X
What kinds of institutions (schools, hospitals) are there in __?	X
How easy is it for you to get something (license, accreditation) from the local government?	X

How do you feel about the leaders of local organizations and government in __? Are they ethical? Compassionate? People to be emulated?	X

11.2.4.   Warly Manigdig

Table 66 - Manigdig Information

Basic Informant Information	Response
Name	Warly Manigdig
Age	36
Occupation	Fisherman
Family	Wife – Editha Children – Eddy (10), Princedrick (8 mos)
Years lived in Community	36
Position in Community	President of the Water System
Organizations	Fisherman's Association
Contact Information	Balaoi

11.2.4.1. Manigdig Attributes Responses

Table 67 - Manigdig Attributes Responses

Community Capacity Attribute Questions	Response
Can you identify a shared goal or vision of ____?	Peaceful, cooperative
Would you say that you are in a similar situation as the other members of ____?	No
What are some things that people in ___ have in common?	Sharing, cooperation

Would you say that it is easy to trust people in ___? Are there any people or groups of people that you are cautious of?	Not exactly Yes
How often do you gather with other people from ___ (i.e. celebrate special occasions, have food or drinks) either in your home, the home of others, or in public?	yearly
How would you identify yourself (ethnicity, religion, locality, etc..)? Do you feel that many people in ___ identify themselves similarly?	It's helpful to those who needs very help
Do people in ___ take responsibility for the things that happen here?	yes
Are people committed to ___?	Yes, fallon
Do people in ___ generally pursue interests in ___ or do they feel they need to go outside of ___?	Yes, sure especially the youngsters prefer to go abroad to seek jobs
What kind of activities do you participate in?	Barangay activities
What are things that you would like to see done in ____?	Nice woods, electricity
In regards to your ideas, are you or others taking steps towards accomplishing those goals?	Yes
What other kinds of actions are being undertaken in ___?	Barangay development
Do you feel that progress is being made in regards to the desires of the community?	Yes
In the last 2 years, have you noticed any changes in ___? What were they?	Yes, five houses were built in a semi-permanent type
If someone speaks of change in ___, how likely are things to change?	Buildings, roads
Is ___ a place where things get done?	Yes
What types of things can one find in ___?	Shellcraft, mat weaving
How do you get the things you need in ____?	Buy local goods
What kinds of assets are there in ___?	Produce their barangay products
Do you use resources from within ___ or do you rely on resources outside of ___?	Yes, like tv

11.2.4.2. Manigdig Agents Responses

Table 68 - Manigdig Agents Responses

Community Agent	Criteria	Please name as many as possible
Individual	Formal leaders in government, businesses, organizations, or movements Informal leaders (e.g. people of reverence, clout, or high civic standing or activity)	Mayor, local and barangay officials
Organizations	Established groups (e.g. social organizations, commercial associations, religious groups, age-related groups, government sponsored organizations) Informal civil society organizations (e.g. recreation leagues, neighborhood constellations) Businesses Government agencies Institutes Educational institutes	X
Networks	Interpersonal networks (through families and acquaintances) Organizational networks Political networks Business network	X

11.2.4.3. Manigdig Actions Responses

Table 69 - Manigdig Actions Responses

Community Action Questions	Response
Does the local government respond to citizens appropriately?	yes
If a project is announced in __, what is the likelihood that it will be complete? Useful for the local people?	X
Are the community members of ___ consulted by the local government in order to make improvements to the community?	Yes
What kinds of local goods can be found in local markets?	Sarakt and budak woven for mats
What kinds of locally made goods are sold elsewhere?	Mat, coconut, fish

What kinds of services can be found in __?	Homestays, restaurants, hotels
What kinds of things must be purchased outside of ___?	Appliances
How do you stay in contact with your friends and family members?	Get together
How often do you use telephone? Email?	Never Never
How easy is it to access telephone? Email?	Not easy for those who can't afford
Where do you get your information about __? About the rest of the world?	Tv, meetings, from other people
What other forms of communication do you use in ___?	Meetings, hearsay
How confident of this information are you?	Not confident unless it comes from the mayor or other head of office
What local organizations are you familiar with?	Barangay and fisherman's association
What local organizations are you involved with?	Barangay and fisherman's association
Are there any restrictions to the places or ways that people can gather together in ___?	Yes, minors should not drink liquor or gamble, curfew for both young and old
Are there any groups in __ that are concerned with particular issues?	Yes, agriculture
Do they provide information to the public that is relevant to their cause?	Yes
Is there an example of a local organization successfully accomplishing a change within ___?	Yes Farmer's association
Does the local government work together with local organizations?	Yes

11.2.4.4. Manigdig Contextual Influences Responses

Table 70 - Manigdig Contextual Influences Responses

Contextual Influence Questions	Response
How easy is it for you to get around __? Out of ___?	Can go around without scare
What methods of public transportation are there in ___?	Bus, tricycle, motors [motorbikes]
How often do you use public transportation?	As the need arises
How easy is it to access the places for production in __?	Easy if transportation is always available
How easy is it for you to get your products to markets outside of __?	Not bad
Are there any physical aspects of __ that make transportation of people or goods difficult?	X
How often are there natural disasters in __? What kinds?	Seasonal – typhoon and high tide sometimes
Are the roads/railways in __ in good condition most of the time?	yes
Has there been any change in land use (i.e. conversion of farmland to commercial land, changes of ownership of land) recently?	X
Is there a lot of crime in ___? What kinds?	X
How safe do you feel generally in ___?	Safe, there are barangay [patrols] during the night
Have you noticed people moving in or out of ___? For what reasons?	Yes – visitors or tourists to see the beauty of the place
How comfortable do you feel with your neighbors? Other people in ___? Are there any people with whom you have difficulty or feel uncomfortable with?	Comfortable Yes, those that are aggressive
In relation to other community members of __, do you feel that you are better off, worse off, or the same?	Little better because I'm a high school graduate and I read a lot
How easy is it for you to get what you need in ___?	X
Are there any groups of people in __ that you feel have an advantage over others?	none
What are the various kinds of ethnicities or religion that can be found in ___? Are there any notable issues between these groups?	X
In the past, has there been any difficulty between groups of people in ___?	X
Have there been any grievances over land in __?	Yes, some land grab

Can you name some families in __ that have power (economic, political, land)?	Sales, Garvida, Benemerito
Are there any other places in which __ has had issues with in the past?	Balaoi – illegl fishing and illegal culling of lumber
Are there any places in __ that have historical or cultural value?	Cagayun – stringray
Are there any special events in ___?	Fiesta
Are there any ideas or concepts that people in ___ find to be unanimously valuable?	When the Sales took over in power
What kinds of significant historical events have happened in ___?	Stingray – when
Can you name some important local traditions and values?	Helping one another without pay Saying "po" to elders
Are there groups or activities that you are not allowed to partake in? Why?	None
Are there certain people in __ that you need to know or get along with in order to be successful?	X
Are there any groups in __ that are noticeably less well-off than others?	Yes
Do you feel that people in __ have about the same amount of income or are there some people that have noticeably more? Who?	Yes The professionals
Do you feel that __ is becoming more or less prosperous?	more
Does there seem to be a lot of poverty in __?	few
Are there any industries in ___ that are struggling? Why?	Yes They want to earn more
Of the organizations that you are familiar with, do they have good organization?	Yes
Do those organizations have a relatively stable membership?	Yes
What kinds of things has your organization achieved recently?	X
What kinds of issues does your organization deal with?	X
Do you feel that the local administration is largely stable? Do you feel that the local administration is largely accountable? Organized?	Yes Yes yes
Do you feel that the government leaders in __ are capable or able to help the people in __?	Yes – the mayor
If a request is made to the local administration, what is the likelihood that something will be	The LGU reacts and if they can help they react or help those people

done?	
How often do you vote in local elections? National elections?	Every 3 years Every 4 years
Have you ever made a request or complaint to the local government? What was the result?	None
Has the local administration asked your opinion about community matters? Has there been any action taken on that?	Yes
How involved in local politics are you?	Yearly
Do you feel you have a good understanding of your legal and political rights?	Yes
What kinds of institutions (schools, hospitals) are there in __?	School, hospitals
How easy is it for you to get something (license, accreditation) from the local government?	Easy if your papers are complete
How do you feel about the leaders of local organizations and government in __? Are they ethical? Compassionate? People to be emulated?	Very good governance Yes Yes yes

11.2.5.   Demesthines Ravelo

Table 71 - Ravelo Information

Basic Informant Information	Response
Name	Demesthines Ravelo
Age	44
Occupation	Furniture making
Family	Wife – Anita (38) Children – Denorak (18), Abigail (17), Demesthines Jr. (15)
Years lived in Community	35
Position in Community	Kagawad
Organizations	Cooperative for furniture making

Contact Information	0918536730, Pancian

11.2.5.1. Ravelo Attributes Responses

<p align="center">Table 72 - Ravelo Attributes Responses</p>

Community Capacity Attribute Questions	Response
Can you identify a shared goal or vision of ____?	X
Would you say that you are in a similar situation as the other members of ____?	Yes
What are some things that people in ___ have in common?	Unity, thrifty, cooperation
Would you say that it is easy to trust people in ___? Are there any people or groups of people that you are cautious of?	No Yes and they are those against the administration
How often do you gather with other people from ___ (i.e. celebrate special occasions, have food or drinks) either in your home, the home of others, or in public?	When there are wedding parties, baptisms, birthdays
How would you identify yourself (ethnicity, religion, locality, etc..)? Do you feel that many people in ___ identify themselves similarly?	X
Do people in ___ take responsibility for the things that happen here?	Yes
Are people committed to ___?	Committed to community work
Do people in ___ generally pursue interests in ___ or do they feel they need to go outside of ___?	Stay put in barangay
What kind of activities do you participate in?	Barangay fiestas
What are things that you would like to see done in ____?	Good roads and electricity by the roads
In regards to your ideas, are you or others taking steps towards accomplishing those goals?	Yes
What other kinds of actions are being undertaken in ___?	Conservation of the forest and preserving
Do you feel that progress is being made in regards to the desires of the community?	yes
In the last 2 years, have you noticed any changes in	Yes, homes have been built and

___? What were they?	agriculture improved
If someone speaks of change in ___, how likely are things to change?	X
Is ___a place where things get done?	Yes
What types of things can one find in ___?	Tourist spots, green forests, sea
How do you get the things you need in ____?	Working hard like planting more trees
What kinds of assets are there in ___?	Green forests
Do you use resources from within ___ or do you rely on resources outside of ___?	Yes, I use the resources in the locality

11.2.5.2. Ravelo Agents Responses

Table 73 - Ravelo Agents Responses

Community Agent	Criteria	Please name as many as possible
Individual	Formal leaders in government, businesses, organizations, or movements Informal leaders (e.g. people of reverence, clout, or high civic standing or activity)	X
Organizations	Established groups (e.g. social organizations, commercial associations, religious groups, age-related groups, government sponsored organizations) Informal civil society organizations (e.g. recreation leagues, neighborhood constellations) Businesses Government agencies Institutes Educational institutes	X
Networks	Interpersonal networks (through families and acquaintances) Organizational networks Political networks Business network	Balik bayan from Saudi Mayor Sales through furniture making

11.2.5.3. Ravelo Actions Responses

Table 74 - Ravelo Action Responses

Community Action Questions	Response

Does the local government respond to citizens appropriately?	Yes, they help the citizens
If a project is announced in __, what is the likelihood that it will be complete? Useful for the local people?	Yes
Are the community members of ___ consulted by the local government in order to make improvements to the community?	Yes
What kinds of local goods can be found in local markets?	Vegetables
What kinds of locally made goods are sold elsewhere?	Furniture
What kinds of services can be found in __?	Health services, school services
What kinds of things must be purchased outside of ___?	X
How do you stay in contact with your friends and family members?	Gathering during birthdays, make of friends and relatives, meetings
How often do you use telephone? Email?	Not applicable
How easy is it to access telephone? Email?	Not easy
Where do you get your information about __? About the rest of the world?	From the local government, from the tv and newspapers
What other forms of communication do you use in ___?	Cellphone, letters
How confident of this information are you?	Confident
What local organizations are you familiar with?	X
What local organizations are you involved with?	Barangay
Are there any restrictions to the places or ways that people can gather together in ___?	X
Are there any groups in __ that are concerned with particular issues?	Furniture making
Do they provide information to the public that is relevant to their cause?	Yes

Is there an example of a local organization successfully accomplishing a change within ___?	X
Does the local government work together with local organizations?	Yes

11.2.5.4. Ravelo Contextual Influences Responses

Contextual Influence Questions	Response
How easy is it for you to get around __? Out of ___?	X
What methods of public transportation are there in ___?	Bus, motor
How often do you use public transportation?	Very often
How easy is it to access the places for production in __?	X
How easy is it for you to get your products to markets outside of __?	X
Are there any physical aspects of __ that make transportation of people or goods difficult?	X
How often are there natural disasters in __? What kinds?	Typhoon, drought
Are the roads/railways in __ in good condition most of the time?	Yes
Has there been any change in land use (i.e. conversion of farmland to commercial land, changes of ownership of land) recently?	X
Is there a lot of crime in ___? What kinds?	None
How safe do you feel generally in ___?	Yes
Have you noticed people moving in or out of ___? For what reasons?	Comfortable and easy to go with
How comfortable do you feel with your neighbors? Other people in ___? Are there any people with whom you have difficulty or feel uncomfortable with?	Equal them
In relation to other community members of __, do you feel that you are better off, worse off, or the same?	Farmers
How easy is it for you to get what you need in ___?	X
Are there any groups of people in __ that you feel have an advantage over others?	Catholic, Jehovah's Witness
What are the various kinds of ethnicities or religion that can be found in ___? Are there any notable issues between these groups?	X
In the past, has there been any difficulty between groups of people in ___?	Yes, because of politics

Have there been any grievances over land in __?	Yes, some got the lands of other people
Can you name some families in __ that have power (economic, political, land)?	Mayor, Vice, SB, barangay officials
Are there any other places in which __ has had issues with in the past?	X
Are there any places in __ that have historical or cultural value?	Cagayun – stingray
Are there any special events in ___?	Yes, Pagudpud Day on July 5 every year, Rizal Day
Are there any ideas or concepts that people in ___ find to be unanimously valuable?	X
What kinds of significant historical events have happened in ___?	X
Can you name some important local traditions and values?	X
Are there groups or activities that you are not allowed to partake in? Why?	X
Are there certain people in __ that you need to know or get along with in order to be successful?	X
Are there any groups in __ that are noticeably less well-off than others?	X
Do you feel that people in __ have about the same amount of income or are there some people that have noticeably more? Who?	No, there are people that have more because some members are OFW
Do you feel that __ is becoming more or less prosperous?	More prosperous
Does there seem to be a lot of poverty in __?	X
Are there any industries in ___ that are struggling? Why?	X
Of the organizations that you are familiar with, do they have good organization?	Yes
Do those organizations have a relatively stable membership?	Yes
What kinds of things has your organization achieved recently?	X
What kinds of issues does your organization deal with?	X
Do you feel that the local administration is largely stable? Do you feel that the local administration is largely accountable? Organized?	Yes Yes yes
Do you feel that the government leaders in __ are capable or able to help the people in __?	Yes
If a request is made to the local administration, what is the likelihood that something will be done?	X

How often do you vote in local elections? National elections?	Every 3 years Every 4 years
Have you ever made a request or complaint to the local government? What was the result?	X
Has the local administration asked your opinion about community matters? Has there been any action taken on that?	X
How involved in local politics are you?	X
Do you feel you have a good understanding of your legal and political rights?	Yes
What kinds of institutions (schools, hospitals) are there in __?	1 public elementary, 1 public hospital
How easy is it for you to get something (license, accreditation) from the local government?	Not that easy because of many requirements
How do you feel about the leaders of local organizations and government in __? Are they ethical? Compassionate? People to be emulated?	Compassionate People worthy of

11.2.6.   Marlon Sales

Table 76 - Sales Information

Basic Informant Information	Response
Name	Marlon Ferdinand T. Sales
Age	42
Occupation	Mayor/Businessman
Family	Kleng, children – Miko, Sean, Ylaine, Joshua
Years lived in Community	Since 1995 – 13 years
Position in Community	Chief Administrative executive
Organizations	PVP, Mayor's League, PINS – Province of Ilocos Norte Shooters
Contact Information	0920-2874-997

11.2.6.1. Sales Attributes Responses

Table 77 - Sales Attributes Responses

Community Capacity Attribute Questions	Response
Can you identify a shared goal or vision of ____?	Improved lifestyle, have education
Would you say that you are in a similar situation as the other members of ____?	x
What are some things that people in ___ have in common?	Occupation – farming, fishing; culture and values
Would you say that it is easy to trust people in ___? Are there any people or groups of people that you are cautious of?	Moderately easy, cautious of politicians
How often do you gather with other people from ___ (i.e. celebrate special occasions, have food or drinks) either in your home, the home of others, or in public?	Most of the time
How would you identify yourself (ethnicity, religion, locality, etc..)? Do you feel that many people in ___ identify themselves similarly?	Pagudpudian, resident
Do people in ___ take responsibility for the things that happen here?	some
Are people committed to ___?	Now people are more concerned – after the introduction of tourism people are more concerned because having jobs/income will improve their life
Do people in ___ generally pursue interests in ___ or do they feel they need to go outside of ___?	Brain drain, people go out because there are no jobs and they are mostly professionals
What kind of activities do you participate in?	x
What are things that you would like to see done in ____?	Tourism development to generate employment --> increase income and education
In regards to your ideas, are you or others taking steps towards accomplishing those goals?	yes
What other kinds of actions are being undertaken in ___?	x
Do you feel that progress is being made in regards to the desires of the community?	Yes – but can't always assess the needs of the community because some people have a "wait and see" attitude and this is part of the culture
In the last 2 years, have you noticed any changes in ___? What were they?	People are more concerned now, but they need more encouragement and to see results in order to follow

If someone speaks of change in ___, how likely are things to change?	Not many actions are being taken on ideas – the government must initiate
Is ___a place where things get done?	Not much happening – must work hard because there is not much financial capital
What types of things can one find in ___?	x
How do you get the things you need in ____?	x
What kinds of assets are there in ___?	Beautiful beach, scenery, mining, shell craft, mat weaving, people are hospitable/friendly
Do you use resources from within ___ or do you rely on resources outside of ___?	x

11.2.6.2. Sales Agents Responses

Table 78 - Sales Agents Responses

Community Agent	Criteria	Please name as many as possible – important ones
Individual	Formal leaders in government, businesses, organizations, or movements Informal leaders (e.g. people of reverence, clout, or high civic standing or activity)	No formal leaders, informal leaders – Edimar, Kleng, Joy (Tourism officer)
Organizations	Established groups (e.g. social organizations, commercial associations, religious groups, age-related groups, government sponsored organizations) Informal civil society organizations (e.g. recreation leagues, neighborhood constellations) Businesses Government agencies Institutes Educational institutes	farmer's group
Networks	Interpersonal networks (through families and acquaintances) Organizational networks Political networks Business network	Political networks

11.2.6.3. Sales Actions Responses

Table 79 - Sales Actions Responses

Community Action Questions	Response
Does the local government respond to citizens appropriately?	Not always- can't give everything, have limited resources and can't address needs, must prioritize
If a project is announced in __, what is the likelihood that it will be complete? Useful for the local people?	Depends – sometimes because of fund, projects must be done in phases Yes, it is useful to the community because it comes from the requests of the community. Sometimes there are problems with a project that aren't reported; therefore we are instituting a community based monitoring system.
Are the community members of ___ consulted by the local government in order to make improvements to the community?	Yes - CBMS
What kinds of local goods can be found in local markets?	x
What kinds of locally made goods are sold elsewhere?	Agriculture products, shell craft, weaving
What kinds of services can be found in __?	x
What kinds of things must be purchased outside of ___?	x
How do you stay in contact with your friends and family members?	x
How often do you use telephone? Email?	x
How easy is it to access telephone? Email?	x
Where do you get your information about __? About the rest of the world?	x
What other forms of communication do you use in ___?	x
How confident of this information are you?	x
What local organizations are you familiar with?	x
What local organizations are you involved with?	x
Are there any restrictions to the places or ways that people can gather together in ___?	x

Are there any groups in __ that are concerned with particular issues?	x
Do they provide information to the public that is relevant to their cause?	x
Is there an example of a local organization successfully accomplishing a change within ___?	Yes – Kabigan Multippurpose Cooperative – operates in Kabigan falls area – instead of giving financial assistance they get financing from their fees which they use for credit for farmers, I.e. Fertilizer , then they pay it back after the harvest
Does the local government work together with local organizations?	Yes, cooperatives, PVP and other government organizations such as the Barangay Health Workers, farmer's cooperative

11.2.6.4. Sales Contextual Influences Reponses

Table 80 - Sales Contextual Influences Responses

Contextual Influence Questions	Response
How easy is it for you to get around __? Out of ___?	x
What methods of public transportation are there in ___?	x
How often do you use public transportation?	x
How easy is it to access the places for production in __?	x
How easy is it for you to get your products to markets outside of __?	By land, hire transportation, ok, just fine
Are there any physical aspects of __ that make transportation of people or goods difficult?	Everything by land
How often are there natural disasters in __? What kinds?	Typhoons – every year, earthquakes
Are the roads/railways in __ in good condition most of the time?	yes
Has there been any change in land use (i.e. conversion of farmland to commercial land, changes of ownership of land) recently?	Some change in coastal land for tourist use
Is there a lot of crime in ___? What kinds?	no
How safe do you feel generally in ___?	Very stable
Have you noticed people moving in or out of ___? For what reasons?	People are moving in, business
How comfortable do you feel with your neighbors? Other people in ___? Are there any people with whom you have	Ok yes

difficulty or feel uncomfortable with?	
In relation to other community members of __, do you feel that you are better off, worse off, or the same?	x
How easy is it for you to get what you need in ___?	Must get food, clothes outside, cars
Are there any groups of people in __ that you feel have an advantage over others?	x
What are the various kinds of ethnicities or religion that can be found in ___? Are there any notable issues between these groups?	x
In the past, has there been any difficulty between groups of people in ___?	x
Have there been any grievances over land in __?	Yes, a lot – because of previous leaders, robbed land
Can you name some families in __ that have power (economic, political, land)?	x
Are there any other places in which __ has had issues with in the past?	x
Are there any places in __ that have historical or cultural value?	x
Are there any special events in ___?	September – coastal clean up, Rizal Day
Are there any ideas or concepts that people in ___ find to be unanimously valuable?	don't know
What kinds of significant historical events have happened in ___?	x
Can you name some important local traditions and values?	x
Are there groups or activities that you are not allowed to partake in? Why?	x
Are there certain people in __ that you need to know or get along with in order to be successful?	x
Are there any groups in __ that are noticeably less well-off than others?	No – widespread poverty - farmers
Do you feel that people in __ have about the same amount of income or are there some people that have noticeably more? Who?	x
Do you feel that __ is becoming more or less prosperous?	more
Does there seem to be a lot of poverty in __?	70%
Are there any industries in ___ that are struggling? Why?	all
Of the organizations that you are familiar with, do they have good organization?	some
Do those organizations have a relatively stable membership?	some
What kinds of things has your organization achieved	x

recently?	
What kinds of issues does your organization deal with?	x
Do you feel that the local administration is largely stable? Do you feel that the local administration is largely accountable? Organized?	No, finances are not yet stable yes yes
Do you feel that the government leaders in __ are capable or able to help the people in __?	Moderate – depends on funds
If a request is made to the local administration, what is the likelihood that something will be done?	x
How often do you vote in local elections? National elections?	everytime
Have you ever made a request or complaint to the local government? What was the result?	x
Has the local administration asked your opinion about community matters? Has there been any action taken on that?	x
How involved in local politics are you?	I'm the mayor! So, very
Do you feel you have a good understanding of your legal and political rights?	moderate
What kinds of institutions (schools, hospitals) are there in __?	x
How easy is it for you to get something (license, accreditation) from the local government?	Moderate, better in comparison to before
How do you feel about the leaders of local organizations and government in __? Are they ethical? Compassionate? People to be emulated?	Better, want them to do better yes yes yes (barangay captains), because other may be in politics

11.2.7.   Edimar Ubasa

Table 81 - Ubasa Information

Basic Informant Information	Response
Name	Edimar Ubasa
Age	38
Occupation	Construction Supervisor
Family	2 kids – 1 boy, 6 and 1 girl, 3

Years lived in Community	38
Position in Community	Now none, previously Municipal Councilor and Market Inspector
Organizations	President of the PVP, Alpha Phi Omega International, Association of Ilocano Writers in Ilocos Norte, Editor in Chief of Ariwanas – Municipal Public paper
Contact Information	Tarrag - 0928-6547-095

11.2.7.1. Ubasa Attributes Responses

Table 82 - Ubasa Attributes Responses

Community Capacity Attribute Questions	Response
Can you identify a shared goal or vision of ____?	Pagudpud is aiming for a community with peace loving people with respect because Pagudpud is a tourist destination, the daily living condition is improving because of respect For PVP – sustainable and progressive
Would you say that you are in a similar situation as the other members of ____?	Different
What are some things that people in ___ have in common?	Peace-loving, hospitable, industrious, law-abiding
Would you say that it is easy to trust people in ___? Are there any people or groups of people that you are cautious of?	Sometimes, but sometimes tricycle drivers return belongings, no theft no
How often do you gather with other people from ___ (i.e. celebrate special occasions, have food or drinks) either in your home, the home of others, or in public?	occasionally
How would you identify yourself (ethnicity, religion, locality, etc..)? Do you feel that many people in ___ identify themselves similarly?	Always there if someone needs me Ilocano, Aglipian – offshoot of Catholics Sometimes
Do people in ___ take responsibility for the things that happen here?	Responsible and cooperative

Are people committed to ___?	Yes – abide by what is around
Do people in ___ generally pursue interests in ___ or do they feel they need to go outside of ___?	Some go out, but generally interest is more, especially because of booming interest
What kind of activities do you participate in?	help development progress cleanup activities, especially on shore, underwater diving campaign against illegal activities, especially the environment for improvement of local ordinance, assist people
What are things that you would like to see done in ____?	Full development in tourism facilities, will increase standard of living
In regards to your ideas, are you or others taking steps towards accomplishing those goals?	Yes – through PVP and campaign convince investors
What other kinds of actions are being undertaken in ___?	Barangay involved in barangay development
Do you feel that progress is being made in regards to the desires of the community?	Yes
In the last 2 years, have you noticed any changes in ___? What were they?	Yes – before people didn't mind about business – increase in entrepreneurship because see income opportunity
If someone speaks of change in ___, how likely are things to change?	If I speak, then yes not sure LGU? If whole plan is implemented then will change
Is ___ a place where things get done?	Yes
What types of things can one find in ___?	Complete tourist destination – falls, mountains, rivers, sea – water for living Still developing because products – shellcraft, coconut products, furniture, commercial crops, fishing
How do you get the things you need in ____?	Buy some locally – agriculture products But some have to go outside – appliances, clothes
What kinds of assets are there in ___?	X
Do you use resources from within ___ or do you rely on resources outside of ___?	X

11.2.7.2. Ubasa Agents Responses

Table 83 - Ubasa Agents Responses

Community Agent	Criteria	Please name as many as possible
Individual	Formal leaders in government, businesses, organizations, or movements Informal leaders (e.g. people of reverence, clout, or high civic standing or activity)	Mayor – local chief executive
Organizations	Established groups (e.g. social organizations, commercial associations, religious groups, age-related groups, government sponsored organizations) Informal civil society organizations (e.g. recreation leagues, neighborhood constellations) Businesses Government agencies Institutes Educational institutes	Contribute for development of community – PVP – because work for free
Networks	Interpersonal networks (through families and acquaintances) Organizational networks Political networks Business network	Partner in advertising – Association of Ilocano Writers

11.2.7.3. Ubasa Actions Responses

Table 84 - Ubasa Action Responses

Community Action Questions	Response
Does the local government respond to citizens appropriately?	Yes
If a project is announced in __, what is the likelihood that it will be complete? Useful for the local people?	Likely cause what is said usually happens Government – all projects are useful
Are the community members of ___ consulted by the local government in order to make improvements to the community?	Yes, because partners Through consultations LGU has allotted people to come and bring sentiments to office – 1 day a week, sometimes go around and ask
What kinds of local goods can be found in local markets?	X

What kinds of locally made goods are sold elsewhere?	Sarakaat mat, coconut products – Loag, Manila
What kinds of services can be found in __?	Janitors, hotels, farming, housekeeping – for tourist industry and hotels
What kinds of things must be purchased outside of ___?	X
How do you stay in contact with your friends and family members?	X
How often do you use telephone? Email?	-often - never
How easy is it to access telephone? Email?	-sometimes easy – peak season - yes
Where do you get your information about __? About the rest of the world?	By roaming around, files from being official News, print media, reliable information from networks Print and tv, internet
What other forms of communication do you use in ___?	
How confident of this information are you?	Don't rely on one individual, ask again and get inputs from other individuals
What local organizations are you familiar with?	X
What local organizations are you involved with?	X
Are there any restrictions to the places or ways that people can gather together in ___?	No, but national curfew for minors – 10 pm
Are there any groups in __ that are concerned with particular issues?	Women's organization, PCO – Periculture Center Organization – for community development, helping arm of government project, organized by government
Do they provide information to the public that is relevant to their cause?	X

Is there an example of a local organization successfully accomplishing a change within ___?	Yes, SANJERA – helped with improvement of campaign for sustainable food security – rice production
Does the local government work together with local organizations?	Yes

11.2.7.4. Ubasa Contextual Influences Responses

Table 85 - Ubasa Contextual Influences Responses

Contextual Influence Questions	Response
How easy is it for you to get around __? Out of ___?	Can go anywhere, any time Sometimes drive [motorbike] or take bus Roads are still being developed
What methods of public transportation are there in ___?	Bus
How often do you use public transportation?	2 times a month
How easy is it to access the places for production in __?	Can access for production, if have own transportation can rent transportation
How easy is it for you to get your products to markets outside of __?	But hard because vehicles to other part of province
Are there any physical aspects of __ that make transportation of people or goods difficult?	Not really, but when flooding can be difficult, cut off for 1-2 days
How often are there natural disasters in __? What kinds?	Seasonal – typhoon, rain, mild though
Are the roads/railways in __ in good condition most of the time?	Yes
Has there been any change in land use (i.e. conversion of farmland to commercial land, changes of ownership of land) recently?	Not so complicated cases – land use plan still young (10 years, enacted in 2002)
Is there a lot of crime in ___? What kinds?	X
How safe do you feel generally in ___?	Proud to say it's safe to stay in Pagudpud – safest place is hometown
Have you noticed people moving in or out of ___? For what reasons?	Yes, tourists No, not really, not much
How comfortable do you feel with your neighbors? Other people in ___? Are there any people with whom you have difficulty or feel uncomfortable with?	-comfortable Ok No, bad people
In relation to other community members of __, do you feel that you are better off, worse off, or the same?	We just do aim for good goal, not for competition A little but higher, a little better

How easy is it for you to get what you need in ___?	X
Are there any groups of people in __ that you feel have an advantage over others?	No, don't know
What are the various kinds of ethnicities or religion that can be found in ___? Are there any notable issues between these groups?	X
In the past, has there been any difficulty between groups of people in ___?	Yes, in past, early 80s, insurgency – individuals who robbed people
Have there been any grievances over land in __?	Yes because there were land grabbers and problem buyers – billboard against outside municipal hall, erroneous land survey, big problem in Subec in 80s – lots with many owners – also discourages investors
Can you name some families in __ that have power (economic, political, land)?	Sales, Garvida, Benemerito, Calban
Are there any other places in which __ has had issues with in the past?	Subec – land
Are there any places in __ that have historical or cultural value?	Pancian – ethnic group
Are there any special events in ___?	Each barangay has its own festival, Fiesta, Foundation Day (July 5), Year End Program (Dec 30), Rizal Day Celebration, October – Bat Festival
Are there any ideas or concepts that people in ___ find to be unanimously valuable?	Battle cry of local chief executive – "prosperity should be shared with all"
What kinds of significant historical events have happened in ___?	Caguyan – WWII stingray landing Burayoc – defnece of WWII
Can you name some important local traditions and values?	Kissing hands of elderly – come from church Baynihan spirit – helping one another for free – without remuneration
Are there groups or activities that you are not allowed to partake in? Why?	No restrictions except if its illegal
Are there certain people in __ that you need to know or get along with in order to be successful?	X
Are there any groups in __ that are noticeably less well-off than others?	Don't know any
Do you feel that people in __ have about the same amount of	Some who have more –

income or are there some people that have noticeably more? Who?	depending on education or qualification
Do you feel that __ is becoming more or less prosperous?	more
Does there seem to be a lot of poverty in __?	A little
Are there any industries in ___ that are struggling? Why?	Farming and fishing
Of the organizations that you are familiar with, do they have good organization?	Yes
Do those organizations have a relatively stable membership?	Yes
What kinds of things has your organization achieved recently?	X
What kinds of issues does your organization deal with?	X
Do you feel that the local administration is largely stable? Do you feel that the local administration is largely accountable? Organized?	-yes -yes - yes
Do you feel that the government leaders in __ are capable or able to help the people in __?	Someone, but mayor is capable, but sometimes politics in the Philippines makes them lazy
If a request is made to the local administration, what is the likelihood that something will be done?	Yes
How often do you vote in local elections? National elections?	Every time
Have you ever made a request or complaint to the local government? What was the result?	X
Has the local administration asked your opinion about community matters? Has there been any action taken on that?	X
How involved in local politics are you?	Very
Do you feel you have a good understanding of your legal and political rights?	Yes Most understand
What kinds of institutions (schools, hospitals) are there in __?	Religious
How easy is it for you to get something (license, accreditation) from the local government?	Not hard as long as regulations are completed
How do you feel about the leaders of local organizations and government in __? Are they ethical? Compassionate? People to be emulated?	Sometimes people vote for any name, position – but not good for the job Yes, sometimes in past and sometimes now Yes yes

11.3.   Photo Project Participants

Table 86 - Photo Project Participants

Name
Jenny Calina
Armaine Vidad
Louie Valenzuela
Roque Riveral
Christine Mal Tenorio
Marjorie Molines
Ronelie Anne Espejo
Kathrina Mae Esperjo
Mayrose P. Beneraba
Higie Mae Gabat
Shane Dela Cruz
Christian Y. Malabo
Plus 3 Un-named participants

Source: Author

11.4. Photo Group Ilocano Narratives
11.4.1. The Long Road

Mahabang daan luntiang kapaligiran kalikasang kayganda na naglalarawan ng kagandahan ng buhay sa barangay Pasaleng.

Tanawing nagpapahiwatig ng matuwid na pagitan. Pangarap at direksyon ng buhay na mga tao maliwanag na ang kanilang bagtasan makikita ang katuparan ng mithiin malapit na umaga mahahawakan na ang banga ng ginto sa dulo ng bulalakaw.

Sa magkabilang gilid ay kababaanagan ngg kalinisan at naggagandahang tanawin na siiyang tunay na larwan ng pag-unlad at pagkakaisa sa lugar, ang luntiang kabundukan sa dulo ay nagpapakita ng totoong pangangalaga ng mapagpalang palad sanang atensyon upang hindi tuluyang masira ang ating an kayamanang pingangangalagaan.

11.4.2. Girl Scouts of the Philippines

Tinawen a iselselebraran tayo iti pannakaipasngay tay Founder ti Girl Scouts ditoy Pilipinas a ni Josefa Llanes Escoda. 22 a istudyante ti oagadalan tay iti immatendar kadatoy a seminar a naangay idi Setyembre 27 kadaytoy a tawen. Inselebrar tayo iti 110th a pammakaipasngay na ken naigiddan pay tay Trek to Dingras for Escoda a naangay jay Dingras, Ilocos Norte. Kadigijay a 22 a istudyante a immatendar kadijay a seminar ket tapno maammuan no anya da dagiti pagbaliwan ti pagadalan, pagannurutan ti maysa a Girl Scout. Tapno iti kasta, ammo da ti inda aramiden inton no inda agcamping idjay pagadalan da. Dagiti ugali ti pudno a Girl Scouts ket mangitunda kanyada iti nasayaat tapnon maibilang da met a maysa kadagiti kangangatuan a

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babbai ti sangalubongan. Dagiti Girl Scouts ngamin iti Pilipinas ket agtitinnulong da para iti pagsayaatan iti pagilian.

11.4.3.　　　The Boat and Shore

Iti biag haan a kanayon a naliday. Adan to latta aldaw a naragsak.

Kata ti pangngarig ko iti daytoy a ladawan. Nasipnget ti nanglikmut ti taw a kas man la dumteng ti napigsa a todo. Ngem kalpsan dayta a tudo, ket adan to init ken panaglinak ti baybay nag isu ti ur urayen dagiti tatao tapnow inda mausar dagiti bilog iti papanda panagkalap para iti panagbiagda.

Ti panagkalap ti maysa a kangrunann a pagbiagan dagiti tattao ti Pasaleng.

11.4.4.　　　Caring and Helping One Another

Theme:

"Panagkikinnam-mayet ken Panag-titinnulong"

Pinag-titinnulong iti maysa ken maysa ket isu iti kangrunaan nga kasapulan iti bumarangay ken iti pagilyan para iti panagsayaat tayo amin.

Iti datoy a ladawan Makita ti kinaaneo dagiti tattao nag agtrabaho para iti magsayaatan ti maysa a tourist spot ti Pagudpud, iti PATAPAT Bridge. Masao man a addaan da iti sweldo ken gungona, ad-adda a kayat da a tagibenen iti lugar para iti nasay sayaat a panagdalyasat dagiti tattao kasta metten dagiti produkto. Makuna a nasayaat unay daytoy para iti panaka-idalyasat aglalo iti Pnacian, Pasaleng ken Balaoi.

Babaen iti naanep ken napudno a panagtrabaho, listo a nalpas ti nasao a proyekto. Ditoy a lugar masapul iti pagtrabahuan tapno agbiag a nasimbeng ken naprogreso dagiti lumugar ket sangsang-kamaysa da a umarakop iti napintas ken naannayas a panagtrabaho iti panagbiag.

11.5.　　　Participatory Photo Evaluation Follow-up Questionnaire Results

Survey responses were anonymous and numbers are assigned randomly.

Table 87 - Participatory Photo Evaluation Follow-up Questionnaire Results

No.	What did you enjoy about participating in this project?	What could be better?	What did you learn from participating in this project?	Additional Comments
1	During the time were spending for these project I am really enjoying and go excited what will happen next. Especially when were capturing views. It is hard to do but it doesn't mean to me because I have joined another experience again. The time were capturing views using the given cameras.	It would be better if they've given the project by group so that we will be able to cooperate and to bond with each other. And in case there would be a problem, we can ask each other.	I have learned a lot upon participating in this project just like on how we are going to capture a good view and able to make my essay writing better.	There should be no comment from but unless suggestions. That it should be more better if everyone of us have given enough time to do the project.

2	I enjoyed capturing scenic places. About participating, I roamed around to find nice place and things.	It could be better if we have enough time to do it and we should be grouped into one or two. But definitely, I enjoyed it.	I have learn that there are still cooperation in all of us. And I also learn not to forget that there are still hidden pace that are good to be a subject.	Actually, we lack of time. Sorry if the result might be bad, but I can only say that we tried our best. In the first place, I didn't realize how big even we are going to present.
3	In participating in this project I enjoy going around our community.	It would be better if we were given a time to think about our essay because of time inconsistent we have materials to used like the voice recorder or something that we use to have a good presentation.	I learn some techniques in using the camera.	Everytime Ma'am Cindy go to school and look what we have done, we feel so glad because she accept and praises our work. So, we are inspired to continue this photo journal.
4	In participating in this project I enjoyed taking pictures of different kinds of events that can be seen in our community. I enjoy also communicating to other people.	Its better for us if we have enough time to take pictures.	I learn how to deal with other people and how to work with my group mates.	The LGU must have enough funds for the community.
5	In participating in this project, I enjoyed taking pictures, especially events. I enjoyed discussing with the group about what we'll going to take and why. I remember, it was raining, but that doesn't stop us to continue our work, we even laugh ourselves as we ran under the rain. I really enjoyed it.	Our pictures could be more better if we had more time in planning.	From participating in this project, I learned how to give value to our resources, to cooperate to my group.	We can make our community more progressive if only we have enough money and cooperation from other people in the community. We have many resources development is the one needed.
6	I enjoyed this project because I like exploring new worlds like discovering paradise like the spring in Sitio Banquen in Brgy. Pancian. I enjoyed with my group mates dealing with if we take a picture.	It would be better if we have a capital because we have to travel to reach our destination and of course enough time.	I learn how to have a cooperation with my group mates so that our project will be beautiful. Dealing with them	The LGU must have enough money.
7	I enjoyed very much exploring around the community. Somehow, I discovered hidden treasures of it. I also enjoyed the company of my co-participants sharing ideas.	It would be better if we have enough time, enough materials to use, and enough "capital".	I learned how to care for the resources for the sake of the next generation. People should be very sensible for them. I also learned how to deal with other people while taking	In this participatory photo, you are given the chance to show your talent and skills. How to use the camera wisely and how to use your eyes in a resourceful way. Spread your eyes and see the beauty of the world. In making presentations (essay) for those pictures I

			some photos.	learned how to manage my time wisely to finish them. Though it is hard to write them in an English language; I have to dig out what is truly in my mind. And in that, I have proven that I can. I am very rich in ideas.
8	I enjoy very much in this project because of this, I learned ideas and I also learned how to manage time wisely, coping with one another and sharing each idea for the beautification of the essay. Also, we spent time exploring places and hidden treasures from every place even though we encountered the rain.	It could be better if we have enough time and capital.	With this participatory photo shooting, I learned to manage time wisely, independency, patience and dealing with others. And also I learned about the jobs and present problems in our community.	
9	I enjoy very much to this project while taking pictures. And even it's raining I go to the mountain to capture hidden spring falls on Pancian at Baryo Bangkero.	Its better to have enough time and enough capital to do perfect project.	I learn how to communicate to other people. And I learn how to manage my time. And especially I learn how to dealing with different kind of people in my community.	To do perfectly this photo evaluation we need to know how to be patience to other. And we need to be critical thinking to have a beautiful pictures.
10	The part in wherein I enjoy in participating this project is when we take up pictures. Even though it is stormy, I enjoy taking pictures.	The better is, to make our community a better ones and to be known in the whole world, we should work on, discover, and the LGU member should have programs/seminars about on how to make community progressive and must release funds for the development.	What I'd learn is on how to choose your subject to capture. I also learn on how to relate and communicate to other people. I learn also what are the present problem here in out community.	
11	Participating in this project is really an opportunity for us to share to this whole world the hidden beauty of our place. What I've enjoy are exploring around our place, discovering more about our natural resources and also	It could be better if its not raining when we take the pictures and more time also to prepare.	I learned that there are lot a beautiful spot in our place that abandoned and forget I learned to deal with other people/different people. I learned to	As we discovered the abandoned places in our place that LGU should action 'coz really its beautiful if will develop.

	experiencing also to captured natural resources in our place.		appreciate simple things because simple things are those beautiful and good.	
12	I enjoyed very much about this project for a reason that I feel like I', a professional photographer.	It would be better if we have complete tools and materials to used so that our project would be much good.	I've learned how to think deeper about what we've captured and it truly challenge me a lot.	There are no sufficient materials to use so our project didn't succeed so much, but its good.

Source: Questions - Author, Responses - Photo Project Participants

11.6.   Participatory Video Evaluation Follow-up Questionnaire Results

Survey responses were anonymous and numbers are assigned randomly.

Table 88 - Participatory Video Evaluation Follow-up Questionnaire Results

Number	What did you enjoy about participating in this project?	What could be better?	What did you learn from participating in this project?	Additional Comments
1	I enjoyed viewing the primitive way of life without are how sometimes left behind	More funds, efforts and education for the development and progress of the community and PAGUDPUD!	I learned to be more critic and interact or some manners where development should be the first interest.	
2 (Ms. Tamargo)	I enjoyed watching every bit of the video and understood better the situation of Pagudpud and felt a sense of pride of being one in the community.	The schedule have been more photo shots about the place and its people	I learned the art of questioning to come up with specific responses. I also learned the sense of cooperation and camaraderie.	
3	Enjoyed your sacrifices for community development	Better to have more funds for this program	Cooperation and more sacrifices	You must have co-partner to do this. Mean's your fellow student from Japan.
4 (Mr. Ubasa)	Enjoyed taking video footage roaming around the community and	More time and organization	The primitive way of life is a tradition need not to be	

	living with peoples group, nature the native way		neglected but to be preserved as a foundation of development	
5	Photo taking, adventuring, meeting with God's gifts – nature and man			

11.7.   Public Exhibition Survey Results
11.7.1.   Participatory Video Evaluation Public Response Questionnaire Results

Questionnaires are anonymous and numbers are assigned randomly for organizational purpose.   Out of the 100+ crowd 21 people filled out questionnaires on the topic of the video presentation and many of those that filled out the questionnaire about the photo project also made reference to the video. The question of what could be better is not specific enough, often rendering answers about what could be better in the community instead of the desired response about the project (affecting those that errantly filled in the questionnaire meant for the group participants).

Table 89 – Participatory Video Evaluation Public Response Questionnaire Results

No.	What do you think about this project?	How do you feel about the video?	Additional stories and comments
1	It is very nice. They know how to choose their subject.	I feel very great because it shows us what would be the community has.	None, it's good.
2	I think this is an effective tool because in every video it shows that we should not lose hope to success.	I saw the future of Pagudpud through the video because cooperation and unity are present in every Pagupudian.	
3	Excellente!	I feel very proud. Yes.	Pagudpud soon will transform.
4	I think this project is wonderful.	I feel very warm hearted.	
5	It will help us to success our community. This project would attract tourist to come our town.	I feel the transformation of our town. I feel that aga kailangan tayo ha agtitinawlong tapho maabit tayo to tagumpay nga mapapintas tay ti lugar tayo.	The photos shows how people of Pagudpud are very industrious and they have a cooperations in all activities.
6	The showing what is the stage of our lives now because our 1st livelihood is farming . They are happy in harvesting they yield because despite of the hardships and sacrifices their yield id good.	Proud because people in Pagudpud are hardworker. Honestly, our lives in Pagudpud is not as well as poor farming is one is the livelihood of Pagudpud and even in the Philippines.	
7	Ah, this project is all about the Filipinos life today because they all help in one another. So that he/she will survive crisis.	I feel for this video is okay, their all video the beautiful and to progress our nature	
8	The video presentation is very nice and it was presented for us to know more about our community.	I felt happy because Pagudpud is still progress and the people are helping one another for a very good reason.	

9	I think it is a good project so that even it is a for place (Pagudpud) the tourist may discover its beauty through this video.	I can feel the essence of our environment. Our community and its people. Special to me? I think one thing special comes in my mind and it is the essence of my homeplace, Pagudpud.	
10	This project will serve as a great help to the community in order to attain progress and development of our town.	I feel so proud about video because it depicts out Ilocano culture.	I like this video because I learn a great lesson in my life and this lesson will serve as my inspiration to achieve my dream in life.
11	For me, this project has a great impact to us, as students and community people. I think the project aims to motivate us and give more power to us through knowledge gained…	The video had totally embraced my heart. This shows what culture we Pagudpudians have and I think we must be proud on what we have and continue to improve it.	The picture on the video had totally depicted the culture we have!!
12	It will help Pagudpud for improvement.	(If) I'm so touch by the video because they feature as many articles about "katutubong sayaw", many activities to improve the beauty of Pagudpud.	The stories are so beautiful and it very close to the life of the Filipino like me.
13	The project will help the youngster to think many more ideas that will make our town more progressive.	I feel so proud, Because the videos view the beauty of Pagudpud	I suggest them to feature also the people on how they developed Pagudpud.
14	I think this project is very nice, interesting and exciting just because it requires the student of every student of every school to participate on the success of Pagudpud.	Happy, because I am duly informed about the things in Pagudpud.	
15 (Suz ette Anje la Z.)	It's a great help. Especially to students like us because the video clips help us to think critically and for us to share about how we feel about the things happening around us. We can think and share of our opinions about how we can improve our town.	I had many opinions about the video of the gaway-gaway dance and the harvesting. The dancers' coordination in the dance represents the cooperation of the workers during the harvest time and the applause the dancers receive from the audience is the same success the farmers gain after a long hardship.	The videos show how the people in Pagudpud live in God's gifts, make products better to achieve the best out of it.
16	This project is a good way to promote and enrich our province. This is very helpful because it shows the rich nature of our municipality.	The video is very useful because it contains the hardship of people and their cooperation and unity of one another. It shows that our municipality is pollution free and very peaceful place.	We should take good care of our nature because it is very useful and it gives us our daily needs. Without nature, our life is not complete and we can't live without out mother nature.
17	It helps the community to know more about community capacity.	The unmodernized parts of Pagudpud	
18	This project illustrates and represents the culture and the way of living in Pagudpud.	The video made me proud of community.	
19	This project seems very interesting and enjoyable because of all we learned and enjoyed the work.	I feel proud of my community because it compose of many resources and also they have the dedication to their work and of course they have the ability.	

11.7.2. Video Public Response Errantly Answered on Video Follow-up Questionnaire

Table 90 - Video Public Responses Errant Answers

No.	What did you enjoy about participating in this project?	What could be better?	What did you learn from participating in this project?	Additional Comments
1	I enjoy participating in this project by watching the video that represents the native product of Pagudpud. As well as their product, one of their table products without is their source of income. Second, video represents the oldest way of harvesting palay.	I comments that the town of Pagudpud is very rich in natural resources and I believe that in the near future our town will be one of the most progressive town in the northern part of the country.	We should have cooperation. There is unity or there is always a division of labor.	School needs – book reference/encyclopedia more computers for the schools improvement building more dike
2		It could be better is the people will improve/develop their lives. We have the community that is not yet that progressive.		Government should develop/help us/our community to be more progressive…organize groups/seminars
3	I enjoy in sharing reaction to the video. To what I see. And I learn how hard the life is. So we most study hard.	It is better to cooperate in our town for the successful of it. For the next generation.	I learn how to be industrious and help other people. Ad we should plant more trees for our natural resources.	Good capturing about "The time to reap the Golden grain" I learn to not waste rice….Good work!

11.7.3. Participatory Photo Evaluation Public Response Questionnaire Results

Questionnaires are anonymous and numbers are assigned randomly for organizational purpose. Many respondents used the photo questionnaire to respond to the photos and the video or the video only. The free response question yielded interesting additions and stories. Unfortunately, due to the length of the video presentation, not many of the exhibition attendant responded directly to the photos.

Table 91 - Participatory Photo Evaluation Public Response Questionnaire

No.	What do you think about this project?	Do any of the photos strike you?	Additional stories and comments
1	This project is useless now. Millions of money was spent to this. So we must have to monitor the beauty of it (?).	Yes, the Bagong Lodge strikes you.	Yes, the Bagong Lodge. The money spent to this was from our taxes.
2	I think this project is very important in develop our community to make progress.	Yes…	

3	It's an excellent project.	Yes!	Our farmers are the backbone of the masses. Farming is one of the primary source of job in our country especially in out town Pagudpud. Without our farmers, we don't have life like this.
4	This is a very worthy and commendable project to be aware of the importance of community capacity as an answer of sustainable growth and development.	Ye, I was amazed and (??). Pagudpud is a (??) out there and (??) how that are deceitful and destroyed due to undesirable practices.	I like all the photos. They can be used as documents of the beautiful spots of Pagudpud. It can also be used to make posters to be (??) for funds.
5	I think this project is very nice. Because it teaches you to discover things.	Yah..the road to heaven.	None..
6	This project will sell the beauty of Pagudpud	The destroyed Bagong Lipunan Lodge.	Some part of the photos shows some part of our community or in Pagudpud must be given more attention.
7	I think this is very wonderful because in this way we can see out natural resources.	None	Sarakat – kahit ito ay klase lang ng halaman marmi itong naitutulong sa mga mamamayan. Ito ay tumutulong sa kanilang paghahanayo buhay.
8	I think this project means is to let our mind be clear and this helps us to make our feeling be heard and to make out place be known!!	All!	Sarakat – Pagudpud is rich in natural resources and human resources. Pagudpudians are very creative.
9	I think this project is important in the development of the different communities in Pagudpud. This project could promote the beauty and the beautiful nature of the municipality.	Yes! It is the picture about the child who is pointing the sea.	
10	Having a project like this may lead for a better community to a higher quality society through evaluating the geography of a community and its people and even the mother nature.	Yes, the photos wherein you can the most conserve beauty of nature.	
11	Continuing this project to be perfect Paraiso ni Anton Natural water (very cool) purified	So we need the stronger dike (reference to the video)	
12	I think this project will help, "Pagudpud" to become more developed town. It will also encourage business man or investors to engage many more project.	Yes! Especially South Central (reference to the video), where I came from. I'm so proud of the students and teachers because until now they are still sharing lots of ideas.	A mother carrying her baby. The baby is near the hear of her mother, where she feels the love and care of her mother
13	I think about this project will help "Pagudpud" for its improvement, more beautiful than ever and the progress and successful of (one) the Pagudpudians as long	The photos strike me because they feature all the cultural arts and heritage, how	In the photos, I suggest that they must take the photos of the fisherman because in Pagudpud, fisherman is one of the occupation

	as the Pagudpud.	Pagudpudians are creative and (induction) industrious, as long as for the beauty of Pagudpud.	of the people and most of them, this is one of the best features about Pagudpud without them, people will no longer eat fish as long as making "handicrafts" from seashells.
14	I think the project is all about the community of Pagudpud, how do people live, how they unite to make a better community, the culture and how they promote its spots to make a better life and good community.	The photo ho shows how the fishermans works together strikes my mind because it presents how the people of Pagudpud works hard to just have enough food and it shows how patient we are (reference to the video).	The photos makes us interpret about the cultures and livings of Pagudpud. How we live, how we work hard just to live enough. How we innovate simple things using our minds just to turn simple things to valuable ones. How we lead and manage the community to make a more stronger and a more working community.
15	I think this project will help us think more strategies in improving our community and put us in the foot of success.	Yes, it has, and that is the carabao carrying a cavans of sack because it signifies industriousness just like me Im doing all my very best (reference to video)	My additional comment is that we Pgudpudians must improve more our community because I saw in the videos that we are rich in natural resources and the only think that we can do is to improve and take good care of it.