THE IMPLICATIONS OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by

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The earth is but one country, and mankind its citizens.

Bahá'u'lláh

DEDICATED TO:

THOUSANDS OF BAHA'Í YOUTH IN IRAN WHO ARE DEPRIVED OF THEIR
BASIC RIGHTS TO ACQUIRE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

DECLARATIONS

I declare that the study presented in this thesis is the result of my own investigation.

Danoush Youssefi-K.

I declare that this work has under no circumstances been submitted in candidature for any other degree.

Danoush Youssefi-K.

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ABREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADC: Area Development Centre

BRAC   Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee

CAFOD: Catholic Fund for Overseas Development

CDT: Core Development Trainer

CET: Centro de Educacion y Tecnologia

CIAL: Comision de Investigacion en Agricultura
               Alternativa-Chile

CIDA: Canadian International Development Agency

DHF: Dag Hammarskjold Foundation

DW: Development Worker

EEC: European Economic Community

EIA: Environmental Impact Assessment

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organisation

ILO: International Labour Office

IAF: Inter-American Foundation

ICLD: International Center for Law and Development (New
               York)

IFAD: International Fund for Agriculture and
               Development

IIED: International Institute for Environment and
               Development

INAMB: Instituto Nacional de Ambiente-Portugal

ISPES: Institue for the Promotion of Economic and social
               development

LSA: Local Spiritual Assembly

MOA:	Ministerion de Agricultura- Ecuador
NGO:	Non-governmental Organisations
NORAD:	Norwegian Agency for Development
NSA:	National Spiritual Assembly
ORAP	Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress
PIDA:	Participatory Institute for Development Alternative
PIDT:	Participatory Institute for Development and Training
PROCESS:	Participatory Research Organisation of Communities through Education and Self-help
SEWA:	Self-Employed Women's Association
SIDA:	Swedish International Development Authority
Six 'S'	Se Servir de la Saison Séche en Savane et dans le Sahel--NGO based in Bukina Faso, Africa
SSM:	Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement--Sri Lankan NGO
SUM:	Salford Urban Mission
TCDC:	Technical Cooperation between Developing Countries (ILO programme)
UHJ	Universal House of Justice (maximum international Baha'i administrative body)
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF:	United Nations International Children Emergency Fund
UNIFEM:	United Nations Development Fund for Women

UNRISD: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

WCED: World Commission of Environment and Development

WHO   World Health Organisation

WWF: World Wildlife Fund for Nature / in this thesis WWF stands for Working Women Forum

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

SUMMARY

Many global problems in society relate to issues of environment and development. This research explores different connotations of environmental management and development. Development models for Third World countries are found to be most effective when they promote the participation of people in the communities they serve.

The thesis demonstrates that development is a process through which members of society develop themselves and their institutions to enhance their ability to mobilize and manage resources to produce sustainable and distributed improvements in their life. The thesis shows that environmental impact assessment (EIA) is an environmental management instrument that allows people to participate in the management of large development proposals. My research demonstrates that the integration of public participation for environmental impact assessment makes the EIA process more meaningful and satisfactory for those who are most frequently affected by infrastructures and commercial enhancement.

The thesis reviews European legislation which identifies major projects such as nuclear and fossil fuel power stations, coal mines, oil and gas projects, airports,

tunnels, barrages, roads and manufacturing plants for .

compulsory EIA. The thesis identifies then public

participation as a necessary requirement for these

assessments. My work shows that the existence of NGOs and

other community groups may guarantee more realistic

representation than those circumstances where such groups

are discouraged, prohibited or ill formed because of

inadequate local leadership.

My investigation indicates that grass-roots

participatory movements, in which people are encouraged to

take the initiatives to manage the environment, develop

their expertise and capacity to survive in particular

circumstances are numerous.

In order to investigate EIA in a country well on the

way to industrialisation I examined the environmental

impact assessment of development projects incorporating

public participation in Portugal. I found that public

participation in EIA in Portugal is weak because of

historical political constraints.

Participation is integrated with environmental

management and development in grass-roots sustainable

development initiatives in Africa and Asia. I demonstrated

that local/regional resource management and development is

often promoted from the grass-roots by NGOs with diverse

histories. Some relate to people in different communities

who have come together with different degrees of participation according to their individual, family, social, economic, political and environmental concerns. They challenge their situations by making responsible decisions, planning, implementing and monitoring their objectives through processes of consultation, action and reflection. I further demonstrated that community objectives are achieved through involvement in each stage of the development process.

If it is believed that human potentials are to be discovered and developed, then meaningful participation can realise this by people's active involvement at all level of society in decision making. I demonstrated that NGOs, historically, have been effective in this task by removing obstacles and educating communities to participate. I suggested it is through the promotion of participation that EIA can exert its effectiveness.

1. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 GLOBAL PROBLEMS

Global international crisis is manifested in different forms of environmental, social and economic problems. This situation does not recognise any boundaries. In the 1990s, continuing poverty; extensive environmental failure and threats; and pervasive socio-economic disintegration indicate the need for a paradigm shift in our moral, social, economic, and political development. These overshadowing problems have left humankind perplexed and helpless in some areas but stimulated and challenged in others.

1.1.1 Poverty

One fifth of the world's population - about a billion people - live in absolute poverty. They lack the basic human needs -- adequate food, shelter, clothing and health services. Millions have no access to even a rudimentary education or to regular employment - they have little or no freedom to improve their position (Davidson, *et al.*, 1992).

Poverty is defined and interpreted in different fashions. The most common way to categorise the poor is according to their annual income. Most poor by this

definition are found in the South (developing countries).
These people face a vicious circle of problems from which
they have no means of escape. Poverty leads to starvation
or a poor diet with an increased susceptibility to
infections and poor health. Poor health leads to an
inability to work efficiently and increases poverty.

In spite of numerous economic development programmes
over three decades, poverty alleviation remains more a
dream than a reality for most of the people in the South.
These initiatives have produced scepticism about the
ability of conventional development wisdom to deal with
fundamental need. Basic flaws in conventional development
methodology are: (1) Human goals are accounted as
material; (2) the implications of historical contexts are
denied; (3) activities are not treated in a true world
context; (4) economic dimensions are treated separately
from social, political and ecological contexts; (5)
capitalist economics pretends there is a myth of harmony in
a world of obvious conflict (Gran, 1983).

1.1.2   Environment

Persistent poverty is intolerable in human terms and
seriously threatens the environment. Pressures arise when
basic human needs are not met and satisfied by any
available means whilst destroying the resource base
required for sustenance. Poor communities have been forced

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to misuse the natural resource base. These problems are created to a great extent because of the pressure to produce raw materials for modern industry (Agarwal, 1988).

Environmental problems, however, are not specific to the poor. Even a superficial look at the media indicates that the rich and poor both experience the effects of record high temperatures, severe droughts, lowered water tables, loss of top soil, destruction of coastal fisheries, chemical contamination of drinking water supplies and residential lands, depletion of the protective ozone layer, water logging and salination of prime agricultural lands, pollution of beaches, record floods and the build-up of radioactive wastes.

In the past, environmental problems were often thought of as those that had the most visible with an aesthetic effect. Today, it is common knowledge that indications of the environmental crisis are more than aesthetic! Environmental degradation is a worldwide issue. It is not only the concern of the rich. There used to be a misconception with regard to the environment which said that the concern about environmental quality is limited primarily to the rich and wealthy industrialised nations. The poor were assumed to be too preoccupied with economic and physical survival to be concerned about environmental problems. It was argued that concern for the environment can only retard economic and industrial development.

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Environmentalism was the prerogative of industrialised nations with a growing emphasis on improving quality of life (Dunlap *et al.*, 1993).

Global opinion about the environment now rejects this assumption. Salient issues in both wealthy and poor nations provoke equality of concern about environmental quality (Dunlap *et al.*, 1993) and this reflects increased environmental awareness amongst citizens who are often those who have the primary environmental responsibility.

Gallup surveys in 11 high income and 13 medium to low income nations asked 1000 to 1500 people "which do you believe should have the primary responsibility for protecting the environment in our nation--the government, business and industry, or individual citizens and citizens groups?" Citizens of low income nations believed that the primary responsibility for environmental protection should be assumed by the citizens (Fig. 1.1)(Dunlap, *et al.*, 1993). To assess the perceived efficacy of citizen action the survey asked "How much of an effect can individual citizens and citizens groups have on solving our environmental problems?" The percentages of respondents in developing countries who attached "a great deal" of effect to citizens responsibility in environmental problems was substantially more than their counterparts in the industrialised nations (Figure 1.2).

Environmental concern in many countries reveals that environmental quality is no longer seen as a luxury for the rich. Social science analyses of environmentalism have focused primarily on industrialized nations and downplayed direct human experience of environmental degradation at the local levels in the poorer nations (Adams, 1990). Climatic change in Southern Chile has caused repeated flood damage in an area where the Mapuches -- the indigenous people of Chile -- mostly live. Forty six per cent of Chileans believe that their individual and group actions have "a great deal" of effect on soil erosion and crop damage (Fig. 1.2).

Respondents who say citizens should have primary responsibility for environmental protection (percentage)

Switzerland	35
Portugal	32
United States	29
Germany	25
Denmark	24
Netherlands	23
Canada	23
Ireland	19
Norway	17
Japan	16
Finland	13
Great Britain	12

Brazil	60
Mexico	43
Philippines	43
Uruguay	43
Chile	38
India	34
South Korea	28
Hungary	25
Turkey	24
Nigeria	22
Poland	9
Russia	9
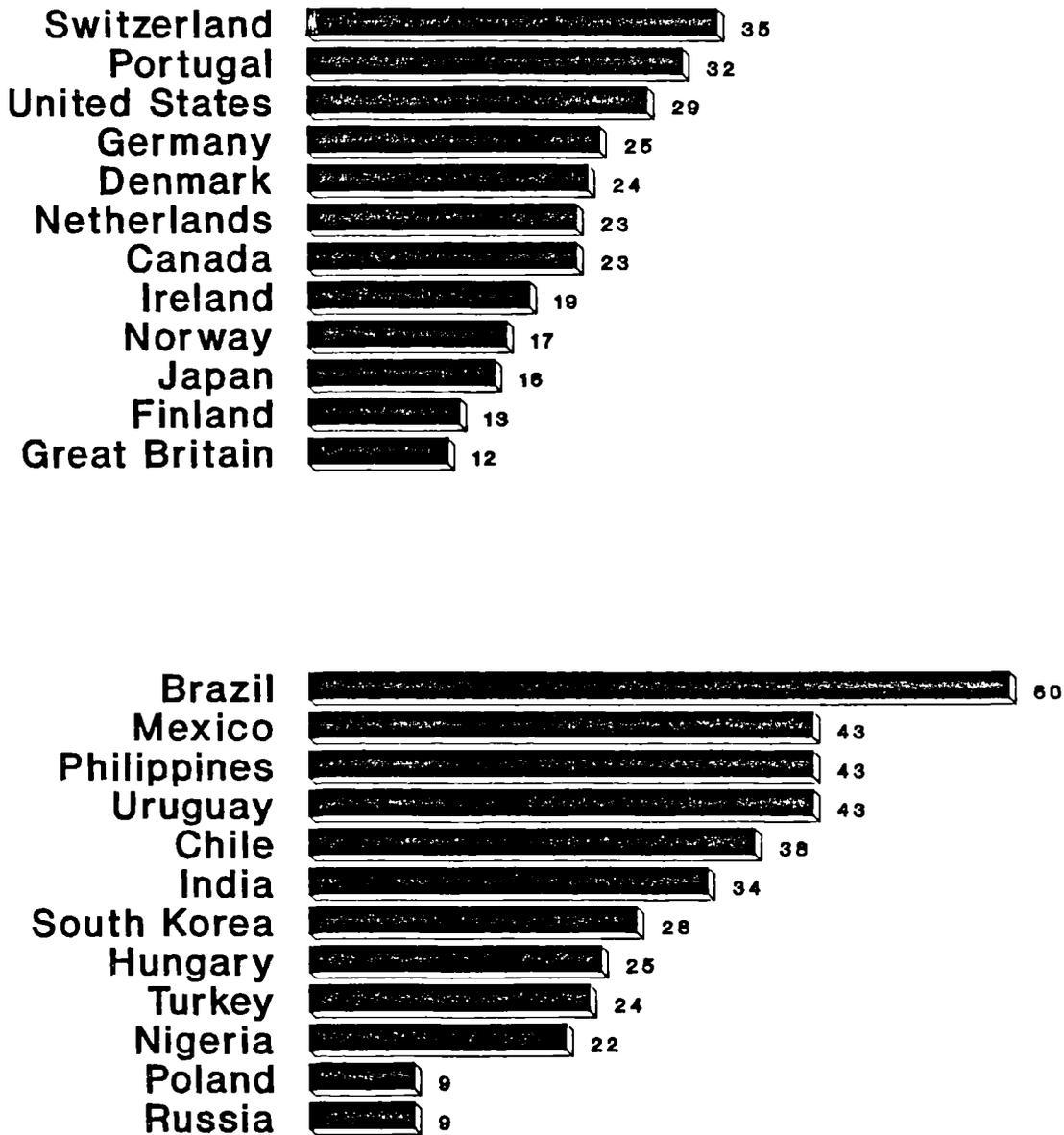
Figure 1.1 (Source: Dunlap et al., 1993)

Respondents who say individual and citizens groups can have "a great deal" of effect on solving env'l problems (%)

Country	Value
Ireland	43
Norway	43
Canada	43
United States	38
Switzerland	36
Portugal	35
Great Britain	29
Denmark	22
Finland	19
Netherlands	17
Germany	13
Japan	11

Country	Value
Mexico	59
Nigeria	59
Philippines	57
Turkey	52
South Korea	48
Chile	46
Brazil	46
Uruguay	41
India	39
Russia	17
Poland	17
Hungary	9
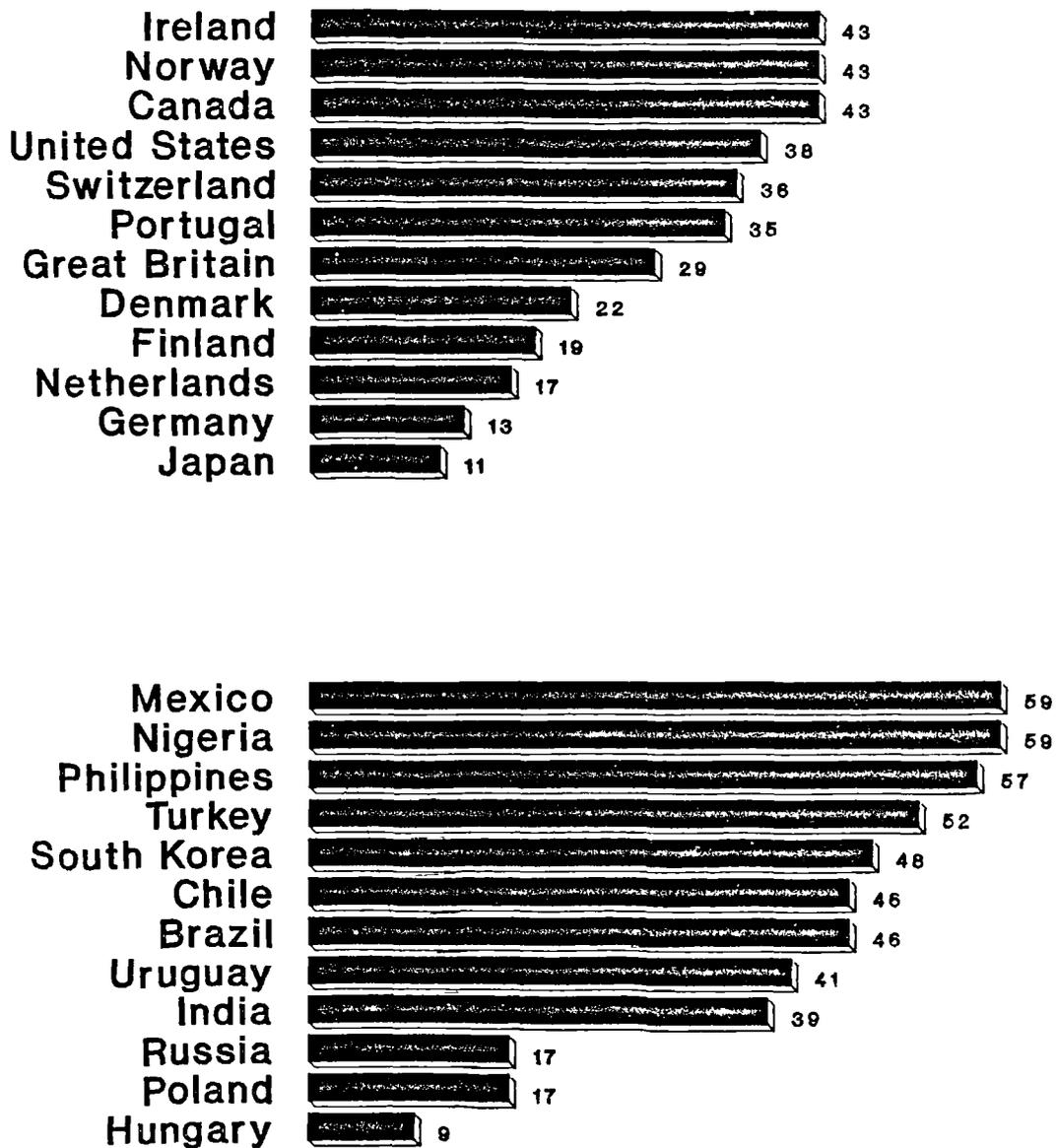
Figure 1.2 (Source: Dunlap et al., 1993)

1.1.3   Society

Society is facing national and international military conflicts.   Drugs   trafficking,   communal   violence corruption, violation of human rights, vandalism, unjust international trade and other social issues are affecting the economic   and   environmental   base   of   many   nations (Korten, 1990; Ekins, 1992).

One factor common to each of these situations is the lack of concern for "spiritual" or "human" development. It has direct influences on economic, social and environmental development.   In   this   respect   we   all   live   in   an "underdeveloped" world. There is little evidence as to how this   factor   is   taken   into   consideration   in   education, social policy, the promotion of psychological welfare and economics policy and research.

It is a widely held belief that being positive and building on strength is a virtue. In areas with high unemployment and dense populations the human potential and its untapped energies are the best resources available.

If   society   is   encountering   social,   economic   and environmental   crisis   as   a   consequence   of   mismanagement, then   the   solution   lies   outside   academic   research   and technological fixes, if it has to be looked for in human attitudes and capabilities.

The Neo-classical, Neo-Marxist and international Capitalist structural models provide established top down development approaches. Bottom up approaches with different versions of "Another Development", "Ecodevelopment" and "Sustainable Development" give different perspectives. Development from below is that which involves and encourages the people to cultivate the latent potentials of each individual and to discover them. Subsequent broadening of the concept of development includes concern about environmental quality. In time, it includes the development of future generations and the implications for sustainable development.

Public participation is an inherent aspect of development and environmental management. Participation is facilitated through appropriate educational processes-- conscientisation or awareness building in the appropriate cultural and ideological contexts (Freire, 1972a; 1972b; 1973). Environmental management is often concerned more with the augmentation of those human activities which have a significant impact on the environment. The most pressing objective of environmental management is to meet basic needs within the potentials and constraints of environmental systems and natural resources.

Environmental impact assessment was devised as an environmental management planning instrument. Public participation is intended to be integral to its process.

The use of EIA in Portugal showed how effectively the human element was utilised in that process. The effectiveness of EIA in protecting the environment whilst promoting economic development for a new European Community member emphasised that the development of human resources and participation are needed for better environmental management, protection and development.

Public participation is sometimes effectively achieved through NGOs. They can then promote policies needed by national or regional government. They allow a generation of social movements that promote global change through the independent action of countless individuals and organisations.

The Bhoomi-Sena of India; Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC); Participatory Institute for Development Alternatives (PIDA) -Sri Lanka; Proshika of Bangladesh; Organisation of Rural Association for Progress (ORAP) of Zimbabwe; SARILAKAS of Philippines; Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka; Six "S" of Burkina Faso; the Working Women's Forum (WWF) and Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) of India represent the different fields of activity of NGOs.

A life time personal experience as a member of the Bahá'í Community shows that effective participatory development and organisational building requires continuous

educational and learning processes within systematic participatory institutions.

Selected case studies indicate a framework for promoting participation as a learning process in research, definition and action for development. Organisations are required in every population to promote this participatory process.

1.2 METHODS

This research was carried out through:

1. A literature survey on different topics of environmental management, prevalent development theories and the connotations of the concept of participation.

2. Collection of information on case studies which have shown a substantial degree of participants in the development and environmental management efforts. The criteria formulated for case study selection were:
a) that they present a series of short case studies both governmental and non-governmental and which look at both their successes and failures; b) that they are or were committed in the development of the home region and its population; c) that they are or were committed in the environmental management of their region; d) that they demonstrate or demonstrated how the participatory process

is encouraged; e) that they have or had at least five years of activities; f) that there is good documentation with information to confirm the performance of the initiatives; g) that the lessons learned from the research could provide a framework for future action.

3. A close study of environmental impact assessment in Portugal and its application in that country. This study was carried out by personal interviews and communications followed by an examination of environmental impact statements (EIS) which were accessible in Portugal. Identification of project types, EIA consultant and their partners and the project developers were among the objectives of the research.

4. Analysis of all the above information to produce findings and recommendations.

2. ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Environmental management "seeks to balance human demands upon the Earth's natural resource base with the natural environment's ability to meet these demands on a sustainable basis" (Colby, 1990a).

Although some discrepancy may exist in the interpretation of environmentalism and environmental management terminologies, these terms are used interchangeably in this section. Below, an attempt is made to present a brief survey of ideological and historical aspects of environmentalism and the emergence of environmental management thinking.

2.2 ENVIRONMENTALISM AND ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT THINKING

2.2.1 The Character of Environmentalism

O'Riordan (1986) introduces three stages of society-nature-cosmos linkages. The first stage is an "illusionary and utopian" Gaia-Society-Nature relationship with society and nature in a horizontal position and Gaia above. The second stage is a God-Nature-Society in a vertical relationship. This emerges when nature has to be worked

upon for humanity to survive. The third stage is more optimistic, God has made Man in his own image. Humanity is the sign of God on earth seeking to improve upon God's natural legacy so that both Mankind and nature may be made more prosperous. Prosperity (progress and development) is achieved through the exploitation and manipulation of natural systems.

The history of thinking on progress and development is closely linked to that of environmental concern and peoples' attitudes to nature. Both include responses to changing scientific understanding, world knowledge and ideas about society (Adams 1990).

Moral behaviour has become something of our society's own creation. O'Riordan (1986) suggests that Moral obligations are no longer prescribed by religious absolutes. Human kind's vitality cannot easily be ignored and sometimes propels society into acting contrary to our best interests. Attitudes, assumptions and values are derived from an extensively materialistic society. Changes in the mosaic of cultural diversity and the disruption of environmental systems are consequences of our attitudes, predispositions and sometimes our folly.

Environmentalism is to do with understanding the processes and forces at work in these variously perceived systems and relationships. Accountable social, economic

and political structures based on ethical foundations may be a goal to achieve but, we cannot act in isolation from our human obligations and historic conditioning which continually frustrate these necessary objectives.

2.2.2   Environmentalism and Global Crisis

The new environmentalism of the industrialised world in the 1960s debated about ecology, conservation and development (Adams, 1990). The environmentalism of the 1960s and 1970s was concerned for global environmental issues. The notion of the "Spaceship Earth" (Boulding, 1966) became commonplace and the theme of the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm centred on *"Only One Earth"* (Ward and Dubos, 1972). Crisis thinking on a global scale became central to the "new environmentalism" (Cotgrove, 1982) of Europe and North America. Parallel with it grew an apocalyptic vision of neo-Malthusian crisis giving a context for ideas about sustainable development to emerge (Adams, 1990).

2.2.3   Green Policies

Although the 1972 Stockholm Conference was the first international attempt to identify common issues, the ideological characteristics of the Green Movement had its roots firmly established in the First World. Galtung (1988) formulates two assumptions about the Green Movement:

(1)   It is an umbrella movement for other partial movements, which each attack one or more elements of society (Table 2.1).

(2)   The Green Movement differs from other social movements in adopting a holistic approach. Environmental problems are not solved by attacking single factors separately.

The Green Movement aims to create an alternative society through a federation of constituent movements. Can, however, an alternative society (Table 2.1) be the brainchild of some great thinker? Is this society a general reaction to the malfunctioning of Western social systems? Does it allow the inarticulate to express their needs and social aspirations? How democratic and participatory can such an alternative society be?

Table 2.1 A Survey of Green Policies

Mainstream Characteristics	Green Policies, Movements
Economic Basis	
1. Exploitation of <u>external proletariat</u>	Cooperative enterprises, movements; labour buyer/seller difference abolished, customers directly involved
2. Exploitation of <u>external sector</u> relations; liberation movements	Co-existence with the Third World; only equitable exchange
3. Exploitation of <u>nature</u>	Ecological balance Person-Nature; building diversity, symbiosis; complete or partial vegetarianism
4. Exploitation of <u>self</u>	More labour- and creativity-intensity; decreasing productivity in some fields; alternative technologies
Military basis	
1. Dependency on <u>foreign trade</u>	Self-reliance; self-sufficiency in food, health, energy and defence
2. Dependency on <u>formal sector</u>, BCI-complex	Local self-reliance, decreasing urbanisation,
3. Offensive defence policies, very destructive defence technology	Intermediate technology; defensive defence policies with less destructive technology, also non-military non-violent defence.
4. Alignment with super-powers	Non-alignment, even neutralism de-coupling from superpowers
Structural basis	
1. <u>Bureaucracy,</u> state (plan) strong and centralised	Recentralisation of local level; building federations of local units
2. <u>Corporation</u>, capital (market) strong and centralised	Building informal, green economy: - production for self-consumption - production for non-monetary exchange - production for local cycles

Table 2.1 cont'd: A Survey of Green Policies

Mainstream Characteristics	Green Policies, Movements
3. Intelligentsia, research strong and centralised	High level non-formal education, building own forms of understanding
4. MAMU factor; BCI peopled by middle-aged males with university education (and dominant race/ethnic group)	Feminist movements, justice/equality and for new culture and structure; movements of the young and the old; movements for racial/ethnic equality
Bourgeois way of life	
1. Non-manual work, eliminating heavy, dirty, dangerous work	Keeping the gains when healthy, mixing manual and non-manual
2. Material comfort, dampening fluctuations of nature	Keeping the gains when healthy, living closer to nature
3. Privatism, withdrawal into family and peer groups	Communal life in bigger units, collective production/consumption
4. Security, the probability that this will last	Keeping security when healthy, making life style less predictable
Chemical, circus way of life	
1. Alcohol, tranquilisers, drugs	Moderation, experiments with non-addictive, life-enhancing things
2. Tobacco, sugar, salt, tea/coffee	Moderation, enhancing the body's capacity for joy, e.g. through sex
3. Chemically treated food, panem, natural fibres removed	Bio-organic cultivation, health food, balanced food, moderation
4. Circenses, TV, sport, spectatorism	Generating own entertain-ment, moderate exercise, particularly as manual work, walking, bicycling

Source: Galtung (1988)

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2.2.4   New Environmentalism

Environmentalists' thinking patterns have been divided into Technocentrism and Ecocentrism (O'Riordan 1981; Sandbach 1980; Cotgrove 1982; Pepper 1984).

Technocentrism

Technocentrism is based on a managerial approach to resource development and environmental protection where the satisfaction of Man is the centre of all activities. They are usually power-conservatives at central or national level control. Technocentrism can be subdivided into optimism and accommodation:

a)   Optimistic Technocentism (or Cornucopia) believes that a prosperous life can be guaranteed for at least a substantial majority through managerial skill, needs and established economic forces.

b)   Accommodation Technocentrism holds that through regulation and the modification of the business managerial position, resource wastage can be reduced and pollution controlled without threatening the economic and political power base.

Ecocentrism

Social relations complement man-environment

interaction (O'Riordan, 1988b). The problems of society or the environment are solved by individual communities invested with real power (Table 2.2) (O'Riordan, 1981; 1988b; Cotgrove, 1982; Pepper, 1984; Redclift, 1987).

a) Communalists identify collective abilities to manage and organise economic affairs provided they have the right incentives and freedom. These groups take a "bottom-up" and "periphery-inward" development approach (Stohr, 1981) to sustainable development thinking (Adams 1990).

b) Gaianists hold that the Earth has self controlling systems. It does not view Man as the dominant species and human consciousness is not the only means to judge nature.

Table 2.2 The Ideological Structure of Modern Environmentalism

ENVIRONMENTALISM			
Ecocentrism		Technocentrism	
Gaianism	Communalism	Accommodation	Optimism
belief in the rights of nature and of the essential co-evolution of human and natural phenomena	belief in the cooperative capabilities of societies to be collectively self reliant using "appropriate" science and technology	faith in the adaptability of institutions and mechanisms of assessment and decision making to accommodate to environmental demands	faith in the application of science, market forces and managerial ingenuity
Redistribution of power towards a decentralised, federal political economy based on the interlinkage of environmental and social justice, public participation desired and promoted		Maintenance of the status quo in existing structures of government power, little or no participation in planning and decision making bodies	

Source: Adapted from O'Riordan (1988b)

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2.2.5   The effect of Philosophical Paradigms on Environmental Management

The need for environmental management emerges from the effects of economic growth in industrial societies. The ineffectiveness of environmental intervention is closely related to the power of established interests. There is an exaggerated reliance upon techniques for containing environmental damage, rather than upon more radical interventions. This shows that techniques are easier to research and evaluate than programmes or policies (Redclift, 1987).

In the developed world environmental planners have intervened in production, consumption and natural conflicts. The avoidance of externalities and access to natural resources are sought by capitalist firms. For instance, land-use planning design ensures that development is permitted only on land which is suitable.

Land-use controls and planning permission regulate development projects but do not prevent development. Therefore these mechanisms influence the location and appropriateness of development and not its occurrence.

Environmental groups have set objectives on securing or preserving access to safe residential and recreational environments. Public interest in amenity may constrain the

production groups such as farmers or foresters to advance. Consumption conflict is rare in developing countries because of the political and economical structures.

Conflict with nature results from modern agriculture and its effect on flora, fauna and their habitats. Natural species have been transformed into commodities and sold with the rights to own and control those commodities. In the developed world, most discussion turns on the conservation of critical habitats in which rare or endangered species can exist but the issues are far deeper in the developing world, where the threat to the species carries implications for the global gene pool itself.

These interventions are designed to facilitate, rather than curtail, industrial productions. These are merely "protective and reactive responses" (Holling, 1978). If a radical change in the trend to protect the environment is to be achieved then:

> "It is extremely important ... that we do not exaggerate the importance of environmental planning and management in our own societies. The methods employed -- land use planning, the costing of environmental losses, and the development of priorities for species conservation -- [these] are reactive responses which have been developed to deal with the uncomfortable consequences of economic growth. More effort usually goes into making inventories and gathering statistics than into the redirection of the development process. ... Most actual development implies short-term efficiency for a small number of people."
> (Redclift 1987, 136)

The progress of traditional environmental management-
i.e., the "reactive", or "corrective" - has, in reality,
been too slow. The need to "manage", arises when
traditional understandings and modes of social action and
cultural formation have begun to prove inadequate to
control the *subjective* coordination and development of
society (Hales, 1986).

2.2.6   Environmental Management in the South

Emulating the countries of the North, environmental
management is also generally a responsive ("corrective" or
"reactive") set of techniques. The dominant economic
growth perception of development has led the developing
countries to adopt the same type of environmental
management strategies as the North. Market has become the
ultimate "barometer" of people's needs, while some planners
are being oblivious of the fact that "the priority of
people's needs changes in the course of development"
(Redclift, 1987). After basic needs of food and shelter
are satisfied, the satisfaction of aesthetic and
existential wants is required.

The application of responsive environmental management
in the South, introduced and adopted from an economic
growth theory of development, falls short of adequate
measures to respond to "survival goods and resources" such
as fuelwood, clean water, and staple food supplies.

Responsive environmental management often ignores or devalues the experience of poor people who are closest to the problems (Redclift, 1987).

In the South the pressure on biosphere reserves from the poverty of the poor and the greed of the rich is much more formidable than the pressures experienced in the North, where the reserves' users are the supporters of the conservation idea. Therefore environmental management as "a responsive set of techniques" is not particularly effective in the developing countries. The solution to environmental problems based on experience of developed countries and imported methodologies has little relevance to the circumstances. It also ignores a whole set of historical knowledge and experience already existent in developing countries.

Environmental management, especially that of the developing countries, needs to be viewed from an international perspective. The development of international trade policies (which usually are oriented towards meeting the needs and preferences of the rich) help determine the forms of resource exploitation of the poor. Rural livelihoods of millions of people and their sustainability are derived from these rural environmental resources (Chambers, 1987, 1988a, and 1988b) .

The development of the rural resources which make up the "environment" cannot be separated from the

historical processes which link the industrialized North with the developing South. Both are bound together by economic and political ties which do not seem immediately "environmental": trading relations, the transfer of technology, even the *relocation of* labour to new productive activities. Much of the "natural" environment of developing countries is a reflection of these processes...

(Redclift, 1987)

The challenges of environmental management in both North and South have been wide-spread over issues which have been treated equally without any regard to urgency or priority. Even if a priority exists, it is that of a privileged minority. Public opinion, in the North, has, indiscriminately, been directed towards preserving non-human species of animals and plants in their natural habitats. It should, instead, be more properly awakened to the damage which human actions have inflicted on nature by international development.

One issue of environmental management is that of ideological context within which the approach has evolved. Existing environmental management practices are grouped according to different approaches which make up the New Environmentalism (O'Riordan 1981, 1988a). Economic development paradigms can be emphasized with their different environmental management strategies (Colby, 1990 and 1991).

2.3 ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT IN PRACTICE

Environmental management being the concern of a growing number of people, is classified as to how different groups and advocates have been emerging. Five fundamental paradigms are based on the economic and socio-cultural context in which they take place (Colby, 1990a, 1990b, 1991). Each paradigm is basically "environmental management in development" (see Figure 2.1). The distinction between the practices although "not completely distinct or unrelated", is helpful to those who like to see the environment protected and sometimes fail to see the relationship of their everyday lifestyles and habits with the destruction of the environment.

Deep Ecology emerged as a response to the Frontier Economic mode of thinking. In presenting the paradigms Deep Ecology is placed right after Frontier Economics (Figure 2.1). Deep Ecology is, however, presented as the last of the five paradigms in this chapter.

Fig. 2.1 Evolutionary Paradigms Diagram
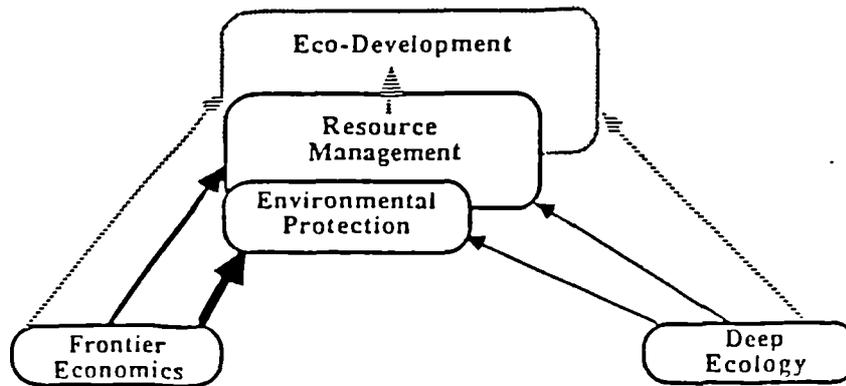
FIGURE 1. Evolutionary Paradigms Diagram.

The diagram attempts to indicate schematically the non-linearity of paradigm evolution in the following ways. The vertical scale represents the progression in time from one paradigm to the next going upward; the horizontal scale indicates the upper three paradigms' position on a spectrum between the "diametrically opposed" frontier economics and deep ecology paradigms. The size of the boxes signifies (roughly) the degree of inclusiveness and integration of social, ecological and economic systems in the definition of development and organization of human societies. Non-solid lines indicate the hypothesized future.

Source: Colby (1990a, 1990b, 1991)

2.3.1 Frontier Economics

This term originated in the work of the economist and systems theorist, Kenneth Boulding (1966), to describe the economic growth approach that prevailed in industrial countries until the 1960s. It is a "cornucopian" technocentrism position that exploits nature to support a growth ethos expressed in material value terms and defined as Gross National Product.

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Standard assumptions underlie neo-classical economics, so that economics models become "workable" (that is, conceptually and analytically tractable) (Newson 1992).

Table 2.3 Standard Assumptions of Neoclassical Economics

A.	*There exist perfect markets, which implies:* Buyers and sellers (agents) have perfect information about the present and the future; there is perfect homogeneity and divisibility of goods produced; there is totally free entry into the markets by any agent; there are an infinite number of agents in both the supply and demands side.
B.	*Economics agents maximize utility. Agents are "rational", which means that they make decisions only by the criteria of maximizing their monetary utility and profits.*
C.	*If occasionally there exists some external effects in production and/or consumption, they can always be identified and internalized.*
D.	*The markets deal with factors of production which are:* a) fully employed; b) more mobile from one sector to another; c) react to marginal changes in the economy.

Source: Adapted from Newson (1992)

In Frontier economics Energy, water, soil, air, and raw materials are taken from an infinite reserve and its byproducts are put back into this sink for the benefit, development and consumption of humans -- hence the reserve is a sink. Assumptions of resource scarcity are believed to be overcome by market mechanisms and technological innovations that will always provide Mankind with a substitute.

The limiting factors of production (either for the

then marxist economics or the neoclassical economics) are perceived to be human labour and man-made capital -- resources are limitless. The neoclassical economics is largely devoted to the refinement and expansion of the environment as a commodity.

This particular industrial economic paradigm was soon adopted by most developing nations for economic growth and development. However, they have failed to achieve the "development" they had planned whilst damaging environmental, social and cultural structures. This adoption has often been with the encouragement of international policy makers and financial institutions of the industrial nations.

The concept of frontier economics was introduced by Colby as an environmental management paradigm (Colby, 1990a, 1990b). It is more illuminating to discern that Frontier Economics, identified as "cowboy economics" is the cause of environmental deterioration rather than being the "remedy" or an environmental management paradigm.

2.3.2   Environmental Protection

By the end of the 1960s frontier economics had begun to lose substantial ground. Pollution had become a major concern and environmental problems related to pollution, habitat and species were being studied (Meadows *et al*,

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1972). Economic growth as the only desired form of development was less popular, and the conflict of ecology *versus* economic growth became more explicit.

This is when "environmental impact assessment" legislation for large development projects in the United States was passed and environmental impact statements (EIS) were required by law. Environmental impact assessment (EIA) is a rational means to assist in balancing and weighing the costs and benefits of development activities. Economists, however, believe "that it is possible to consider the environment within the governing economic paradigm" and point to the substantial progress in the field of "bioeconomics" (Redclift, 1987).

Economists supporting this paradigm believe that environment's value can be calculated financially. They attach quantitative weight to human desires and preferences which in turn is put into policy work on the environment. Ignoring the environment would entail economic costs. They also believe in "tradeoffs" as the price for "economic growth". The economic analysis of this paradigm is the neoclassical model which defines "optimal pollution levels" by short term economic acceptability.

The focus of the prescribed Environmental management activity is concerned with ameliorating human activities. "Command and control" regulatory approaches set the limit

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on pollution and permissable damage. It has been described as "end-of-the-pipeline", "business-as-usual, plus a treatment plant" or "legalize the environment as an economic externality" strategy. Pollution dispersal is the common approach to amelioration.

Developing countries have been slow to implement protective legislation, in this governing economic paradigm. Protective rules were seen to be in the interests of the elite class of the industrial countries and too expensive within the context of their immediate needs and agenda. Gradually, they came to realise that there is no dichotomy in environmental management approaches and adopted some of the protective measures -- e.g. the adoption of EIA or "polluter pays principle" -- known in the North.

The "willingness to pay" view of environmental management works best in industrial countries. In the North, environmental quality is now often placed before economic growth. In the South, satisfying subsistence needs preclude costly and strenuous efforts to improve and protect the environment. Resource degradation in developing countries arises from lack of equity and unequal landholding. One result is that the poor are forced to colonize forests and untitled land (Redclift, 1992).

The analysis of resource use decisions deserves

considerable attention.   The way these are influenced by power structure and social relations at the community level in the South are of paramount importance.   It is important to analyze and understand the social relations, otherwise, we are unlikely, for instance, to be able to influence the behaviour of people who cut down primary forests in order to make a living.

2.3.3   Resource Management

The political economy -- the subject of who gets what and how much, or who gains and who loses (Chambers, 1983) -- of developing countries varies substantially from that of the industrial nations.   Resource depletion is more critical than pollution effects.   The position of the poor who were harmed more than the rich led into a different paradigm of environmental management.

The Limits to Growth (Meadows et al., 1972) was a landmark in modelling.   But whilst extrapolating the effects of resource exploitation it failed to impact the potentials of technological change, resource substitution, and price mechanisms.   *Our Common Future* (The Brundtland Report) (WCED, 1987) places resource management as its basic theme.   It emphasises that development and environmental issues cannot be separated.   It analyzes world crisis by addressing interdependence, multilateralism ,"sustainable development" and strategies to achieve

harmony among Mankind and between humanity and nature.

The concern for resource management identifies " many forms of development which erode the environmental resources on which they are to be based. This environmental degradation undermines economic development [and undermines the reciprocal links between environment and poverty]" (WCED 1987)(Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 **Objectives for environment and development policies that follow from the concept of sustainable development**

1. Reviving economic growth

2. Changing the quality of economic growth

3. Meeting essential community needs for jobs, food, energy, water and sanitation

4. Ensuring a sustainable carrying capacity of human population

5. Conserving and enhancing the resource base

6. Reorienting technology and managing risk

7. Merging environment and economics in decision making as part of a management system

Source: Adapted from WCED (1987)

The Resource Management Paradigm is basic to sustainable development. The rhetoric around this concept encourages practitioners to fall easily into the

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traditional neoclassical imperative of economic growth. This is still conventional development, with sustainability the necessary constraint for "green development".

Pollution is a "negative resource". It causes natural resource degradation and is more than just an externality. Renewable resources and their conservation, population stabilization, technological and industrial adjustment are elements of environmental management strategy of Resource Management.

Environmental impact assessment and risk management challenge the assertion of frontier economics that natural resources are infinite or that their exhaustion is of no concern. This concern for the increasing scale of resource development schemes and their resulting impacts to the physical environment and communities could no longer be ignored. Traditional *appraisal techniques were found to be* inadequate to deal with various environmental and social issues, particularly those having long-term consequences (O'Riordan and Sewell, 1981). Hence environmental impact assessment (EIA), "a procedure for assessing the environmental implications of a decision to enact legislation, to implement policies and plans, or to initiate development projects, has become widely accepted tool for environmental management" (Wathern, 1988).

The objective of any EIA is to promote and ensure that planning decisions take into account environmental implications. In practice, its effectiveness in influencing decisions rests on the following assumptions:

● interested public or "watchdog" agency scrutiny of environmental issues disclosed by the EIA reinforce accountability of decision-making processes;

● the process can order information on environmental impacts along with economic and technological issues so that more balanced decisions can be made by the development proponents.

Conceptually, the EIA approach resembles a planning process. This is characterised by four operational elements:

a) problem definition;

b) the assessment is carried out to include evaluation of social and economic effects, either quantitatively or qualitatively;

c) alternatives are explored;

d) decision-making is based on a balancing of costs and benefits and the choice of the "optimal" alternative.

Although many countries have regulations on land use

and waste discharge, the EIA process is in principle an attempt to examine a wider range of environmental and social impacts. Otherwise, subject to the limitations of existing scientific methods and information base for assessment, the exercise becomes trivial. At the same time, no one should be surprised that the evaluation and choice-making problem can never be a purely mechanical or technological procedure. A common thread running through the EIA concept is social accountability. Thus, the involvement of the affected public is by definition essential in the identification and resolution of issues for assessment. An investigation into the application of EIA, as a subject of environmental management for development, and the public involvement aspects of it in Portugal, as a country on its path to industrialisation, is presented in chapter 6.

2.3.4   Ecodevelopment

Ecodevelopment (Riddle, 1981; Glaeser, 1984; Sachs, 1984a, 1984b) is interpreted as ecological or environmentally sound development. Its object is to achieve harmony between man and nature, society and its physical environment.

The concept of ecodevelopment derived from Secretary-General Maurice Strong at the United Nations Conference in Stockholm in 1972 (UNEP, 1976). Ecodevelopment operates at

regional and local level in ways consistent with the
potentials of the affected area. Attention is given to
adequate and rational use of the natural resources, the
application and types of technology and the organisational
forms respecting natural ecosystem or local sociocultural
patterns (Bartelmus, 1986). It is an approach to
development aimed at harmonising social and economic
objectives with ecologically sound management. There is a
spirit of solidarity with future generations through self-
reliance, satisfaction of basic needs and symbiotic
relationship between Man and the Earth. Ecodevelopment
supports another kind of qualitative growth, not zero
growth or negative growth (Glaeser, 1984).

The concept of "ecodevelopment planning" promoted by
UNEP with pilot projects in different parts of the world
was adopted by the non-governmental organisation Centre
International de Recherche sur l'Environment et le
Développement which was responsible for many of UNEP's
projects. The director, Ignacy Sachs, established key
features of ecodevelopment (Table 2.5).

Table 2.5: Key Features of Ecodevelopment

- resource development to satisfy basic needs;

- development of a satisfactory social ecosystem;

- rational (non-degrading and non-wasteful) use of natural resources in solidarity with future generations;

- use of alternative environmentally sound production processes;

- use of alternative energy sources, in particular of the regional capacity for photosynthesis;

- develop and use of ecotechniques for settlement patterns and land uses;

- establish horizontal authority ensuring participation of the population concerned to prevent plundering of the benefits of ecodevelopment;

- preparatory education to create social awareness of the ecological values in development;

- harmonisation of consumption patterns, time use, life styles;

- appropriate technologies, ecologically-based designs;

- new uses for environmental resources, careful husbandry of resources, recycling

Source: adapted from Glaeser 1984, Sachs 1984a

The unthinking description of development is: "economic growth", "industrialization", or the imitation of

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the "developed" nations in their drive for material wealth. Development is a historical process. Industrialization is a means towards development but not the development itself (Glaeser and Vyasulu, 1984).

Ecodevelopment aims at people, the societal relationships which emphasise the role of the community and the participation of those directly affected. Ecodevelopment addresses basic and essential needs, with those of the poorest having priority. Ecodevelopment can be considered as a triangle with one side *basic needs*. The second side is *self-reliance* and the base is *ecological sustainability* (Dasmann, 1985).

The introduction of ecodevelopment discussions has helped to raise public awareness of environmental and development issues. A search for appropriate solutions using ecodevelopment models has resulted in a critique of ecodevelopment, which had remained normative, without detailed and practical initiatives. Ecodevelopment, gradually became a tool to exert pressure on official institutions. Political implications and viabilities of ecodevelopment strategies were questioned by its advocates:

> Naive statements on needs, participation and environmental compatibility are espoused in many papers... But whose needs are going to be met and whose are not; who will participate and who will not; and which lobbies, interest groups, and economic and political entities will be hurt by environmental compatibility? (Farvar and Glaeser 1979 quoted in Redclift 1987).

Since the publication of *Our Common Future* the term Ecodevelopment is sometimes used as a synonym for "environmentally sound development" (Bartelmus, 1986). Ecodevelopment was later dissolved into the sustainable development concept (Blauert, 1990).

2.3.5   Deep Ecology

Deep ecology worldview thinking emerged as the polar opposite to the frontier economics paradigm (Colby 1990a and 1990b). The term "Deep Ecology" was coined by Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess. It distinguishes those who face the challenge of doing something about the environment from others -- the "shallow ecologists" -- who are content with remedying the environmental symptoms and not aiming at the causes.

"Shallow ecology" attitudes are "narrowly utilitarian". Shallow ecology simply means "a profitable industry for cleaning up pollution", "business as usual" or "reformist" views. Deep Ecology is radical, proclaiming activists' attitudes in favour of nature and the "Self" (Naess 1987)(Table 2.6).

Table 2.6: **Typical components of growth/environmental paradigms**

Dominant social paradigm	*Deep ecology paradigm*
Dominance over nature	Harmony with nature
Natural environment as a resource	Values in nature/biosphere impartiality
Material goals / economic growth	Non-material goals / ecological sustainability
Ample reserves / perfect substitutes	Appropriate technology solutions
High-technology/science solutions	Basic needs recycling
Consumerism	Decentralised / small scale
Centralised / large scale	Participatory / democratic structures
Authoritarian / coercive structures	
Shallow	*Deep*

Source: adapted from Sylvan (1985)

Deep Ecology is a way of practising life and suggests "ecosophy" which is value priority action. Ecosophy links life and nature. Individual life and identity is developed through a broad manifold, organic and inorganic interaction (Naess, 1989).

The main concern of Deep Ecology is the human socioeconomic interaction with ecosystems. There is a

strong criticism of the frontier economic development attitude. Ecological values are to replace the "price tags" used by economists. The predominant ideologies of production and consumption are held responsible for "the advent of an environmental Armageddon" both in the South and the North (Naess, 1989).

There is a philosophical or religious attitude within every community which identifies conclusions concerned within the deep ecology movement (Naess, 1987). In the United States and Mexico deep ecology is grounded on the religious-spiritual traditions and practices. In Australia and Europe it draws more on philosophy (Devall, 1990).

The fundamental relationship between Man and nature include intrinsic "biospecies equality", reductions in human population, bioregional reduction in economics, technological and cultural dependencies and exchanges of common ecological characteristics which have come to be called "Ecotopias". The practicability of the promotion of biological and cultural diversity, decentralised planning, multiple value systems, and non growth economics are significant for deep ecology (Colby 1990a) and are of serious concern to advocates of deep ecology.

Practical deep ecology confronting frontier economics includes: "ecological resistance" where citizens march to government headquarters to protest and demand action for

environmental protection. The task is also to practise and develop philosophical arguments within political and social contexts. A deep ecology approach to nature is frustrated when the dominant image of nature is based on reductionist science or nature as a commodity (Devall, 1990).

Table 2.7 shows the basic distinctions between the five environmental management Paradigms.

TABLE 2-7 Basic Distinctions Between Five Paradigms of Environmental Management in Development

Paradigm> Dimension	Frontier Economics	Environmental Protection	Resource Management	Eco-Development	Deep Ecology
Dominant Imperative:	"Progress," as Infinite Economic Growth and Prosperity	"Tradeoffs" as in Ecology versus Economic Growth	Sustainability as necessary constraint for "Green Growth"	Co-developing Humans and Nature; Redefine "Security"	"Eco-topia" Anti-Growth "Constrained Harmony with Nature"
Human-Nature Relationship:	Very Strong Anthropocentric	Strong Anthropocentric	Modified Anthropocentric	Ecocentric ?	Biocentric
Dominant Threats:	Hunger, Poverty, Disease, "Natural Disasters"	Health Impacts of Pollution Endangered Species	Resource Degradation; Poverty, Population growth	Ecological Uncertainty Global Change	Ecosystem Collapse "Unnatural" Disasters
Main Themes:	Open Access/Free Goods Exploitation of Infinite Natural Resources	Remedial/Defensive "Legalize Ecology" as Economic Externality	Global Efficiency "Economize Ecology" Interdependence	Generative Restructuring Ecologize Social Systems Sophisticated Symbiosis	Back to Nature "Biospecies Equally" Simple Symbiosis
Prevalent Property Regimes:	Privatization (Neoclass.) or Nationalization (Marx) of all property	Privatization Dominant; Some Public Parks set aside	Global Commons Law (GCL) for Conservation of Oceans, Atmosphere, Climate, Biodiversity?	GCL + Local Common & Private Property regimes for Intra/Inter-Generational Equity & Stewardship	Private, plus Common Property set aside for Preservation
Who Pays?	Property Owners; (Public at Large, esp. Poor)	Taxpayers (Public at Large)	"Polluter Pays" (producers & consumers) (Poor)	Pollution Prevention Pays; Income Index Envir Taxes Private/Public	Avoid costs by foregoing development
Responsibility for Development & Management	Property Owners: Individuals or State	Fragmentation' Development decentralized Management centralized	Toward Integration across multiple levels of gov't (e.g., fed/state/local)	Institutional Innovations & Redefinition of Roles	Largely Decentralized but integrated design & mgmt.
Environmental Management Technologies and Strategies	Industrial Agriculture: High Inputs of Energy, Biocide, & Water; Monocultures, Mechanized Production Fossil Energy Pollution Disposal Unregulated Waste Disposal High Population Growth "Free Markets"	"End of the Pipe" or "Business as Usual Plus a Treatment Plant" Clean-up "Command and Control" Market Regulation Some Prohibition or Limits, Repair, & Set-asides Focus on Protection of Human Health, "Land Doctoring" Envir. Impact Statements	Impact Assessment & Risk Management, Pollution Reduction, Energy Efficiency, Renewable Resource/ Conservation Strategies, Restoration Ecology, Population Stabilization & Technology Enhanced Carrying Capacity. Some Structural Adjustment	Uncertainty (Resilience) Management, Industrial Ecology/Eco-Technologies, e.g. Renewable Energy, Waste/Resource Cycling for Throughput Scale Reduction, Agro-forestry, Low Input Agriculture, Extractive Forest Reserves Population Stabilization & Enhanced Capacity as RM	Stability Management Reduced Scale of Mkt Economy (inc. Trade) Low Technology Simple Material Needs Non-dominating Science Indigenous Tech Systems "Intrinsic Values" Population Reduction
Analytic/ Modeling and Planning Methodologies.	Neoclassical OR Marxist Closed Economic Systems Reversible Equilibria, Production Limited by Man made Factors, Natural Factors not accounted for Net Present Value Maximization Cost-Benefit Analysis of tangible goods & services	Neoclassical Plus: Environmental Impact Assessment after Design; Optimum Pollution Levels Equation of Willingness to Pay & Compensation Principles	Neoclassical Plus: Include Natural Capital. True (Hicksian) Income Maximization in UN System of National Accounts; Increased Free Trade Ecosystem & Social Health Monitoring; Linkages between Population, Poverty, & Environment	Ecological Economics: Biophysical-Economic Open Systems Dynamics; Socio-Technical & Eco-system Process Design; Integration of Social, Economic, & Ecological Criteria for Technology; Trade & Capital flow regulation based on Community Goals & Mgmt; Land Tenure & Income Redistrib.; Geophysiology?	Grassroots Bioregional Planning Multiple Cultural Systems Conservation of Cultural & Biological Diversity Autonomy
Fundamental Flaws:	Creative but Mechanistic; No awareness of reliance on ecological balance	Defined by F E; in reaction to D E; lacks vision of abundance	Downplays social factors Subtly mechanistic; Doesn't handle uncertainty	May generate false security Magnitude of changes require new consciousness	Defined in reaction to F E; Organic but not Creative; How reduce population?
	Frontier Economics (F E)	Environmental Protection (E P)	Resource Management (R M)	Eco Development (E D)	Deep Ecology (D E)

Source: Colby (1991a, 1991b)

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2.4 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

"Development" is a word which implies values about desirable change (Pearce *et al* 1990). Hence, there is no consensus as to the meaning of development nor about its sustainability. Different societies, governments, or aid agencies and advisers advocate different meanings.

"Sustainable development" and "environmental management" have become buzz-words in development circles (Pearce, *et al* 1990). The concept of sustainable development is at the centre of current concerns about environment and development. It is the most commonly cited idea linking environment and development, and the capstone of the World Conservation Strategy (IUCN, 1980) and the Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987), (Adams, 1990).

The most recognised and popular definition of sustainable development is "...to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987).

The *World Conservation Strategy* (IUCN, 1980) emphasised the ecological sustainability rather than sustainable development in an ecosystem context.

Sustainable development is integral to development thinking (WCED, 1987; Redclift, 1987; Turner, 1988).

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Little headway has been made in terms of a rigorous definition of the concept. "The use of the term "development", rather than "economic growth", implies recognition of the limitations of measures such as gross national product (GNP) to measure the well-being of nations" (Pearce, Barbier and Markandya, 1990).

There are two kinds of bias in the environmental management debate. One is a bias towards Southern "managerialism" rather than resource management. This is a "top-down" approach to local development. The other, is "sustainable development". This is treated in a Northern, "economic-centred" fashion.

Sustainable development thinking contains both ecocentric and technocentric responses to the threats of development to environment and people (Adams, 1990). Ecocentric radicalism demands fundamental change in political economic structures. Technocentric pragmatic approaches involve implementable technical steps to reform development practice.

These technocentric, reformist approaches have dominated the work of First World environmental groups (Milton, 1992) who concentrated on "sustainability". Sustainable development centres on overcoming environmental constraints to maintain living standards. The need for devices that ensure that all peoples obtain the resources

they need for survival and development is ignored or given little attention (Milton, 1992).

Technocratic approaches have developed and managed rainforest environments. A growing literature on attempts to transform tropical forest management policies include: the designation of forest reserves, the creation of sustainable agriculture in rainforest regions, the managed exploitation of natural forests and the restoration of logged and degraded forest lands. Pleas for rational policies to create renewable tropical forests (Repetto, 1987) by the World Resources Institute, a powerful World Bank funded environmental think tank based in Washington, DC., have been frustrated by alternative plans to secure and maintain First World living standards (Adams, 1990).

Whatever our interpretation of sustainable development the tendency is to approach it in a technocratic way to solve the problems which arise in the physical environment. For every problem there is a solution that is simple and direct using "reactive set of techniques" such as "controls" and "taxes" or "conservation at any price". Although having some validity, most have proved to be wrong solutions and failed to link different aspects of human development -- intellectual, social, political -- and management of the environment. "They share the weaknesses of starting with physical problems rather than people, they do often deal more with the concerns and values of the rich

rather than with those of the poor" (Chambers, 1987).

2.4.1   Local Involvement in Environmental Management

Market interventions fail to ensure improved
environmental management (Redclift, 1992) despite arguments
to be contrary (Pearce, Markandya and Barbier, 1989). It
is important to recognise wider livelihood considerations
in the behaviour of rural people (Redclift, 1992).

Rural activities and groups are known by economists as
the "informal sector". Environmental management strategies
designed on livelihood--subsistence agriculture, fuelwood
and water supplies, relies upon cultural codes and
traditional community practices rather than on the "central
policy making" of economic forces. Local involvement in
environmental management decisions, the formulation of
policies, and local empowerment necessarily consider the
demands of the rural poor.

Empowerment is the process of investing or taking hold
of power on behalf of self or others, depending upon the
circumstances. This necessarily induces a new oppressed
class within society in the taking over, controlling,
managing, and distribution of resources. It also
perpetuates an atmosphere of "conflict" and "confrontation"
which is the characteristic of any political empowering
system.

If confrontation is the only path to "empowerment" (Redclift 1992) then its value is questionable. Even so, the articulation of demands by local groups, governing the use they make of natural resources inevitably means the exercising and resisting of power. If a radical break is achieved to democratise existing relations there is no guarantee that the new relationships will be better or more stable than those they replaced.

2.5 CONCLUSION: PUTTING PEOPLE FIRST

> "... if it [environmental management] is to be relevant to the developing world, it must address the needs of the poor and the dispossessed who ironically share their rural frontier with the earth's biological wealth.
>
> (Wright, quoted in Gow 1992)

Environmental management which focuses on the individual and collective will of communities will permit them to choose and control their environment according to their knowledge and experience. This "radical" social and political call also addresses ethical issues of individuals and societies. It needs to be diverse and flexible to reflect the diversity of the Earth's environment and the cultures of its people. It also needs to create a sense of unity in the worldwide environmental enterprises. It requires collective will and collective action while allowing the individual freeplay with reciprocity and cooperation instead of competition and rivalry. This demands the _participation_ of all, rich and poor, young and

old, child and adult, learned and illiterate, Southerner
and Northerner in a spirit of solidarity.

In section 2.3.3 environmental impact assessment (EIA)
was introduced it helps manage the environment vis-a-vis
development proposals.   Public participation is a major
component of EIA mechanism.   Research into the
practicability of participation in EIA would shed ample
light as to the direction of future actions for
environmental management particularly at local level.

The study is, however, more concerned with
participation of the majority -- the materially "poor".
"The poor are not the problem, they are the solution"
(Chambers 1988a).

3. DEVELOPMENT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Development is a complex process. It represents the capability of individuals as well as societies to control, direct and monitor their own progress. Development comprises interdependent aspects of: social evolution, cultural mobilization, economic change, technological applications (renovation and adaptation), and creation of democratic participation in the decision making mechanisms.

3.2 TOP OR CENTRE DOWN DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

At the national -- individual state and independent nation level, several basic paradigms of top or centre down development. The "neoclassical growth model", is the development model used by capitalist countries. The "neo Marxist model" is used by critiques of capitalists, the "dependency theory model" describes situations in countries that had capitalist ideologies but which failed to achieve their objectives.

3.2.1. Neoclassical growth model

The Neoclassical growth model focuses on planning,

market mechanisms, increased saving and capital injection by foreign aid for investment. Because it is concerned with the growth of output per head of population it has been termed "growthmania" (Dube, 1988). It's a process of unilinear and evolutionist economic growth having four stages (Rostow, 1953):

1) Stagnant low per capita income;

2) Transitional preconditioning growth

3) "Take off", indicating beginning of economic growth;

4) Industrialised, mass production and consumption stage, for self-sustained growth.

The logic of this theory was that the more the economy produces, the more there will be to share. The "trickle down theory" implied that the high income obtained by one level of society will trickle down to the other levels. The neoclassical theory emphasises that capital accumulation, growth of the labour force and technological progress are the principal components of economic growth. The question of sustainability of such growth and the social, ecological flaws were yet to be revealed.

Characteristics of an advanced society defined by neoclassical theory includes high rates of per capita growth and productivity. Society rapidly shifts away from agriculture to other industries and personal enterprises become impersonal and anonymous. Urbanisation and modernisation use technology and depend upon the

fundamentalistic pursuit of economic growth (Dube, 1988).

The neoclassical model was defined in the context of Western European countries which had attained relatively high levels of productive capacity prior to World War II. They had experience in industrial development with trained professionals, skilled workers planning and managerial capabilities (Rondinneli, 1983).

The policies of international aid organisations and governments emulated these models that had been satisfactory for the economic development of North America and Western Europe (Rondinneli, 1983). Capital-intensive industry advocates that all sectors increase output and demand for industrial production.

Development planners and practitioners realised that the structural and institutional constraints to economic growth, absence of markets, know-how and infrastructure, and internal and external power structures made the model inappropriate, irrelevant and unworkable. Subsequent models for structural change and reform reflected centrally planned (socialist) ideas which inclined away from the neoclassical model.

3.2.2 Neo-Marxist Model

Economic growth models had major inadequacies (Dube,

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1988): 1) economic development is partial and narrow. It requires colonialism to stimulate and develop industrialisation which then induces 2) economic backwardness. 3) The state has a constrained role and 4) its insensitivity to poverty discourages the distribution of wealth.

Radical marxist political economies regarded capitalism as inherently exploitative, generating class conflict and spatial inequality; Socialism being the only solution for equitable development.

The "neo-Marxist structuralist model" extensively criticised western development theory. Orthodox Marxism, like neoclassical growth theory, is essentially evolutionist and linear. It moves from primitive communism to the ultimate classless society. Relationships of production determine the nature of the social order.

Marx predicted that the capitalist order would be unable to resolve its inner contradictions. It will crack up and be replaced by the communist order. Being free from class contradictions this order would be stable and permanent, providing a model for the future of the world.

Central planning based on state ownership and control implements structural change to break away from feudalism and capitalism to establish a socialist society. Marx's

influence on the political and intellectual leaders of the non-western countries has been significant. Mao's ideology for the People's Republic of China and Gandhi's economic philosophy for the sub-continent of India are among the revolutionary leaders who questioned the practicability of neoclassical development and implemented alternative development strategies. They focused primarily on the poor and the deprived. They had definite ideas about technological choices and scale of production. Self-reliance and mass mobilisation were the principal instruments for social action. Influential development writers like Schumacher (1973) and Illich (1971, 1973) drew their insights from Gandhi's philosophy of a national and international moral order.

3.2.3 International Capitalist Structural Model

The "capitalistic structuralist model" favours planning which is accompanied by institutional reforms for land and a certain measure of control over industry and multinationals. The development objective is the redistribution of the fruits of accelerated economic growth.

Dependency Theories - South America

Some Latin American economists and social scientists (Frank, 1969 and 1971) question the results of what the

capitalist international economy has done to provide the mutual benefits of trade and development asserted by European and American proponents.

"Dependency development theories" view the world as a "core" of dominant nations benefitting from trade, and a "periphery" of dependent countries suffering from it. Dependency theories stress that external political, economic and technological influences are the major causes of underdevelopment of the peripheral nations.

This neo-Marxist "dependency theory" was formulated from a critical view of global capitalism dominating Latin America. The alliance of transnational corporations and states dictates the nature and extent of Third World economic development according to their own particular individual interests. Southern nations did not and often still do not have significant local autonomy and as a result no real development can come about. Local élites are often maintained and any economic and social development may only be permitted to serve foreign capitalist interests (Simon, 1990).

The "international structuralist model" (Dube, 1988) emphasises that underdevelopment is created by capitalism. It is not the original state in the evolutionary process.

> Underdevelopment, far from constituting a state of backwardness prior to capitalism, is rather a consequence and particular form of capitalist development known as dependent capitalism ...

> dependence is a *conditioning* situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. A relationship of interdependence between two or more economies or between such economies and the world trading system becomes a dependent relationship when some countries can expand through self-impulsion while others, being in a dependent position can only expand as a reflection of the expansion of the dominant countries, which may have positive or negative effects on their immediate development. In either case, the basic situation of dependence causes these countries to be both backward and exploited. Dominant countries are endowed with technological, commercial, capital and socio-political dominance over dependent countries -- the form of this predominance varying according to the particular historical moment -- and can therefore exploit them, and extract part of the locally produced surplus. Dependence, then, is based upon an international division of labour which allows industrial development to take place in some countries while restricting it in others whose growth is conditioned by, and subjected to, the power centres of the world.
>
> (Dos Santos quoted by Dube, 1988

Centre Development cannot be transferred to the periphery. Underdevelopment of the periphery is arguably the result of the development of the centre (a situation which is not unique to Capitalism).

Capitalism produces international and national dualism. Economic powers manipulate world resources and commodity markets. They have privileged access to scarce raw materials. They subvert political structures and economic plans of the less developed countries where they maintain and mutually reinforce relations with the political élites. Dualism creates small, modern, and urbanised Third World centres of wealth and power. The periphery (large, traditional and agrarian) remains

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impoverished.

International aid feeds the Third World with false paradigms. They are not intended to, and cannot, raise up the less developed. The exploitative policies of the developed countries, inappropriate transfers of technology, unequal terms of trade and misdirected assistance, lead to continued underdevelopment which has been accentuated by "intellectual colonialism". Irrelevant educational systems and the luring of talented personnel, through attractive rewards, from the less developed countries emphasise the side effects of dependency.

Attempts to reverse this situation include industrialisation. Import substitution, planning, state intervention and regional integration enable the less developed countries to escape the domestic and international policies of rich and powerful countries which otherwise subvert the possibility of autonomous and endogenous development. Empirical and theoretical criticism of dependency theory allege it to be "structurally deterministic to the exclusion of human agency or local autonomy and neglectful of class analysis - the centrepiece of Marxist political economy" (Simon, 1990).

Not all the ills of underdevelopment are attributable to rich countries. Unless we recognise the benefits that

have accrued from the Western capitalist domination of the rich countries, dependency theory could become an alibi for inaction.

3.3 BOTTOM-UP OR DEVELOPMENT FROM BELOW

Conventional capitalist perspectives are fundamentally benign profit-orientated individual enterprises, but they offer no real progress or consideration for the poor. Capitalist paradigms advocate a centre-down approach to development strategies. The failure of this approach to develop the poor at the bottom of society has led to the search (Haque *et al.*, 1977, Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1975; Nerfin, 1977) for alternative "bottom-up" strategies. Bottom-up and periphery inward development focuses on satisfying the basic needs of the poorest through the local mobilization of natural, human and institutional resources (Stohr, 1981).

The "development from above" strategies are conceived, organized and implemented from the centres of political and economic power. Very little attention is given to the views and interests of the supposed "beneficiaries". Increasing disillusionment with the top down approach stimulated a search for meaningful alternatives that would focus first and foremost on the poor.

The neoclassical economic model requires "scientific"

regional development planning for industrialization derived from modernization theory (Simon, 1990). The inequalities within a nation could theoretically be reduced and eliminated by the trickle down effects promoted at regional level. A growth centred strategy gave priority to the poor regions through investment in appropriate sectors as the economy grew. Rural development was emphasised, through a top down approach.

The emerging bottom up strategies all profess to being "people centred". Some are concerned to "provide" "development" to meet the "basic needs" of people starting from the bottom up (Streeten, 1978; Ghai, 1977). These include providing the poor with minimum requirements of education, health and hygiene, nutrition and housing which involved harnessing local resources, potential and initiative through the participation of the people (Table 3.1). Others were concerned with endogenous development which are referred to as "Another Development", or participatory development (DHF 1975; Nerfin 1977).

Table 3.1 Key features of development from below planning

- enabling broad access to land and other key forces of production;

- evolution or revival of territorially organised structures for equitable communal decision-making;

- greater powers of self-determination for local communities and areas;

- choice of regionally adequate and appropriate technology;

- giving priority to the satisfaction of local basic needs;

- enhancing the terms of trade for agricultural and other products of the periphery;

- local control over external assistance in cases where local resource and skills are adequate in order to ensure compatibility with local objectives;

- restricting the production of exports to a level where the proceeds contribute to a broad improvement of local quality life;

- restructuring urban and transport systems to improve and equalize access to them from all parts of the country;

- improving intraregional and especially intrarural transport and communications;

- engendering egalitarian social structures and a collective consciousness.

Sources : Stohr (1981), Simon (1990)

3.3.1   "Another Development"

In 1975 the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation (DHF) published a report on development and international cooperation, known as "What Now?: Another Development", for the Seventh Special Session of the United Nations General

Assembly. The message demanded action to achieve realistic development if the international order was to change (Nerfin, 1977).

"Another Development" is need-orientated, endogenous, self-reliant, ecologically sound. It is based on the transformation of social structures (Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1975). The development requirements of all societies (North or South) are:

> *Need-oriented,* that is geared to meeting human needs, both material and non-material. It begins with the satisfaction of the basic needs of those, dominated and exploited, who constitute the majority of the world's inhabitants, and ensures at the same time the humanization of all human beings by the satisfaction of their needs for expression, creativity, equality and conviviality and to understand and master their own destiny.

> *Endogenous,* that is, stemming from the heart of each society, which defines in sovereignty its values and the vision of its future. Since development is not a linear process, there could be no universal model, and only the plurality of development patterns can answer to the specificity of each situation.

> *Self-reliant,* that is, implying that each society relies primarily on its own strength and resources in terms of its members' energies and its natural and cultural environment. Self-reliance clearly needs to be exercised at national and international (collective self-reliance) levels but it acquires its full meaning only if rooted at a local level, in the praxis of each community.

> *Ecologically sound,* that is, utilising rationally the resources of the biosphere in full awareness of the potential of local ecosystems as well as the global and local outer limits imposed on present and future generations. It implies the equitable access to resources by all as well as careful, socially relevant technologies.

> *Based on structural transformation,* they are required, more often than not, in social relations, in economic activities and in their spatial distribution, as well

as in the power structure, so as to realise the
conditions of self-management and participation in
decision-making by all those affected by it, from the
rural or urban community to the world as a whole,
without which the above goals could not be achieved.

(Nerfin, 1977)

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This publication and others (Haque *et al.*, 1977; Gran,

1983; Korten and Klauss, 1984; Ekins, 1986; Fals Borda,

1988; Daly and Cobb, 1990; Ekins and Max-Neef, 1992;

Rahman, 1993) influenced the development of a framework

for centring development on people rather than

technological progress and economic growth. "Another

development" is referred to in the literature also as

"alternative development", "people-centred development",

"counter development" and "participatory development".

3.3.2 Ecodevelopment

Ecodevelopment implies ecologically sound development,

achieving harmony between society, nature and the physical

environment (Table, 3.2). As a dimension of "Another

Development" it seeks to harmonize ecology and social

sciences and link basic needs with self-reliance. Social

groups, cultural values and place are related with

available natural resources (Hettne, 1990). It is an

alternative model for Third World nations (Riddle, 1981) to

encourage concern for their people rather than following

the illusion of economic growth.

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Table 3.2 Principles of ecodevelopment

1. Establish an ideological commitment

2. Sharpen political and administrative integrity

3. Attain international parity

4. Alleviate poverty and hunger

5. Eradicate disease and misery

6. Reduce military arms

7. Move to self-sufficiency

8. Address and clean up urban squalor

9. Stabilise population growth

10. Conserve resources

11. Protect the environment

Source : After Riddle (1981)

3.3.3 Sustainable Development

Approaches to sustainability of development address *basic needs* to provide the fundamental objective of development. *Ecodevelopment* emphasises the location/culture-specific application of the concept and *sustainable utilisation* becomes the "common sense" mechanism (O'Riordan, 1988a).

Environmental and livelihood-oriented development can

be defined as sustainable livelihood development (Chambers, 1987).

Sustainable livelihoods for the poor stabilise the use of the environment, enhance productivity and create a sustainable dynamic equilibrium of population and resources which provide conditions to reduce poverty and encourage participation (Chambers, 1987).

Sustainable Development from below

Development from below is an approach and not a package (Adams, 1990). Increasing concern for the environmental crisis created by development styles provoked attempts to reconcile development and environment by planning from below.

For example, in dam construction, the adverse environmental impacts of river control on downstream fisheries and riparian agriculture are now widely recognized (Adams, 1990). The impacts of dam construction can be minimised by appropriate dam design and operation. The simulation of the seasonal flood peak would permit downstream production. River basin development could be transformed from a closely-directed and externally-imposed blueprint of future large scale project development to more open-ended, flexible and diverse locally-initiated smaller-scale projects. Dam builders and river basin

planners are offered a practical alternative development model that can be implemented using existing planning frameworks. These suggestions are fundamental and challenge the established development planning from above (Adams, 1990).

Top down development "presumes an eventually monolithic and uniform concept of development, value system and human happiness which automatically or by policy intervention will spread over the entire world". Stohr (1981), aims at valuing the diversity of human development and value systems while maintaining its unity of purpose.

Successful development must be innovative, research-based, locally conceived and initiated. Planning has to be flexible, participatory and based on a clear understanding of local economics and politics. It is also suggested that projects should be small in scale (in contrast with the blueprint approach which is widespread among development agencies because of the need to establish time-schedules and allocate budgets).

The failure of high-technology and large-scale development projects conceived in blueprint form and externally-imposed on poor communities is a common theme in environmental critiques of development (Friedman and Rangan 1993). The extensive use of quantitative data and analyses

(sample surveys, cost-benefit analysis) tends to produce an illusory view of exactness. This view makes planners behave as if knowledge about reality were nearly perfect. The converse is often true and exaggerated use and confidence in inadequately grounded quantitative data and analyses makes planning unrealistic and inaccurate (Rudqvist, 1988).

Such critiques focus attention on small-scale projects (Timberlake, 1985) which have developed a version of the argument that "small is beautiful" (Schumacher, 1973). Consultation with individual members of the community, flexibility, local control, local needs are some of the distinctive features of the new development criteria (Newson, 1992).

Table 3.3:   Ten principles of sustainable development of small scale projects

1. Consult with villagers, farmers and all other participants. Reach agreement on both problems and solutions before taking action.

2. Plan small-scale, flexible projects. A plan should be flexible, not a prison. It should be able to incorporate new information that emerges during the project.

3. Let the people benefiting from the project make the decisions. The expert's job is to share their knowledge not impose it.

4. Look for solutions that can be duplicated in the hundreds of thousands for the greatest impact on development. But the solutions must still be tailored to fit local needs.

5. Provide education and training, particularly for young people and women, who remain the most effective agents of change because they are bound to the realities of the family's survival.

6. Keep external inputs to a minimum to reduce dependency and increase stability. Subsidies, supplements and inappropriate technology are unsustainable.

7. Build on what people are doing right. New ideas will be adopted only if they do not run contrary to local practice. new technologies must support existing ones, not replace them.

8. Assess impacts of proposed changes. A multi-disciplinary team, ideally including specialists from the same culture, should look at economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects.

9. Consider both inputs and outcomes. The failure of projects focusing on a single outcome, such as agricultural productivity, has proved that more is not always better.

10. Maintain or improve the participants' standard of living. Long-term environmental improvements are unsustainable unless they also address the problems the poor face today.

Source: Adapted from Brindley (1991) and Newson (1992)

3.4 Human development

If growth and development are different quantitative and qualitative criteria then human development is a qualitative change. Human development can be defined by materialistic attitudes and values. To be learned is a qualitative phenomena. If aimed as a means to acquire a "passport to privilege" with respect to the rest of the society it is a materialistic attitude. To give and to be charitable is a qualitative attribute but, if used for egotistic and individualistic prestige, then it takes a materialistic form.

Conventional "high mass consumption" development is attractive. Nevertheless, some international development agencies are accepting a "new" concept of development concerned with Mankind. Its characteristics are not only economic but also social, political and ecological (Conyers and Hills, 1984; Ickis, 1983; Cernea, 1991; Ekins, 1986; Korten, 1984a and 1984b; Korten and Klauss, 1984).

The holistic development approach in Thailand included group discipline, unity, solidarity, and dedicated leadership which needed religious grounding. Farmers in Thailand believe that there is no material development without spiritual development (Koenraad, 1987).

Development needs to be derived from inside the

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individuals and societies. Grassroots action and reflection at individual and community level secures increasing participation with self-reliance and autonomy to decide and form attitudes. Community level effort is often the essential means of achieving development.

3.4.1   Participation and self-reliance

Collective functions and self-reliance are achieved through active participation. The individual would not belong organically to the collective and the collective itself would not be a reality without participation. Through participation the dominance of one group over another or over the rest can be ruled out.

The experience of both capitalist and socialist countries has been that there is a need to create grassroots institutions through which the community can act against the tendency towards dependencies and inequity (Wignaraja, 1989).

Self-reliance and participation are cornerstones of development. People especially the materially poor have to have the opportunity to investigate, analyze and understand the socio-economic realities and forces of their environment which create poverty and powerlessness. This phenomenon gives the ability and confidence for collective action to alter circumstances. For such a self-reliant

process to occur to change the attitudes of dependency a catalytic intervention is needed by an agent of change -- facilitators. Such facilitators identify with and mobilise the people, raise awareness and help to organize participatory self-reliant development (Wignaraja, 1989).

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated that Third World endeavours toward development have been imitative, reactive, experimental and searching. Western ideas were often uncritically adopted or imposed, adapted and modified in many Third World countries.

In the reactive phase new ideologies such as African socialism, basic democracy and the Indian path of development have had more rhetoric than substance. All they did was to add a few diacritical marks to the existing paradigms of development. This phase was followed by experiments control, decontrol, import substitution, export promotion, intensive agricultural development, poverty eradication and employment generation. Currently, the need is for a more viable, organically linked, comprehensive sustainable development.

Evidence in the chapter suggests that sustainable development models from the heart of each society tend to be self-reliant as long as they are ecologically sound.

Development becomes "a process by which the members of society develop themselves and their institutions to enhance their ability to mobilize and manage resource to produce sustainable and justify distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations" (Brown and Korten, 1989). This requires that members of society are involved by participation in the whole process of development. This subject of participation forms the subject of the next chapter.

4. PARTICIPATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The bottom-up approach to development needs to be planned, designed and implemented by the community. The capabilities of people to direct their own affairs and monitor their progress are potential assets to improve the ways in which development proceeds. Collective functions and self-reliance are achieved through active participation. Participation is also a significant factor in preventing one group becoming dominant over others.

Environmental management paradigms come to prescribe strategies which address the needs and aspirations of local people and their physical settings. Both capitalist and socialist experiences show the need to create grassroots institutions whereby the community can respond against the tendency of dependency and inequity (Wignaraja, 1989). If self-reliance is to be a cornerstone of development then participants need opportunities to investigate, analyze and understand socio-economic realities which create poverty and institute powerlessness. Through collective action the ability and confidence to change the conditions which predispose to poverty can be developed.

4.2 PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT

Self-reliant processes take place spontaneously through change in attitudes of dependency. Catalytic intervention through an active researcher or agent of change facilitates this. These agents or facilitators identify with and mobilise the community. They raise awareness and encourage participatory self-reliant development (Wignaraja, 1989).

With traditional top-down planning, participation becomes drained of substance (Cohen and Uphoff, 1980). Consequently, although international development agencies and national governments interpret participation on their own terms practitioners and academicians argue about its importance for the success of any programme (Oakley and Marsden, 1984).

Participation was the "missing ingredient" for development though during the 1950s and 1960s it usually depended upon electoral and other political decision making processes. Different levels of political participation -- voting and organisational membership -- were characteristics of different political systems.

Although there is a widespread recognition of the value of participation in development, many consider it an obstacle. Development project sponsors and planners argue

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that there are costs and .risks involved in the participation of people in projects. These entail delays in starting projects, more support staff required for participation and over involvement of less-experienced people (Oakley, 1991). This opposition usually arises from the top-down governmental or internationally sponsored development.

4.3 TOP-DOWN DEVELOPMENTAL PARTICIPATION

Top-down participation in the development activities of international assistance agencies has required funded research groups to bring about better understanding and insight (Bamberger, 1991; Paul, 1987; United Nations, 1987; Bamberger, 1986; Morss *et al.*, 1976). The World Bank, USAID, ILO, ECLA, FAO, UNRISD, WHO, CEBEMO, UNIFEM, CAFOD, NOVIB, OXFAM and many others have helped to clarify the concept of participation.

4.3.1   Project Approach to Participation

Participation is an important ingredient for better project management (FAO, 1983). This approach contrasts with traditional development practice which perpetuates technological effectiveness, good planning, management and resource efficiency (Oakley, 1991).

Agriculture   is   the   dominant   sector   in   rural

development. The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) insists that participation of the **farmer** must be promoted to meet the basic needs of the **farmer**. Farmers' participation is essential to assess needs and to determine priorities. This input is frequently considered a burden by extension workers. Sustainable needs assessment requires farmers to participate to express their needs.

A basic assumption in top down participation is that a person, for instance, a farmer participates if he sees direct material benefits. The level of participation increases if deep felt needs are satisfied by direct and immediate material benefits (Oakley, 1991). If the participation of every individual member of the community is desired, then this attitude towards mobilisation of participation is invalid and unsustainable.

Government or development organisations deal with <u>what</u> kind of participation, <u>who</u> participates, and <u>how</u> participation occurs.

What kind of Participation

Participation can take several forms:

1. <u>Decision-making</u>: which generate ideas, formulate, assess and choose options to make plans to implement selected options.

2. <u>Implementation</u>: to include: (a) contributions of labour, cash, material goods and information; (b) administration and co-ordination (hired labour project advisors and decision makers); (c) enlistment activities (which incorporates people in projects and entitles them to the beneficial results whilst holding them responsible for the harmful results of the projects).

3. <u>Benefits</u>: A project can lead benefits relating to: (a) material (private goods -- income, assets, consumptions); (b) social (public goods -- schools, water systems, health clinics, housing, roads); (c) personal satisfaction (self-esteem, power, and a sense of efficacy).

4. <u>Evaluation</u>: to monitor and evaluate beneficial and harmful outcomes (Cohen and Uphoff 1980; Oakley and Winder, 1981) (Figure 4.1).

Fig. 4.1: The relationship of four kinds of participation

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│  making     │                                    ║   ║
└─────────────┘                                    ║   ║
      ▲  ▲  ┌──────────────┐                        ║   ║
      │  │  │ Implemen-    │                        ║   ║
      │  └──│   tation     │                        ║   ║
      │     └──────────────┘      ┌──────────────┐  ▼   ║
      │          │    ┌───────────│   Benefits   │◄─┘   ║
      │          │    │           └──────────────┘      ║
      │          │    │                    ┌────────────▼──┐
      │          │    │                    │  Evaluation   │
      └──────────┴────┴────────────────────│               │
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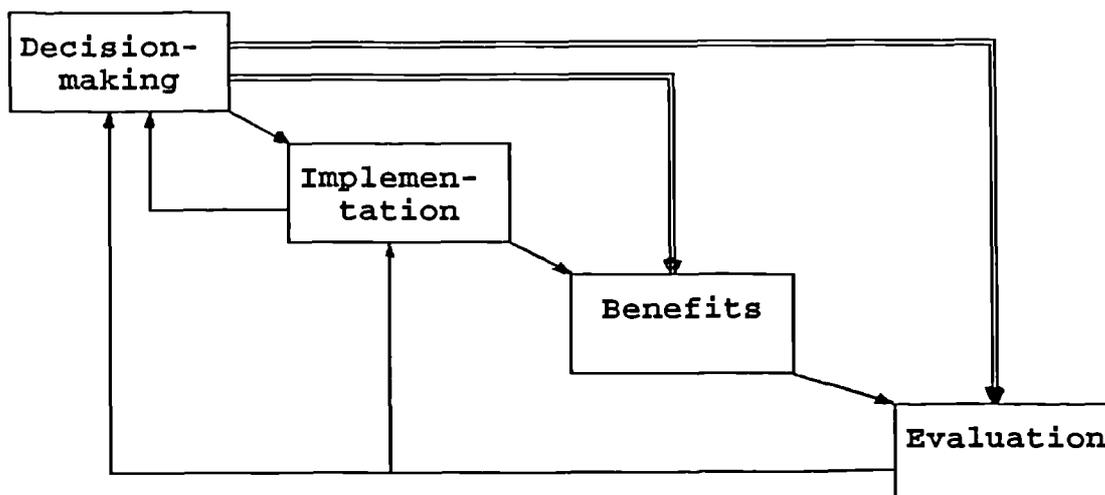
Source : Cohen and Uphoff (1980)

Decision-making   deals   with   implementation,
distribution of benefits and evaluation which can lead to
suggestions for improving decision-making. The feedback
from benefits is mainly through evaluation with some
feedback from implementation through incentives or
disincentive effects.

Who participates?

The main benefit of participation is the development
of farmers, labourers, housewives, artisans and others
involved at various stages of project activity (Cohen and

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Uphoff, 1977). The Economic Commission for Latin America refers to majority populations characterized by low incomes, low educational levels, and with restricted or non-existent opportunities. These people include urban and rural wage-workers; self-employed artisans; shop keepers; small cultivators; and the 'marginalised' (ECLA, 1973).

The "how" of participation

A qualitative analysis of the subject of participation generates insights into the profound issues of why and how participation takes place and of how it survives. The <u>Basis</u> of participation deals with such questions as whether the initiative for participation comes from above or from below or whether the inducements for participation are voluntary or coercive. The <u>Form</u> of participation relates to the structure and channels whereby participation is achieved. Whether it occurs on an individual or collective basis, with formal or informal organisation, providing direct participation or indirect representation. The <u>Extent</u> of participation addresses time scale and scope which assesses whether it is once-and-for-all, sporadic or continuous process and whether it extends over a broad or narrow range of activities. The <u>Effect</u> of participation is that people gain power and control over projects (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977 and 1980).

4.4 ORGANISATION OF PARTICIPATION

Participation necessarily requires an organisational structure which not only institutionalises participation but also ensures and protects it. Active participation can only be brought about by adequate local organisation. This organisation changes the direction of development (Oakley and Marsden, 1984).

Cooperatives and rural unions have specific objectives often considered of limited benefit to their members and are consequently likely to fail to facilitate sufficient participation (Korten, 1980). Such organisations surprisingly tend to impoverish the poor further (Oakley and Marsden, 1984). "Bureaucratic constraints" have limited their successful functioning. They have gradually become peers to the top-down government organisations.

An effective organisation must necessarily provide a structure of participation and specify how the members relate to each other by specifying the minimum age for participation. The scope of particular activities and the way in which members are represented.

Consultation is the vehicle through which agreements are reached and plans are made. It will determine the nature of the decision-making process, its implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

Local organisations interlink through regional and national networks to represent the interests of the whole community. This prevents local groups from pushing their interests to the detriment of the whole community and putting at risk regional or national cohesion (Cao Tri, 1986).

Organisations can be classified according to their form of activity or participation (ECLA, 1973). Members are characterised by their common interests (wage earners, producers or consumers), the form of participation (collective bargaining backed by strike threat or by mobilising votes). Political, economic, social and religious features give members common interests and qualify them for membership (ECLA, 1973).

4.5 OBSTACLES TO PARTICIPATION

Despite the importance of participation for development programmes being emphasised by the United Nations, international development agencies (i.e. FAO, ILO, World Bank) and non-governmental development organisations (CEBEMO, CAFOD) find that authentic participation is elusive. Some believe that there has never been genuine participation. Even in the democratic countries of the North, participation is a long and painful learning process. "Oppressed" groups of the South experience significant impediments to participation in their

development projects. This fact may be due to operational, administrative, socio-cultural and structural factors (Oakley, *et al*., 1991; Oakley and Marsden, 1984).

4.5.1   Administrative

Those in governmental positions or who work for international organisations are mostly concerned with centralised top-down procedures. Participation is seen as an "effective deterrent" for the delivery of pre planned packages. The solution is to stimulate participation through analysis of the "who", "how", and "why" of participation (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977; Oakley *et al*., 1991; Oakley and Marsden, 1984).

The utility, practicability and validity of detailed social studies (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977 and 1980) will not in themselves produce participatory development. An assessment of organisational, political and social context, is needed to quantify the levels and types of participation possible for a particular development design (Gran, 1983).

4.5.2   Socio-cultural Obstructions

To understand the lack of participation requires an understanding of the cultural and ideological mindsets of the people. "Dependence", "marginalisation" and "oppression" need to be identified and addressed (Freire,

1972a and 1972b).   .

Class, caste, geographical settings religious differences have been formidable obstacles. Rural people are not necessarily a homogeneous socio-economic unit. Their needs and capabilities as well as their values and assumptions need to be considered. Hence, forms of encouraging and promoting their participation must be different.

4.5.3   Structural

The constitution and political atmosphere of a particular nation can support, oppose or prohibit the practice of participation. Iran, for example, has an absolute-power-invested-autocratic-government. It results from closed-minds in society with its blindly following masses intolerant to even the existence of other ideologies and beliefs let alone encouraging any participation. Chile, with a military government was concerned to maintain power centrally. It denied most democratic rights.

The political environment has strong effects on the potential for meaningful participation. Even in non political peaceful endeavours the state's political atmosphere will influence independent development effort.

The state is sometimes an obstacle due to fundamental

ideologies derived from individualism, populations and anarchism. These ideologies incorporate a basic distrust of the state but instead of perpetuating a simplistic antipathy to state development, some proponents of participatory development recognise the realities and positive consequences of state sponsored development (Midgley, 1987). The advocates of participation have been urged by the United Nations to train local leaders in the techniques of bargaining and in the use of methods that will pressurise recalcitrant politicians and bureaucrats. As a result it harmonises the state and the popular effort to improve the general welfare of people at large.

4.6 MOBILISATION OF PARTICIPATION

For any local community to participate effectively to improve its socio-cultural environment and promote its development, there needs to be a whole set of attitudes and assumptions based on the cultural and ideological background of that society. The change in values then followed by systematic, organised action will promote that ability to direct and control development. It is often-heard that those with low incomes are likely to participate and remain involved if the benefits are material, direct and immediate. Wignaraja believes that this thinking arises perhaps when we see society in a solely materialistic manner and perceive development only in economic terms. This perspective perpetuates the "top-

down" process of central planning with the poor as "target groups". Participation fits as part of a bureaucratic procedure with cold or biased consultation which fails to recognise or ensure wider human improvements (Wignaraja, 1984).

The "conventional project style" of development (Ghai, 1988) is planned and budgeted from outside and managed within predetermined parameters of time and objectives. These rigid frameworks prevent rural people participating meaningfully. If participation is a process which enables people to assume greater responsibilities for their own development then participation in sectoral projects is promoted by staff with little, if any, preparation for the processes involved. If participation persists as a manageable and quantitative input then little thought will be given to the skills required for its promotion. If it is a distinctive process, then projects will need to be staffed accordingly (Oakley, 1991).

At the heart of even the smallest rural areas of the Third World the poor are busy playing their part in social interactions, they carry out everyday duties in the farm, market and elsewhere not because of the meagre material benefits they receive but because of a strong sense of responsibility. They share and partake of the fruits of their strenuous endeavours in their social unit.

Participation is recognised as a social "need" (Doyal and Gough, 1991), through which people bring their social reality into existence. The predominant social values promote passive participation. In my experience, both in Iran and Chile, lack of freedom and the non existence of participatory structures gradually led to degradation of the fabric of society as a whole -- the results were social injustice, corruption and anarchy.

Consciousness building identifies individual and group social and ideological consciousness which develops capacities useful for common social purposes.

4.6.1   Confused Objectives

The facilitators (mobilisers or "catalytic agents") are political activists, students, physicians, social workers and teachers. They assume leadership roles in disadvantaged areas and usually initiate vague and ambivalent ideas of their own. This ambiguity is then passed on to the public with which they work. For true participation to occur, there needs to be a process of developing a set of individual and collective skills, attributes, values and attitudes. The individual and the community will be assessing the acquisition and application of these qualities in a continuous plan of action.

4.6.2   Approaches to Mobilisation of Participation

Many development programmes have produced strictly limited participation, e.g. the utilisation of idle local labour in the implementation phase. Genuine participation, however, involves the diagnosis of the local/regional/national problems and planning of strategies towards the social objectives that have already been defined for and by society. This process requires the critical analysis of the situation in question. It needs to be a learning process building on international experience and information.

4.6.3   Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Participatory development has become one of the most important tasks for non-governmental organisations. Adopting a style of educational development, NGOs in the South help local people to organise themselves for socio-economic action. These organisations use one or a combination of several different tasks to carry out their functions. Many have started with relief and welfare and moved on to integrated community development and sustainable development. A new generation of NGOs have vision extending beyond national boundaries, with an indefinite time frame and the chief actors are volunteers scattered worldwide (Korten, 1990).

4.7 Freire's Approach

Freire began literacy education in Northeast Brazil in the 1960s. Paulo Freire's analysis of ideology and culture (Freire, 1972a, 1972b and 1985) demonstrated a great deal of success until stopped by a coup. He subsequently went to Chile to continue his analytical methodology with some collaborators.

Freire's observation on rural populations led him to conclude that the situations of the rural people are to be interpreted in terms of dependence and oppression. His main concern was that through literacy the poor could reflect on their conditions and act upon it to free themselves. He explained that interminable domination of the oppressed by the more powerful groups, had caused a lack of consciousness or a "culture of silence". He believed that through "conquering the word" or "using the word" Man is able to act and change his life (Freire, 1972a and 1972b). In his work Freire refers to a whole set of capacities to analyze one's own condition. By understanding the causes which underlie underdeveloped situations and being able to express one's thoughts clearly; to participate in a dialogue with others about how to change things, one can then act upon one's own environment and the world.

Freire was influenced by Marxist philosophy and

Catholicism. Education is either "domesticating" or "liberating". No education can be neutral. Domesticating education makes people objects of oppression which is the effect of traditional education. Liberating education which Freire promotes, gives liberty to become the real human self. For him, education constitutes "the permanent search of people together with others for their becoming more fully human in the world in which they exist"(Freire, 1973).

Domesticating education or "banking education" is a vertical relationship between the educator and the learner. It is characterised by several presuppositions:

The teachers teach and the students are taught.

The teacher knows everything and the students know nothing.

The teacher talks and the students listen.

The teacher chooses and enforces choice whilst students comply.

The teacher is the subject of the learning process, and the students are the objects.

(Freire, 1972a)

Freire (1972b) believes that this form of education dehumanises. He emphasizes an alternative which is the path to the "humanization" which liberates in turn. Those truly committed to liberation must reject the banking

concept in its entirety. They instead adopt a concept of a conscious man who acts upon the world. They must abandon the educational goal of deposit-making and replace it with the posing of the problems of people in their relations with the world (Freire, 1972a).

Freire calls for a "problem posing" education which responds to the essence of consciousness. Consciousness raising is the goal of Paulo Freire's pedagogy (Smith, 1976). Conscientisation no longer allows the dichotomy of educator as the subject, actor, speaker and the learner as the object, watcher, listener. In "problem posing" education everyone is learner and everyone is a teacher by involving himself in a dialogue about the problem being posed around them.

4.7.1   Awareness Raising--Conscientisation

Conscientisation is the awakening of critical consciousness (Killian, 1988) and is required for people-induced development. It is "the most logical and efficient way for humans to make conscious value choice and create processes balancing social and personal goal" (Gran, 1983). Alschuler (in the foreword of "The Meaning of Conscientisation) by Smith (1976) says " ... many people misunderstood Freire's contributions because his writings are abstract and dense almost to the point of impenetrability. 'Literacy', 'increasing consciousness',

'becoming more fully human', 'liberation' are all used synonymously and are never defined concretely".

Smith (1976) argues that "conscientisation" is the ultimate goal of the pedagogy of the oppressed. This is achieved in a three stage educational process of preparation, motivation and action which takes the form of reflection, analysis and literacy. It will be illuminating to present an example of literacy classes from Chile to demonstrate how this process of awareness raising works.

> The facilitator (teacher) has already, through previous contacts and informal discussion groups, obtained the trust and confidence of the people. Using a theme that had been selected and discussed in the "preparation" and "motivation" steps, the facilitator shows a photograph or drawing of people working the land with shovels, hoes and other tools, and introduces the word "shovel", which in Spanish is "pala". In order to learn to read and write this word and others that the discussion of this word may generate, the participants are asked to discuss such things as the importance of tools in man's life, how tools are made, and the evolution of tool-making as an historical and cultural phenomenon. Some of the questions for discussion take the form of: "Does the shovel have any similarity to the hand?" "What are some tasks that are done with the hand that are better done with the shovel?" "Why does man make tools?" "What would humanity be like if it had not invented tools?" "Does the possession of tools affect the power that human beings can have?" "How?" "Where do the tools used in this locality come from?" "What are the principal material used in their fabrication?" "Is it all right to prefer imported tools over the ones made nationally?" "Why?" "Did the people who lived in Chile before the Spanish conquest use tools?" "What kind of tools did the Spanish Bring?" " How has humanity reached the stage of having the kind of tools that exist in the world today?" "How long has it taken to develop them?"
> (Adapted from Arbab, 1990).

Following these discussions, the word "pala" is read. Its different syllables are recognised, and the different

sounds, "p" and "l", are analyzed and recognised in different words that the group identifies.

This analysis illustrates how an apparently technical matter such as reading and writing has behind it profound ideas that arise from cultural and ideological interpretations of the world around us.

This methodology has been adopted by thousands of development workers in motivating people to raise and transform their socio-economic and political reality. Here, the "facilitator" in the first stage, together with the people, participates in the study of their needs and community's problems to identify their aspirations and objectives. In the second stage they explore the causes of the problems affecting the group -- why are people in the state they are? In the third stage a common agreed action planned is formulated to devise strategies and implement them with collective efforts. This methodology has, at its heart, the concept of a dialogue and participation.

By reflecting on the interaction between Man and nature or between Man and society, people realize that, despite being literate or not, they have always participated in the creation of culture and values. This awareness gives them the motivation to act and participate in the creation of a new culture with new values, constantly in reflection, analysis and action.

In the approach developed by Freire there is an emphasis upon the dialogue between people. The consultation process is a reflection on important issues that concern the community. The "facilitator", as a catalyst, starts the consultation by asking the participants to describe their impressions and understanding of the pictures. As the participants describe each situation, the facilitator occasionally intervenes in this process which he or she considers appropriate by introducing a new question to direct the flow of the consultation. The term "facilitator" has also been referred to as "agent", "animator", "development worker". These terms imply the new functions of the teacher who conducts the class-room.

The role gives a horizontal status to the teacher-student relationship. The subject and the source of knowledge are the people themselves. The teacher/facilitator animates, convenes the group meeting, stimulates and catalyses the process of learning. Facilitators ideally arise from the same community to teach his/her peers. Background, personality, knowledge and attitudes are among the important qualities needed for non-formal education (Etling, 1975).

4.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have tried to demonstrate that:

1. Development from above is imposed on people by international development agencies and governmental bureaucrats to increase the general output of projects. These projects are designed outside the community environment with little familiarity of the people who it is assumed cannot be developed.

2. Self-development is possible by participating in every aspect of community affairs. Decision making, designing, implementing, operating and evaluating projects. This participation does not devalue the labour of those acting as catalysts, agents, facilitators and workers who often come as outsiders but have a crucial role to play.

3. Among effective methodologies for mobilising people's participation is Freire's pedagogical approach which led into a non-formal education strategy advocated worldwide (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; Kindervatter, 1979; Killian, 1988). It depended on the assumption that participation is possible through educational activities contributing to empowerment and development. It emphasises the need for learners to critically analyze their life situation and gives them the fundamental skills of mobilisation, analysis and organisation for success.

Freire's methodology of conscientisation was adopted and adapted to different socio-cultural environments by development agents working to promote participation and

thus development.

4.   Mechanisms that integrate environmental management and development with people's participation need to be investigated further. Participation is the essential ingredient for environmental management and development at least for the developing countries. Within the EIA mechanism participatory grass-roots movements have been a significant role to play in elucidating likely impacts in the context of their circumstances.

5. INTEGRATING ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT WITH PARTICIPATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The success of sustainable development is not achieved and measured by technology and sophisticated instruments. Sustainable development is based upon the diversity of choices and solutions it offers to different environmental settings and development challenges. Two approaches of environmental management and development within which participation is integrated are considered here.

5.2 Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)

Environmental impact assessment fits into the planning process and is a management tool like economic analysis and engineering feasibility studies (UNEP, 1988). It is one of several inputs to the decision-making process. Important impacts assessed are financial, economic and social. It may be decided, in particular circumstances, to include these with the assessment of the environmental impacts, within the same documentation (Lee, 1989).

Environmental impact assessment (EIA) systems apply to all actions likely to have significant impact, irrespective of their type (Wood, 1988). EIA applied to

a chronological sequence of action (Figure 5.1)(Wood, 1988) inter-relates hierarchies of activities in relation to geographical order.

Level of
control

Category of action

| | policies | plans | programmes | projects |
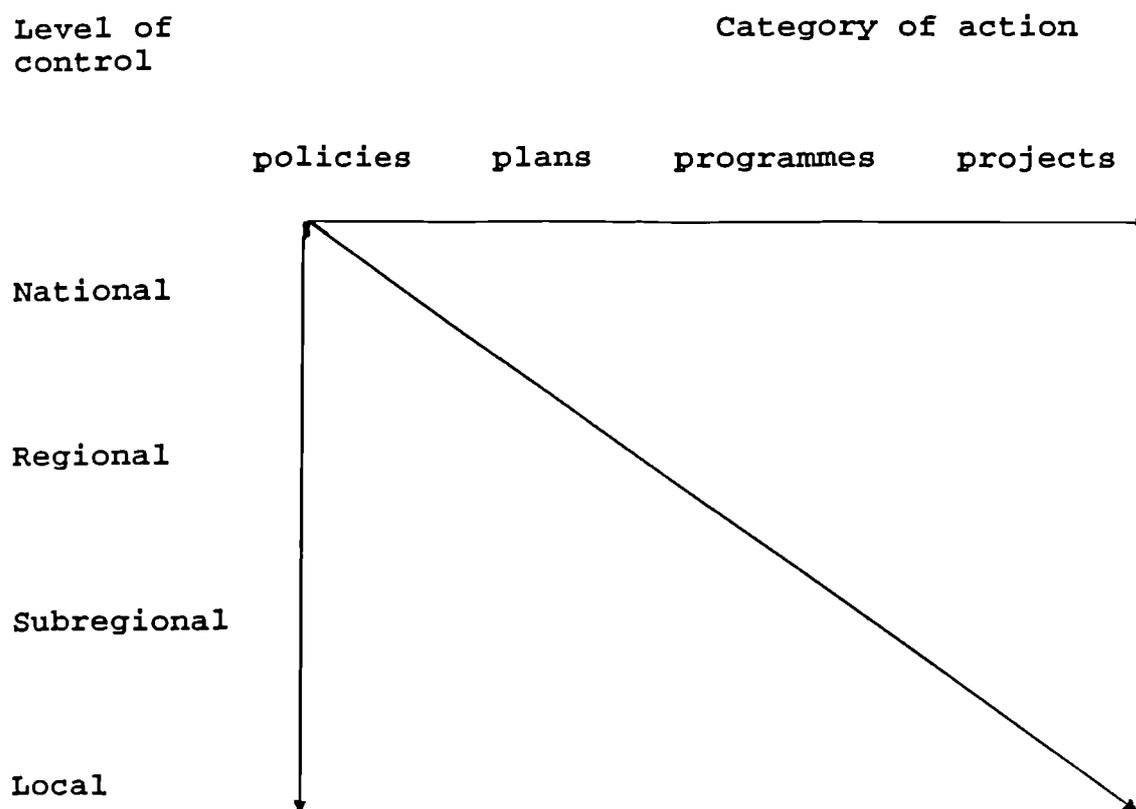
Fig. 5.1: Categories of action and levels of government within a comprehensive EIA system

Source: Wood (1988)

Large development projects and their resulting environmental consequences may be seen to be justified in

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areas of high unemployment. The environmental cost may be considered a reasonable price to pay. Major projects are tempting giving the prospect of a large number of jobs to be provided quickly for local population (Glasson, 1988).

The Annex I projects defined by the EEC legislation (nuclear and fossil fuelled power stations, deep and opencast coal mine developments, oil and gas projects, airports, tunnels, barrages, roads and major manufacturing plants) have significant natural, physical, social and economic impacts. Such impacts are often poorly understood and need varied channels of information. In Portugal, interviews with some of the EIA authorities reveal their preferences for possibilities of participation.

5.3 GRASS-ROOTS INITIATIVES FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

In the context of environmental management development practitioners frequently address local environmental problems in the Third World through tree planting schemes, soil bonding or irrigation management strategies to establish sustainable resource use for selected areas. In spite of occasional suggestions that broader national or international policies should be formulated to make natural resource management integral to economic social policy (Warford, 1989), this approach remains dominant.

Resource management projects depend heavily on broad-

based voluntary co-operation of individuals and groups. Whether such actions be planting trees or restrained fishing they cannot, by their nature, be easily coerced or enforced. The willingness of people to collaborate and undertake the required activities is essential for success.

Most approaches to local environmental problems are attempted by the community (Vivian, 1991). These approaches include organised participatory activities and social protest movements. They often entail an educational process which provokes further development and participation. This is one criteria for the selection of case studies for this thesis.

Environmental and development problems are commonly perceived as crises which call for immediate and direct measures. "Firefighting" approach are often favoured rather than discussion of deeper ills. The symptoms are treated rather than the causes (Adams, 1990). Perhaps another reason for the prevalence of this approach is that it can reflect, to a greater or lesser degree, a perception that rural dwellers of the Third World need to be "taught" about the importance of environmental conservation and their development. Many rural Third World communities have practised environmental conservation for centuries. It has much more often been the urban dwellers and industrialised populations which have had to relearn the value of the environment (Vivian, 1991). These who rely immediately on

natural resources for their livelihood have always had to develop methods and strategies to ensure the survival of their environment and themselves.

5.3.1   Traditional Resource Management

Traditional Resource Management methods are explicit where resources are scarce. In arid areas implicit rules govern resource use both at times of scarcity and relative abundance. At the community level, resource management systems have generally been more evident among the rural poor than the urban rich. This is because means of livelihood other than direct resource exploitation are less readily available to the former groups (Vivian, 1991). Such traditional resource management systems, in spite of the external and internal pressures have remained not only viable but also active and evolving in many parts of the world. These systems involve elaborate social, technological and economic mechanisms to safeguard resources.

For instance, religious or spiritual significance is attached to certain plants or animals, which are thereby protected. In India some religious and traditional beliefs prohibit killing of animals or cutting of green trees (Sankhala and Jackson, 1985).

The sustainability of resource management in the

development and transmission of environmental knowledge in rural communities is an intuitive but valid process. Indigenous knowledge has been distilled over centuries and is often the best guide to sustainable resource management (McNeely and Pitt, 1985; Jacobs and Munro, 1987).

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to point out that:

1. The integration of environment and development with participation is a formidable task. The wide range of environmental management alternatives offers environmental impact assessment of large development projects to the planning process and local environmental resource management which have the characteristics for dealing with sustainable development in a participatory manner.

2. The environmental impact assessment process deals with large development projects where there is a stage where the public can come in and play its role. The study of public participation in the EIA system in Portugal further clarifies this point (Chapter 6).

3. With grass-roots environmental and development initiatives local communities are the main protagonists in the management of their environment and their own development. The participation promoted in the societies

that have developed cultures of dependence requires a long educational process. The more effective methods for an "outsider" to approach these communities and initiate a learning process about environmental and development matters among the local people involves a horizontal interaction between him/her and the community members. Grass-roots environmental and development initiatives from several Third World countries highlight the important features for a viable solution.

6. PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the major tools for decision-making and management of environment is Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). Public participation in Portugal was investigated through the application of the EIA system. EIA academics, authorities and professionals were interviewed and a list of Portuguese environmental impact statements (EISs) was made available (Appendix A).

In order to comply with the European Economic Community (EEC) legislation Portugal began to require environmental impact studies on large projects in 1990. Portugal is a semi-industrialised western country with a history of military government. The country is dealing with public participation in a democratic situation but a traditional non participatory culture still persists.

6.2 EIA: AN OVERVIEW

Environmental Impact Assessment was first introduced in the United States by National Environmental Policy Act

of 1969 (NEPA). Subsequently, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands and Japan adopted EIA legislation in 1973, 1974, 1981 and 1984 respectively. The European Community adopted a directive in 1985 making environmental assessment mandatory (Wathern, 1988). The United Nations agencies have also adopted or advocated EIA as a political and scientific response to the concerns of conservation movement. Environmental Impact Assessment is an integral part of environmental management thinking. It has been defined as:

> an activity designed to identify and predict the impact on the biogeophysical environment and on man's health and well-being of legislative proposals, policies, programmes, projects, and operational procedures, and to interpret and communicate information about the impacts (Munn, 1979).

Environmental Impact Assessment can be broken down into four main components. Assessment of impacts of development proposals on (1) natural environment (air, water, land, noise and the biological environment); (2) social environment (cultural, social and economic); (3) a statement documenting all the changes to be expected and their respective mitigation measures; (4) public participation (hearing) (Canter, 1977).

Within the countries that have adopted EIA there are variations in the detailed procedures, but they conform to a standard structure (Fig. 6.1).

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Figure 6 .1 The Environmental Assessment Process

Figure 6 .1 The Environmental Assessment Process

CONSIDERATION OF ALTERNATIVES

PROJECT DESIGN

DETERMINING WHETHER AN EA IS NECESSARY

DECIDING ON THE COVERAGE OF THE EA

PREPARATION OF THE ES

DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT AND ENVIRONMENT

IMPACT PREDICTION

IMPACT SIGNIFICANCE

CONSULTATION AND PARTICIPATION

MITIGATION

REVIEWING THE PUBLISHED ES

DECISION MAKING

MONITORING PROJECT IMPACTS
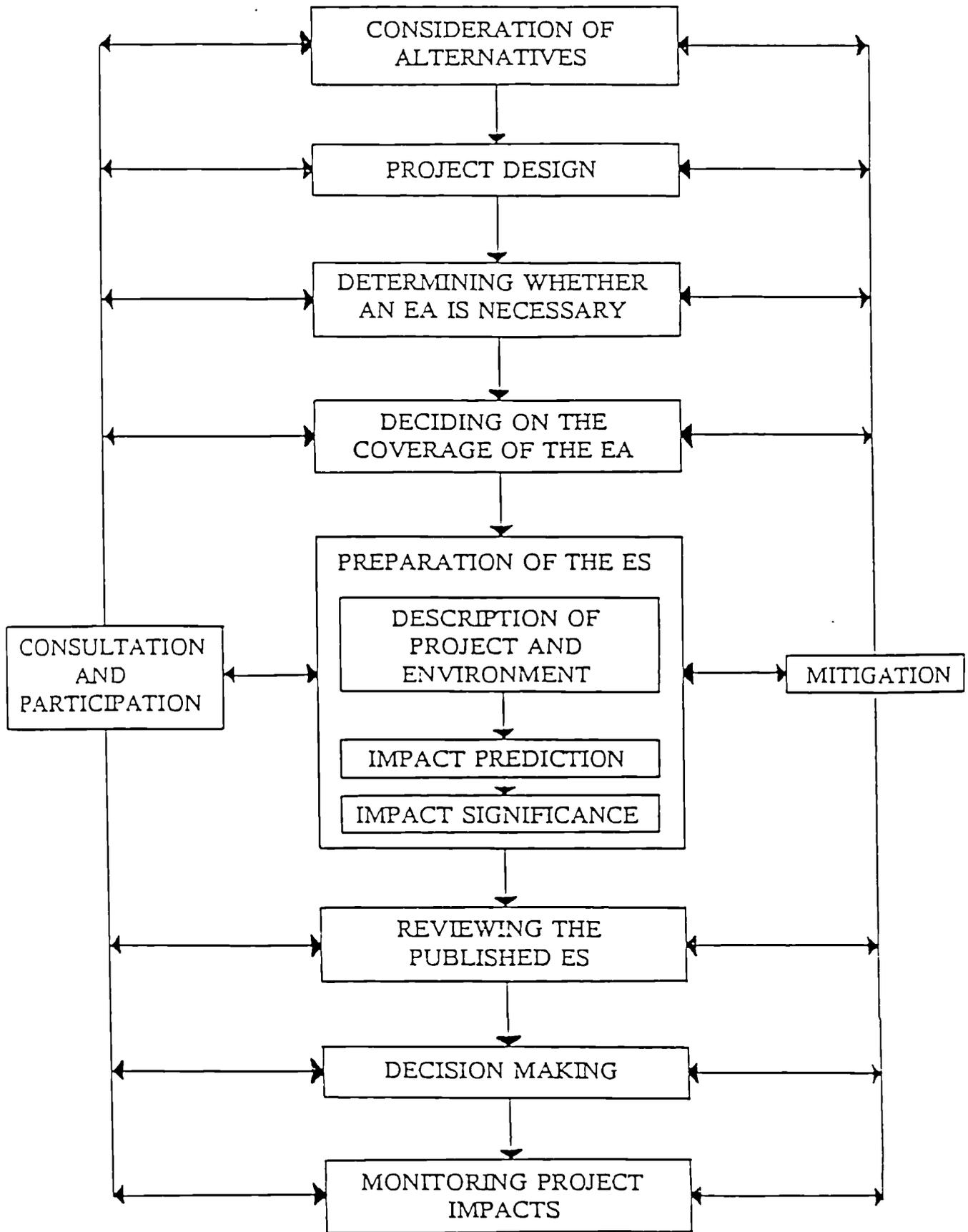
Source: Walsh, Lee and Wood (1991)

The EIA process starts when a proposal is made. Considerations are carried out as a preliminary assessment to determine whether a full EIA is needed. If uncertainty exists with regard to the likelihood of environmental impacts from the proposal, the screening phase determines what projects need EIA and may require a preliminary environmental evaluation. Screening considers the legal requirements, environmental sensitivity of the proposal, eventual results and recommendations from monitoring and auditing of similar past programmes.

Proposals, that require an environmental impact assessment need scoping to define the key interactions between the implication and the environment to be affected. A detailed EIA sequence is developed for these key issues. Baseline studies, identification, prediction and assessment of the likely effects, and the consequent monitoring needs and mitigating measures are defined. A draft environmental impact statement (EIS) is prepared. It is reviewed for its coverage, substance, comprehensiveness and public participation.

The final EIS is presented for approval and recommended mitigation measures are implemented by the proposer, monitored by the approving authority. Monitoring should take place some time during and after implementation/operation of proposal to determine the accuracy of the EIA and the need for changes in the course

of action.

The key inherent characteristics of the EIA process are:

1. It is an interdisciplinary approach which integrates a wide range of subject areas reflected by diversity of professionals involved in the EIA process.

2. EIA is a systematic process of collection, analysis and communication of information.

3. The identification of alternative courses of action should include "no action". Different combined choices of processes, technologies, and locations can be recommended to achieve the objectives.

4. The comparative assessment of future scenarios against the "no development" alternative includes an evaluation of positive and negative impacts in terms of their extent and significance at every phase of implementation of the proposed action and awards, on short and long-term bases.

5. Different social groups likely to be affected by the proposed action must participate in the assessment process. Decision making is thus based on the perception, acceptance and support of the community.

An important point is the ability to communicate with the public easily and impartially in every aspect.

6. EIA should ideally start when the need for interference in the environment is perceived. It continues throughout the action planning and design phases so that feedback loops permit progressive optimisation of benefits and minimisation of harmful effects (Fontes, 1989).

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              ┌── Natural Environment Impact Assessment
              ├── Social Environment Impact Assessment
    EIA ──────┤
              ├── Public Participation
              └── EIS document production
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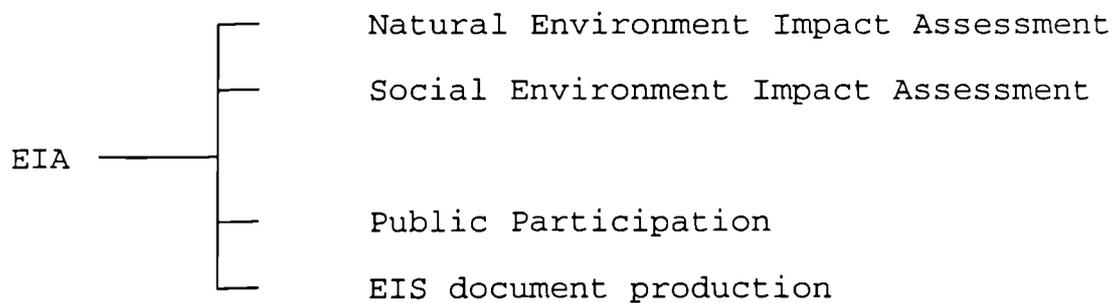
Discussion on natural environmental impact assessment takes the major portion of EIA activities but it is the social environmental impact assessment and participation which imply public involvement.

6.3 SOCIAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT (SIA):

Environmental Impact Assessment includes socioeconomic environments. Social Impact Assessment has its own methodologies and techniques and has particular

characteristics:

1. SIA is a *Systematic effort to identify, analyze and evaluate* social impacts of a proposed development project or policy change of the individuals and social groups within a community or on an entire community *in advance of the decision making process* so that the information derived from the SIA can actually influence decisions.

2. SIA is a means to *develop alternatives* to the proposed course of action and *determining the full range of consequences* for each alternative policy or project.

3. SIA *increases knowledge* on the part of the project proponent and the impacted community.

4. SIA *raises consciousness and the level of understanding* of the community and *puts residents in a better position to understand the broader implication of the proposed action.*

5. SIA includes a process *to mitigate or alleviate* the negative social impacts likely to occur, if that action is required by the impacted community.

(Burdge and Robertson, 1990)

The goal of a properly executed SIA is to identify and understand the consequences of the change. However the full potential of a properly executed SIA is not easily seen and few EIA studies include SIAs. Many have equated and confused it with public participation and public involvement (Burdge and Robertson, 1990).

6.3.1   Public Involvement and Participation

Public involvement is an active component throughout the planning, development and evaluation process. It aims to inform and educate the impacted population as well as the project proponent on the action needed before and after

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development decisions are made. It identifies problems associated with the proposed projects. The needs and values of the impacted population are considered integral to the SIA process. Quantitative and qualitative information on the proposed development enable the public to participate in the decision-making process for planning.

Public involvement and participation are understood as distinct processes. Public involvement usually occurs in the SIA stage of environmental impact assessment or as a separate stage, in the final analysis of the EIA process--public participation. The public involvement in the SIA stage is a passive one where researchers with pre-formulated questionnaires refer to people as objects. After the collection of data, they are the sole analyzers, interpreters and evaluators. The more active role by people can be played through participation but this mechanism has also its own flaws.

Five benefits of public involvement can be identified:

1. As *education of the impacted community* on the potential benefits and costs of the proposed action, alternative courses of action, and the respective consequences.

2. As a means for the community or larger society to provide *input* to a proposed project *before a final*

decision is reached. The public becomes part of the planning and decision-making process.

3. As a catalyst behind *community self-evaluation and analysis* leading to *assessment on how communities cope with change.*

4. For *data-gathering on social impact variables.* The process supplies information on population impacts, community or institutional arrangements, conflicts between local residents and new-comers, individual, family-level impacts, and community infrastructure needs.

5. As a way of *proposing alternatives to a suggested plan or course of action.* Residents know their community better than outsiders (Burdge and Robertson, 1990).

6.4 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Public participation is incorporated within EIA at the decision-making stage. One of the essential features of a public participation programme in EIA is that it should provide information in an appropriate form and timely manner. Public participation, and public involvement share the same concept as a continuous, two-way communication process. It promotes public understanding of the processes and mechanisms needed to investigate and solve

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environmental problems and needs through responsible agencies. The public are fully informed about the status and progress of findings and the implications of plan formulation and evaluation activities. All concerned are encouraged to share opinions and perceptions of objectives, needs and preferences for resource use and the alternative development, management strategies, plan formulation and evaluation (Canter, 1977).

EIA fails to implement public participation appropriately. One of the major impediments is the lack of adequate environmental knowledge and information. Another obstacle is the lack of familiarity with EIA and the opportunity it creates for the public to play its role to protect and manage the environment--as a decision maker.

6.5 APPLICATION OF EIA IN PORTUGAL

After joining the European Community Portugal had to adopt and conform to established Community legislation. EEC Directive 85/337 of June 1985 mandates the EIA implementation for a list of projects. It was adopted by Portugal in 1990. Annexes I, II and III of the Portuguese legislation are exactly the same as Annexes I, III and II of the EEC Directive respectively.

6.5.1   EIA Process in Portugal

The licensing authority for EIA includes different Governmental Ministries such as the Ministry of Planning and Territorial Administration (MPAT) or the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (MAPA). These licensing authorities usually refer planning applications to the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (MARN). MARN appoints a commission for each application to determine whether an EIA is required. The commission analyzes the subsequent environmental impact statement (Fig. 6.2) and publicises the public enquiry.

According to Decree 186/90, Article 4 of Portuguese EIA legislation, a public enquiry is to be promoted by the lead authority for every project ("lead authority" or licensing authority is the agency granting planning permission that in turn refers the application to MARN). This is the only way in which the public can participate.

Figure 6.2 - EIA Procedure in Portugal

proponent submits the project application
and the EIS to the licensing authority

the licensing authority immediately forwards
the project and the EIS to MARN

MARN designates the authority responsible
for leading the EIA process (CA=Commssion
for Analyzing)

the lead authority promotes public enquiry
which includes a period to publicize the EIS
and the main descriptive elements of project

120 days
(or 150
days)

40 to 60
days for
Annex I
projects

20 to 30
days for
Annex III
projects

competent authority prepares a report on the
public consultation procedure

the lead authority assesses all the
information gathered during the process
and gives opinion on project implementation

MARN forwards the report on the
public consultation procedure
and the final opinion to the
licensing authority

if nothing is said
by MARN at the end
of the deadline
consent is given
with regard to the
EIA process

licensing procedure continues

monitoring measures are undertaken in
case of non adoption of MARN's opinion

Source: Nogueira, M.T. (1991)

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6.5.2   Public Participation with EIA in Portugal

Public participation, public enquiry or public consultation are used interchangeably. Public involvement implies social impact assessment as well as public participation in decision making. In addition, participation in Portugal:

- informs and educates;
- identifies problems, values and needs;
- evaluates alternatives;
- resolves conflicts through consensus

(Chito and Caixinhas, 1992).

The constraints on public participation in Portugal include lack of environmental awareness by the general public, weak participatory tradition and the absence of appropriate procedures (Nogueira, 1991). Other obstacles have been the credibility of previous participation which is seen to consume time, cost money and have little influence on the decision-making process. Political groups can manipulate technical discussions that arise in public inquiries to impede, confuse and prevent communication on the exchange of opinions. Conflicts from various interest groups and the subsequent legal and compensatory measures further prevent the general public participation (Chito and Caixinhas, 1992).

EIA was adopted in 1990 as the INAMB (National Institute of Environment) came into existence. This is a Governmental body that promotes public participation in EIA in Portugal. Out of 58 EISs public participation occurred in 28 cases. Twenty five cases did not indicate whether it was performed and five cases definitely did not have any public inquiry at all (Appendix A).

6.6 DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

The involvement of the public with EIA in Portugal is maturing since the recent adoption of the legislation. Mechanisms that make public participation possible require appropriate education and preparation of the public in environmental impact assessment. The absence of public participation makes the EIA process incomplete. Meaningful participation emerges best from a long participatory culture. EIA authorities, developers and politicians, neither in Portugal nor elsewhere make the effort needed to adequately educate the public to participate. Academics have an important role to play but unless backed by authorities and the media, their efforts will be piecemeal.

Mobilisation of the public in Portugal is frustrated by:

● The lack of openness in the political system. Many projects arise out of national political interests

which are excluded from EIA requirements (e.g. the national defence projects). Public should play a crucial role in this area.

- The lack of and poor quality of information available for the public. Many politicians and financial power holders manipulate the technical information of the projects in which they are interested. In one case, a tourist development project was rejected by the planning authorities because it was in an environmentally sensitive area. The project later was granted permission at higher level authorities.

- The lack of opportunity for consultation provided in a public enquiry. The period of public enquiry, which is approximately one month, is used only as an information stand to advise on happenings to come.

- The low level of existing organisation of the social groups. Although public participation does not take place in most countries there are often pressure groups formed to oppose or prevent development. In Portugal there seemed to be a lack of adequate social and organisational groups.

- The concerns of the social groups involved are too specialised and the projects do not fall within their particular environmental interests.

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● The frustrated efforts of those promoting public participation. INAMB is the responsible body to educate and promote public participation.

● The lack of co-operation between developers whose values derive from a competitive philosophy.

6.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that public participation and involvement is a potentially powerful tool to avoid undesirable impacts of development projects in industrialised as well as developing countries. Projects, programmes and policies are passed with little consideration for the people who are most and first affected by them. Even when an opportunity is created for the public to have a say, difficulties remain for the poor who have traditions of dependency, lack of self-reliance and no organisational skills. Their power in influencing the authorities is also frustrated by inarticulate representatives.

7. CASE STUDIES

The search for illustrative case studies, was governed by constraints that remained throughout the research. Participation as a subject in development and environmental management, posed the primary constraint. The "blueprint" type development -- where projects are planned and designed outside the beneficiaries control -- reports and evaluations still prevail and abound in this field. The absence of evaluative reports of participatory processes in English was a less significant impediment .

Some examples lacked sufficient details to be useful. Other accounts were strictly concerned with the material benefits derived from undertaking their initiatives.

The approach of this study, however, believed in a transformation of assumptions, attitudes, and values. It took from the outset a normative character. The transformation of societies necessarily implied that the examples had to have some educational element incorporated in their programmes. An education which is holistic and different from just training in specific crafts and technical skills. It had to be a learning process in which people generate knowledge about themselves and achieve better understanding of their situation with an increased level of self-reliance.

With this in mind, the following case study selection criteria were formulated:

A. that they present a series of short case studies, both governmental and nongovernmental and which look at both their successes and failures,

B. that they are or were committed to the development of the home region and its population,

C. that they are or were committed to the environmental management of their region,

D. that they demonstrate or demonstrated how the participatory process is encouraged,

E. that they have or had at least five years of activities

F. that there is good documentation available with information to confirm the performance of the initiatives,

G. that the lessons learned from the research could provide a framework for future action.

Several grass-roots environmental and development initiatives were considered but rejected either because they failed to fulfil the selection criteria or for lack of detailed information. The following shows a brief review of those rejected arranged according to geographical area.

● **The Savings Development Foundation (SDF)** - Zimbabwe works with government ministries and private firms to support increased agricultural production. This project was rejected because it did not meet the selection criteria F.

● **The Green Belt Movement,** - Kenya, is an NGO active in tree planting which sponsors tree nurseries in districts of Kenya. Its objectives are to provide fuelwood, food and income from trees for rural people to prevent soil erosion, conserve water and genetic resources, and to address the underlying causes of poverty and population growth. Community mobilization constitutes a strong element of the movement. This project was rejected not because it did not meet any of the selection criteria but because it appeared that its activities were hurdled by political interventions.

● **Majjia Valley Windbreaks-Niger,** This constitutes an agricultural soil erosion control project where in 12 years (1975-1987) some 560 kilometres of windbreaks, consisting of double rows of neem (an Asian evergreen) was planted over 3000 hectares of cropland. The trees reduced the wind velocity by 45 to 80 percent, resulting in lower soil erosion and higher soil moisture. The crop yields increased 15 to 23 percent.

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The Mejjia Valley windbreaks affected the erosion, deforestation, and desertification problems. This case study was initiated by the valley's farmers, but they played only a minor role in project planning and their initial participation was modest. Farmers were not involved in raising seedlings, nor did they have rights to the trees planted on their land. The trees belonged to the government and paid guards were appointed to protect the trees (Reid, *et al.*, 1988).

This example was not selected because the government of Niger is the primary decision maker in the process. People do have a role and although they seem to benefit from this activity the practice does not appear to be sustainable. The fact that paid guards were needed is evidence of unsustainability of the exercise. The selection criteria require a process in which people control, manage and distribute the fruits of their labour. Other reasons for elimination were the lack of more detailed information and other confirming sources of information.

● **Action Pour le Développement Rural Integre (ADRI) - Rwanda,** In 1979 an agronomist, referred to as the "promoter", initiated animation work with people of Murambi in a District of Rwanda. His aim was to generate awareness amongst the people. There had been earlier informal groups, and a tradition of informally organised mutual

cooperation since 1976. It constituted a cooperative called Twese Hamwe with some 40 members. The cooperative first initiated collective production of vegetables, maize and other crops, on land lent by the commune. Other activities such as marketing, milling, rural pharmacy, artisanal production of baked bricks, grocery store, grain storage and poultry gradually occurred with time and as more groups became involved.

As interest grew, other groups approached the promoter to initiate similar activities. A general meeting of 17 groups led to the creation of an intergroup organisation with two representatives from each group to form its council. The task was: a) to study action proposals of the member groups; b) to grant credit for the groups to launch their projects; c) to offer other related services.

Due to bureaucratic bank officials and lack of legal status the groups had difficulties obtaining loans and sometimes even retrieving their own deposits. The groups were provoked to search for alternative solutions. After analyzing the problem, they decided to have their own banking system (Solidarity Bank). The Bank played a particularly important role in the management of external funds for group projects.

This led the promoter and all the groups of the rural

The people in the villages have a tradition of collective work with the youth working collectively for the community. There is a conflict between the traditional workers with a belief in spirits and those with values related to modernisation. The project is trying to build on traditional collective practices and positive in traditional beliefs. The initiatives include cattle raising, fish cultivation, weaving, fruit orchards and a revolving loan fund. Morality training through collective service and through values which underlie religious awareness is an integrated aspect of the work. The project was rejected because it did not meet the requirement of criteria F.

● **Grass-root Integrated Development Project (GRID)** - Thailand, started work in the Northeast of the country with six core villages. It promotes the formation of people's organisations. Various village development activities are initiated by the villagers themselves - in agriculture, traditional medicine, women's development, saving schemes, rice banks, group marketing, collective purchase of fertilizer, cooperative rice mills. This project was rejected because it did not meet the D and F criteria.

● **Nijera Kori "We do it ourselves"** - Bangladesh, is a rural development agency working in more than a thousand villages with the rural landless. Consciousness-raising and organisation development are the main focus of its

work. It does not give any material support to the base groups. This project was rejected because it did not meet the criteria F.

● **Amma Milan Kendra (Mother's Club) - Nepal,** started its activities to improve the economic and social status of women, their personality and self-reliance. The organisational structure consists of village level associations of women beneficiaries. The hierarchical concept and structure has overshadowed the participatory aspect of the organisation and so led into its rejection.

● **Samaj Progoti Parishad (SPP)** - Bangladesh, is a district level initiative whose activities include an eduction and consciousness raising programme, a functional literacy and pre-schooling programme, a training programme for various categories of workers and beneficiaries, and a livestock development programme. This project was rejected because it did not meet point C, E and F requirements.

● **Central Soil and Water Conservation Research and Training Institute of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research-India,** The Institute began work in Sukhna Watershed near Sukhomaju with partial funding provided by the Ford Foundation. The previous activities of the Institute to stem the area's high erosion had failed due to the lack of public participation. Its efforts were focused on encouraging public input to the process and returning

the benefits to the villagers. Three small dams were built in an adjacent watershed as part of an erosion control research project. The irrigation was done by the villagers.

The crop yields improved dramatically and this increased productivity led to decreased cattle grazing by many villagers. Through discussion and trial-and-error policy implementation, "social fencing" was established and the villagers agreed to give up further grazing rights in return for water for irrigation. Despite frequent problems, the system was well established in 1985. Soil erosion is reduced and moisture soil has substantially increased grass growth on the surrounding hill sides. Cattle can now be fed more than they obtained when free to graze. Daily village milk production has increased and average annual crop yields are up 400 to 500 percent.

This project has become a model for village development through improved resource management. It has been adopted and replicated be several other villages (Reid, et al, 1988).

The initiative shows successful participatory sustainable resource management with important components of self-reliance and participation. It also shows how a government institution can encourage participation and bring about sustainable development. This example,

however, was not selected due to lack of further detailed information.

● **Grameen Bank - Bangladesh,** The Grameen Bank was started in 1976 by an economic university professor who wanted to prove, contrary to conventional banking wisdom, that the poor were a bankable social group and that the bank demands which they couldn't provide were unjust. The objectS of this project were: a) to extend banking facilities to the poor; b) to eliminate the exploitation of the money-lenders; c) to create opportunities for self-employment for the vast unutilized manpower resources; d) to bring the poor into an organisation they could understand and operate and in which they could find mutual support and socio-political and economic growth.

Grameen Bank was so successful that by 1980 its activities extended to 300 villages. In 1983, a total of 86 branches were active in 1,249 villages with 58,000 borrowers. By 1990 there were 754 banks in over 18,500 villages. The funds that Grameen Bank is operating come from the Bangladesh Bank, IFAD, SIDA, NORAD and the Ford Foundation.

The keys to the Grameen Bank's success are:

1. group organisation and group responsibility for the performance of the loans;

2. meticulous staff training

3. strict financial discipline using conventional banking
    procedures;

4. a total commitment to and faith in the villages they
    are serving.

In addition to credit Grameen Bank also provides seeds,
saplings, and oral rehydration kits at cost (Ekins, 1992).

This project is mainly of credit provision type.
Although there are ample studies done about Grameen Bank,
it did not meet all our selection criteria such as
participatory processes all the way through, environmental
activities and educational involvement.

LATIN AMERICA

● **Fundacion para la Aplicacion y Ensenanza de la Ciencia
(FUNDAEC)** - Colombia, is a pioneering educational
establishment. FUNDAEC has established a "Rural
University" which investigates, trains and involves
academics, students and society to change their socio-
economic environment. It takes a critical view of
educational systems in Latin-America and colombia in
particular. The project was one of the most illuminating
examples of this research. However, at the moment of
writing up not enough detailed documentations were at hand.

● **The Community Food Councils in Oaxaca,** - (Mexico) democratically-run organisations with rural peasants concerned to negotiate with state-owned food purchasing and sales agencies. The project was rejected because it did not meet point D, E, F and G criteria.

● **The Centro de Investigacion y Promocion del Campesino (CIPCA)** - (Peru) known as one of the largest, best known, and active, private, regionally based development agencies. CIPCA provides direct technical assistance and support to a wide range of peasant groups. The project was rejected because it did not meet the requirement of selection criteria F.

● **Fundacion para el Desarrollo Nacional (FDN)** - Peru, is generally regarded as a successful example of an indigenous developmental NGO. It has wide support among external donors and a solid reputation within Peru. The project was rejected because it did not meet the requirement of selection criteria F.

● **Asociacion de los Nuevos Alquimistas (ANAI)** - Costa Rica, is a professionally led service organisation created through the efforts of a group of ecologists specialising in agroforestry. The project was rejected because it did not meet the requirements of selection criteria F and G.

● **Centro Agricola Cantonal de Hojancha (CACH)** - Cost Rica, is a regional organisation peculiar to the Costa Rican policy environment. It is a successful service and financial intermediary contributing to the agricultural development of the region. The project was rejected because it did not meet the requirements of selection criteria C, D, F and G.

● **Fundacion Costarricense de Desarrollo (FUCODES)** - Costa Rica, operates in servicing the poorest farmers. FUCODES is a business-oriented NGO. One of a family of national development foundations set up by external funding to channel resources to microenterprise. The project was rejected because it did not meet the requirements of selection criteria D, F and G.

● **Union Cantonal de Asociaciones de Desarrollo de Puriscal (PURISCAL)** - Costa Rica, is an example of a regional community development association promoted by the state. The project was rejected because it did not meet the requirements of selection criteria C, D, F and G.

● **Union Regional de Cooperativas de la Provincia de Cartago (URCOOPAPA)** - Costa Rica, is a good example of how the state and the leaders of the cooperative sector interact. It also illustrates the difficulties that beset an exclusive commodity-oriented marketing organisation, and how these difficulties forced it to become a nonexclusive

multipurpose service agency, operating along business
lines. It was rejected because it did not meet selection
requirement F.

● **Action-Oriented Popular Education Programmes for the
Disadvantaged (CIDE)** - Chile, is a church-based foundation
working in the area of nonformal education. CIDE supports
grass-roots initiatives on various fronts. It implements
community-based projects, conducts research, prepares
educational materials, trains community leaders, offers
evaluative assistance, and plays an influential role in
shaping the methodology of social programmes in Chile.
CIDE's function is mainly in servicing other NGOs and
complementing their work. This project was rejected
because of lack of direct environmental involvement.

● **CEDECUM: Centro de Desarrollo para el Campesino y del
Poblador Urbano-Marginal** - Peru, CEDECUM was established
by a team of agronomists, social workers, and
veterinarians. Its activities circled around: 1)
organisation and management, 2) crop production, 3) live
stock production, 4) storage and processing, 5) marketing,
6) natural resource management and 7) women's activities.

CEDECUM's mode of operation has been to encourage
beneficiary interest and action; fostering relationships
between the multi-comunales and other public and private
agencies; providing instructional support at the community

and multi-communal levels; using the resources of other technical assistance organisations; striving to reach the poorest of the poor and promoting crop diversification.

Crisis at CEDECUM. In 1987, CEDECUM's experienced and charismatic director decided to concentrate work in three multi-communes. Crop and live stock technical assistance appeared to be most wanted by the beneficiaries, yet there were problems with the proper functioning of the agricultural committees. The scale of problems increased and the director resigned, after a dispute with the two other voting members of CEDECUM's governing board. The loss of the director demonstrated how CEDECUM's success was dependent on his leadership and the strategies and orientations he devised. The technical team he had formed, though competent and motivated, was unable to persuade CEDECUM's new directors of the validity of his approach.

CEDECUM suffered a period of debilitating conflict between the new leadership (more conventional and less participatory) and the field team, which was effective in presenting resistance but did not provide an alternative acceptable leadership. CEDECUM suffered a period of decline in management and its major financial donor decided to terminate its support (Carroll, 1992).

CEDECUM demonstrates how reliance on charismatic leaders can jeopardise the success of the organisation. It

suggests that it is better for the management of intermediate organisations themselves to be participatory and democratic just like the grass-roots organisations they help to form.

● **Plan Sierra -- Dominican Republic,** The Island that constitutes the two countries of the Dominican Republic and Haiti has suffered substantial ecological devastation of its watersheds. The northern slope of the central range in the Dominican Republic, encompasses 1,780 square kilometres and is home for 110,000 people. The region was heavily forested but the timber industry rapidly overharvested the forests. Much of the remaining forested area has now been cleared due to the pressure of shifting agriculture. Almost 80 percent of the watershed is deforested. This caused the government to ban timber harvesting. Besides the environmental degradation affecting the local people, more than half of the land has been claimed by the rich to be used for cattle grazing.

With the support of the government and the church, but with little participation, Plan Sierra began its activity in 1979. Other funding sources have been the Ford Foundation, the Kellogg foundation, and the Swedish and West German governments. In the first seven years of its life Plan Sierra promoted the planting of 5,000 hectares of coffee and nearly 10,000 hectares of pines and other trees. It established nine rural clinics and trained and equipped

100 midwives and 100 health care workers. Educational programmes in soil conservation, reforestation and health were fostered with the development of women's programme. It established a training centre on hillside agriculture and trained more than 3,000 farmers in soil conservation.

The Plan Sierra, in spite of its successes, has faced substantial difficulties. Efforts to find sustainable solutions for the small farmer have been only partly successful. Most significantly, the extremely inequitable distribution of land has been a hindrance to Plan Sierra. The poorest 50% of families control only 5% of the land, while the wealthiest 11% control 66% . The wealthy landholders' grazing activity have eroded the landscape and see no economic benefit in reforestation.

Plan Sierra is faced with immediate needs to improve the plight of the poor and has placed greater initial emphasis on human well-being than conservation. The scale of environmental problems, the institutional constraints on Plan Sierra and the lack of grass-roots support have frustrated the project aims (Reid *et al*, 1988).

Plan Sierra's programmes of reforestation, sustainable agriculture, improved health care, education, and transportation have significantly contributed to the well-being of local people and constitute its major successes. However, tied by the external and internal forces --

government legislations banning the forest harvest and a lack of local support, its sustainable agricultural and ecological programmes have achieved little.

Although this initiative has been successful in some aspects of development the ecological sustainability of the area has suffered from a lack of involvement in the management of the forested lands and ecological projects of Sierra Plan. This reflects the importance of people's authentic participation.

● **Centro de Educacion y Tecnologia (CET) - Chile**, The indigenous knowledge and techniques of farming have been lost or displaced by settlers who used capital-intensive large-scale agriculture in Chile. In 1981, Centro de Educacion Y Tecnologia (CET) was founded as a non-governmental organisation to give impoverished farmers information about sustainable agricultural alternatives. The founders were four active Chilean development workers. The project began with the establishment of an experimental farm close to Santiago. The farm demonstrates intensive family gardening appropriate for subsistence use by both urban and rural poor. It also demonstrates techniques applicable to larger land holding farmers.

CET together with other Chilean non-governmental organisations, students and faculty members of several universities established the Comision de Investigacion en

Agricultura Alternativa (CIAL). The group developed a research programme centred on agricultural techniques applicable to the specific social conditions faced by the small farmer.

A total of three demonstration farms have been established and more than 10,000 people visit them annually. Farmers who are interested in the techniques live at the farms for variable periods of time, learning through direct participation. After training, they act as extension agents in their own communities for the techniques they have learned. Between 600 and 700 farmers, extension agents, and community leaders work briefly at the farms each year, and the methods are believed to reach some 3,000 farmers.

CET has placed equal emphasis on appropriate technologies, self-help efforts, and social organisation. The programme has fostered the development of grass-roots associations of farmers. These organisations have also become active in community projects, including home construction using designs promoted by CET based on locally available materials which withstand earthquakes. Generally speaking the programmes have stemmed from the enhancement of traditional practices. They focus on adaptive use of several technologies and its grass-roots training efforts (Altieri and Sands, 1987).

CET is a successful grass-roots organisation. It meets most of the selection criteria, except that further confirming references were not available. Therefore, it was not included in the list of our case studies to be investigated.

● **Community land use management project - Ecuador,** In 1985, at the initiative of the Ministry of Agriculture (MOA) of Ecuador and CARE, an attempt was made to reverse the process of environmental degradation to benefit the marginal farm community. The project was designed to assist up to 40 communities on the hillsides of the Ecuadorians highlands in the development of soil conservation and agricultural practices.

To maximise success the initiative developed a strategy for extension to include : a) the promotion of community participation; b) identify women and their role; c) hire appropriate extension workers; and d) identify appropriate educational methods. The project has increased harvests by 49 percent and farmers' income by 56 percent. Farmers have purchased highly eroded land surrounding larger farms. They applied their soil knowledge to returning the steep slopes back into production. Communities are applying soil conservation measures to maximise efficient wateruse (Sands, 1987).

This is another good participatory example which starts with the government--MOA initiatives but supports full participation of the rural people in strategic planning of their work. Confirming sources of information, however, were not found and it was therefore rejected.

The final selection of this chapter discusses case studies in Africa and Asia. This selection was not made deliberately but because only the case studies of these two continents were suitable to satisfy the formulated selection criteria.

The case studies include a description of historical and geographical details. Participation includes the mechanisms and methodologies of the participatory processes developed by the initiative. The major distinctive characteristics of each case study are tabulated to facilitate their identification (Table 7.5).

7.1 BHOOMI-SENA (LAND ARMY): INDIA

7.1.1   Description

"Bhoomi Sena" is a tribal movement of landless and in part bonded labourers in the State of Maharashtra, Western India -- the adivasis. They are the once upon a time free men of junglepatti who lost their land and freedom to outsiders called Sawkars -- rent-collectors, landlords, money lenders, forest contractors and grass traders. The adivasis were ill-treated by Sawkars. They were gradually turned into quasi-slavery through unofficial and illegal transactions by the money-lending sawkars. The wage labourer adivasis made some times as little as Rs1/- a day, when the legal minimum wage was Rs3.5. These suppressive events took place when the populist regime had passed legislation dealing with tenancy, minimum wages and employment guarantees.

In 1970 a "landgrab" movement was initiated by the leftist parties to counteract the suppression in India. A number of adivasis joined them but their leaders were soon disillusioned by what they saw as the "symbolic" character of a movement whose participants ended up being jailed. The adivasi leaders realized that their rights could be better achieved and protected by a sustained

struggle of their own. Kaluram, an adivasi leader and activist, led other adivasi leaders and initiated an investigation in several villages, with the active participation of those involved with the illegal acquisition of land by the sawkars. They held small meetings of adivasis village by village . A group of young adivasis led by Kaluram formed their own organisation called "Bhoomi Sena" - land army.

The members - "soldiers of Bhoomi Sena" led a militant seizure of crops which legally belonged to adivasis but which had been usurped by the sawkars. The police defended the sawkars and the adivasis accused them of acting against the law. The situation ended up in the Maharashtra State Assembly Courts. After the insistence of Bhoomi Sena and further investigation, the adivasis won their land rights in 799 cases out of 800 in court (de Silva *et al.* 1979).

Without any clear strategy to move forward the adivasis mismanaged the land they had recovered. By the next season some of these people returned to the sawkars because of lack of know-how in relation to agriculture, land management and cultivation facilities. The confusion worsened when they undertook projects which involved massive supplies of bank money loans and growing debts and became dependent upon modern facilities--such as agricultural technology.

The "technocratic thrust" aimed at increasing production through the use of modern technology together with over-emphasis on bank-loans led to the failure and humiliation of adivasis in dozens of villagers. This was due to the failure of the people to repay their debts because the anticipated market prices for their produce had fallen.

A new stage of the Bhoomi Sena movement emerged by learning from the above experience. The lesson was that decisions for any course of action should come from the people themselves. Besides preventing outsiders from dictating what should be done, the adivasis also shunned centralism on the "vanguard group" which had taken a leadership role within the regenerated movement. The role of "vanguard" was catalytic, supportive, coordinating and synthesising. It consisted of learning from local experiences and disseminating its methods to other villages; assisting local struggles when needed; organising the villagers and representing them in government offices; investigating cases of injustice and exploitation and organising and conducting "conscientisation camps" - or shibirs. These permitted the collective analysis by the adivasis of their experiences which enabled the movement to become increasingly self improving.

The struggle of the adivasis grew in villages as a spontaneous form of organisation. The "Tarun Mandals" or

youth assemblies arose and included all poor adivasi peasants as members. "Tarun Mandals" spread and youth assemblies organised and conducted local struggles. They created a community fund through monthly subscriptions from members.

In three years, the movement spread to about 120 villages of which 40 had "Tarun Mandals" holding regular meetings. They freed poor adivasis bonded to the money lending sawkars, possibly having served them for generations. The Tarun Mandals also spontaneously created other people's institutions which responded in innovative ways to various social and economic needs. They settled disputes and promoted community education. Education is not merely for literacy but also for conscientisation or awakening of the people. Awareness building of each individual member was the primary education they received. The human value of each person was emphasised (de Silva *et al.* 1982, Oakley and Marsden, 1984).

7.1.2   Participation

In the Bhoomi Sena movement, participation and people's power for political struggle were inextricably linked together. Political struggle was understood as the only means to direct their development process. Spontaneous collective action by the people opposed and prevented any external and centrally planned decisions.

The concepts of participation and organisation are issues
which, if not clarified, risk that their vested powers
being abused.

Organisation creates formal collective power. This
power is to serve the people and to protect their
participation. Some form of rigid adherence to
organisational discipline is necessary and needs to be
perceived by the people to be able to attain specific
objectives which have been set by the people themselves.
But caution is also needed. A continued unilateral
domination of an organisation over people, even with their
common agreement, degrades the spontaneity of participation
and the relationship between the two.

Bhoomi Sena understood participation as action against
the oppression and exploitation of the sawkars. It shows
that for meaningful participation to be successful the
people need to understand the complex processes of social,
cultural, economic and political relations.

Conscientisation

In Bhoomi Sena, conscientisation is the process that
generates self-reflected critical awareness (Gran, 1983).
It plays a central role in people's participation.
"Shibir" is a forum of people which includes
representatives of several villages. These representatives

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were encouraged to participate in the Shibir by Bhoomi Sena
cadres who were all adivasis.

They proceeded by "problem perception" analysis of
their situation. They investigated key problems such as:

1.   Why are we poor?

2.   Relations between a sawkar and the government.

3.   The relation between small farmers and landless
      labourers. Are they one and if so why?

4.   What are the Tarun Mandals and how can they tackle the
      people's problems?

5.   What has the "sarkar" (government) done? --i.e. in the
      form of employment guarantee scheme; minimum wages and
      bonded labour restrictions.

Representatives in the Shibir through class analysis
and group discussions identified adivasis according to:

1.   Those who lived only on their labour power -
      labourers.

2.   Those who had some land, but also sold their labour
      power - poor peasants.

3.   Those who have land, and neither sell nor buy labour
      power - middle peasants.

4.   Those who have land and do no personal work on land.
      They also have money-lending and trading activities.
      This group are mainly the sawkars and actually do not
      belong to the adivasis category.

7.1.3 Major Distinctive Features

The features that favour the discussion of this movement, besides its participatory nature, are its spontaneity and its articulateness.

Spontaneity

The Bhoomi Sena Movement is a totally spontaneous indigenous movement forging a bond between the adivasis (tribals) and other poor groups in an area for a united action. Although the movement started with the concern of tribal men, it gradually touched the women who were of a subordinate class (Rahman, 1981).

Self-reliance

Bhoomi Sena asserts and seeks to enhance self-reliance. The oppression against them is a result of their dependence on the sawkars and government. This dependence is in economic, social, psychological and cultural forms.

The economic and cultural dependence of the adivasis can be broken away by the assertion of people's power and self-reliance. Formal organisation and dependence are opposed through spontaneous organisation of the people and their self-reliant activities demonstrated by active participation against oppression and exploitation.

Perseverance

The adivasis have been supported by the sawkars only to keep them alive and to exploit them. At the time of break away from sawkars, they suffered severe hardship and poverty. This suffering, together with increased morale derived from their identity with the movement gave the adivasis **mental staying power**. This positive attitude, to a certain extent, served as a substitute for economic staying power (Rahman, 1981, 1993).

Endogenous Knowledge-building

The adivasis developed their knowledge to conduct their struggle with a growing sense of direction and to enhance their capacity for self-management of the political, institutional, social and economic tasks they were facing. The practice of trial and error is a great educator in the process of action-reflection. But there exists knowledge in the "outside" world which can be adapted to the needs of the community and thereby accelerate their endogenous learning. Bhoomi Sena adivasis appear to be consciously aware of their own deficiencies whilst valuing their own experiences. They did not take a romantic notion about "people" as the best repository of the knowledge. They needed to improve their lives and sought the help of outsiders to assist them in their learning process without submitting blindly to that

knowledge. It is well recognised that knowledge cannot be transferred in exact form to other parts but has to be creatively adapted and regenerated.

This movement was visited by Md. Anisur Rahman in 1986. He reported that they are still active in the region of Maharashtra in India (Rahman, 1993).

This case study is also based on the general information extracted from the following sources: de Silva *et al.* (1979); Rahman (1981); de Silva *et al.* (1982); Gran (1983); Oakley and Marsden (1984); Burkey (1993); Rahman (1993)

7.2 BANGLADESH RURAL ADVANCEMENT COMMITTEE - BRAC

7.2.1 Description:

BRAC was founded in early 1972 by F.H. Abed, a former accountant, to set out a relief project of resettlement for refugees returning from India after the separation war with Pakistan. BRAC subsequently evolved into a development organisation with sectoral programmes first and a people-centred type development later (Korten: 1980, 1981).

BRAC aims to ameliorate the conditions of the rural masses by enabling them to mobilise, manage and control local and external resources. BRAC's programmes respond flexibly to the needs that are identified by the community to end the long-exploitative relationships dominating the rural life in Bangladesh.

BRAC is the largest NGO in Bangladesh and one of the largest and most studied grassroots NGOs in the South. It employs some 4,500 people and has an annual operational budget of approximately US$ 23 million (Howes and Sattar, 1992). The membership of BRAC reaches over 350,000 (sixty percent women), covering around 3,200 villages organised in groups (Ekins, 1992).

The wide range of activities of BRAC are:

- *Functional education,* the key process which villagers are required to complete before groups can be formed. In 1990 43,000 villagers were attending this course in 1,800 centres. The course ... consists of sixty lessons taught in two one-hour classes per day, six days a week for three-and-a-half months. It has ... been used by other NGOs and the government.

- *Non-formal primary education,* for unrolled children or dropouts. Uses a specially-developed curriculum focusing on basic literacy, numeracy, health and environment. By the end of 1990 126,900 children, 70 percent girls, were taking this course in 4,025 schools.

- *Training,* in the a) human and b) occupational skills. a) Comprising consciousness raising, leadership development, project planning and management and functional education teacher training. b) imparting skills in poultry keeping, agriculture and a variety of trades.

- *Meetings and workshops,* - groups hold weekly meetings and inter-group meetings for a variety of purposes. Higher level committees of group delegates meet monthly to discuss issues that cannot be solved locally, e.g. wage bargaining, protest action, access to government services.

- *Health* - since 1980 BRAC has reached 12 million or 85 per cent of Bangladesh's rural households with its simple oral rehydration therapy for child diarrhoea (responsible for 33 per cent of Bangladesh's infant mortality). This has now developed into BRAC's Child Survival Programme, consisting of a *primary health* care programme, continuation of the oral rehydration work and assistance to the government in its immunisation and vitamin A distribution work.

- *Para-legal service* - since 1986 villagers chosen by their group are trained to act as para-legal counsellors in such matters as land conflicts and registration, civil rights and unfair practice.

- *Generation of income and employment/credit support* - agriculture, irrigation, fish culture, poultry, livestock, bees and other rural industries have all been promoted as income earners against which credit is given (only after one year of group conscientisation and mobilisation). So far Tk427 million has been lent, with a repayment rate of 96 per cent.

(Ekins, 1992)

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A basic strategy of BRAC is to organise and raise the consciousness of the landless. To do this, various kinds of training are used. This task and the training of a growing number of staff caused the creation of a Training and Resource Centre (TARC) (Fig. 7.1). BRAC has a low-key approach to development, adopting Paulo Freire's ideas on consciousness-raising. It focuses on adult literacy, manual work projects (such as "food for work"), women's and landless cooperatives and public health projects which emphasise preventive medicine and simple therapies (Blair 1985).

Figure 7.1   Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
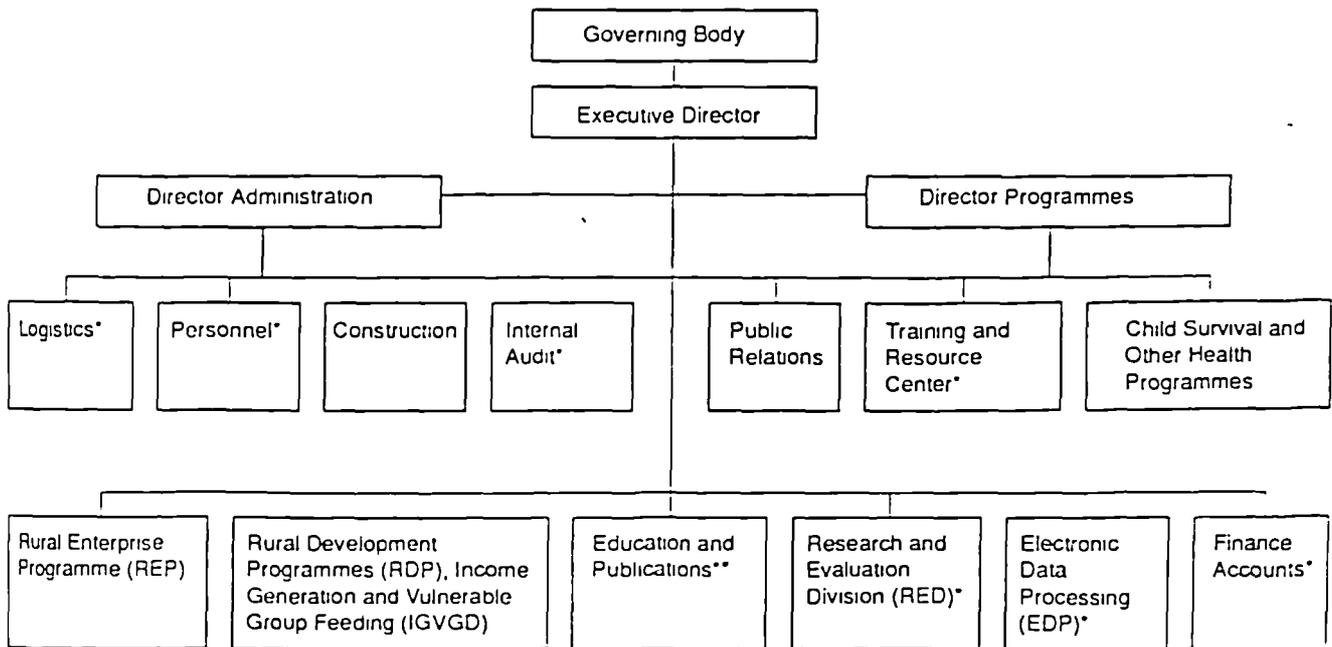
* The sections marked with one asterisk serve all the functional programmes.
** See following organization chart, Figure II, for structure of Education Programme.

(Source:Lovell and Fatema)

7.2.2   Participation:

BRAC's contribution to participatory development has gone through a three stage learning process (Korten 1980). In the first stage - relief - where people participated only as beneficiaries of the services provided through emergency food supplies and resettlement assistance.

The second stage - sectoral development - had centrally planned programmes. Participation was passive involving the more easily reached and the relatively better-off, to the neglect of the poor. Sectoral development, such as functional education or health programmes, were highly dependent on BRAC staff. Each sector was operating independently of the other areas. The literacy programme was not producing usable skills and paramedics tended to concentrate on cures rather that preventative measures (Korten, 1980).

In the third stage of evolution, BRAC centres its efforts on the capabilities of the people to analyze their socio-economic conditions and to organise themselves towards taking collective action to meet their community and individual needs. It is in this stage where participation is seen to be inherent to the development of the people. It is the people centred approach stage which

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targeted the poorest 50 percent of the village population.
The programme initiatives came largely from the people
themselves.   Groups of 20 to 30 were organised around
similar economic interests such as landless labourers,
destitute women, or fishermen.   Literacy programmes were
used to build organisation, raise consciousness, and lead
to joint activities responsive to identified needs.   The
activities dealt with demands for a rightful share in
government programmes; improved wages and share cropping.

Projects were determined for the needs perceived by
BRAC which helped the communities by allocating resources
through financial credit or "food for work" schemes.   The
programmes became self-replicating in the villages.
Villagers came from distant places asking the group for
their assistance to achieve what similar villages had been
able to achieve with the help of BRAC (BRAC, 1987a and
1987b).

In the third phase of BRAC's growth, a research unit
was established to investigate relevant issues in the area
concerning the people and to delve for insights into the
dynamics of rural poverty.   Participatory research
techniques such as the use of peasant panels to generate
information on peasant perceptions of famine and credit had
proved highly effective to address questions such as: who
controls what assets in the rural village and how? How are
some families able to advance themselves while others get

increasingly impoverished?

The "participatory research" or the "participatory action research" is an unconventional approach to educational and other social research (Henry 1992: 30). In this technique, a forum of concerned people (e.g. peasants), discuss certain topics related to community life and their observations are recorded. The staff facilitator in the case of a village community, keeps the discussion within a prearranged framework but allows participants maximum scope to explore the subject.

Participatory research by BRAC was begun when its staff needed to understand why government relief was not reaching the landless poor. Through participatory research they discovered how government resources destined for the poor, were being controlled and enjoyed by a powerful group who had good connections with local government officials. Public forest lands, access to which to gather small bundles of firewood was not allowed to the poor and were also being used and cut by the few rich and powerful to make large profits from this illegal operation (BRAC 1987b).

The participatory research process is simple and repeatable by field workers who can read, write, and do simple arithmetic. Information sources are landless people of each village. The power elites also supply information

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about themselves and each other. Government officials sometimes give up substantial time to clarify various points for BRAC's researchers.

Careful recording of oppressive, exploitative and illegal activities has been achieved through information from the landless and the poor, who were the principal victims. Their interest and analytical capacity increased to a point where they brought BRAC researchers pens and paper, insisting that everything be recorded. No individual incident recorded was news to them. Generally they were not fully aware of the systematic patterns, revealed by the recording process, linking individual peasants and incidents across villages (BRAC 1987b: 136).

7.2.3   Distinctive Features:

One of the distinctive characteristics of BRAC is the way it has scaled up (Abed, 1986; Howes and Sattar, 1992). BRAC and other participatory movements, with narrow concerns such as milk production, or with diverse experiences (e.g. Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement) showed that the growth of these experiences is an evolutionary learning process (Korten, 1980 and 1981).

The growth of BRAC as an NGO has been achieved through:

● 	Replication,

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- Horizontal and Vertical Integration,
- Support Infrastructure Development,
- Piloting, and
- Model Building   (Abed, 1986: 500)

Replication

Community development was one of the first concerns of BRAC following relief and rehabilitation. Over five years (1971-1976), longer-term objectives were adopted. Characteristics were selected to replicate their community development programmes. The approach was multisectoral. It focused on primary health care, non-formal primary education and basic economic activities. Within the economic sector, after a brief and unsuccessful attempt to introduce tailoring, emphasis was given to the strengthening of traditionally established and small-scale production activities, such as drying fish and weaving fish nets (Abed, 1986; Howes and Sattar, 1992).

BRAC's experience demonstrated that within the village communities, where it is carrying out its activities, there are groups of landless peasants under constant exploitation by the rich and powerful in the community. BRAC, therefore, decided to change its strategy to target specific groups. The mechanism for conscientisation and organisation of the poor to form self-help, self-reliant groups, are replicated in most of BRAC's programmes.

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Another form of replication is by enlarging the existing programmes--increasing the number of staff, opening new branches and covering more communities with the same programme.

BRAC's rural development programme (RDP) for male and female organisations of landless people requires conscientisation through education, savings programmes for group members and leadership and organisational training.

Horizontal and vertical integration

BRAC's programme builds components into a basic structure. For instance, a multi-component integrated health programme includes hospitals for treating malnourished infants and for teaching their mothers about nutrition, a traditional birth attendant training programme, an immunisation and a tuberculosis diagnosis and treatment programme. Village group volunteer paramedics are young women chosen by the groups and trained to become primary health care workers to serve their own villages. They are backed by paid paramedics and doctors linked to the Government health system.

Vertical integration of BRAC adds other related but separate elements that guarantee the success of the programm. For example shops are opened to create outlets for women's textile products.

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Support infrastructure

Support services are provided as required. The
expansion of BRAC membership and staff necessitates
continued training and research. The Training and Resource
Centre (TARC) has several residential bases. A Material
Development Unit (MDU) responds to the need for development
of all kinds of field materials. MDU has developed
extensive functional literacy material for UNICEF and has
published bulletins disseminating general knowledge in
different areas of BRAC's activities.

Piloting

As in most organisations BRAC develops its programmes
from a small pilot project. If it is successful BRAC
enlarges the programme. The Non-formal Primary Education
programme of BRAC began with 26 schools operated for two
years to provide for teacher training, curriculum
development, and parental involvement. The programme
subsequently expanded was to include 180, 600, and 5000
schools (Abed, 1986).

Model Building

BRAC has pioneered new models of rural development
strategies organising rural poor through conscientisation

and functional education. It assists people to become self-reliant through skill training and making credit available to them (Abed, 1986).

The information of this case study is based on : Korten (1990); Korten (1981); Ahmed (1980); Blair (1985); BRAC (1987a); BRAC (1987b); Abed (1986); OECD (1988); Lovell and Fatema (1989); Ekins (1992); Howes and Sattar (1992)

7.3 PIDA- PARTICIPATORY INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVE: Sri Lanka

7.3.1 Description

The Change Agent Programme

PIDA is the fruit of a programme of the Sri Lankan Ministry of Public Administration and founded in 1979 by UNDP, the Government of Sri Lanka, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and CUSO. It was a Change Agent Programme for training and action research in rural development.

The Change Agent Programme aimed to build cadres that were needed for participatory and self-reliant rural development. The components of the project were to: train 15 core development trainers (CDTs) (or "Animators") who in turn train 60 development trainers (DTs). The CDTs and DTs in turn had the objective of training 3000 village level change agents (catalysts) per year for a period of two years. The village change agents arose at their own initiative to work for the development of their villages as catalysts (de Silva *et al.* 1983).

The training of the core development trainers as pioneers was performed by 2 or 3 national and international consultants. The training of development trainers was to

be undertaken by the CDTs. A group of development workers and officers were also selected for training from the Ministry of Plan and Implementation. After the selection and training about half of the trainees were found to be unsuitable (de Silva *et al.* 1983).

PIDA

By the end of 1980, there were 13 CDTs, 20 DTs and another 20 DTs undergoing training. A small group of those involved in this project decided to set up a non-governmental organisation which was named Participatory Institute for Development Alternatives (PIDA). PIDA has continued action research and cadre creation as an independent organisation for the promotion of participatory development at the grass-roots level. It was one of the recipients of The Right Livelihood Award in 1982 (Seabrook, 1993: 147-151).

Core development trainers *(animators)* operated in ten rural locations being responsible to separate clusters of villages. The objective was to demonstrate the idea of to selected villages and gradually expand their work to a range of 10 to 40 villages. Some 75 village level change agents or cadres arose from within these communities to assist the animators in their work (Tilakaratna 1985).

In this approach no physical deliveries (food or

health supplies) were made by the animators of PIDA. They play a catalytic role and their work is mainly directed towards stimulating the communities to organise themselves and mobilise whatever resources they require through self-reliant efforts. Hence the operational cost of the organisation consists of the living allowances of the animators and research and administrative support required for this work. The management of PIDA is also participatory and the animators meet monthly to reflect on and review their work and take decisions about subsequent management of that work.

PIDA's main involvement is the promotion of participatory and self-reliant organisations of the rural poor. In turn it can become the main vehicle of economic and social advancement. The animators play the key role in this process by encouraging the villagers who have the same socio-economic background as themselves to meet for informal discussions on their situation. They discuss the problems they face and investigate the steps they might take to ameliorate their living standards and working conditions. After initiating the process of group discussion and reflection, the animator attempts progressively to reduce his or her role, leaving it to the villagers themselves to conduct their inquiries, form groups and take initiatives to strengthen their economic position.

PIDA's initiatives include *consumption oriented activities, production of goods, produce marketing,* and *wage labourers support.* Some groups focused their activities on savings accrued from purchasing and distributing a range of basic consumer goods (e.g. rice, kerosene, coconuts, soap) and so started thrift and credit societies. Some of these evolved the formation of co-operatives for the rural poor.

The groups addressing production cut down their cultivation costs through collective activities. They used their spare time to cultivate a common plot of land to increase their collective fund. They reduced narrow specialisation and introduced a greater measure of stability into farm incomes. By reversing the technologies to reduce dependence.--i.e. Animal power replaced tractors and organic fertilisers were used instead of chemicals. Links with banks were established to obtain bank credit by demonstrating their credit-worthiness. Other barriers were overcome through group efforts so that usurer credit were eliminated and improved access to public services were negotiated.

Other groups began to produce marketing schemes. They devised collective schemes to explore and discover new market outlets to eliminate intermediaries. The schemes retrieved the surpluses hitherto extracted by landowners. Part of the crop was stored to take advantage of better

prices and they increased the value of the produce by processing it themselves.

In the case of wage labourers, attempts were made to check leakages from their income streams by forming informal co-operatives for consumer, credit and thrift activities. Access to land or other productive assets were achieved from joining together to become producer groups by switching from the sale of labour to practice farming either on a part-time or full-time basis.

7.3.2 Participation

PIDA is one of the most comprehensive examples of participation and participatory development at the grass-roots levels. Participatory processes are the fruits of concrete practices. The PIDA animators identified core elements to generate the participatory process.

Conscientisation

The creative initiatives of the people were liberated through a systematic process of investigation, reflection and analysis by the people themselves. Understanding of social reality through self-enquiry and analysis brought perception of possibilities for changing that social reality. People's intellectual faculties and critical awareness were enhanced and lead to self-organisation for

collective action. Each action is followed by reflection and analysis thus generating a process of praxis as a regular practice.

In 1978, when the development activities were undertaken by the Sri Lankan Government, a four-member team of development workers (DWs) visited a village (Matikotamulla) located about 40 km north of the capital city Colombo. It had a population of 1,028 with a literacy rate of 97 per cent. The development workers (DWs) explored the possibility of initiating a grass-roots participatory development process. They began by studying the socio-economic conditions in the village. The workers visited practically all households and initiated discussions with individuals as well as small informal groups, on the problems of village life. Who has benefited from the past conventional projects? Have these projects succeeded in reducing village poverty? Should the poor wait until development is delivered to them? Have not the people waited long enough for others to solve the village problems? Discussion along these lines led the people to probe into a new set of issues. Is there anything the villagers themselves could undertake to reduce their own poverty? The treatment of these issues made them examine the way they make their living and why they earn low incomes from the economic activities they are already engaged in.

From these discussions the betel producers were
identified as the main poverty group. About two-thirds of
the village households were occupied with this activity.
The DWs soon reached the stage where they required more
information on production and marketing of betels than they
possessed. Two village groups volunteered to investigate
and collect information on the working of the betel
industry. A women's group to look at production and a
youth group to examine the marketing aspects.

This participatory investigation enabled the villagers
to see for the first time the reality of betel farming. An
impoverishment process had been created by the loss of a
sizeable economic surplus at the marketing stage to the
village traders who in turn sold betel leaves to state
exporting firms. Alternative marketing possibilities were
explored in subsequent discussions to improve their lot in
the light of the finding of these investigations.

An Action Committee formed by the group visited
traders and exporting firms in the vicinity. After a
series of setbacks and negative responses, the Committee
found one exporting firm which agreed to buy directly from
them provided the sales were channelled through the
registered village cooperative to which they paid a 5 per
cent commission. This immediately resulted in a doubling
of the prices received by peasants for their betel leaves
and greater price stability. The group membership

increased to 200 by mid-1981 from 35 in March 1979. Their incomes expanded threefold due to better sale prices and higher production. Subsequently they formed their own multi-purpose cooperative - the Betel Farmers Association (BFA). Resistance from private traders in collusion with other export organisations was gradually overcome by various strategies and tactics (Tilakaratna 1984; Ghai 1988).

As the Association grew in size, the issue of membership participation in its decision-making, vis-á-vis its office bearers, came in the forefront. Eventually the association split into five small organisations, each undertaking its own marketing work and operating as autonomous units with active participation of its members (Rahman, 1985).

The social and human impact of this collective action on the farmers is observed by the comments of villagers themselves looking back after two years:

a) "Before the association was formed we were like frogs in a well. We were like frogs in a well. We were pessimistic and lacked confidence in our ability to improve our lot through collective action".

b) "We depended on the Government and the local members of Parliament to solve our problems. When one

Government failed to do so, we changed the Government by ballot. But these changes did not relieve our poverty; it was like "changing the pillow to cure a headache".

c) "We have learnt to discuss, probe into issues affecting our daily lives and to understand them. ... We are learning from our experiences and are going through a licensing process which is enhancing our confidence in group action."

(Tilakaratna, 1984).

Organisation

For PIDA, participatory organisation plays a multiple role and is an instrument for collective action. Through participation people give practical experiences to their creative initiatives and assert their self-reliance. They are provided with a forum for collective reflection and analysis and the collective personality of the people is represented.

These organisations are created by the people themselves. They are self-managed and are the instrument by which they have complete control. Their non-hierarchical and democratic operations require that responsibilities and functions be diffused and decision-making be by intensive consultation and attempt to reach a

consensus.

Strengthening the economic base of the poor

Since PIDA's main target groups are the poorest of the community, strengthening their material base is the primary objective of participatory development. The methods are different from the conventional run of development projects. The aim is to use the available economic space to develop productive forces under new relationships of production.

Towards an alternative value system

The type of value system PIDA promoted was characterised by collectivity, co-operation, solidarity, mutual trust and conviviality versus individualism, atomization, competition, distrust, and consumerism. The approach implied that participatory processes required new life-styles. The alternative actions need to be total, rather than piecemeal or fragmented. The participatory efforts need to aim at developing new production, consumption styles, technologies, methods of organisation and operation, and social relationships which represent true alternative to the prevailing system. The ideological basis of PIDA sprang out from Marxist philosophy. Had Marxism and its brainchild, PIDA, managed to achieve these values on a sustainable basis?

Multiplication and linkages

Development of alternatives to the prevailing structure requires that isolated villages had to move beyond their confines to a progressively higher level of operation in districts, provinces and states.

The overall process

The five core elements of the participatory process, identified through PIDA's experience, interact with each other as an organic whole (Fig. 7.2).

Alternative value system

Participatory organisation ——————Conscientisation ——————— Multiplication and linkage building

Strengthening the economic base of the poor

= Praxis (action-reflection)
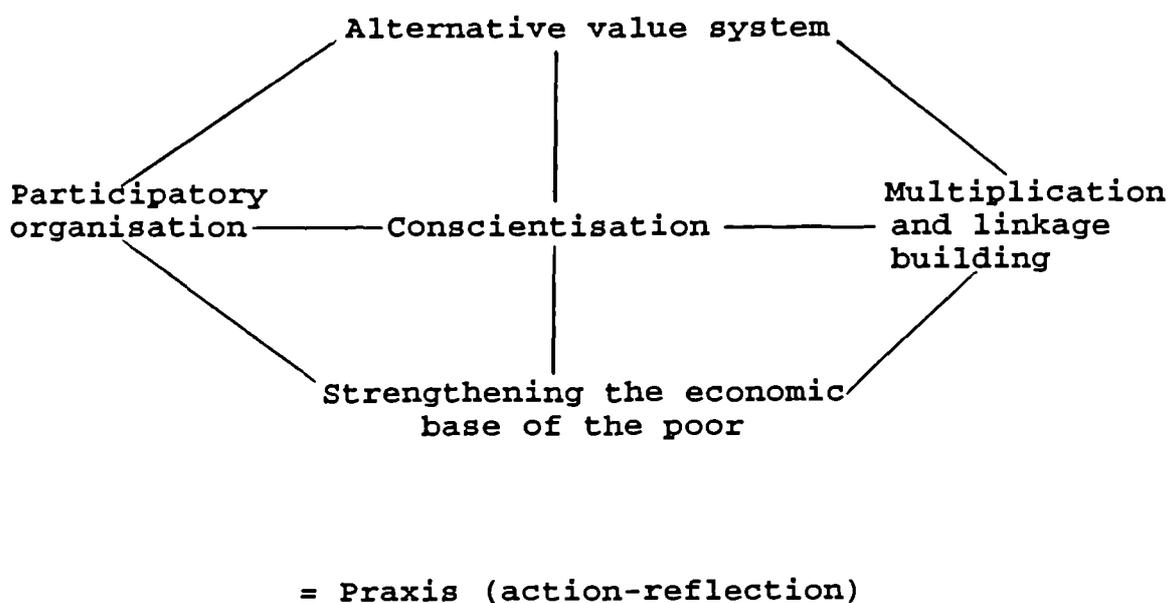
Fig. 7.2   The inter-relationships among five core elements of a participatory process

Source: Tilakaratna 1985

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7.3.3   Distinctive Features

Cadre Creation (The Animators)

The central activity of PIDA is performed through its cadres of animators. They generate a participatory and self-reliant philosophy among the poor. The animation role assists the build up of intellectual capacities. It stimulates critical awareness. The animator's role breaks the traditional dichotomy between subjects and object establishing an alternative relationship between two knowing subjects--the animator and the people. This interaction between two intellectual traditions, one formal and the other rooted in people's experience and practice, initiates a process of scientific enquiry into their perception of fatalistic beliefs about poverty, which is seen to be an outcome of social relations.

The facilitation role of the cadres assists the development of collective action which they have planned to improve their social and economic status via:

●   consultancy and assistance in formulating projects and progress as identified by the people,

●   improvement of access to resources such as those in bureaucratic systems,

●   service support to implement collective projects -e.g. technical knowledge, skill training or information of

various kinds,

● material support where assistance is required to clear bottlenecks.

Learning process

PIDA and the organisations of the people it helps to form have no formal "training" programme as such. They scale up and grow in learning by doing and reflecting. The external animators, from outside the community, and the internal animators regularly meet to discuss new issues about their activities and transmit their recent experience new discoveries and wisdom.

Self-reliance

Self-reliance implies participation and vice versa. Participation is an **active** process where the initiatives are taken by people themselves guided by their own thinking, using institutions and mechanisms which they control, deciding, acting, reflecting on their actions consciously (Tilakaratna, 1987).

The philosophy behind the activities of PIDA is to develop a participatory development process. They promotes self-reliance for initial action using whatever resources they possess and they encourage moving away from dependence on the elite. Wignaraja (1991), Tilakaratna (1991),

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Wickramaratchi (1991), Seabrook (1993), and Burkey (1993) all emphasise the importance of the work of PIDA in Sri Lanka, but they also relate the experiences of the early 1980s. The initiative, however, did achieve considerable success by its efforts.

The information in this case study is based on the following references: Tilakaratna (1984); Rahman,Md.A. (1984); Tilakaratna (1985); Rahman,Md.A. (1985); Tilakaratna (1987); Wickramaratchi (1988); Ghai (1988); de Silva *et al.* (1983); Tilakaratna (1991), Wickramaratchi (1991), Wignaraja (1991), Burkey (1993); Seabrook (1993);

7.4   PROSHIKA - BANGLADESH

7.4.1   Description

"Proshika" in Bangladesh was born out of the turmoil and the war of liberation and the massive relief work which was required at that time. Many young people involved in the independence war were dismayed and disillusioned by the state of affairs in the new country. The initiators of Proshika who had participated in the national struggle for freedom, and were motivated then to help the people to liberate themselves from oppressive socio-economic conditions in the Country.

International and national voluntary organisations had also reached a consensus about development which was that traditional training in rural development was ineffective and people's participation in their development was a fundamental requirement for success. These facts were concluded from the results of short term relief operations and lack of vision.

Proshika was born in October 1976 as an independent national "voluntary" organisation. This organisation did not follow the conventional project-oriented development of landless labourers and poor peasants in rural areas. Proshika's emphasis was that the poor peasants should be helped to take charge of their own lives and development.

The task was achieved by building people's self-awareness and confidence, to see their own problems and to find their own ways and means of solving them. They had to analyze society and the situation in which they lived, and define their own role in relation to identified problems.

To raise awareness and to build the confidence of the poor, Proshika started to train the landless and poor peasants by selecting a number of geographical concentrations as "development centres". Eighteen centres were established, by Proshika, in 9 districts and served approximately 3000 people. Each centre covered around 40 villages. Four such development centres organised themselves into an independent nucleus, for nongovernmental organisations. They provided training, follow-up and catalytic services to the already organised groups. Thus, Proshika becoming the NGOs forum to interact productively with each other on the basis of their growing experience.

With a decentralised administrative structure Proshika has set up 36 development centres. These Area Development Centres (ADCs), serve mainly as bases from which field workers organise the groups they are trying to help. The centres also conduct training programmes (Huda, 1989).

Proshika operated in 22 of 64 districts of Bangladesh (Huda, 1989: 48) and was active in organising the rural poor; development education; creating employment and

income-generating projects and emergency relief and rehabilitation.

The annual budget of Proshika was reported, in 1989, to be around US$ 1 million (Huda, 1989). Seventy five to eighty percent of this budget is through international aid agencies for instance: the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), Novib of the Netherlands, and the Ford Foundation. The remaining 20 to 25 percent of funds is obtained through Proshika's income-generating activities. One of Proshika's major sources of income is from its fleet of 12 passenger buses.

Proshika projects include irrigation, agriculture, reclamation of mortgaged land, cattle raising, poultry raising, rice milling, bee-keeping, rural industry and handicrafts, fish farming, silk worm breeding, plant nurseries, a rickshaw project and social forestry bases. In 1980, the organisation launched its first irrigation projects. As positive results were obtained, with the Government's financial support, they now operate over 250 irrigation projects with the help of landless farmers accounting for 37 per cent of Proshika's activities.

The projects are implemented by groups. Each group comprises between fifteen to twenty people from similar socio-economic background. Project personnel claim that similarity of occupation and social status are vital

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factors in the smooth running of the group and in its
cohesion when under pressure.

7.4.2   Participation

Proshika's basic methodology for participation is
conscientisation of the rural poor. The methodology
necessarily requires participatory investigation of the
rural reality, action planning for the perceived needs, and
participatory implementation.

Proshika, together with the Participatory Institute
for Development Alternative (PIDA) of Sri Lanka, Sarilaka
(Project Aid) from Philippines and the Change Agent
Programme of India has been the subject of close
investigation by the International Labour Office (de Silva
et al. 1983). These international and national level
organisations have supported, visited, adopted and adapted
the style of Proshika's participatory development.

Proshika's path of participatory development has not
been a smooth one. In the beginning "teams of Proshika
cadres undertook village investigations and identified some
of the problems of the landless. They developed socio-
economic projects (e.g. irrigation, vegetable farming, duck
raising, fish culture) and started implementing them,
without real involvement of the landless in them. Within
a few months it was clear that the projects were failing to

achieve their purpose. It becomes apparent that without
the active participation of people no results are obtained
(Rahman, 1984).

Conscientisation

Proshika realized that through the process of social
analysis and experience - i.e. conscientisation - its
groups are increasingly becoming more aware of the real
situation surrounding them. The identification of problems
and their relationship with the wider socio-economic milieu
may generate a political process. Through the process of
interaction and coordination the Proshika groups are moving
towards higher organisational levels which may generate
their own ideology rooted in their own hopes and
aspirations.

Organisation

Groups are formed in clusters of 15 to 20 members. As
soon as they are formally organised, group members attempt
collectively to generate a common fund through regular
(weekly or monthly) savings or taking up an income-
generating project. Office-bearers of the group are
selected, mostly by consensus rather than through election.
Sincerity, initiative, maturity and good communication
skills are some of the criteria for the post of a president
or secretary. Personal reputation, sincerity and some

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formal education go in favour of the treasurer.

Office bearers, usually, are the first among the group
members to receive training on human resource development
at the Proshika Human Development Centres located in the
respective areas. This training raises self-awareness
through analysis of the social system. It inculcates self-
confidence and develops leadership qualities which, in
turn, are passed over to other group members through
continuous interaction.

The office bearers keep close contact with the Kormy
(the Proshika animator of cadre) who supervises, supports
and advises when they face a problem.

7.4.3   Distinctive Features

Non-partisan ideology

Proshika has no political ideology and sceptical
observers consider that Proshika will gradually lose its
focus.

Homogeneity

Proshika groups, both male and female, are
homogeneous. They have identified interests, occupations
and perceptions, and other important features of group

members. The groups mostly live in the same area and come from the same lineage and kinship group.

Each Proshika Kormy, with a specific area of action, starts his/her group formation activity from his/her own *para* (a small neighbourhood area formed on the basis of primary group relations), and most of the groups under his supervision are within his/her own village. He/she is well aware of the day-to-day activity of the group members because he lives in the same area, and has direct face-to-face interaction with the group members.

The information of this case study is based on the following references: de Silva (1983); Hossain (1984); Rahman,Md.A. (1984); Huda (1989); Burkey (1993)

7.5 ORAP- THE ORGANISATION OF RURAL ASSOCIATIONS FOR PROGRESS: ZIMBABWE

7.5.1   Description

The Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress (ORAP) was founded in May 1981. A small group of people in Matabeleland (Zimbabwe) - the Rural Development Coordination Council - discussed development options and initiated a new approach trying to solve those problems which they identified. It is essentially a support organisation for self-reliant development in rural areas. The word development in local language means taking control over the resources which you need for work. ORAP's first priority is to encourage and support autonomous rural organisations in their ability to analyze their own situations.

ORAP has been one of the fastest growing non-governmental development organisations in the South. In 1985 it numbered 300 village groups and employed six field workers. By 1991--i.e. ten years after its foundation--its membership in over 800 village groups included over a million people making it the largest movement in Southern Africa. It grew out of women's clubs but now includes many men members despite one woman member's opinion that "Men are always slow in taking things up. They want to

wait and see. When there is progress, they come"
(Timberlake 1985). Men have entered the organisation to
such an extent that they "are not spending all their time
in beer drinking; they are beginning to work".

ORAP's objectives, as defined by one of its co-
founders, Sithembiso Nyoni are:

● to stimulate and respond to the aspirations of self-
help and self-reliance in rural communities through
the formation of groups and associations.

● These associations are to be used for rural people to
explore and articulate their development priorities
and the identity the inter relatedness of those
priorities. By acquiring a fuller and more coherent
understanding and appreciation of the processes of
rural development the associations will become more
able to formulate realistic projects and programmes
and to translate them into practical achievements
(Nyoni, 1987).

Centrally the organisation is divided into different
"units" to support and coordinate the local activities;
administration; mobilisation; information and
documentation; food and water; rural technology; local
services; and finance and accounting. ORAP's 1992 budget
was US$1.7 million, coming from a wide variety of NGO
donors. ORAP was one of the recipients of the RIGHT

LIVELIHOOD AWARD in 1993 "for motivating its million members to choose their own development path according to their culture and traditions, and for its effective response to the lengthy drought in Southern Africa" (The Right Livelihood Award, 1993).

7.5.2   Participation

Great emphasis has been put on organising activities at the family level. From five to ten families discuss the general situation of their everyday lives and experiences (FIG. 7.3).   They then act collectively to meet their immediate needs such as providing wells for drinking water, sanitary latrines, improved baths, improved kitchens, as well as cultivation, food production, harvesting and thrashing corn.   Programmes are aimed to improve the quality of life within family households.
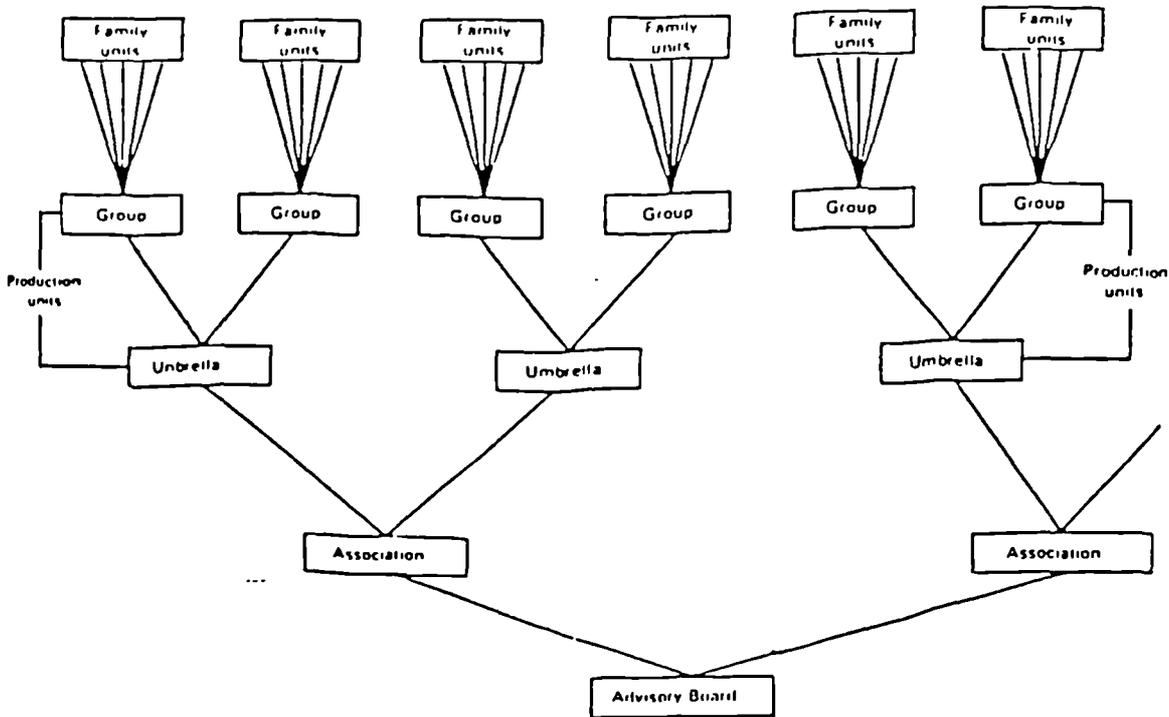
Fig 7.3 ORAP Structure

Source: Nyoni (1987)

At a later stage representatives of those family units meet at group level or in production units to look at their problems in a wider context -e.g. small-scale community projects for water, roads and village production.

ORAP's next organisational structure is the formation of an association at district level to formulate district development strategies. Each Association constructs, with the help of district groups, a development centre which is a local social, educational and economic institution.

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Members of the district groups hold workshops (development debates), learn and share skills. They look into possibilities for job-creation and rural service initiatives such as grinding mills and bakeries.

Each development centre has a village market for local produce and a workshop for the manufacture of agricultural tools and household utensils. Representatives of these groups form the ORAP Advisory Board from which policy decisions are made. The board also creates a platform from which rural people share their experiences and assist each other in solving problems.

Participation is facilitated by dialogue, discussion and analysis of the reasons for undertaking a development activity. All groups must discuss topics to determine what their problems are, where they come from and how they can solve them.

Participation is mobilised through the work of change agents at grass-roots levels. Training of change agents or "animators" is an important aspect of ORAP. In this regard, no community is at a zero level of animation. There is always some internal prompting occurring. An external animator may in certain situations be able to stimulate the animation process further. They should first find out how people animate themselves - the people's culture - and then ask what can be contributed to this

process by an outsider.

Animation should not be vested in specific individuals but in many people as a group process where people animate each other.

7.5.3   Distinctive Features

Discovery of the cultural traditions

ORAP has always worked on the basis that rural people are underdeveloped because they have been dispossessed of their culture, traditional knowledge, language, way of life and of a voice in the structures that control and determine their lives. To reverse this situation, ORAP lays great stress on recovering the traditional values, knowledge and culture of the people.

ORAP engages people in dialogue to go against non-traditional and encourage people to recognise their culture and to use the things that are readily available in their own communities. ORAP has established cultural houses within the development centres.

ORAP responds to the participation of its members and their autonomous control of the organisations affairs, by promoting the tradition of collective work called "amalima" (mutual help on a neighbourhood basis). The group members attend to every and each family's fields in rotation. Most

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jobs are done collectively, such as collecting water or firewood, even home improvements have been extensive. The core aspect of ORAP's methodology is mobilisation - through singing, drama or discussion, all of which stress the need for ORAP members and groups to do things collectively for themselves.

Considerable emphasis is put on training and development education. The three year drought in the region led ORAP to develop a food relief programme and subsequently to give priority to food production with stress on recourse to traditional seeds and fertilizers, diversity of food produced, improved food storage, cereal banks in the villages, improved water storage and local irrigation schemes.

Self-reliance and self-help

As a result of local conditions in Zimbabwe and the drought, ORAP has initiated the establishment of various types of cereal banks to enhance food security in the area. ORAP encourages the community groups to operate in the most self-reliant way possible.

One of the criticisms that is made against ORAP is the fact that it heavily relies on donor funding for some of its large scale activities including the building of economic and physical infrastructure and the non

replicability of such an approach. ORAP, however, believes itself to be a cultural movement giving centrality to the people's own culture. It is working to maintain the people's own culture as a developmental force. This philosophy is applicable anywhere (ILO, 1990). Most of ORAP's activities are at the level of family units and the main activities are financed by personal resources.

The information that makes up the material for the compilation of this case-study has substantially been based on: Timberlake (1985); Nyoni (1987); Ghai (1988); Carmen (1990); ILO (1990); Right Livelihood Award Foundation (1993)

7.6   SARILAKAS - PHILIPPINES

7.6.1   Description

Project AID

Project AID started as a government programme. The Rural Worker's Office (RWO) in the Department of Labour - later the Ministry of Labour and Employment, was created in late 1975 to promote the welfare of rural workers and to formulate policies and labour standards for their protection. It also had to organise the rural workers, facilitate training, employment and research studies on rural work (de Silva *et al.* 1983).

The lack of information and data on landless rural workers and of innovative strategies for rural development in the Philippines promoted the launch in late 1979 of a "Pilot folk research project for landless rural workers". This was code-named Project AID (Action Identification for the Development of Landless Rural Workers). The Project envisaged the adoption of a participatory approach in problem identification, analysis and the formulation of solutions. In four pilot sites of the sugar crop producing areas one facilitator was assigned for each project, for six months. Their job was to motivate and assist people in the different research processes. It involved a series of local workshops:

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● To understand the living and working conditions of the landless rural workers and the causes of their poverty.

● To identify institutional, financial, infrastructural, and technical obstacles that impede income-generating projects.

● To select action projects; explore possibilities of financial resources; co-ordinate locally with government agencies and organisations and to implement projects.

The research culminated in a workshop for representatives of the landless workers, employers and Government officials. The workshop participants agreed to continue the project and protect the interests of the rural workers. In spite of all this, Project AID, proved little more than a paternalistic and delivery-oriented programme. It had achieved some participatory organisational development at the grassroots but it was entirely passive.

Meanwhile, in 1980 Project AID's senior staff participated in the ILO-sponsored TCDC (Technical Cooperation between Developing Countries) project. TCDC involved the exchange of experiences and visits between PIDA (Sri-Lanka), Proshika (Bangladesh) and PIDT (India). Leaders from PIDT and Proshika visited Project AID and this exchange of experiences transformed the concept of Project AID and led to the creation of SARILAKAS (an abbreviation

of "sariling lakas" meaning "own strength") as nongovernmental organisation.

Sarilakas

Through the financial support of the Dutch Government and the ILO's programme on Participatory Organisation of the Rural Poor (PORP), SARILAKAS was officially formed in early 1981. SARILAKAS was to focus on obtaining external catalytic inputs to generate and develop participatory processes and self-reliant organisation of rural workers. The intention was to activate participants and to avoid setbacks from inadequate preparation, faulty approaches and excessive economic expectation engendered by the "facilitators" (Rahman 1983, Ghai 1988, Harland 1991). The object was to build up human capacities to generate change from within.

The new approach was more successful in establishing participatory village organisations. It resulted in the institution of collective savings schemes for the purchase of inputs by marginal farmers; joint ownership and operation of agricultural machinery and rice mills; the rehabilitation of irrigation facilities; the enforcement of legislation on change from share cropping tenancy to fixed-rent liability; the protection of the fishing rights of small fishermen and land rights of sugar cane growers.

On 6 October 1982, the SARILAKAS facilitators formed a new non-governmental organisation -- Participatory Research and Organisation of Communities through Education and Self-help (PROCESS). Its financial support came from the Friedrich Nauman Stiftung Organisation of Germany, CUSO of Canada and the technical legal support came from ICLD (International Centre for Law and Development) in New York. PROCESS's directors were the key actors in the SARILAKAS project and included, two law professors from the University of the Philippines and a prominent Filipino human rights activist. In addition, PROCESS had an international board of advisers who were, strong advocates of genuinely self-reliant development.

In 1983 PROCESS with a staff of four covered a cluster of three villages in Antique Province and two villages in Batangas Province. In 1986 its staff were 20, covering 85 villages in 24 municipalities in 3 provinces (Espiritu, 1988). In 1988 PROCESS was working in 9 provinces, 49 municipalities and around 260 villages.

7.6.2   Participation

Conscientisation

The primary objective of SARILAKAS is the participation of rural poor in their own development process. Its programmes turn around catalytic action which

interveneS at all levels of projects. This catalytic
action evolves through "animation" consisting of the
integration of the facilitator with village life so as to
start a process of self-investigation which is followed by
group reflection and which in turn results in the
mobilisation of the villagers to take action.

Organisation

After being involved in an awareness-building process
and developing a critical consciousness the people set out
to organise themselves into formal and informal groups.
SARILAKAS groups are formed by attending meetings to make
collective decisions and act upon them. The informal group
meetings develop with 10 to 20 people involved in analyzing
their social and economic plight followed by a continuous
action-reflection dynamic.

SARILAKAS' members constantly work to develop
awareness and knowledge about legal processes and rights.
The members are both male and female from a homogeneous
economic status. They are based on different sectors of
livelihood such as farmers, fishermen and women or
hacienda (farm) workers.

Agents

SARILAKAS achieves its specific objective of

initiating a participatory self-reliant development process through active involvement in the training of its own agents or facilitators. It was considered that, 24-28 years old -- middle class, committed people were the best candidates for becoming agents. They were recruited through news papers or personal contact and did not have to be development or technical specialists.

The training of agents reflected a dual educational strategy. New recruits underwent an awareness-building process. Their consciousness of the poverty situation and their potential for participatory action was cultivated. A knowledge-acquisition process involved strategies and means by which catalytic approaches to development could be implemented.

SARILAKAS, from the beginning, was aware that local organisations and groups could easily become dependent upon external change agents. To avoid this problem, which is against SARILAKAS' objective of self-reliance, the agents began to withdraw after two to three years. Emphasis was upon pulling out when the organisation was ready and not simply after a measured period of time. Another strategy, to avoid dependency upon external agents, was to identify possible local counterparts, who were approached and invited to become "folk catalysts".

7.6.3   Distinctive Features

SARILAKAS acts essentially as a promoter of self-reliant participatory organisation of the rural poor. The work of facilitators helps individual members gain self-confidence.

Self-Reliance

As a result of the facilitators' work, there was a transformation of the individuals who thus experienced a better socio-economic life. The timidity and shyness, that characterised many of them, was gone. Each individual who insisted on coming forward, introduce him/her self and express his/her allegiance and sense of pride in being a member of their organisation (Rahman, 1983).

The extent to which the people depend on the facilitator varies. Some groups gave a range of 2-6 years for them to become independent of the facilitators. Others had expressed that the facilitators withdraw immediately. They had remarked that they should visit them periodically to consult with them or provide them with more legal education (Rahman, 1983).

Legal Assistance

SARILAKAS assists small farmers and fishermen to

become aware of their legal right and to act upon it. The activity is supported by progressive law professors from the University of Philippines on the organisations board of director (Espiritu, 1988). An international board of advisors and technical support of ICLD (International Centre for Law and Development: New York) works with the community facilitators and projects and may become involved in court cases.

SARILAKAS provides catalytic inputs as legal resources. It facilitates the production of practical and simple legal information materials such as primers and comics. Workshops and para-legal education are being organised in all project areas. Legal education curricula specific to the needs of the project sites, staff and other action groups have also been developed (Espiritu, 1988: 208).

Education through Communications

A great deal of emphasis is put on the facilitators communications skills. SARILAKAS encourages communication of people's organisations ideas to the general public through local radios. Programmes are planned to discuss problems and actions. Radio dramas are developed to make the programmes more interesting to listeners. SARILAKAS believes that passivity and dependency are not only related to economic and political resources but are also found in

the area of knowledge and information. Unless there is a more equal sharing of knowledge, people's organisations will eventually weaken and degenerate into units which may then be manipulated by those forces claiming superiority over people through knowledge and information. SARILAKAS works to provide access, control and ultimate ownership of the media and other forms of communications.

Cadre-Creation

SARILAKAS' work is primarily performed through its facilitators. This initially needs to be achieved through outsiders with a strong sense of commitment and great respect and confidence in the rural poor. As the action-reflection-research process continues, internal facilitators or agents are identified and come forward to take charge of and promote a development process. There has to be a mutual commitment by the animator and the people to social change.

The training programmes help facilitators to acquire a clear understanding of their role in the community. They develop social and human skills in communication and working with the people understand group dynamics and the importance of the action-reflection process in development work. To be able to analyze their social-economic-political reality is of prime importance. Actions are focused on individual local situations and through this

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facilitators increase their understanding at national/international policies and structures (macro-analysis).

The information in this case study is based on the following references: Ghai (1988); Rahman,Md.A. (1983); de Silva *et al.* (1983); Rahman,Md.A. (1984); Rahman,Md.A. (1987); Espiritu (1988); Harland (1991); Oakley (1991); Egger and Majeres (1992); Burkey (1993) ; Rahman (1993)

7.7   SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA MOVEMENT (SSM) - SRI LANKA

7.7.1   Description:

The information of this case study is based on the following references: Ratnapala (1978); Ariyaratne (1979); Goulet (1979); Ratnapala (1980); Korten (1980); Macy (1983); Ariyaratne (1987); Ekins (1992);

This movement began in 1958 when a 26-year-old teacher, A. T. Ariyaratne, organised a two-week "holiday work camp" for his students (16-17 year old) in a remote and destitute outcaste village. The objective of this camp was to understand and experience the true state of affairs in poor areas of Sri Lanka and to utilise the education they received so as to try to find ways of making the life of the poor more just and happier.

To learn the needs and wants of the villagers by working side by side digging wells and planting gardens was an established practice from the outset. The name of the movement literally means "awakening of all, by voluntarily sharing people's resources, especially their time, thoughts and efforts." The experience of the young students and their bold and charismatic teacher was so successful and rewarding that within a lapse of two years hundreds of schools joined in the practice of giving labour at weekend village camps.

The movement grew exponentially once the students had graduated and took leadership in the society as adults. The focus of its activities was no longer solely educational but also a developmental one in which the villagers themselves took the initiative. The Sarvodaya Shramadana movement began to emerge as a village self-help movement outside the official rural development programme.

The Sarvodaya Movement has given more of its attention to the articulation of its philosophy than to building appropriate management systems and has emphasized changes in the heart of Man over changes in village economies and social structures. While searching for a development model consonant with the unique cultural and spiritual heritage of people, SSM has set up individual groups for youth, mothers, farmers, children, preschool, elders and for persons with special education and skills.

Sarvodaya views each rural situation as a unique characteristic which has to be tackled in a way proper to that specific situation. These realities, however, have political, economic, bureaucratic, ethnic, geographic and historic elements. SSM believes it is the analytical capacities of a leadership from among the community itself that can, in the long run, bring about a change for the better. The community as a whole should be awakened by a leadership coming up from among the members of the community itself.

Sarvodaya has organised hundreds, possibly thousands, of Shramadana camps in the villages. These camps are the recruiting grounds for village leaders - generally youths between 18 to 25 years of age. Participation in Shramadana camps is the first exposure of these leaders to self-analysis, problem identification and search for solution.

Opportunities are provided for groups of 10 to 20 youth, at one time, to go and live for short periods, for example two weeks, in Sarvodaya Development Education Institutes. The Institutes are organised in such a way that the whole community of members, sometimes as many as 300 persons live a family life, during their residential training. Social and physical environment, customs and educational programmes at these Institutes are all reflections of the village life itself. The instructors are senior rural youths in the Movement, who have had a long experience in tackling village problems in their own unorthodox way.

In Development Education Institutes the task of the youngsters, contrary to the traditional testing of other people's social development theories, is to be inspired by the challenges they have to face and to find practical ways to solve pressing problems of the communities of which they were a part of. Development Educational Institutes are youth training centres whose programme contents embraces

both welfare and development aspects, in social development integrated into one. Pre-school organisers, nutrition workers, health-care workers, community development workers, wood workers, metal workers, appropriate technology workers, village planners, village level cottage-craft workers, masons and builders and co-operative promoters are provided with skills in these institutes while they live, more or less a community life not very different from those in their village setting.

At an intermediate stage between a village and a Development Education Institute are the Sarvodaya Extension Centres. At these centres, four young people each in charge of Shramadana camps, nutrition, pre-schools and health care training programmes and economic programmes, function as a team. These Extension Centres play a coordinating and a supporting role to the development efforts of thousands of villages in which the Sarvodaya Movement is active.

The functions of the Sarvodaya Extension Centres are the:

(1) Co-ordination of all development plans and their implementation in all villages linked with this centre.

(2) Storage, distribution and collection of tools and equipment used for Shramadana camps.

(3) Maintaining of all records pertaining to the villages and various development and welfare activities carried out by the Movement.

(4) Storage, distribution and accounting of milk powder

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and other food stuffs gifted from the centre.

(5) Provisions of a meeting place for monthly get-together of members of the Council of Elders of the area, representative of youth, monks, mothers, farmers or other groups or full-timers of the Movement.

(6) Conducting training programmes for pre-school and community kitchen workers, Shramadana camp organisers, village librarians and according to the needs for agricultural, woodwork, metal work, appropriate technology cottage industries, co-operatives, or any other economic management unit.

(7) Conducting educational classes with the assistance of Government Extension Officers in the area so that the village will get the full benefit of the Government Extension Services in rural areas.

(8) Maintenance of close relationships with the Development Education Institutes and the Sarvodaya Headquarters at Meth Medura, Moratuwa.

The Movement, directly and indirectly, is reported to involve some three million villagers, thus making it one of the largest development movements in the Third World (Ekins 1992). Some seven thousand full or part time employees lend their services to 8000 villages (out of a total of 23000) in Sri Lanka. There is at least one Sarvodaya Development Education Institute in every administrative district of Sri Lanka. Sixty of such Institutes at district level train village youths and provide leader-training courses ranging from two weeks to two years in both leadership and vocational skills.

7.7.2   Participation:

Participation is the cornerstone of Sarvodaya

Shramadana Movement that "the people's participation is the foundation on which the Movement originated in the past; on this factor also depends the success or failure of the Movement in the years to come" (Ariyaratne, 1979). Fourteen years on as in 1993-4 the movement is still one of the most active movements in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia.

In each village a number of youths from the village itself, who have undergone training in different skills of village reconstruction, work as full time workers. They inspire, learn from, educate, organise and work with men and women and children in their villages on a programme of village self-development planned by the villagers themselves. These village youths, numbering about 30,000, are trained to improve the quality of life of their people in health, nutrition, housing, education, water supply and sanitation, irrigation, agriculture , communication, savings and credit, rural industries and marketing, legal aid, institutional building and spiritual development.

The Sarvodaya Movement from the start has been aware of the fact that the local populace cannot profit from development plans of National and international development schemes unless it is internally motivated and planned. The Movement sees that such development plans meet the needs of their village community and the articulation of such plans can only be achieved by the people themselves. These plans, however, are based on the ideological and cultural

values of the population. Thus, Buddhism, as the main religious tradition of Sri Lanka manifests itself in all Sarvodaya philosophies.

People's participation in the Sarvodaya Movement is understood in terms of their involvement in development activities in the village. This participation took place more in terms of SSM "Camps" which through the collaboration of "outsiders" in shramadana (shared labour) development work such as cutting roads, building latrines, preparation of land for specific purposes - building a factory, school or cultivation of food crops which benefit all. Ratnapala (1978: 77) describes the community involvement in one village - Ginimellagaha:

> The mobilisation of people for such activities is done by house to house or person to person canvassing in the village. The organisers contact those known to them, explain their purpose, seek assistance either as direct participants in the shramadana or as indirect participants who would contribute equipment or items of food. Almost everyone of such shramadana activities [becomes] involved in the participation of all the villagers. ...
>
> Care is taken to see that all villagers participate in a manner that he or she is capable of in all such activities. One may for example donate a single coconut towards the food for those taking part in shramadana. Women would come and serve food; children would carry equipment. Each one serves in any capacity he or she is capable of.

The participation of villagers in shramadana camps has promoted their self-reliance and motivated them to plan their own actions. Villagers having gained sufficient experience in self-reliant activities from an independent

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Sarvodaya .Shramadana Society and register as an incorporated body under the Registrar of Societies of the Sri Lankan Government. An Executive Committee of 25 elected members direct the affairs of the village community thereafter. To reflect the participation of all age groups within the society, in this executive committee, there are also three children between seven and fourteen years, three youths between fifteen and twenty eight and three women elected as full members.

Organisation

The Shramadana camps devote their efforts to physical as well as educational activities through dialogues, song and dance. In these camps the villagers come to understand that many of the solutions to their problems lie in their own hands and they begin to organise themselves. Beginning during the Shramadana camp, village organisations such as children's group, youth group, women's group and a farmers' group are created and developed. These local organisations are the basis from which the village community development begins, and they facilitate discussions among the local people and sometimes with representatives of the village council about their problems, needs and wishes. They subsequently take whatever action is required. Many of these needs (village roads and irrigation facilities) may have remained unmet for years and are now met through group planning and action (Ekins 1992).

To further the degree of participation, villages work in a cluster of five for mutual help, where a full-time Sarvodaya volunteer helps each cluster in a variety of ways linking it with a Sarvodaya Divisional Centre which organises training and other inputs needed for the cluster.

Awakening

The first objective of Sarvodaya is personal and collective awakening. The term Sarvodaya means "the awakening of all". This objective is achieved through emphasis on spiritual and cultural values and awakening of everyone to live by the Buddhist spiritual values. The individual's awakening is integral to the awakening of one's village and both play a role in the awakening of one's country and one's world. "The awakening of all" as the focus of a Sarvodaya programme has four kinds of activities: (1) personal level awakening in the context of development as change in the heart of man. (2) Village level awakening which accrues from shramadana activities. (3) National awakening which is a form of country-wide "council of elders" where the chief actors and analysts step back to look, in non partisan discussions, at the drift and challenge of events. (4) World awakening occurs in the form of receiving foreign visitors and volunteers (mostly Dutch, German and Danish); technical assistance to other Third World countries; and publications.

7.7.3   Distinctive Features:

The spiritual-value based philosophy is particular to Sarvodaya.   Other features such as self-reliance or the knowledge-generating process are shared with other case studies.

Spiritual, Cultural-Value based philosophy

The late 1950s and 1960s marked the formative age of the Sarvodaya Movement.   Contrary to the traditional development policies and programmes of that era, that considered religion as peripheral or even an obstacle to the technology transfer or modernisation of the "under-developed" or "less-developed" societies, Sarvodaya was well aware that development is not a value-free phenomenon. SSM founded its commitment and driving force on the Sri Lankan cultural heritage - Buddhism.

The extent of the priority given to the cultural values of people is also evident when the educational focus of the "holiday work camps" expands to a developmental one. Ariyaratne, the founder of the movement, goes to India to learn from the Gandhian experience and, particularly, from the Bhoodan - Grandan campaign led by the walking scholar - "saint" Vinoba Bhave.   The name of Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is an echo of Gandhian ideal society based on truth, nonviolence, and self-reliance (Macy, 1983).

The philosophy stresses four basic values - loving kindness, compassionate action, unselfish joy and equanimity supplemented by sharing, pleasant speeches, constructive action and equality. The major long term goal is non-violent social change which will awaken everyone to live by these values.

Self-reliance

SSM views self-reliance as being integral to human development. The ideas of self-development, self-fulfilment, and self-reliance, are understood and reflected in the single word *udaya* (awakening). This practice is consistent with the Buddhist principle that salvation lies primarily in one's own hands, be it those of an individual or a group (Macy, 1983).

The practice of self-discipline and self-reliance is also demonstrated in the Shramadana camps with six to eight hours of each day devoted to physical work, and three to four hours to education through dialogue, songs and dance (Ekins, 1992).

Knowledge-building process

In the early 1970s after the Sarvodaya Movement started to receive foreign funding, a permanent headquarters was established. In 1975 the 100-village

programme was expanded to 1000 villages (Korten, 1980) and currently it is active in 8000 (Ekins, 1992). This abrupt expansion brought with it a bureaucratic structure with a wide range of new, centrally planned and funded activities.

In 1978 Nandasena Ratnapala, a university professor of sociology carried out an evaluation study on the performance of Shramadana in Sri Lanka. A number of gaps were noted by Ratnapala and he believed that the movement's commitment did not match its programme achievements. Of the activities set up by Sarvodaya in 2000 villages, only 300 had been established permanently. The involvement of its eligible members were marginal and mainly as passive beneficiaries of services provided by the staff and local monks. As a result, Ratnapala was invited to join SSM as head of its new Research Institute (Korten, 1980).

Through a number of constructive actions, many aspects of Sarvodaya's training programmes to involve the villagers in making more decisions for themselves, were revised. After some adversarial reports by the Research Institute, research was conducted to find solutions for Sarvodaya's weaknesses, particularly in developing capacities for decentralised decision making in a learning process.

As Ariyaratne (1987) and Korten (1980) explain, the movement has been treading a learning path. The extension of the 100 village programme to a 1000 villages (and now

operating in 8000 villages), has led the movement contradicting its participation and awakening philosophy. Ariyaratne (1987:37) explains that : "Extension seeks to provide the people [with] their own leadership and their capacity to seek their own answers, using their own resources, in ways consistent with their own setting and values".

SSM philosophy stresses four basic noble values (Four Noble Truths). The First Noble Truth, that "there is suffering" is translated concretely into "there is a decadent village" and used as a means of consciousness raising. The Second Noble Truth, which in Buddhist Scripture declares that craving is the cause of suffering, is presented by the Movement in terms of egocentricity, greed, distrust, and competition that erode village energies. The Third Noble Truth, as traditionally formulated, affirms that craving, and therefore suffering, can cease. The Forth Noble Truth offers the principles of Right Understanding, Right Intention, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood, Right Effort and Right Mindfulness (Figure 7.4).

THE FOUR NOBLE TRUTHS
OF VILLAGE AWAKENING*

The Dependent Co-Arising of a Decadent and a Sarvodaya Village

Conflict

Oppression Harsh Speech

Spiritual Development

Health

Cultural Development

Organizational Development

Disease Poverty

Unity Education

Stagnation Economic Development

I. A DECADENT VILLAGE   IV. THE PATH: A SARVODAYA VILLAGE

II. THE CAUSE   III. THE HOPE

Egoism Selflessness

Ill-will Competition Love Cooperation

Equality Sharing

Disunity Possessiveness Pleasant Speech Constructive Activity

Ignorance

*Adapted from Sarvodaya charts.
Note: Some illustrations in Sarvodaya literature transpose a few of the factors between I and II; they are arranged here to distinguish symptoms I from deeper causes II, in keeping with the gist of Sarvodaya and Buddhist teachings: (Note also how the wheels of co-arising change direction when the Movement enters the scene.)

FIG. 7.4   SSM's Four Noble Truth

Source : Macy 1983

7.8   NAAM GROUPS AND SIX S ASSOCIATION - BURKINA FASO

7.8.1   Description

Six-S (Se servir de la saison séche en savane et au Sahel) and NAAM groups were founded and led by Bernard Lédéa Ouedraogo in Burkina-Faso in the north-west region of Africa. Ouedraogo, born in 1930, completed his secondary education in Burkina Faso and after gaining many diplomas there, studied in France and gained a doctorate in 1977. After finishing school, he became a teacher and school director and then turned to training in agriculture where he reached the top level of the civil service. He left the civil service in 1966 to found the NAAM and later Six S Association.

NAAM Groups

NAAM is a traditional village body composed of young people who undertake various activities: those that have the most highly developed cooperative characteristics (Pradervand, 1989). This organisation came into existence as a result of the disappointment of the existing rural extension workers in traditional rural development and did not have a vision or a global concept of the development world. The only concern of the officially organised farmers was to take advantage of the donkeys, bullocks, carts, hoes, and other materials made available to them.

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There was nothing else behind this form of assistance. There was no philosophy or doctrine.

After careful examination of the traditional social and economic structure, Ouedraogo discovered that within the traditional village, the NAAM group had the most highly developed cooperative characteristics. He decided to attempt to work with these groups.

The NAAM (or KOMNI-NAAM) has its roots in ancestral sources and it is an association of ethnic groups where all social inequalities are excluded. In the NAAM neither birth, fortune, nor gender intervene in the elections of leaders. The character, temperament, altruism, and technical competence of the candidate are what counts. The young people of the same village or from a group of districts (20 to 25 years for boys, and 15 to 20 years old for girls) come to an agreement to organise the NAAM, generally during the rainy season.

Kombi-Naam is the title given to the chief of the group. It carries paramount responsibility for the NAAM. The Togo-Naba, is the Technical Director of the farming meetings (in the field, he/she indicates how things should be done). The Sore Naba, is the chief of the road, i.e. in charge of everything concerning travel or visits to feasts or work. The Tilb-Naba, is the supreme pardoner of the of those who have been accused wrongly. The Basi-Naba, is the

Tilb-Naba's antipode and is the dignitary who ratifies the verdict. The San-Hamba-Naba, is the person responsible for the protection of girls from outsiders who abduct them, the Limbe-Naba, is the chief taster, to discover whether or not food has been poisoned.

These functions and titles of traditional dignitaries change with gradual evolution. The Kombi-Naba will become the coordinator, or the Togo-Naba will take the role of vice-chairperson and/or the secretary. The end-result of this evolution is an up-to-date village management committee with the necessary officials. The committee is likely to enjoy the blessings of the village elders and the support of the community (Ouedraogo, 1988; Carmen, 1990).

This transformation of traditional NAAM groups into modern social structure is a masterpiece of practical sociology. Their success depends upon dynamic local leadership and activity; the maintenance of traditional values; proscribed discrimination of any sort; training and motivation coming from within the group. The philosophy is to act on the basis of what people *are*, what they *know*, how they *live*, what they *do*, what they *know how to do*, and what they *want* (Ekins 1992).

The NAAM groups undertake a broad range of activities in social, economic and cultural spheres. Unaided, the rate of growth of the NAAM movement was limited by the

mobilisation of the villager's own resources. It was to accelerate this process by tapping external funds that Quedraogo founded the Six 'S' Association.

Six 'S' - The Association for Self-Help during the Dry Season in the Savannahs and the Sahel

Six 'S' is an NGO established for the removal of obstacles to peasant mobilisation. The Association was faced with a lack of know how. Drought in Burkina Faso required specific knowledge that farmers did not have. The capability of the farmers to negotiate with local administrators and village elders in their own terms was limited. Financial resources to implement projects even on a small scale were unavailable. More and more villages were starting peasant groups. Once they organised on a regional basis, they lacked funds to support investments in organisation and to initiate larger projects.

Hence, training and helping people to do things for themselves became Six 'S''s main function. Education, social organisation, capital investment and boosting of income are its objectives.

Six 'S' aims at overcoming the serious problem of underemployment in the region during the dry season. Young people migrated to urban areas and to neighbouring countries in search of employment. Six 'S' educated people

especially in environment and ecology as well as enhancing the economic and socio-cultural capability of rural populations.

Original methods have been developed for the transmission of skills through peasant technicians paid by the organisation to train other members and groups in new technologies, social innovation and management techniques. The principal vehicle for this is "Chantiers-écoles". These (training camps) are organised on a regular basis during the dry season at the request of the groups. They cover training on soil conservation techniques, the management of maize mills, water pumps maintenance, fencing livestock, cereal banks and nutritional centres. Each group assumes the responsibility of passing its skills to others.

Six 'S' covers peasant organisations and NAAM groups from nine countries of the Sahel (Burkina Faso, Senegal, Benin, Mali, Togo, Niger, Mauritania, Guinea-Bissau and the Gambia). In 1989 there were 4000 village groups of which 2600 were NAAM groups. Six 'S' is divided into eighty-nine zones, forty-six in Burkina Faso, thirty in Senegal, eight in Mali, two in Togo and Niger and one in Mauritania. Six 'S' employs 166 people and in 1987-8 had an income of US$2.7 million (Ekins 1992). As an organism of support, Six 'S' receives the bulk of its funds from the Swiss Technical Development Cooperation, the Swiss Lenten Action,

Miseror (FRG), CEBEMO (Netherlands) and CCFD of France.
Its headquarters are in Geneva and its executive seat is in
Ouahigouya, Burkina Faso.

7.8.2   Participation

Six 'S' organises workshops where 30 farmers, men and
women, are trained for two to three months. Specially
trained facilitators work with the participants to devise
a programme of activities and training. The participants'
interest and the needs of the region are combined to devise
a plan of action.

7.8.3   Distinctive Features

Self-Reliance

One of the features of this initiative is reliance on
the traditional mutual help and co-operation of NAAM groups
to promote a large-scale, self-help movement running into
hundreds of thousands and extension into other Sahelian
countries such as Mali, Mauritania and Senegal.

The concept of self-reliance, in Six 'S' increasingly
relies on peasant-technicians and advanced groups to
transmit knowledge and innovations to other members and
groups. Cereal banks enhance food security in the region
and are another example of self-reliant initiative

by Six 'S'.

Financial self-reliance is a dilemma for Six 'S'. The degree of self-reliance for Six 's' as an organisation remains. The detailed strategy calls for the withdrawal of financial aid making the federations rely on normal investment. Their emphasis on loans from the first income-generating stages reflects stress on prudence and self-reliance. Six 'S' and the peasant federations which it links are probably the only source of hope for $3^3/_4$ million people of the Sahel (Ekins, 1992).

Flexible Funding

A system of "flexible funding" independent of projects is spent at the discretion of the recipient once groups demonstrate creativity and responsibility. This system cements trust in the organisation. The Six 'S' groups receive a 2 year loan while they organise the infrastructural requirements. The money loaned for productive activities constitutes a revolving fund to initiate and invigorate other activities. In Burkina Faso, groups repaid 60 million francs CFA in 1986-7, compared with only 1.3 million francs CFA in 1980-1, which indicates greatly increased economic activity (Ekins, 1992).

Environmental Protection

Six 'S' took advantage of the dry period from October to May in Burkina Faso to establish self-reliant, self-help people's initiatives on environmental issues.

Six 'S' NAAM groups adopted a traditional technique revived by Oxfam in the ecologically fragile Yatenga region. The technique structured horizontal rock bands along the contour lines of farmer's fields. Farmers operated simple water-tube levels used to determine contour lines and mutual help groups carried the rocks and built the ridges (Egger and Majeres 1992, p.314). This technique regulates water run off to enhance soil and water conservation. It directly increases crop yield and reclaims degraded land.

The Six 'S' NAAM groups supported the technique and trained experienced farmers to teach other farmers to adopt the technique. The method of farmer teaching farmer has been the most powerful technique for transmitting the experience to others.

Farmers spent 62 per cent of their time in 1987-8 on environmental protection activities. Other innovations that NAAM groups have adopted include afforestation, vegetable gardening, access roads, small dams, live-stock, literacy and health.

The information that makes up the material for the compilation of this case-study has substantially been based on: Ekins (1992); Ekins *et al.* (1992); ILO (1990); Egger and Majeres (1992); Carmen (1990); Ouedraogo (1988); Ghai (1988); Timberlake (1985); Pradervand (1989)

7.9 WWF AND SEWA: TWO WOMEN's MOVEMENTS - INDIA

7.9.1   Description

WWF and SEWA represent two very similar cases which are exclusively for women. Women, historically have been oppressed and neglected worldwide.   Participatory development has to deal necessarily with the subject that embraces half of any population. The other reason for choosing these two as one case study is that they represent urban slums dwellers.   WWF and SEWA are pioneering initiatives to organise women working in urban slums as vendors, home-based workers and casual labourers into trade-union type associations.

A small number of gifted women have risen to eminent positions of power and influence. Various initiatives launched by Indian women to lift themselves up have found in Gandhi's writings strong intellectual support for their struggle (Goulet, 1979).

> To call woman the weaker sex is a libel: it is man's injustice to woman. If by strength is meant brute strength, then indeed is woman less brute than man. If by strength is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably man's superior. Has she not greater intuition, is she not more self-sacrificing, has she

not greater courage?   Without·her man could not be.
If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is
with woman.   (Gandhi quoted in Goulet 1979)

SEWA-Self Employed Women Association

SEWA started by organising self-employed poor women in
urban slums in Gujarat, India, into a trade union in 1972.
Self-employed women, until the formation of this trade
union were recognised as workers neither by legislation nor
by society.   The initiative in forming SEWA was taken by an
experienced woman trade unionist--Ela Bhatt who previously
worked with the long-established Textile Labour Association
and was also a Member of the Upper House of India's
Parliament (Ekins *et al.* 1992: 83).   Membership is drawn
from vendors and hawkers, home-based producers and
providers of casual labour and services.   Although SEWA
started primarily as a movement for poor urban women, it
later spread to cover women agricultural labourers and
home-based workers in rural areas.

SEWA as a trade union for self-employed women has
worked to secure higher wages for casual workers. Those on
contract work such as home-based workers and suppliers of
cleaning and laundering services have had a gradual
extension to protect the benefits provided by labour
legislation to organised workers in modern enterprises. It
has also initiated a credit scheme for vendors, hawkers and

home-based workers to finance working capital and the purchase of raw materials and tools. Credit was originally arranged through commercial banks but soon the women formed their own savings and credit co-operative.

The co-operative expanded rapidly in terms of shareholders, deposits and loans. Vendors, craftswomen and home-based workers organised themselves through the formation of producer's co-operatives for vegetable and fruit sellers, bamboo workers, hand block printers, spinning-wheel and handloom operators and dairy workers (Ghai, 1988).

WWF

The Working Women's Forum was started with 800 members in 1978 in Madras-India by a woman activist. Jaya Arunchalam had great experience in social and political work and had been prominent in the Congress Party. She had resigned the year before, disillusioned about its effectiveness in working for the poor. She founded WWF as a grassroots union of poor women workers. In the informal sectors street hawkers, craft producers and home-based workers joined from the urban regions. It started in Madras and soon spread to operate in the southern states of Tamil Nadu, Andrha Pradesh and Karnataka in India. Its membership of 36,000 members in 1984, increased to 60,000 in 1988 and 150,000 by 1990. They are drawn largely from

poor urban women but there is also increasing
representation from rural areas amongst dairy workers and
fisherwomen.

The initial need identified by its members and on
which WWF began to act was to provide small loans to use as
capital at reasonable commercial bank interest rates.
Local money lenders charged exorbitant interest rates of 10
per cent per month and more. WWF first arranged loans for
its members from a nationalised commercial bank acting
primarily as an intermediary between members and banks.
But, inappropriateness and inflexibilities of the bank's
procedure and attitudes caused WWF, with an initial seed
grant from Appropriate Technology International, to set up
its own Working Women's Cooperative Society (WWCS) to issue
its own credit.

Although WWF's core activity is credit provision to
its members, it is active in other areas. It runs a
Grassroots Health Care and Family Welfare Project, jointly
now with international organisations such as ILO and the
Government of India. WWF organises mass inter-caste
weddings to break down discriminatory prejudices and hold
large demonstrations on the other problems of its members.

7.9.2   Participation

The importance and value of participation of women in

these two initiatives are demonstrated by various activities. These include: the exertion of collective pressure and power to secure higher wages for jobs and contract work; enforcement of land and tenancy reform, fishing and forestry rights; implementation of the provisions of labour legislation; improved prices for raw materials and for processed foods. In initiating and forming, the WWF groups for example, rely on spearhead teams and group organisers to initiate interaction with the potential members.

SEWA and WWF have served as pressure groups in the struggle against certain vested interests which have opposed the reforms. They have also sought to influence legislation on matters of interest to their members and have deployed their strength in relation to bureaucracy and political parties to promote their interests. As a result of the participatory actions of WWF's members, Rajiv Gandhi the former Prime Minister of India,-- went twice to meet different groups of WWF members and listen to their grievances.

7.9.3   Distinctive Features

The most distinctive characteristics of SEWA and WWF are that they both have women as their exclusive members and that credit provision is the core service. WWF alone had provided its members by the end of 1990 with a total

loan of Rs39 million (US$16 million) through its own co-operative (WWCS) and Rs6.5 million through the nationalised banks (Ekins, 1992:120).

Both initiatives organise their workers in co-operatives based on occupations. They also organise Social insurance, welfare and training programmes.

Development workers, professional and administrative staff run the activities of SEWA and WWF. Over 90% of the members are illiterate women. The concept of self-reliance is the most compelling lesson to be gained from these initiatives. They show that poor marginal sectors in stratified societies can be rendered competitive in harsh social contexts. People must organise not only to earn income, but also to gain decision-making skills which enhance their capacity to cope with larger social systems.

Another positive characteristic of these organisations is their flexibility and capacity to experiment. Determined largely by member's needs, their programmes grow in different directions. As members articulate problems, SEWA and WWF expand their operations to experiment with solutions.

Self-Reliance and Extension of Activities to Rural Parts

SEWA in some parts (Ahmadabad) has sponsored cattle

and dairy projects for rural landless agricultural women labourers. These women were not paid in cash, but in food grains or fodder. The switch to self-employment, and the development of dairies, milk cooperatives and a subsidized cattle-feed programme have given them income and independence (Dankelman and Davidson 1988).

7.10 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have tried to demonstrate:

1. That participation is the primary means through which development and environmental resource management of the investigated case studies have been brought about.

2. That an educational process of consciousness or awareness building is usually involved in order to motivate activities, animate creative initiatives and mobilise material and human resources.

3. That the services of an agent/facilitator has been used to begin an endogenous knowledge-building process of education and investigation. The relationship of these facilitators with the rest of the community is on a horizontal and equal basis.

4. That organisation of people concerned has been fundamental for the success and achievement of particular

interest groups' goals. Organisation provided a forum to discuss, analyze and take action. It also gave a structural power to the members within and outside the groups.

5. That individual self-confidence and group self-reliance has been the goal as well as the result of the participatory activities of these case studies.

TABLE 7.5 GENERAL GUIDE TO CASE STUDIES

NAME/DESCRIPTION	PARTICIPATION	ACTIVITIES	MAIN FEATURES
Bhoomi-Sena (land army)-India: a tribal movement of the landless in 1970 which through self-reliant and persistent efforts achieved substantial freedom and development for peasants; the initiative is one the first and classic initiatives of grass-roots participation	Conscientisation camps-"Shibirs" to analyze collectively socio-economic conditions; Organisation-"Tarun Mandals" or youth assemblies including all poor adivasi peasants as members; Facilitators arise from among adivasis themselves-"vanguard groups"; participation is seen as action against exploitation of the elite.	Prevent and oppose the exploitation of adivasis peasants by sawkars; facilitate local decision-making and oppose and prevent external and centrally planned decisions; Education not as illicracy programmes but awareness building.	**Indigenous and Spontaneous** movement of peasants; **Self-reliant** activities to make people less economically, socially, psychologically and culturally dependent on elite or government; **Perseverance; endogenous knowledge building**
BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee): founded in 1972 as a relief project of resettlement; evolved into a development NGO; now being the largest NGO in Bangladesh covering more 3500 villages;	3 stages of participation: a) as beneficiaries of services provided in relief assistance; b) as passive participants in BRAC's centrally planned projects; c) as the aim and agent of participation: Conscientisation process to analyze their socio-economic condition; Organisation: 20-30 people groups organised around similar interests	Wide range of development activities to enhance the ability of rural people to meet their own needs by mobilizing, managing and controlling internal and external resources; **Education; Health; Training; Employment and income generating** projects (e.g. in agriculture, irrigation, fish culture, poultry, livestock, bees;); Literacy programmes; **Meetings and workshops**	Over 60% of **members are women;** Tailoring of **local activities to fit special needs and interests of** particular groups; Health services use itinerant paranedics, village women health workers and family planning auxiliaries; health insurance scheme helps finance services.
PIDA (Participatory Institute for Development Alternatives)-Sri Lanka; started as UNDP/CUSO/Konrad Adenauer and Sri Lankan Government sponsored programme with 4 member team of development workers; by late 1980 PIDA was established as an NGO; **Aim:** to build cadres needed to launch participatory and self-reliant development	Conscientisation approach as a process of liberating the creative initiatives of people through a systematic process of investigation, reflection and analysis by the people themselves; Facilitators start as outsiders and later insiders take over animation task; Organisation is the vehicle for economic and social advance	**Consumption** saving schemes; **Collective Production** and cultivation activities; **Produce Marketing** for their communities crops and elimination of intermediaries; **Wage Labourers** cooperatives; **Cooperatives; Education;**	**Participatory action research** to understand the socio-economic environment; **Cadre creation** through groups discussions to facilitate the action-reflection process; **Multiplication and linkage building** to include isolated villages;

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PROSHIKA-Bangladesh born in 1976 as a voluntary organisation collaborated with PIDA, SARILAKA, and PIDT; works through training at its development centres in different districts covering 40 villages; every four development centres are organised into independent nuclei of NGOs; Proshika make a forum of these NGOs	Conscientisation and awareness raising; action research; participatory style of cadre creation; Organisation of the people forms not only an instrument of participation it is one of the main activities of Proshika by convening 15-20 member groups to discuss, make decisions and take action	The philosophy of Proshika is based on Non-political ideology; groups made of homogenous people; local groups are selected by consensus and not elected; self-reliant; Cadre creation programme collaborated with PIDT-India, PIDA-Sri Lanka, SARILAKAS-Philippines
ORAP (Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress)- in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe founded in 1981; a participatory support organisation for self-reliant development; covers over one million people in over 800 village groups	Conscientisation through animation, mobilisation also achieved through singing, drama, discussion; Organisation: activities organised at 5-10 family units who discuss the situation and take action collectively; Production units to look into problems in a wider scale; District Association to formulate district level development strategies	Development centres created at District level; ORAP works to recover their cultural and traditional knowledge of people; Discovering traditional seeds; non-hierarchical style of functioning
SARILAKAS-"own strength"; started as Project AID a Filipino Government programme in 1975; in 1981 formed as an NGO financed by ILO and Dutch Government; in 1982 its facilitators formed a new NGO-PROCESS with 4 staff in three villages; in '86 it had 20 staff operating in 85 and in 1988 in 260 villages.	Conscientisation approach to participation; Agent/facilitators of 24-28 years old, middle class, outsiders to be replaced by insiders later; Organisation: groups of 10-20 people to discuss, analyze and take action	Participatory self-reliant organisation of rural fishermen; enjoys the support of Filipinos university professors and of ICLD in New York; utilizes communication medias in mass education; Collaborated and benefited widely from PIDT-India, PIDA-Sri Lanka, Proshika-Bangladesh

Organisation		Participation	Characteristics
Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement-Sri Lanka started in 1958 as educational holiday work camps; Largest NGO in Sri Lanka; a village self-help movement; Covers more than 8000 villages; has trained over 30,000 village youths	SSM set up groups for youth, **mothers, farmers, children, pre-school** and elders. Activities are planned according to village interests, needs and leadership; **vocational training in** agriculture and fishery; development of rural industry and village infrastructure.	Participation is promoted through shramadana camps so that people plan their own self reliant action. Organisation of villagers are encourage by promoting formation of village societies and register it as an incorporated body. Cooperation is encouraged through work in cluster of 5 for mutual help where a SSM volunteer helps each cluster.	**Buddhist Spiritual, cultural-value** based philosophy of helping the needy and Gandhian values of cooperation; **self-reliant, self-fulfilment** development; **knowledge-building** process; **Personal and collective** awakening; Extensive use of urban volunteers; Formation of village self-help organisation.
Six 'S'(Association for Self-help during the Dry Season in the Savannahs and the Sahel)- started in 1977 from NAAM groups in Burkina Faso and spread its activities to other Sahelian region countries of Senegal, Benin, Mali, Togo, Niger, Gambia, Mauritania and Guinea Bissua; Covers over 4000 villages	Training and education; Social organisation of people; capital investment to boost people's income; Development of methods for transmission of skills; Environmental Protection (e.g. building small rock-ridges to regulate water-run off and enhance soil and water conservation	**Organisation** through traditional village bodies called **NAAM groups** which provide a well respected body of officials to the villagers; groups of 30 men at a time to be trained as peasant technicians or animators.	Flexible funds; self-reliant peasant-technicians; Training provided by trained peasant technicians;
WWF/SEWA-India (Working Women's Forum) and (Self-employed Women's Association) two women's movement in India; both pioneering initiatives to organise women working in urban slums;	Credit provision to their members; **Health care and Family Welfare** activities; Formation of cooperatives; Lobbying national laws for the protection of the rights and improvement of women urban slum dwellers	Participation is mainly understood and demonstrated as the exertion of collective pressure and power to secure higher wages for job and contract work; to influence legislation on matters of interests to members;	Exclusively women organisations; self-reliance; Training to be organised and gain decision-making skills; Flexibility and capacity to experiment with solutions to their needs and problems

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8. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

8.1 DEFINITIONS

The terminologies and expressions in the different case studies represent different ideologies. Words such as "the poor", "the oppressed" or "oppression" are used to designate target groups for which development is frequently designed.

There are no such things as "developed" or "developing" countries. The countries of the designated "North" are perplexed economically in their fragmented attempts to solve problems of unemployment, inflation, and stagnation. In a global environment lacking peace, justice and unity we all live in a world yet to be developed. Development, therefore, is construed as a process to achieve these objectives

Social development is "development in which people rather than economics or technology are the central focus" (Korten, 1983a). The goal of social development is welfare as determined by people themselves. The consequent creation of institutions, change of values, individual behaviour and motivation (Paiva, 1986) affect the capacity to improve the quality of relationships between people and

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societal institutions. Local social development projects come to meet the socioeconomic, moral and spiritual needs of that society (Korten, 1980; Conyers, 1986; Blair, 1986).

8.2 PEOPLE-CENTRED PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT

The community initiatives explored in this thesis each take the involvement of people as their starting main and primary purpose. They contrast with other more conventional economic growth approaches to development which play down human development in favour of the production of physical and economic resources. People-centred initiatives put the materially less-favoured first with the belief that "the environment and development are for people" (Chambers, 1986). They provide a perspective which is conducive to sustainability rather than higher production. Economists' concerns for development programmes have been to increase economic output and growth. The integration of economic growth as development contrasts with development that starts by emphasising the development of people with the less advantaged taking priority.

8.3 BASIC NEEDS

Those responsible for these initiatives address basic needs as a priority. They are in a good position to help communities recognise what is best for them. They are

encouraged to analyze their own circumstances, needs and resources; to specify priorities and to organise themselves and to devise new approaches for their own development or resource management.

BRAC develops rural society in Bangladesh to increase mobility and to manage local and external resources. PIDA makes participation the central issue of sustainable development. Participants are no longer viewed as targets of development which is directed to release indigenous creative energy (Wignaraja, - the previous chairman of PIDA, - 1992).

PIDA and SARILAKAS establish base groups related to the specific interests or work activities such as fishermen, artisans or betel producers. In urban settings, vendors in slums, home-based workers and casual labourers are organised into trade-union type associations by WWF and SEWA. Base group designation has been a basic method of operation by NGOs and church-supported development work in Latin America (Oakley and Winder 1981).

Working with groups involves the forging of social and economic links to help develop the cohesion and solidarity between them. Groups that receive merely inputs of technology or credit (Oakley, *et al.* 1991) have shown little signs of sustainability with regard to this development.

8.4   STRUCTURE AND FACILITATION

ORAP and Six 'S' are people's movements, with broader community representation concerned about local issues identified in family units (ORAP) and NAAM groups (Six 'S'). Six 'S' after examining the cultural and social structures of the rural society in Burkina Faso discovered the NAAM groups as a well defined and respected form of local organisation. Six 'S' promotes these groups into an administration with a chair, vice chairman,   ., and treasurer. These groups then solve problems with what they have and know using agents which facilitate the process through training and technical assistance.

Training agents and sympathetic outsiders play a catalytic role and generate synergy. They come from the local communities and their training includes social education for community needs. Links between the macro social forces and local resources generate a process which continues in consultation-action-reflection. The conduct of trainers is continuously adjusted to the unfolding response of those they work with and their environment.

8.5   SUCCESS RATE

PIDA found that up to 50% of agents in training drop out. Only 25 per cent of the remaining agents were

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satisfactory after a year's training. Some of those who drop out have high levels of formal education and are attracted by better paid urban jobs. The majority who qualify as agents came from families already involved in village work (de Silva, *et al.* 1983).

The role of the development agents includes: (a) animation - assisting the development of intellectual and critical ability; (b) structuring - developing internal cohesion and solidarity amongst rural communities by developing an organisation which serves and encourages continued involvement; (c) facilitation - enabling or providing technical skills and access to resources; (d) translating ideas into projects; (e) intermediary - establishing contacts with other services and explaining how to deal with the services; (f) linking rural communities in similar contexts in different areas; (g) withdrawal - on successful completion of involvement the agent withdraws from the direct role encouraging participants to proceed independently (Oakley, *et al.*, 1991). Agents need to be conscious that service to community is the primary role (Etling, 1975).

8.6 ORIGINS AND EVOLUTIONS

Some NGOs began as government initiatives which evolved into independent bodies such as SARILAKAS and PIDA. National NGOs such as BRAC, SSM, WWF and SEWA started for

charitable relief to deliver welfare services to rural poor. The initial assistance they offered was appropriate to immediate situations but it encouraged those it helped to act to meet their own needs on a sustained basis. BRAC, SSM, Six'S', and ORAP subsequently became involved in preventative health, improved farming practices, local infrastructure and community education.

Grassroots experience reflects remarkable diversity. Initiatives come from government or private sources and some originated in national policy. Those emerging as a local effort have been built into a programme at higher levels. Some dealt with narrow concerns or specific social groups. Those which took a comprehensive approach to the needs of communities--BRAC, SSM, Six 'S', ORAP involved specific commitment to the poor--BRAC, PIDA, SARILAKAS, whilst others made no distinction between rural classes (SSM).

8.7 EFFECTIVENESS

NGOs acting alone, no matter how locally self-reliant and autonomous their approach, can hope only to achieve fragmented benefits for a few communities. These initiatives are only sustainable when they are linked into a supportive national development or international system. To widen their effectiveness, these initiatives have to address policy and the institutional setting of their

activity. This approach may mean less direct community work and more involvement with public and private organisations that control resources and policies.

The success of rural development programmes is determined by economic, social, cultural factors (Coombs, 1980) which vary from one rural area to another. Rural development programmes are sustainable if linked into local institutions which involve local people and resources.

8.8 POLITICAL OBSTRUCTION

The original NGO initiatives and their underlying assumptions may often be too simplistic. Participatory organisations engaged in local power confrontations acknowledge that the power structures are maintained by protective national and international systems. Village groups, regardless of their degree of organisation and level of effort are relatively limited. They often seem to be fragmented and powerless against national and international structures (Korten, 1990).

NGOs such as WWF, SEWA, BRAC, and SARILAKAS are pressure groups against certain vested interests which oppose repressive legislation and deploy their influence on bureaucracy and local politics to promote the interests of their members.

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8.9 SELF-RELIANCE

The concept of **self** in psychological, anthropological and sociological circles is interpreted in material and physical contexts. Many forms of religious teachings speculate that individuals have two natures; the "material or physical" nature, and the "spiritual". The characteristics of the former include egotism, greed, animosity, hatred, destruction and injustice. These represent the "dark side" of personality. Other qualities, such as altruism, generosity, friendliness, kindness, benevolence, courage, rectitude and service to others emanate from the other "higher self". This reflects the spiritual aspect. Both can grow but in discussing "self-reliance" it is the spiritual "self" which is being referred to. The drive for rendering service to community that the agents experience is an emanation of their "spiritual" nature.

8.10   COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE

With education and the steady increase of intellectual, moral and technical capacity at individual and community level there is a higher sense of self-reliance. Self-reliance is an expression of faith in the abilities of "self". It is a driving force for creativity, to take decisions and to act. To choose a concerted course of action demonstrates self-reliance for the community and

requires material, intellectual, organisational and management capabilities to be autonomous (Tilakaratna, 1987).

Financial self-reliance through collective credit systems is the core activity of WWF and SEWA. Six 'S' has contributed to members' self-reliance and financial independence through income-generation and employment. This may imply that the activity increases the dependence of members on the organisation. Credit provision encourages self-reliance provided that it is performed under strict conditions with funds as loans repayable over specified periods. In PIDA and SARILAKAS, finance for developing the material base are acquired partly through the direct efforts of the group and partly through assertion of legitimate rights and claims.

Intellectual self-reliance depends upon the possession of autonomous knowledge bases. These bases prevent the more subtle forms of domination arising from the control of knowledge. It requires an ability to investigate, analyze and understand the dynamics of social reality. Intellectual self-reliance is achieved by Bhoomi Sena, PIDA and SARILAKAS by encouraging the base groups to value their epistemological knowledge and develop it further through action.

Organisational and management self-reliance provides

the ability to manage collective action.   Through
identifying with an organisation, a sense of pride and
strengths is generated as in PIDA, SARILAKAS and Bhoomi
Sena.

8.11   EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE

Education about social realities and solutions
requires understanding of spiritual, social, economic and
political dynamics. Spiritual education deserves further
investigation as a factor in holistic development.
Sarvodaya demonstrates that spiritual principles motivate
and mobilise.

Economic development has repeatedly absorbed and
preoccupied humanity's efforts to achieve a happy and
fulfilled life. But it is now widely believed that we need
to give spiritual, moral, intellectual and social aspects
their due importance and show their reflections in
development enterprises.

One of the distinctive characteristics of BRAC is
involvement in non-formal education. The organisation has
developed a unique methodology and school curricula that
require more teacher commitment. Bangladesh ranks 107th in
literacy among 131 countries with only 33% of those 15
years and older having literacy skills.   Eighty five
percent of rural women cannot read, write or understand

numbers at a functional level. The rural 80% of the
population receive only 30% of the educational investments
(Lovell and Fatema, 1989).

Rural primary schools increased from 22 schools in
1985 to 4500 in 1991 in Bangladesh. The Education and
Publications department of BRAC prepares schools material
and the Training and Resource Centre trains the teachers
and teacher trainers.

Development initiatives such as BRAC, use Freire's
methodology (see section 4.7) for literacy programmes and
awareness building. This approach puts increasing emphasis
on the knowledge and role of the participants and
diminished the importance of the role and knowledge of the
teacher. It may be counter-productive, teachers are
expected to have access to more specific or general
knowledge than the students. In guiding the students
through the exploration of knowledge, the teacher needs a
different status. The authority, however, is ascribed to
that of the knowledge of the teacher and not the person of
the teacher. This knowledge cannot be seen as absolute.
If so, it puts a halt to its further exploration, and
causes intellectual stagnation.

The influential ideas of Paulo Freire developed for
adult literacy in Latin America have engaged the urban and
rural communities in a critical analysis of the causes of

their impoverishment and powerlessness in South America, Africa and Asia.

Educational approaches towards development may devote more time to the methodology of imparting the educational message rather than the content. The Latin American NGO FUNDAEC based in Colombia finds that:

> "Convenient formulae and conclusions [are] presented in neatly arranged boxes of the appropriate pages. In schools of education, courses [are] being taught in the use of audiovisual gadgets, programming, and organising time and space. ... everyone [is] learning to formulate objectives... that [are] ... based on ... advanced educational theories, yet ... the content of the educational material, continue[s] to be the same. There [is] no correspondence between the most impressive set of objectives for the education of children and youth and what is taught in the classrooms ..." (Arbab, 1984).

Rural education in Colombia is "urban, dogmatic, fragmented, rigid, and superficial". The content dissociates students from nature and the reality of their surroundings. It includes few social, moral or spiritual teachings with little encouragement of creativity. Sophisticated technology induced rote learning and boredom and did little to improve the end result.

FUNDAEC as a new approach for rural education emphasised that participation be the objective whilst students developed their own personal capacities.

Except for Sarvodaya training materials teach standard

ideological aspirations for material progress and an affluent society. Spiritual, moral, and cultural aspects seldom appear. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement takes Buddhist values of suffering, detachment and selflessness as central to the development path of Sri Lankan villagers.

8.12   PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH (PAR)

Participatory action research emerged from work with rural communities. It brings researchers and local people together in joint inquiry and action on problems of mutual interest. The participants become collaborative learners. They control the research process and commit themselves to constructive action. In addition to equity, education and organisational interaction, participation is intended to promotes empowerment, understanding (Brown, 1985).

PIDA and SARILAKAS are directly involved with animators in participatory research. They focus on actors (oppressed groups), issues (conflicts with power holders), and values and ideology (empowerment, equity, and self-reliance). to oppose dominant local forces (Brown and Tandon, 1983).

By understanding the circumstances of local participants they use that understanding to plan strategies for improvement. Animators as outsiders, learn about village and community life from villagers. Rural people

learn skills of organisation and action from the animators.

Participatory research is an informal educational *process*. The knowledge and experience of the participants is affirmed and used as determinant factors to control the educational content. PAR depends upon two-way discussions between researchers as the facilitators and participants as the students. Both instruct each other about topics such as research methods and/or local conditions. This educational process, once launched, unlocks the local energy and lays the ground from which community members initiate independent projects.

Participatory research also encourages the participants to organise themselves into initiating action with development, educational and political implications. Through delegated representation before authorities as with the case of the adivasis of Bhoomi Sena, PIDA and SARILAKAS the rural poor were represented before political authorities.

There has been a cross-fertilisation between some of these activities within and across national boundaries. Participatory action research (PAR) started at a micro level has grown to higher levels of activity. WWF/SEWA started with the local concern of urban slum dwellers of Madras and Gujarat respectively and soon grew to involve multi-state unions.

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In contrast the traditional positivist researcher seeks to build a network of rules to explain social phenomena. The validity of findings is achieved by careful control of the research design, data analysis and the impact of the researcher's values and ideology. This reduces the ambiguity of conclusions and diminishes the relevance of competing explanations as conferred with participatory research. Villagers are less interested in outside researchers' regulations and questions as few effective results have benefitted the rural masses.

8.13 ECONOMIC IMPACTS

Although this thesis argues that social and spiritual development should constitute our main objectives, it does not mean that the material aspect of life is irrelevant to human progress. Most participatory initiatives are involved in providing credit to individual members or to groups. WWF and SEWA realising that capital is a fundamental factor for production, made it possible for women vendors, hawkers, and home-based workers to impressive incomes by providing some money to individuals do as to be able to buy goods for resale in the market or materials and equipment.

Six 'S' and ORAP have helped increase income, production and employment through pooling labour and other resources under collective projects such as local resource

management, mutual help in ploughing and harvesting, food storage, cereal banks, transport, marketing and joint purchase of agricultural inputs. PIDA, Bhoomi Sena, WWF and SEWA as well as SARILAKAS exerted collective pressure to secure higher wages for jobs and contract work, enforcement of land and tenancy reform, fishing and forestry rights and implementing labour legislation.

Economic improvements through social welfare have been achieved by BRAC, ORAP, Six 'S'. They made a wide range of social and cultural impacts through their literacy programmes, schools, nutrition, child care, help for the old and the handicapped, village clinics, personal hygiene, music and dances. WWF and SEWA, in addition to literacy classes have organised night schools for working children, family planning and nutrition education, as well as welfare schemes for maternity, death, and widowhood.

8.14   THE GENDER FACTOR

Women, 50% of the world population, do 66% of the work and only one-tenth of the world's income is earned by them. They own less than 1% of property. Unpaid work such as bearing, nurturing, and educating children; homemaking; caring for the sick and elderly; farming for subsistence, fetching and carrying wood and water are fundamental for humankind but ignored as part of the world's wealth (Ekins, 1992).

Women have been and are oppressed. Where there has been some economic development material improvement has often contributed to making women's situations worse. If the poor man is oppressed by the rich man, the poor woman suffers oppression from both (Mo﬈sen, 1991).

The full participation of women either in mixed or in discrete gender groups has led to slow but profound changes in the socioeconomic status of women through WWF and SEWA. Over sixty per cent of BRAC's members are women and other initiatives have focused planning, women's health, education and agriculture.

Women's suffering and endemic underdevelopment of opportunity and rights requires a long social educational process for women and the men who assume superior attitudes.

8.15   PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT

"The right of men to have power over other men and the necessity for such power for any kind of social organisation are rarely questioned". Empowerment is central to successful development. It is interpreted by identification with political ideologies to manage, distribute, control, and balance political power. This empowerment can be achieved through democratic negotiations, by force, through the rule of an elite, or by

regulated free competition (Arbab, 1990).

Power is the fundamental issue of development. It is related to values which are resolved through the integration and adoption of humility, moderation and love (Korten, 1990).

Being humble before others means maintaining confidence and strength to exercise patience and service. Service towards others should be the pivot about which our activities revolve. Our concern, care, purity of motive and humility can best be manifested through love and service. Otherwise, the enterprise will be self-centred and its effectiveness.

There is a sense of empowerment within groups which derives not so much from the control and management of resources as from the *unity* and *solidarity* within the group. The *knowledge* learned and accumulated by personal effort and *unified action* spring from *consultation*. Power, as experienced is the management, control and distribution of resources. Although there have been achievements in many areas, power has been taken from the poor to create new groups of oppressed and deprived. The collective human community concern should be material and spiritual progress. Entire communities can thus be empowered in ways different from the political.

8.16   ENVIRONMENTAL INITIATIVES

Some organisations set up to protect the environment and nature see people as a threat to their immediate interests. There are several lessons to be learned from these NGOs which combine development and resource management with equity. They give substantial local support through environmental activism. Their ability to form coalitions with regional, national or international groups with similar interests strengthen their position and enhances their credibility within the community. ORAP for example puts sustainable resource management on the agenda of other groups and NGOs with wider concerns. It responded to environmental degradation caused by inappropriate green revolution farming techniques by supporting a return to drought-resistant crops, organic farming methods and afforestation programmes (Vivian, 1992).

The experience of Six 'S' in environmental resource management resulted from the drought situations in Burkina Faso. The consequent youth unemployment during the dry season encouraged labour intensive environmental rehabilitation of local resources. The rehabilitation required effective cooperation and organisation that the solidarity of a group provide. Sustaining a fragile ecosystem requires constant innovation and experimentation to test techniques and approaches. Those groups organised for their own development and committed to work ensure a

working environment conducive to successful experimentation. Good ideas and techniques need effective communication and training to bring the development act to fruition. Naam groups are enthusiastic and progress together, exchanging ideas and experience, learning from each other to achieve groups' objectives. Visits and encounters prove to be the best and least costly extension system (Egger and Majeres, 1992).

SARILAKAS is also involved in environmental resource projects that consider multi-cropping in the idle sugar lands and destructive fishing methods which have damaged 70% of the coral reefs. This resulted in dramatic decreases in the fish catch of subsistence fishermen (Espiritu, 1988).

8.17   DEVELOPMENT AS A LEARNING PROCESS APPROACH

Effective participatory initiatives realise that the bottom-up approach need to be a learning process. Programme design and the capacity to implement it are developed simultaneously to produce a three way fit between the beneficiaries, the programme, and the assisting organisation (Korten, 1980) (Figure 8.1).

THE FIT MODEL
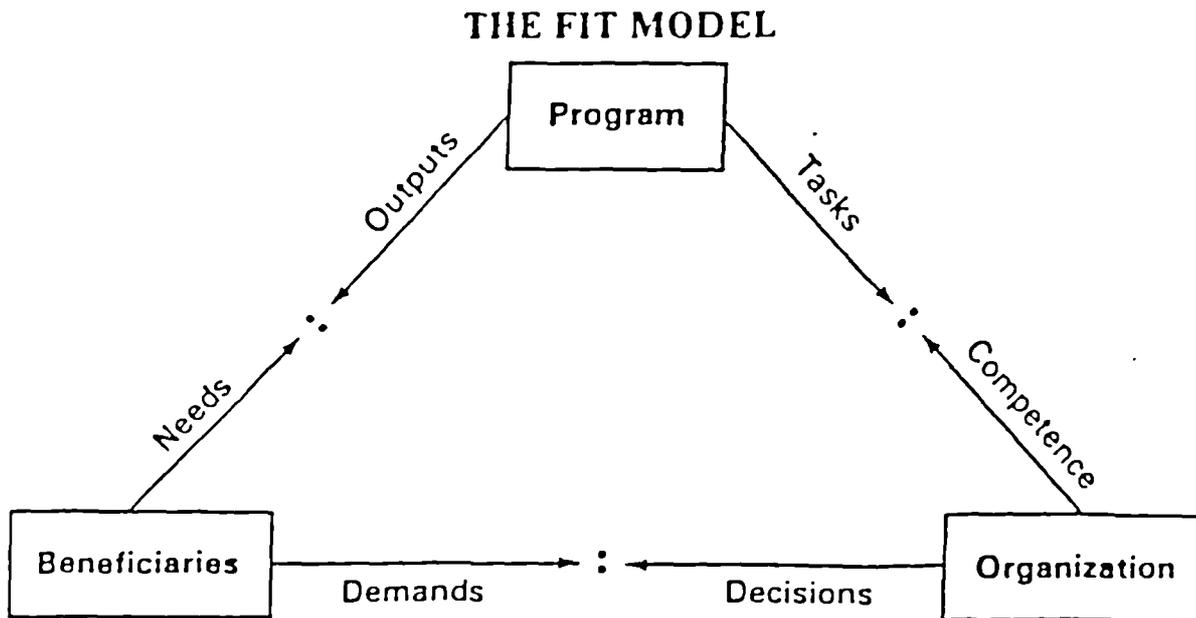
Figure 8.1   Schematic Representation of Fit Requirements

Source: Korten 1980

Between beneficiaries and programme, the critical fit is between beneficiary needs and the resources. Services should be made available as programme output. Between beneficiaries and the assisting organisation a fit is needed between the means by which beneficiaries can articulate their own needs and the processes by which the organisation takes its own decisions. Between the programme and the organisation there must be a fit between the programme's task requirements and the organisation's

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distinctive competence. The effectiveness of the programme will be a function of the degree of fit between these three elements (Korten, 1980).

Once a priority beneficiary group has been defined, the learning process within the NGO proceeds through three stages (Fig. 8.2). The first stage is **learning to be effective**. The aim is to develop a programme model in some local community. One or more teams of highly qualified personnel are sent to one or more villages which constitute their learning lab or project site. They develop a familiarity with the problem in question from the beneficiary's perspective and try out some promising approaches to addressing jointly identified needs. They may be supported by a variety of external resource persons with expertise in the social, managerial, and related technical sciences. Errors are common and the resource inputs required are high relative to the obtained results. It is a stage of learning about the reality of the community--a participatory research like PAR.

The second stage is **learning to be efficient**. The aim changes to reducing the input requirements per unit of output. As insights are gained into what to do, attention is redirected to learning how to do it more efficiently. Eliminating non-productive activities and working out simplified problem-solving routines for those with less skills are the strategies towards better efficiency.

Problems of achieving fit between programme requirements
and realistically attainable organisational capacities are
given attention. There is a tradeoff between effectiveness
loss and efficiency gain.

Figure 8.2 Programme Learning Curves

PROGRAM LEARNING CURVES

STAGE 1: LEARNING TO BE EFFECTIVE

STAGE 2: LEARNING TO BE EFFICIENT

STAGE 3: LEARNING TO EXPAND

PERFORMANCE — HIGH / LOW

INITIATION

EFFECTIVENESS

TRANSITION

TRANSITION

EXPANSION

MATURITY

TIME

Note.

There are I kely to be trade-offs between effectiveness, efficiency, and expansion which will lead to some loss of effectiveness as efficiency increases, and to losses in both effectiveness and efficiency during expansion.

Source: Korten (1980, 1981)

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The third stage is **learning to expand.** The major concern is with the expansion of the programme. The emphasis will be put on the capacity of organisation. Continuous attention is paid to ensure a reasonable level of fit is maintained, accepting that the expansion of programme will entail some loss in effectiveness and efficiency. The rate of expansion is determined by how quickly the necessary organisational capabilities can develop to support it. By the end of stage three the programme reaches maturity and is a stable and large-scale programme (Korten, 1980 and 1981).

8.18   ACTION

These grass-roots organisations support highly pragmatic responsive programmes. As experience is gained modifications are added to the programmes which do not progress homogeneously in all areas. The variability depends upon the local participation, courage, ingenuity and local non-human resources.

8.19   CRITERIA FOR SUCCESS: INTEGRATED PROGRAMMES

Development programmes need to meet closely related needs areas and link them together, for instance: a child care programme linked to nutrition, agriculture and appropriate technology which may preserve food. All activities are integrated and tied together through

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education.

Integration is also achieved through the activities of NGOs within the same area. Their collaboration with each other and government agencies ensure that programmes go step-by-step starting small and then, if results are favourable, being broadened to a wider scale.

Successful design, management, modification, and evaluation of environmental or development programmes requires that:

● Programmes should have sufficiently long-term horizon,
● Programmes should be in harmony with existing government activities,
● New technologies introduced should build on traditional practices,
● Technologies to be taught are best learned on person to person and small-group basis.

8.20 CONSULTATION

Group consultation occurs in every participatory meeting. In some initiatives, this is given more importance than in others. To reach a collective decision the consultation has to be carried out by understanding the situation; deciding what to do; and executing that decision.

This process requires certain attitudes and qualities:

- To search out truth and not insist upon one's opinion, because stubbornness and persistence lead to discord and wrangling,
- To express the thoughts with all freedom, and not to belittle the thought of others;
- To obey and submit to the majority;
- Maintain a spirit of harmony and purity of motive during the consultation process.
- Courtesy, dignity, moderation, care, looking at each other as equals, patience, tolerance, and participation.

(Kolstoe, 1985)

The value of group work is governed by the manner in which consultation occurs. Consultation is a process of investigation in a spirit of collaboration to reveal the truth. It requires certain attitudes, abilities, and skills, as well as rules and procedures. This will allow frank and sincere expression of opinion for joint exploration of the possibilities and to reach consensus. The challenge is to see one's opinion contribute to group exploration. Consultation is much more than group discussion. It is action and reflection; exploring reality experimentation, deliberation on concrete directions of activity as well as the principles and concepts that must guide it. Consultation raises the level of awareness and

community self-diagnosis and self-education (Arbab, 1987).
It requires a learning process to consult and to make
errors so that we are on our development path--learning how
to learn.

8.21   COMBINED FIELD OPERATION AND POLICY ADVOCACY

Local participatory field initiatives are essential.
Marginalised local efforts are unlikely to bring about all
the changes necessary. Development-orientated NGOs, by and
large, have been content to leave the larger policy issues
to international finance organisations such as the World
Bank and other donors. There should be a combination of
local field operation with policy advocacy. The
combination may diminish their direct local level
activities but they then dedicate some of their effort to
policy formulation and advocacy.

8.22   THE STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF
PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

If participatory grass-roots initiatives are to be
promoted to create a participatory philosophy for similar
enterprises then it is important to be aware of their value
and limitations.

8.22.1   Strengths

● Successes and achievements make the case studies suitable for replication.

● Each initiative is unique therefore solutions are sought on a case to case base as well.

● Needs are assessed prior to initiating activities.

● Participatory performance provides the institutional framework to prioritise needs and aspirations.

● The commitment of those associated with participatory initiatives.

● Participatory development is unexploited and provides alternative models which ought to be promoted, supported and sustained. Non-profit making NGOs are financially more efficient and accountable to the sponsors.

● National and local NGOs are familiar with the socio-cultural and natural environmental characteristics of their area. This gives local and national initiatives credibility and authority to expand their work.

8.22.2   Weaknesses

● In the context of my thesis the case studies are necessarily selective.

● Highlighting of achievements may obscure errors that could teach positive lessons.

● The emphasis on success may lead to an idealistic

picture of the function of organisations.

- The difficulties of organisation, finance, know-how, staffing, opposition and apathy are less well-known than the benefits.

- The empowering potential of participatory approaches, has been interpreted as subversive within the socio-political contexts in which they operate. This limited the execution of plans in general and restricted participatory approaches in particular.

- Many initiatives depend for their success on the leadership of exceptional charismatic. This makes them difficult to replicate. They became dependent upon individuals who may frustrate the participatory objectives of the organisations.

- Full replication of particular initiatives may evolve into "blue print" models. This may obscure the basic ideas of participatory initiative.

- Lack of careful evaluation and monitoring.

- Too many initiatives are small. To be effective, initiatives need to be united by linking into international networks.

8.22.3   Opportunities

- Education and its various fields need to be developed and exploited. Sustainable development can be promoted through education and awareness of the citizens.

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- Programmes that are suggested need to be integrated.

- Environmental management and its value is best defined through the participation and involvement of individual citizens.

- EIA is a useful environmental management tool, but without aware and responsible citizens its application and effectiveness is limited.

8.23   CONCLUSION

To some extent all research is conditioned by the culture and ideologies of the researcher. This situation is particularly true when the research topic addresses areas of human welfare and development. The author does not feel it appropriate to discuss his personal belief at this point in thesis. Nevertheless, accepting that they will have affected his work they are very briefly stated in Appendix B.

In this the penultimate chapter and in the preceding contents I have tried to demonstrate:

1.   that traditional forms of development have failed because they have not been relevant to the needs of the people concerned and particularly the poor.

2.   that in many instances participatory development has been effective in increasing the social welfare of the

poor, mainly in the rural areas but not exclusively so.

3. that participatory development not only increases material welfare but also aids improvements in education, political empowerment and self-esteem.

4. that development can only occur within the resources available whether they be material or human.

5. that the environment may impose contrasts on development and these contrasts have to be accepted in development projects.

6. that the development benefits listed under 5 often allow for the much greater availability of the human resources that may initially have been appreciated.

7. that the weakness of public participation in Portugal is affecting the EIA effectiveness in that country.

8. that environmental impact assessment of large development projects would be a much more powerful environmental management instrument if its public participation part is more effectively promoted and exercised.

9. that many participatory initiatives realise that development is a learning process, and that it is

progressively expanding.

10. that the learning process listed in 9 involves an action-reflection-action continuum.

9. RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the preceding chapters of my thesis I therefore recommend :

1. That development projects should be participatory.

2. That development projects should encourage both material development and human development.

3. That participatory education should be promoted.

4. That environmental knowledge and information should be produced through participatory approaches.

5. That public participation aspect of EIA should be improved.

6. That exchange of information and publication of results and time evaluation will help further projects.

7. That further research is needed both to refine investigation techniques and to more accurately evaluate projects.

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APPENDIX A:
LIST OF PORTUGUESE EISs

APPENDIX A LIST OF PORTUGUESE EISs

1.
PROJECT: "Empreendimento da Quinta do Bravo"
TYPE   : Tourist Development
EIA FOR: COBI-Companhia de Bens Imobiliarios, Lda.
EIA BY : ALFA 3-Planeamento, Arquitectura, Engenharia,
         Estudos e Projectos, Lda.
PPN   : NI

2.
PROJECT: "Projecto de florestacao com Especies de Rapido
         Crecimento de Outeiro Alto e Outros"
TYPE   : Forestry
EIA FOR: Celulose Beira Industrial, SA (CELBI)
EIA BY : CELBI
PPN   : YES

3.
PROJECT: "NESTE - MTBE"
TYPE   :
EIA FOR: NESTE - MTBE, S.A.
EIA BY : Impacto 2000
PPN   : NI

4.
PROJECT: "A3, Sub-Lanco Cruz - Braga"
TYPE   : Highways
EIA FOR: BRISA
EIA BY : Impacto 2000
PPN   : NI

5.
PROJECT: "Vriante a EN 6-7, Carcavelos"
TYPE   : Roads
EIA FOR: JAE
EIA BY : Impacto 2000
PPN   : YES

6.
PROJECT: "Circular de Loule"
TYPE   : Roads
EIA FOR: JAE
EIA BY : ENGIVIA
PPN   : NI

7.
PROJECT: "Ligacao da EN 125 ao Aeroporto de Faro"
TYPE   : Roads
EIA FOR: JAE
EIA BY : ENGIVIA
PPN   : NI

8.
PROJECT: "I C - 4 Sines/Lagos"
Type   : Highways
EIA FOR: JAE
EIA BY :
PPN   : YES

9.
PROJECT: "Aumento da Capacidade de Armazenagem de propano
          da BP Portuguesa na Instalacao da Santa Iria"
Type   : Gas Storage Installations
EIA FOR: B P Portuguesa SA
EIA BY : Impacto 2000
PPN   : YES

10.
PROJECT: "Projecto de Ampliacao de Armazenagem de propano
          Comercial (GPL) Parque de Parafita
TYPE   : Gas storage Installations
EIA FOR:
EIA BY :
PPN   : YES

11.
PROJECT: "Fluvia na Barragem do Torrao, Rio Tamega"
TYPE   : Marine
EIA FOR: R.T.A.
EIA BY : I.H.R.H.
PPN   : NI

12.
PROJECT: "Porto de Pesca da Quarteira"
TYPE   : Fishing Port
EIA FOR: Direccao Geral de Portos
EIA BY : CONSULMAR-Projectos e Consultores, Lda.
PPN   : NI

13.
PROJECT: "Sistema de Gestao de Residuos Industriais"
TYPE   : Toxic Waste Disposal
EIA FOR:
EIA BY :
PPN   : YES

14.
PROJECT: "Reconfiguracao de Refinaria de Sines-Petrogal
TYPE   : Refinery
EIA FOR: Petrogal S.A.
EIA BY : Impacto 2000
PPN   : NI

15.
PROJECT: "Coproleo-Compania Portuguesa de Oleos, Lda."
TYPE   : Vegetable Oil Industry
EIA FOR: Coproleo
EIA BY : TECNIVEST
PPN   : NI

16.
PROJECT: LOTEAMENTO INDUSTRIAL EM ARNEIRO
TYPE   : Industrial Park
EIA FOR:
EIA BY :
PPN   : NI

17.
PROJECT: "Construcao de uma esfera para VCM no porto
          Industrial
TYPE   : Gas Storage
EIA FOR: CIRES, S.A.
EIA BY : MAS - Consultores
PPN   : NI

18.
PROJECT: "Construcao de uma esfera para VCM em Estrreja
TYPE   : Gas Storage
EIA FOR: CIRES, S.A.
EIA BY : MAS - Consultores
PPN   :NI

19.
PROJECT: "Pipeline para o transporte de VCM entre o Porto
          de Aveiro o Parque Industrial de Estrreja
TYPE   : Pipeline
EIA FOR: CIRES, S.A.
EIA BY : Department of Environment and Planning of the
          University of Aveiro
PPN   : NI

20.
PROJECT: "Armazenagem de GPL en Caverna Subterranea-NESTE
TYPE   : Gas Storage
EIA FOR: NESTE
EIA BY : ECOSSISTEMA-Consultores en Engenharia do
          Ambiente
PPN   : YES

21.
PROJECT: "Pedreira de Travanca"
TYPE   : Non-metal extraction
EIA FOR: BRITAIRE-Grupo Terra Azul
EIA BY : Impacto 2000
PPN   : NI

22.
PROJECT: "Pedreira no Cerro da Cabeca Alta"
TYPE   : Non-metal extraction
EIA FOR: CIMPOR-Cimentos de Portugal
EIA BY : Impacto 2000
PPN   : NI

23.
PROJECT: "Areeiro Paul da Valada"
TYPE   : Non-metal extraction
EIA FOR: BURGAUVITAS
EIA BY : HIDROTERRA
PPN   : NI

24.
PROJECT: "Pedreira "Serra de Todo o Mundo"
TYPE   : Non-metal extraction
EIA FOR: Joao Batista
EIA BY : Raul Abrunhosa e Hijos
PPN   : YES

25.
PROJECT: "Projecto de plantacao de especies de crecimento
         rapido em Monte Branco
TYPE   : Forestry
EIA FOR: CELBI
EIA BY : CELBI
PPN   : YES

26.
PROJECT: "Projecto de florestacao com especies de
         crescimento da Ribeira Joao de Lagos"
TYPE   : Forestry
EIA FOR: Antonio Vitorino Goncalves
EIA BY : Gabinete Tecnico/Caixa de Credito Agricola Mutuo
         de Monchique
PPN   : NI

27.
PROJECT: "Projecto de florestacao de com especies de
         rapido crecimento-Anexos de Madalena, A.Brancas
TYPE   : Forestry
EIA FOR: PORTUCEL
EIA BY : PORTUCEL
PPN   : NI

28.
PROJECT: "Desvio da Linha de Rio Maior/Cedillo"
TYPE   : Powerlines
EIA FOR: E.D.P.
EIA BY : H.P.K.-Engenharia Ambiental Lda.
PPN   : YES

29.
PROJECT: "Nova Ligacao Ferroviaria/Pinhal Novo"
TYPE   : Railways
EIA FOR: Gabinete Ferroviaria de Lisboa
EIA BY : AMBITEC
PPN   : YES

30.
PROJECT: "Benefeciacao e alargamento da A5 do Lanco
          Lisboa-Estadio Nacional"
TYPE   : Roads
EIA FOR: BRISA
EIA BY : Impacto 2000
PPN   : NO

31.
PROJECT: "I P 1-Lanco Braga - Valenca"
TYPE   : Highways
EIA FOR: J A E
EIA BY : PROFABRIL - Centro de Projectos, S.A.
PPN   : NI

32.
PROJECT: "Projecto de Florestacao com especies de Rapido
          Crecimento no Barro do Gregorio"
TYPE   : Forestry
EIA FOR: PORTUCEL
EIA BY : PORTUCEL
PPN   : NI

33.
PROJECT: "Projecto de florestacao com especie de rapido
          crecimento de BELVER, PINHEIRO E CUCILHAS"
TYPE   : Forestry
EIA FOR: SILVICAIMA
EIA BY : SILVICAIMA
PPN   : YES

34.
PROJECT: " Projecto de florestacao com especie de rapido
          crecimento de Pomar da serra"
TYPE   : Forestry
EIA FOR: Helder Caeiro dos Santos
EIA BY : Engenharia Agrario-Jose Albino Bandeira Martins
PPN   : NI

35.
PROJECT: "Projecto de florestacao com Especies de rapido
         crecimento dos Anexos do Monte Carvao II"
TYPE   : Forestry
EIA FOR: PORTUCEL
EIA BY : PORTUCEL
PPN   : NI

36.
PROJECT: "Projecto de florestacao con especie de rapido
         crecimento de Ribeira de STa. Maria"
TYPE   : Forestry
EIA FOR:
EIA BY :
PPN   : NI

37.
PROJECT: "Florestacao com especie de crecimento rapido-
         Baldomero
TYPE   : Forestry
EIA FOR: PORTUCEL
EIA BY : CERN
PPN   : YES

38.
PROJECT: "Dragagem do canal de acesso ao Porto de Lisboa
         e Fecho da Golada - fase 1"
TYPE   : Dredging
EIA FOR: A.P.L.
EIA BY : H.P.
PPN   : YES

39.
PROJECT: "Dragagem do canal de acesso ao Porto de Lisboa
         e Fecho da Golada - fase 2
TYPE   : Dredging
EIA FOR: A.P.L.
PPN   : YES

40.
PROJECT: "Aldeamento Touristico de Faianca"
TYPE   : Tourist development
EIA FOR: Proprietarios do Casal da Fainca
EIA BY : PROAMBIO
PPN   : YES

41.
PROJECT: "Estudo Preliminar de Urbanizacao do Nucleo C2-
         C3 de Troia"
TYPE   : Urban development
EIA FOR: SOLTROIA
EIA BY : SOLTROIA
PPN   : NO

42.
PROJECT: "Estudo preliminar de Urbanizacao da Herdade
do Pinheirinho
TYPE : Tourist development
EIA FOR: Ferienbau Feba Portugal, Actividades
Industriais
EIA BY : Prof. Caldera Cabral, Associados Estudos e
Projectos, Lda."
PPN : YES

43.
PROJECT: "Aproveitamento Hidroelectrico do Rio Coa"
TYPE : Dams
EIA FOR: E.D.P.-Electricidade de Portugal S.A.
EIA BY : E.G.F.-Empresa Geral do Fomento
PPN : YES

44.
PROJECT: "Barragem do Pizao"
TYPE : Dams
EIA FOR: SMAS de Cascais
EIA BY : H.P.
PPN : YES

45.
PROJECT: "Aproveitamento dos Marmeleiros"
TYPE : Dams
EIA FOR: SMAS de Cascais
EIA BY : H.P.
PPN : NI

46.
PROJECT: "Acesso Norte a ponte sobre o Tejo"
TYPE : Railways
EIA FOR: G.N.F.- Gabinete Dono Ferroviario de Lisboa
EIA BY : PROFABRIL- Centro de Projectos, S.A.
PPN : YES

47.
PROJECT: "Emprendimento de Fins Multiples do Sardoal"
TYPE : Dams
EIA FOR: Camara Municipal do Sardoal
EIA BY : SANIGEST-Engenharia Sanitaria e Ambiental Lda.
PPN : YES

48.
PROJECT: "Aproveitamento Hidroelectrico de Nunes
TYPE : Dams
EIA FOR: Energias Hidroelectricas, Lda.
EIA BY : A I A
PPN : YES

49.
PROJECT: "Montagem e exploracao das instalacoes de Ar
         Propanado-Zona Norte de Lisboa"
TYPE   : Pipelines
EIA FOR: G.D.P.- Gas de Portugal, S.A.
EIA BY : LNETI-Laboratorio Nacional de Engenharia e
         Tecnologia Industrial.
PPN   : YES

50.
PROJECT: "Ampliacao da Armazenagem de Propano Comercial
         (GPL) Petrogal - Refinaria
TYPE   : Gas Storage
EIA FOR: PETROGAL, S.A.
EIA BY : TECNIVEST
PPN   : YES

51.
PROJECT: "Reconfiguracao de Refinaria de Sines-Petrogal
TYPE   : Refinery
EIA FOR: PETROGAL S.A.
EIA BY : PETROGAL S.A.
PPN   : NO

52.
PROJECT: "Estudos Previo da Via Rapida Palmela-caja/I P 7
TYPE   : Highways
EIA FOR: J.A.E.
EIA BY : PROJECTOP-Gabinete de Topografia e Projectos,Lda
PPN   : YES

53.
PROJECT: "Aproveitamento Hidroelectrico de Pagade"
TYPE   : Dams
EIA FOR: HIDRINVESTE- Investimentos Enetgeticos, Lda
EIA BY : E.G.F. - S.A.G.E.
PPN   : YES

54.
PROJECT: "METCOB-Metalurgia do Cobre"
TYPE   : Copper Processing Installations
EIA FOR:
EIA BY :
PPN   : NI

55.
PROJECT: "World Trader Center"
TYPE   : Urban Development
EIA FOR: World Trader Center, Lisboa
EIA BY : SIDONIO Costa Pardal/Engenharia e Arquitectura
         Paisagista Urbanista
PPN   : YES

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│          APPENDIX A CONTINUED: LIST OF PORTUGUESE EISs        │
│                                                               │
│  56.                                                          │
│  PROJECT:  "Estudo Preliminar do terminal Roll-on/Roll off    │
│            no Porto de Setubal"                                │
│  TYPE    : Fishing Harbour                                    │
│  EIA FOR:                                                     │
│  EIA BY :                                                     │
│  PPN     : NO                                                 │
│                                                               │
│  57.                                                          │
│  PROJECT: "Quinta da Beloura"                                 │
│  TYPE    : Tourist development                                │
│  EIA FOR: SOMALFA/ Gestao e Investimento Inmobiliarios, SA    │
│  EIA BY : INTERGAUP, Lda.                                     │
│  PPN     : YES                                                │
│                                                               │
│  58.                                                          │
│  PROJECT: "Aproveitamento Hidroelectrico de Boavista (Rio     │
│            Ave)                                                │
│  TYPE    : Dams                                               │
│  EIA FOR: Jose Pereira de Araujo e Compania Lda.              │
│  EIA BY : PROTERMIA/ Projectos Termicos Industriais e de      │
│            Ambiente, Lda.                                      │
│  PPN     : NO                                                 │
│                                                               │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
      Source: Adapted from Youssefi (1992)
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AIA=Consultores para Estudos e Auditorias de Impacte
    Ambiental
AMBITEC=Tecnologia para o Ambiente e Saneamento Basico,
        Lda.
APL=Administracao do Porto de Lisboa
BRISA=Auto Estradas de Portugal, S.A.
CELBI=Celulose Beira Industrial, Lda.
CERN=Consultores em Engenharia e Recursos Naturais, Lda.
CIRES=Compania Industrial de Resinas Sinteticas, S.A.
EDP=Electricidade de Portugal
EGF-SAGE=Empresa Geral de Fomento-Servicos de Apoio, Gestao
            e de Estudos, S.A.
HP=Hidrotecnica Portuguesa
IHRH=Instituto de Hidraulica e Recursos Hidricos
IMPACTO 2000=Gabinete de Engenharia e Planeamento
              Industrial
JAE=Junta Autonoma de Estradas
NI= Not Indicated
PORTUCEL=Empresa de Celulose e Papel de Portugal, E.P.
PPN=Public Participation
PROAMBIO=Projectos de Ambiente, Lda.
RTA=Rio Tamega, Turismo e Recreio, S.A.
TECNINVEST=Tecnicas e Servicos para o Investimento, S.A.

APPENDIX B: BAHA'I LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Participation in the local and national Baha'i communities of Iran, USA, Chile and England constitutes the experience of the author.

B.1 Description

Bahá'í Community is an emerging global religion. It is established in more than 180 countries and independent territories. About six million adherents represent all racial, cultural and religious backgrounds in different local and national communities.

Why development?:   Human nature and human society

In order to understand what motivates human beings for development and to strive for development, it helps to know about the Bahá'í perspective on human development.

There are two basic aspects in every individual, (i) the spiritual and (ii) the material or physical. The material aspect of human nature is the product of genetic endowments received at conception and the interaction of this configuration with the physical and social environment (Hatcher, 1987). As a result of this physical potential

created by genetic endowments, the individual has both needs and capacities to satisfy and develop. This development takes place through creative action and interaction with the environment.

The spiritual dimension of a human being is considered to be more important than the physical aspect. It derives from the existence of an objectively existing, non-physical entity called the soul or spirit. This comes into being at the moment of physical conception. The physical conception is not the cause of the non-physical soul. The soul is brought into being by a specific creative act of that ultimate creative force in the universe, called God. Similar to the human physical body, the soul has also inherent capacities and potentialities and cannot be separated from it.

One of the spiritual capacities of the soul is the intellect or the capacity for conscious, rational thought. Intellect is not considered to be a capacity of the body. Although animals demonstrate some intelligence, they do not have a soul. The other capacity of the soul is the capacity to initiate and sustain action, or the capacity of the will which is another capacity of the soul. Love as altruism and self sacrifice is also a human capacity.

Therefore, in the Bahá'í view, the fundamental purpose of human existence is the **development** of spiritual

capacities towards an Infinite Perfection. The physical capacities of the body are also important but they serve as vehicles or instrument for the development of spiritual capacities.

The society is the matrix within which the eternal process of spiritual development begins. It is held impossible for an individual to develop his or her spiritual capacities away from the process by which others are developing their spiritual capacities. It is through the creation of a just, unified, and progressive social order that spiritual capacities are best developed. Thus, the social purpose of man--the purpose of human society--is to create a more favourable environment for the full and adequate development of the potential of all members of society.

The thrust for "human" capacity and potential development and the creation of a suitable environment for that fuels the efforts of every individual and his/her collective society. One of the vehicles to achieve the above are the established Bahá'í participatory institutions, that deserve examination for the purpose of this study.

B.2 Participation

There are three key elements within the community that

emphasize participation and promote development: the Nineteen Day Feast, the local spiritual assembly and the local fund.

Local Spiritual Assembly

When the number of a local community members are nine or more an organisation called the "Local Spiritual Assembly" (LSA) is elected to serve as the governing body in that locality for the duration of one year. This election is repeated annually. The local assembly consists of nine persons from among the full adult membership in that local community. The spiritual assembly supervises all the local Bahá'í activities, maintains the unity of the community, promotes educational programmes, counsels members, administers the local fund and responds to other community requirements.

Nineteen Day Feast

The activities of the community are centred on a periodic meeting known as a "Nineteen Day Feast" in which community members of all ages participate. The feast consists of three basic parts. Prayers and meditations from Bahá'í holy writings and from other revealed scriptures are read. The community's business is discussed and consulted by those present. Besides the reports of the LSA's secretary to the community and treasurer's report,

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considerable time is dedicated to consulting the members, including the youth and children. All participants are encouraged to offer suggestions, raise questions and express their opinion and concerns. The LSA takes these recommendations to its meetings to discuss and report back to the community, in subsequent feasts.

The feasts take place on the first day of the Bahá'í month which are the same for the entire Bahá'í world, (Bahá'í months are based on the Bahá'í solar calendar which consists of nineteen months each having nineteen days, making a total of 361 days. The four extra days of the solar year (five in leap years) are "Intercalary Days". These constitute a period of gift-giving, hospitality and festivity in the community. Attending the feast is considered a spiritual obligation and privilege by members of the community and every child and adult member makes his/her utmost attempt to participate and not to deprive him/her-self of this occasion.

Fund

The Bahá'í community depends directly on the individual initiatives and responsibility of its members. The extent to which these responsibilities are discharged are a personal matter and no individual or agency monitors them. One such spiritual responsibility is the establishment and support of a community fund for the

progress and development of local as well as national and international community affairs. The local spiritual assembly, in consultation with their communities, set the budget they require to carry out projects -- meeting specific goals, financing development programmes, administrative expenses or community services. These needs are usually announced through the nineteen day feasts, community bulletins or individual communications. All contributions are voluntary and no individual canvassing is permitted; only general appeals may be made. The contributions are kept confidential between the individual and the treasurer of the local spiritual assembly.

The support of this fund is a spiritual privilege that the members cherish for themselves. It is considered an act of service which circulates to nourish many other service activities in the community.

Consultation

To consult is a spiritual responsibility of every member of the community. The member before making any decisions, even about personal matters, is encouraged to consult with those expert in that specific issue. This gives a broader perspective on personal decisions.

Consultation is practised to arrive at decisions at the administrative structure and community life as well.

It happens at the Nineteen Day Feast with a main proportion of its time dedicated to consultation. This element of administration includes universal participation which benefits the community from the widest range of experience and wisdom. Everyone is encouraged to speak frankly, though with calmness and courtesy.

The second principle is detachment and objectivity. Ideas put forward in a local spiritual assembly belong to the community and not to the member or person who suggested them. The third principle is the maintenance of unity when carrying out a decision. There is ample room for diversity of opinions. But, once a decision is arrived at, if not unanimously by the majority of vote, even those in the minority should wholeheartedly support the implementation of the decision and do not attempt to stop it. Otherwise, this would undermine the unity of the community which is held to be far more important than avoiding a possible short-term mistake. These mistakes can always be reversed if further consultation is brought about.

Through consultation the local spiritual assembly and the community thus maintain constant contact with each other at regular times -- the Nineteen Day Feast.

B.3 Activities

Participation without a defined and planned activity

is meaningless. The first participatory activity, for a new community, a learning process to plan and implement small projects that the community requires and feels capable of implementing. This is a difficult process that all members consciously follow. Participation in planning self-reliant activities, implementing, monitoring and evaluating the success of activities need to become part of the community culture. It will take generations to cultivate and develop a true participatory culture. A perfect working community cannot be created overnight, and the members of the local Baha'i communities are well aware of the fact that they are beginning a new and different evolutionary society.

Hence, conscious of the social purpose of their existence -- to create that milieu most favourable to the full and adequate development of the potential of all members of society (Hatcher, 1987) -- the community members become involved to bring about the development of such life. The community's first activities through its involvement in different channels of consultation -- the local assembly and the nineteen day feast. Taking action for implementing activities like the management of the community fund for progress of the community, the education of youth and children, encouraging the women members to participate in all aspects of community life, purchasing a local property as a centre for meetings, maintaining the unity and spirit of community life by organising social

activities, establishment of regular meetings for general public information give the members the capacity and experience to plan together and work together in serving the community. These activities are sponsored by the local community but are not exclusive.

B.4   Distinctive Features

For the purpose of participatory development, key elements in the community are important. The procedures by which the elections of local assemblies are conducted, consultation in both the Nineteen Day Feast and the local spiritual assembly deserve to be explored in some detail (Huddleston, 1987).

Elections

The electoral system is both of direct (the election of local assemblies) and indirect nature (the election of national spiritual assemblies and the Universal House of Justice). In contrast to the conventional election campaigns which have been opportunities for manipulation by the rich and powerful, these electoral procedures shun the usual political practice of propaganda, electioneering and the use of power to influence votes and opinion. The most important feature of the Baha'i electoral system is that it does not permit the rise of individual leaders. Throughout history individual leadership has been the cause of

conflict between selfish interests and welfare of community. "Hubris" is considered to be a major obstacle to the spiritual development of individual and society. In order to preclude the emergence of individual leadership the elections of these administrative bodies have the following features:

* nomination and campaigning for election is banned;

* The voters look for qualities such as humility and self-efacement as well as administrative skills and a service record.

* Individual votes are confidential and the decisions are of the bodies and not of the members.

* Special status and authority invested in the decisions are that of the bodies and not of the members.

The Nineteen Day Feast and other community gatherings are social occasions for meeting the community members, and getting acquainted. Every member looks for a combination of necessary qualities of "unquestioned loyalty", "selfless devotion", "a well-trained mind", "recognised ability", and "mature experience" in those they meet. This makes nominations and campaigns unnecessary.

Universal consciousness of the oneness of humanity

Oneness of humankind is one of the basic principles of the Bahá'ís. This signifies that the entire human race is one unified, distinct species an organic unit. Its

implication for the community is that all people are endowed with capacities. All theories of racial, cultural, social, and national superiority are rejected and held to be founded on false imagination and ignorance. Apparent differences between ethnic groups in certain areas of cultural achievement are attributable to long-term differences in education and cultural opportunities as well as to the cumulative effects of racial prejudice and oppression (Hatcher and Martin, 1984).

Unity for the Bahá'í community is unity in diversity rather than uniformity and homogeneity. The suppression of differences will not lead the community to unity, rather the increased awareness of and respect for the intrinsic value of each separate culture, and of each individual. Disunity is not seen as the corollary of diversity, but instead it is the human attitude towards intolerance and prejudice.

The establishment of the world unity is the ultimate goal of every local, national and the international Bahá'í community. It is the consummation of mankind's development on this planet. It represents the "coming of age" of the maturity of the human race (Hatcher and Martin, 1984). The way to achieve this unity for communities is the establishment of a new social structure based on participation and consultation.

Justice

If the development or transformation of society and its unity is the goal of communities, then justice is the chief instrument to be able to transform that society. Unity and peace cannot be achieved without justice. The equality between men and women cannot be attained in an unjust society. It would not be just for the earth's resources which are the property of all humanity be enjoyed by any one people. "Different contributions to the common economic welfare deserve and should receive different measures of reward and recognition, but the extreme of wealth and poverty which afflict most nations on earth, regardless of the socio-economic philosophies they profess, must be abolished" (Bahá'í International Community, 1991).

National and International Bodies

The local communities within one country elect annually and indirectly, nine members for administrating the activities of the national Bahá'í community. These elections, as in the case of LASs do not permit any propaganda and electioneering. Members do not have any special rank or station. The duration is again for one year. Men and women members above 21 residing in one country are eligible to be elected.

Members of the national spiritual assemblies worldwide

gather every five years to elect the supreme governing body of the Bahá'í Faith -- The Universal House of Justice. This international convention takes place in Haifa, Israel -- the Bahá'í World Centre.

The existence of a national or international governing body links and harmonises the activities of the entire national or global community. Through them they have coordinated their activities by appealing to the United Nations and other agencies opposing the human rights violations in specific communities. Other activities support specific communities' socio-economic development. In Latin America, for example, there has been expert and financial support to establish educational establishments and local radio stations to consolidate and diffuse local cultural knowledge and values.

Appendix C: Salford Urban Mission-SUM

C.1 Description

Salford Urban Mission started its work in 1980 out of the concern about inner cities and how the Christian Church can help in that. The Baptist and the United Reformed Churches were the first to unite and act on the felt needs of the Salford city community. They were, then, joined by the Methodist Church, the Anglican Church, the Catholic Church and the Salvation Army. They funded the activities through national and regional church funds.

Salford Urban Mission's aims are articulated as: a) to celebrate the Good News that Christ brings to the people of Salford and to repeat it in word, deed and life; b) to respond with other local people to the forces and processes which shape our lives and to the needs and problems that arise; c to reflect together and experience the Christian message and so discover God-given resources to make changes in the world; d) to respect the faiths and cultures of others, work with them towards the common good and discover with them, the way, the truth and the life; e) to build up local Christian communities in inner Salford with their own leadership and policy; f) to share experiences with those whose decisions and ways of life affect these neighbourhoods but who do not live here; g) to train lay and ordained Christians for work in this and

other similar areas; h) to do all these things, as far as is possible, with the whole Church of Jesus Christ.

C.2 Participation

Participation for SUM is an important aspect of its strategy.   The organisers believe that through participation, people acquire confidence, knowledge and skills.   People through participation can change their preformed dependence upon professionals.   Their competence in certain fields can be enhanced through higher self-confidence and self-reliance.   Through participation people are enabled to change and develop themselves and their communities.

LOW	HOW PEOPLE PARTICIPATE	WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN
	People are informed	A plan is made and announced to the community by the organisation which expects the compliance.
	People are consulted	A plan is developed to the stage where administrative compliance is achieved.
	People advise	A plan is open for modification by community
	People take active part in planning	A tentative plan is made subject to change
	People have delegated authority	A series of decisions are made with regard to the limits of the plan
	People have control	The key decisions are made by the community. The organisation provides administrative assistance.

Source: Adapted from SUM Annual Report 1990/91

In relation to community participation, Bethan Galliers, willingly shared her experiences as a Church Related Community Worker. In her experience, women were the most participatory group followed by unemployed married men and older retired people who usually got involved in activities with a preset format. The long-term planning of activities was not achievable because the employment situation did not allow them to plan beyond the immediate circumstances.

C.3 Activities:

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Salford Urban Mission's activities can be divided into community work and training. SUM supports projects such as "mutual help groups" that started with "holiday camps" of schoolchildren and now has spread to families holding their own meetings periodically.

"Salford Employment Conference" is another activity that SUM supports. It is comprised of groups of active professional people who meet to discuss the possibilities of creating new opportunities for identified needs areas-- e.g. employment opportunity creation.

SUM also supports a Women's centre, the community enterprise initiative and Salford Law Centre. The Law Centre is run by a local community management team which works with solicitors who give advice (free of charge) and legal assistance in such fields as housing, immigration, women's rights, disability or equal opportunities. SUM has worked with tenants' groups and organised campaigns with local people who suffer the consequences of economic misfortunes to make their voice heard at higher levels. The campaigns enable people facing poverty to convene and share experiences, aspirations and threats. They identify issues of concern and present them to the policy makers at national level.

People's involvement in planning

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SUM facilitates the participation of local community groups in the planning of local services. For example the Health Authority's plans were modified to incorporate people's ideas and SUM's insights based on work in the inner city. SUM influences local councils to avoid manipulation of local people by showing local tenants groups how to work with the council and to make their voice heard.

Collaborating through a wide network of churches

SUM works with other church organisations promoting different activities for the benefit of Salford community, helping to establish credit unions or improve their administration. SUM also shares its experience in community development worker training with other church sponsored training programmes.

Training Work

Training and the development of training courses for Church Community Work and Community Ministry is a significant part of Salford Urban Mission's work. SUM has built up experience and reputation in the field. The training aims to achieve integration of different community work. This goes along with theological reflection and skills training using the "apprenticeship" model of learning. Knowledge and experience of the participants are

the building blocks for this training.

The core training resource is a programme for Church Community Workers. Its duration is three years full time. SUM's training programmes are ecumenical which bring community development, theological reflection and church experience together. The participants are assessed by external accreditation and the training committee at SUM. Contributions towards lecturing the trainees are wide and varied.

The training programme does not separate the knowledge acquisition from practice, placement and theological developments. These are worked together around particular situations. SUM also provides training for short-term study that are taken by local people.

Housing and Protection of Tenants Rights

Within Salford inner city area, a great number of properties which were used by long-term tenants have been taken away from them and sold for construction and investment work. SUM has been involved in protecting the tenants whose rights have been violated.

C.4 Distinctive Features

Theological Reflection is an important aspect of SUM. Its staff's work includes thinking, reading and writing about the relationship between the Christian Church and community development. The basic belief is that people have been created with the capacity to work for God. There is belief in life beyond time and space. Life in this world is an essential part of life in other worlds.

Working with the Poor SUM's activities circle around the urban poor in Salford. SUM's efforts are directed to alleviate the oppressive state in which the poor in Salford suffer. Although the organisers of SUM recognise that there is no such thing as absolute poverty known in the Third World, they try to incorporate the educative experiences of the poor in the South to their activities. This is achieved by "cross-fertilisation" of mutual exchange of visitors in the Third World.

Paulo Freire's Praxis in Salford

SUM's Training Programme applies the Freiran approach (presented in Chapter Three) in its training programmes. The method uses praxis - experience and action as the main instrument for education. Concepts such as alienation, power and critical analysis of social reality are discussed throughout SUM's training courses (SUM, 1988-1994).

Appendix D. NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (NGOs)

NGOs are groups of individuals sharing common interests -- professional, scientific, humanitarian, philanthropic -- who embark upon private, non-profit making initiatives for the betterment and development of humanity or the environment. NGOs work on small or large scale having faith in the group and the people.

Non-governmental Organisations function as external agencies to stimulate and support people's participatory development and to organise grass-roots groups. NGOs, consider participation as fundamental to development. They are the most effective catalysts in the development process. Their numbers have been mushroomed and there were 2,087 NGOs in the Western countries directly concerned with development issues (Schneider, 1988).

In developing countries, the quantification of NGOs has been difficult. In most Southern countries the NGO phenomenon is relatively new. The term NGO has been variously used by many local village groups.

A report to the Club of Rome (Schneider, 1988) estimates that the number of NGOs are several thousands in the Philippines and in Bangladesh, 7,000 in India, more than a thousand in Thailand (200-300 active), and 277 in Indonesia. In Africa, NGOs are more recent. While the

exact numbers are not known, there were 370 NGOs in Kenya, 650 in Nigeria (with almost all as local NGOs), 112 in Cameroon, 23 in Togo. In Latin America there are abundant NGOs. In Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil 2500 NGOs were established in the early 1980s. There are over 100 NGOs in Mexico; 300 in Ecuador; 227 in Bolivia; 380 in Peru; and 24 in Colombia (Schneider, 1988: 79-80). An IDS (Institute of Development Studies) published in December 1993 reports that in the South, there are 10 to 20 thousands development NGOs, and in the OECD countries another 4,000 (Pretty and Chambers, 1993).

D.1 SCOPE OF NGOs

NGOs are people's organisations that arise as a reversal of conventional development. Approaches that focus on technology, or on financial resources deal with people as afterthoughts. NGOs have become the source of a distinctive new development model which take participation of people at the heart of their philosophy. They mobilise people into organised structures of voluntary group action for self-reliance and self-development. NGOs themselves are one expression of such voluntarism incorporated into organised structures. In turn, NGOs mobilise voluntarism to amplify the social energy put in the service of people's self-development. Thus the methodology and goal of NGOs is people--particularly the poor groups (Cernea, 1991).

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NGOs organise people to make better use of local
productive resources. They create new resources and
services, promote equity and alleviate poverty, influence
government actions towards same objectives--those
determined by the people they represent-- and establish new
institutional frameworks that will sustain people-centred
development (Cernea, 1989, 1988).

NGOs are of very different origin and activity. They
are categorised as "development", "environmental",
"philanthropic", "vocational training", "research",
"advocacy", or "emergency aid" nongovernmental
organisations.

The NGOs are distinguished through the location of NGO
activities--international, national, and local. NGOs that
represent either a federation of national organisations or
a nationally-based organisation which defines its area of
work covering other countries as well as its home country.
National NGOs, in turn, represent an association of
regional and local NGOs. The great majority of NGOs,
however, are grassroots organisations and emerge from
committed local communities to influence their
constituents' lives (Figure 6.1).

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                                    ┌───  DEVELOPMENT

                                    ├───  ENVIRONMENTAL

 ┌───────┐   ┌───────┐   ┌───────┐  ├───  PHILANTHROPIC
 │ INT'l ├───┤ NAT'l ├───┤ LOCAL │  │
 └───┬───┘   └───┬───┘   └───┬───┘  ├───  TRAINING
     │           │           │      │
     └───────────┴───────────┴──────┤───  RESEARCH

                                    ├───  ADVOCACY

                                    └───  EMERGENCY AID
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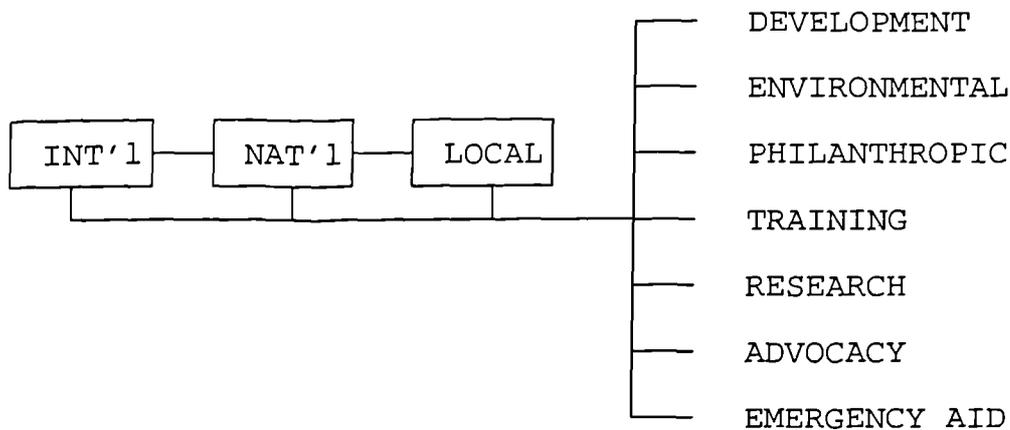
Fig. D.1   Scope and Field of NGO Activities

The Brundtland report explains that the majority of
NGOs are national or local. A successful transition to
sustainable development requires substantial strengthening
of their capacities. National NGOs draw strength from
association with their counterparts in other countries and
from participation in international programmes and
consultations. In developing countries NGOs need
international, professional, moral and financial support to
be effective (WCED, 1987: 326).

D.1.1   Local NGOs

Local NGOs, "people" or "grassroots" organisations are

described as heterogenous units. "Church groups, labour organisations, boy Scouts, political action committees, self-help organisations, village potable water associations, communal labour arrangements, squatter associations, worker-owned businesses, ethnic burial societies, transportation collectives, peasant leagues, Catholic "reflection" groups, tribal federations, micro entrepreneur credit associations, all differ from each other and from their equivalents in different countries" (Annis, 1987: 130).

Development NGOs contribute to the areas where local government intervention is weak or nonexistent. The areas of: natural resource management; rural infrastructure; human resource development; agricultural development; nonagricultural enterprises are NGO areas (Uphoff, 1986).

D.1.2   National NGOs

Local organisations become more powerful and grow as an organisation from within and outside. The local people organise themselves not only to satisfy their needs, but also to respond to incentives, resources, leadership and grow into a large organisation. As their efforts result in success, they expand and multiply. Growth in size and scope brings obstacles with it. This also forces the local people to think of linking forces with kindred organisations that have greater lobbying and technical

power. Hence the dynamic expansion come from within and outside (Annis, 1987: 130-131).

D.1.3   International NGOs

Several international NGOs are older than the World Bank and the United Nations. The majority are relatively new, however. Thirty per cent of Southern development NGOs are more than 15 years old and 50 percent of older than ten years (World Resources 1992-93).

Most of international NGOs started by providing relief in emergency situations. Through experience, it was realised that relief was not enough in developing countries. Activities then expanded to development whilst, maintaining a role as relief and rehabilitation agencies-- e.g. BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) (Korten, 1980).

D.2 STRENGTHS OF NGOs

The growth of NGOs in the South has been exponential (Clark, 1991: 52). The expectation of the public and the media are generally beyond the capacity and limits of NGOs. Profit-motive is popular in most enterprises, although it is vulgar. Hence, NGOs with their altruistic slogan are trusted, supported and admired by the local people. Their staff make great sacrifices to serve the society.

D.2.1   Serving the poor

NGOs reach the poor and concentrate on immediate needs. Their physical bases are usually close to the poor settlement concentrations. Government development programmes are generally biased towards those who are nearest (the accessible, the urban, the rich). Similar to government schemes that could miss the poorest in the society--because they are hard to reach, the NGOs are also vulnerable to miss the poorest but to lesser degree.

Indigenous NGOs are a source of local knowledge and through evidence have observed the consequences and impacts of national scheme projects--projects that usually are destined to raise the per capita income of certain category of population. This gives priority to those who have skills, training, and capital.

D.2.2   Participation

NGOs have great facility to promote participation. In helping and trying to achieve some degree of well fare for the most vulnerable, in the whole process of development, identification of needs, and setting priorities, NGOs can achieve only with the people 's participation.

Many political NGOs take participation as their ultimate goal. Through participation they intervene in

power balances which implies an inescapably political business (Clark, 1991: 58). To be political does not necessarily mean NGOs should take a confrontational stance towards the government. They are better serving their target population if they have consensus instead of confrontational attitudes towards government.

In numerous NGO projects there is a confusion between "participation" and "decentralization". The majority of decision making processes have been decentralized but dominated by NGO employees and local élites. In such cases with the vested interests of village headman "a paternalistic, centralized, approach might be preferable to an elite-led decentralized style" (Clark, 1991:58). With the no central control, the local élite have diverted the benefits of development schemes to their favour. With the centralised approach may result in partial benefits for the poor.

D.2.3   Small scale

One of the main advantages of NGOs is that they operate on a small scale where participation is most effective. Decision making becomes complex and problematic when their undertakings are on a larger scale. Small scale operation benefits few people. They produce a disproportionate administrative cost per head beneficiary.

"... in the face of pervasive poverty "small scale" can merely mean "insignificant", "politically independent" can mean merely "powerless" or "disconnected", "Low-cost" can mean "underfinanced" or "poor quality", and "innovative" can mean simply "temporary" or "unsustainable".

(Annis, 1987)

D.2.4   Innovation

NGO staff have a great deal of flexibility, to experiment, adapt and attempt new approaches. This is perhaps mainly due to the spirit of "voluntarism" that encourages the individual to develop his/her ideas. Consequently, a number of these innovations creep into the official development criteria. A "catalytic" or "seeding" role is taken herewith by adoption of the new idea, publicizing it, convincing the authorities to take notice, and encouraging others by adopting it.

D.2.5   Staff Commitment

As a result of widely shared values and a belief in the change their work must bring, NGO staff are highly committed to their work. These staff tend to have strong ideas of their own which they are keen to express. The organisation will best function if these opinions are listened to and respected. The decision making suffers when there are tensions in the organisation.

D.3 WEAKNESSES OF NGOs

There is a dubious attitude about the effectiveness
and objectivity of all NGOs. Successes of NGO projects are
usually reported and until recently evaluation has been
done which raises the accountability factor. Then, a lot
of NGOs are discredited and accused as government NGOs--
implying that they are not really non-governmental and
others as quasi NGOs referring to religious and political
ones which really don't help the poor (Clark, 1991).

D.3.1   The Limits to Empowerment

Weaknesses of NGOs limit the extent of their success
in local community arena; state and society arena and
limitations from within NGOs themselves (Thomas, 1992:138).

The local community limitations

A group of equals which can be 'empowered' together,
is as flawed as the notion of a household consisting of men
and women, young and old, all contributing to and drawing
from a 'common pot'. That everyone is included to
empowered in a location as a member of a community may not
be so clear cut. At the same time those who are included
have complex and unequal relations with each other. Thus,
in practice, community organizations may represent the
interests of better-off than the poorest member of the

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community.

The state and society limitations

The national and international NGOs basically relate to the state in one of three ways:

1   complementing the state; by filling in gaps, by providing services they are better equipped to provide than the state, or by working with the state to provide jointly a service scheme suited to the variety of needs among the population

2   opposing the state; either directly by lobbying at government level or in international arenas, or indirectly by supporting local and national groups that are adversely affected by government policies

3   reforming the state; by representing the interests of groups they work with at grassroots level to government and working with government to improve policies.

NGOs are able to empower the poor on the type of developments that the state has a positive attitude towards them or is in favour of. 'Tools for self-reliance' version of empowerment which Schumacher (1973) advocated or PAR (participatory action research) which is a new

revolutionary method of empowering the poor are ways that the NGOs and the state can collaborate with *each other* (Thomas, 1992).

Whether opposing the state or not, NGO relationships with governments are complicated. Confrontation with the state produces negative and counterproductive effects. NGOs work from within and try to effect change more silently by creating coalitions of like-minded people and gradually building up a consensus which will change policies (Holloway, 1988).

If NGOs take an oppositional stance in response to government policies, the state aims to domesticate, neutralize, regulate and control them. These increasingly successful efforts of the state in India due to internal weaknesses that exist within NGOs (Tandon, 1988).

One weakness is lack of inner strength and faith in voluntarism and the meaning of the NGO work. Some NGOs do not value their own work. They should be able to situate their work within a larger historical and socio-political framework. Their leaders and members ought to possess inner strength and conviction about their potential contribution. Commitment to the spirit of voluntarism and the causes for which they work is fundamental in the NGO work.

There is a limited understanding between state and its character on the one hand, and the dynamics of the voluntary agency and its leadership on the other. An NGO experiences increasing pressures as it becomes established, its work spreads, its staff expands, and it becomes a stable organizational entity. One internal pressure is on people such as the founder-leaders of mature agencies. These people as they get established in life, have a growing family, and approach middle age, questions like "who am I?", "What have I contributed?", "Has my sacrifice been worth it?" emerge and perplex their lives.

Other internal weakness of NGOs relate to the lack of adequate systems, procedures, financial and programme-control measures. These provide fuel for attack and harassment by peers and state. Signs of isolation and weakness can be detected from agencies once it is attacked. In their quest for autonomy and independence, in their drive to be flexible, self-reliant and self-sufficient, NGOs and their leaders remain divided, unorganized and isolated. They are separated by race, ideology, region, language, nature of work, type of funding, and so on (Tandon, 1988).

The ideas put forward by NGOs to change the lives of the poor and the powerless are often seen by governments to be subversive. They, on the contrary, should be recognised by governments as pioneering efforts which require further

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support. Their work may seem insignificant, ad hoc and unsustainable, and the NGO practitioners can often be inexperienced in dealing at the national-policy level. But, governments and their advisers are coming to appreciate that, even with these faults, NGOs have valuable experience which they would be ill-advised to ignore (Holloway, 1988).

NGOs have 'comparative advantage' over governments by their insistence on empowerment and participation and this makes them excellent microdevelopment agents. The type of projects that the NGOs in this case are usually involved in include "those which are based on local systems of mutual obligation, and those which require community support, local adaptations or significant inputs from the intended beneficiaries". While many projects may not need local support or participation, there are others that require much more than participation. If the 'NGO approach' to development is to be generalised there is a need for supportive regional and national institutions.

Limitations of NGOs themselves

If local empowerment were to constitute a general model for development, there would have to be a process for recruiting, deploying, training and maintaining the commitment of NGO activists to work in all the local projects. Whether or not such a deliberate strategy is attempted, organizational processes continue within NGOs

that affect staff attitudes, their 'probity' and whether there is a culture that values public service.

NGOs going through three generation strategies require different capacities and skills for their staff (Korten, 1987).

The first generation requires logistics management and specific professional competence such as those supplied by medical or paramedical personnel. Military analogies may be in order for the type of organization that is appropriate to run such programmes effectively.

The second generation undertakes works such as helping articulate local needs and aid the development of a participative project. Project management is required, with community workers capable of extended periods of political and educative work are a person-to-person and group level and thus requiring a good deal of emotional as well as practical support from the wider organization of the NGO they are representing.

The capacities required to carry out a third generation strategy successfully differ again. What is needed in this case is strategic management rather than logistics or project management, and high level skills both of strategic analysis and in negotiation and collaboration will be required from staff, as well as an ability to

coordinate with various programmes of the other two types both within the NGO itself and run by other agencies.

D.3.2   Project Design Problems

One of NGO's greatest challenges is the design of a proper project.   Some projects are innovative and inspirational, others irrelevant and dull.   The commonest difficulties with NGOs are:

- "Projects often don't really benefit the poor, they focus on those easiest to reach.   In particular too little attention is paid to the needs of women.

- Decision making tends to be dominated by local elites, there is often real grassroots participation, especially of women, in the planning and design of projects.

- They are often not innovative, but extend a tried and tested service.

- They are of limited replicability, being locally specific in task and approach, and being dependent on rare, charismatic leadership.

- Projects are often unsuccessful when they seek to introduce approaches and values from a foreign

environment ...

● Projects tend to be disconnected and isolated when conceived in the absence in the absence of a broad planning strategy.

● Often, little attention is paid to making projects sustainable, either economically or environmentally. They often collapse once funding ceases.

● Project staff often have limited technical capacity and therefore technical matters, such as the maintenance of equipment, are often neglected (Clark, 1991)."

D.3.3   Lack of a learning process

Many NGO staff especially in the South are constantly busy in the formulation and implementation of new projects without a careful evaluation and monitoring of their projects in operation.   Institutional learning, as a process   from   the   organisation's   own   and   others' experiences, should be an essential part of NGO strategies.

D.3.4   NGOs Dependent on Donors

Funding is one of the dilemmas of the NGO movements. Southern NGOs are increasingly dependent on Northern

donors. This not only created a dependency, it has also occupied a substantial portion of energy and effort to raise funds for projects.

There is also growing concern that governments are increasingly telling NGOs what projects to submit for funding. It is feared that NGOs are planning projects based on the interests of the funders, projects which are likely to be more oriented to the wealthier elements of Third World societies. (Clark, 1991)

D.3.5   Leadership

One of the main barriers to NGO performance is organisational leadership. There is a dilemma in many NGO leaderships. On the one hand there is the principle of participation and decentralisation that NGOs are committed to, and on the other hand there exists a sense of dependency within organisation on their leaders. The vision and sense of commitment is what has made the leaders to found the NGO and at the same time their charismatic leadership makes the NGO dependent on their person which is anti-democratic.

D.4 STRATEGIC CHOICES OF NGOs

NGOs are to have a philosophy that directs them to address the underlying causes of underdevelopment or

environmental poverty -- it defines their strategy. If there are no philosophy for the NGO, it inevitably becomes merely an agency relieving symptoms rather than causes through relief and welfare measures. A philosophy or theory make the NGO's choice and methods of intervention defined and explicit (Korten, 1990).

If an organisation is saying that it has a strategy, it is claiming that there is a well thought out logic behind the way it positions its resources -- time, money, staff efforts and attention. Without a philosophy, the organisation can only proceed to scatter its resources in response to immediate visible needs. If the agency is addressing more immediate need, its efforts are less likely to be developmental. Interventions need to provide conditions which allow the need to be met through the efforts of the individual or community (Korten 1990).

International voluntary NGOs differ in respect of interests and strategies. Their orientation has undergone significant changes since the start of their popularity -- early 1970s. NGOs that work in development have distinctive strategies such as:

- relief and welfare
- small-scale self-reliant development
- sustainable systems development
- people's movements

These represent an evolutionary sequence within the ideal NGOs. They may occur simultaneously or progressively.

D.4.1   Relief and Welfare

National and international non-governmental organisations began as charitable relief organisations focused on refugee and natural disaster situations. These organisations subsequently recruited expertise to deliver welfare services in non-disaster situations.

Emergency situations will always demand an immediate response. NGOs ensure that this is effective and appropriate. Welfare provision, of food, health, education and shelter are required so long as there are individuals and groups within the society who suffer deprivation. NGOs work alongside state agencies providing similar services, or reach out to that part of the community where the state is ineffective.

Relief and welfare approaches hence constitute a limited development strategy. They offer little more than dealing only with the effects of lack of development and satisfying only inactive recipients (Korten, 1987a and 1990).

A considerable portion of NGO efforts remains focused

on essential and appropriate responses to emergency circumstances.

D.4.2   Small-Scale Self-Reliant Development

NGO activities evolved significantly in the late 1970s. The relief and welfare activity of NGOs lead them to question its validity. Charity creates dependence and this was contrary to the NGO values. The focus of the NGO strategy became to develop capacities of the local community to better meet their own needs through self-reliant action. This would be sustained through the community self-help actions. Community development projects included preventative health, improved farming practices, formation of community councils, digging wells --i.e. attempts to "empower" the rural people.

The strategy focused on community--groups including women, and landless peasants. The genuine collaboration between the NGO and the community ensures participation in all stages of development projects--from design to implementation, operation, monitoring and evaluation.

This is an implicit theory of community development which assumes that the heart of problem is local inertia. The need to mobilize people to participate requires the NGO to become involved awakening the dormant potentials of the community. There is a traditional inability derived from

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isolation, lack of education, intimidation, inadequate health care, and injustice. The strategy required is the concept of "conscientisation". The traditional inertia is changed through the intervention of outside change agents who work to help the community examine its socio-economic plight and realize its own potentials. Education, organisation, consciousness raising, credit provisions and small loans are instruments to implement the NGO theory.

Human resource development is the backbone of every development strategy. "Give a man a fish, and you feed him for a day; teach him to fish, and you feed him for a lifetime" (OECD 1988). The strategies differ in the extent to which they focus on human resource development. Second generation NGO programmes for intervention have been reduced to mere handouts in the experience of many NGOs-e.g. Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement programmes in late 1970s (Korten, 1980).

D.4.3   Sustainable Systems Development

"Sustainable systems development" in the larger and more experienced NGOs, faced with frustration of limitations have increasingly recognised that benefits generated through interventions depend upon a continued NGO presence and donor subsidies. The NGO can never hope to benefit more than a few localities.

When NGO approaches are confined to specific services or to local communities, a third generation strategy is implemented which facilitates sustainable changes on regional, national or international levels. This means less "direct involvement at village level" (Korten, 1987a). The NGO becomes catalytic, facilitating sustained development by public and private organisations both.

Self-reliant local initiatives are better sustained if linked into a supportive national development system. Third generation strategies require the NGO to work with government, reorienting policies and using resources more effectively.

The three types of NGOs do not move sequentially from one to the other. Some NGOs remain specialised in relief and welfare work. NGOs promoting community level self-reliance, and "progressive" groups that collaborate with governments on sustainable system development have usually evolved separately for that specific purpose.

It is programmes, rather than organisations, that can be labelled first, second or third generation. Many NGOs run a combination of programmes of the three types. The logic of the third generation type of strategy is to support the other two by overcoming limitations and developing policies to provide welfare or local empowerment. The three strategic modes may co-exist, in

to coalesce and energise self-managing networks over which it has no control whatever. This is achieved by the power of ideas, values and communications links. The effectiveness of these movements depend on working from a well articulated philosophy or vision (Table, D.1).

Table D.1 : Strategies of Development-Oriented NGOs:Four Generation?

	GENERATION			
	FIRST *Relief and Welfare*	**SECOND** *Community Development*	**THIRD** *Sustainable Systems Development*	**FOURTH** *People's Movements*
Problem Definition	Shortage	Local Inertia	Institutional and Policy Constraints	Inadequate Mobilizing Vision
Time Frame	Immediate	Project Life	Ten to Twenty Years	Indefinite Future
Scope	Individual or Family	Neighbourhood/Village	Region or Nation	National & Global
Chief Actors	NGO	NGO Plus Community	All Relevant Public and Private Institutions	Defined Networks of People & Organisations
NGO Role	Doer	Mobilizer	Catalyst	Activist/Educator
Management Orientation	Logistics Management	Project Management	Strategic Management	Coalescing and Energizing Self-Managing Networks
Development Education	Starving Children	Community Self-Help	Constraining Policies and Institutions	Spaceship Earth

Source: Adapted from Korten (1990)

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