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9. ABSTRACT

This paper proceeds as follows: The first chapter discusses the general Philippine situation, particularly its local government, economy and rural development profile. Chapter II covers Capiz, where we will examine how government goes about attaining rural development particularly in our two sample municipalities there. Chapter III discusses Abra where a private agency has devoted efforts sometimes in cooperation with, and sometimes separate from, government, and Chapter IV summarizes the discussions and presents our conclusions.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

Santiago S. Simpas, Ledivina Cariño and Arturo G. Pacho

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

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FOREWORD

This monograph was written as part of a comparative study of Rural Local Government organized by the Rural Development Committee of Cornell University. The study aimed at clarifying the role of rural local institutions in the rural development process, with special reference to agricultural productivity, income, local participation and rural welfare. An interdisciplinary working group set up under the Rural Development Committee established a comparative framework for research and analysis of these relationships.[1] A series of monographs, based in most cases on original field research, has been written by members of the working group and by scholars at other institutions and has been published by the Rural Development Committee. An analysis and summary of the study's findings has been written for the working group by Norman Uphoff and Milton Esman and has been published separately.

This study of Rural Local Government is part of the overall program of teaching and research by members of the Rural Development Committee, which functions under the auspices of the Center for International Studies at Cornell and is chaired by Norman Uphoff. The main focuses of Committee concern are alternative strategies and institutions for promoting rural development, especially with respect to the situation of small farmers, rural laborers and their families. This particular study was financed in large part by a grant from the Asia Bureau of the U.S. Agency for International Development. The views expressed by participating scholars in this study are their own and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of USAID or Cornell University.

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[1] The members of the working group were Ron Aqua, Douglas Ashford, John Blackton, Harry Blair, Milton Esman, Mohinder Mudahar, Norman Nicholson, David Robinson, Benedict Stavis, and Norman Uphoff.

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RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

by Santiago S. Simpas, Ledivina V. Cariño
and Arturo G. Pacho*

I. An Overview of Institutions and Development in the Philippines**

A. The Study

The Philippines has joined many other nations in the race for development, one that, like Alice's Red Queen seems to require even faster movement to enable the society to stay in the same place. For years the magic word has been "industrialization," the development of technologies and techniques for the urban sector. Lately, however, it has increasingly emphasized the concomitant need to pay attention to the large countryside for the systemic interaction of changes in the rural and urban areas may be the spur to move the society beyond the location in the development continuum that it has occupied for so long.

Thus, the more recent development plans have underscored strategies of regional development, industrial dispersal and the encouragement of agri-business ventures. Moreover, the reorganization of 1972 has recognized the need to improve the main arms of the government in the rural areas. These are the local governments, and the reorganizational response to the requirement of planning and providing assistance is the Department of Local Government

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*The authors gratefully acknowledge the research assistance of Messrs. Reynaldo Kintanar and Vicente Mariano and the comments of Dr. Raul P. de Guzman, Dean of the College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines.

**This section was contributed by Ledivina V. Cariño.

and Community Development. The primary objective of the Department is "to assist and strengthen local governments to assume more substantial responsibilities in economic development." It is in this light that a study of the nature of the linkage between rural development and local government and other institutions in the Philippines becomes not only timely but even necessary.

This monograph hopes to contribute to the growing literature on the processes and mechanisms that draw or--more actively--push the rural areas of a society towards development. In the Philippines, these mechanisms include not only governmental institutions--both national and local--but also a growing number of organizations run by the private sector on a voluntary, non-profit basis. This latter phenomenon has been encouraged by a free enterprise ideology which does not limit the private sector only to business-oriented involvements. It may also have been fostered by a streak of idealism which attempts to "brighten the corner where you are," an explanation that in turn may be supported by the fact that these organizations tend to be church-related or to be run by men with an unabashed sense of mission. Some of these organizations deserve special mention. One is the Philippines Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) whose involvement in rural community development antedates even the governmental program under the Presidential Assistant on Community Development (PACD). In fact, the PRRM was among those considered by President Magsaysay to serve as the institutional base of his Philippine Community Development Program in 1954. At present, PRRM operates in several provinces, propagating its fourfold approach to rural reconstruction, namely health, education, livelihood and polity (acronym: HELP).

The Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP) was created in 1970 as "a private non-profit service organization established by private enterprise to help people who

need help to help themselves."[1] The PBSP funds various social development projects, several of them in the rural areas, including projects relating to farmers' and consumers' cooperatives, training in new skills, agricultural productivity and involvement in community organization. To test the effectiveness of its social development approach in rural areas, the PBSP is working jointly with PRRM in introducing its rural development prototype.

Various religious groups have also used the rural areas as the base of their concern in "in-worldly" affairs. The National Social Action Council (NASAC) is the ecumenical umbrella organization of Roman Catholic and Protestant agencies interested in helping rural communities. The Abra Diocesan Rural Development, Inc. (ADRDI) which will be discussed in Chapter III is one of the members of the NASAC. NASAC is semi-governmental in that it was created by Executive Order in 1967 and receives some government support. However, it identifies itself as "basically private in its role, structure and participation."[2] All these private organizations either have helped government in the task of planned change or have taken over certain (geographic) areas for their own social organizational experiments.

Both the private and public endeavors toward change are guided by the principle of self-help, of encouraging the participation of the people in the various communities in taking decisions and actions that affect their lives. Thus, the interaction of government, the people and, where they exist, the private groups is crucial in the process of development. Because over two-thirds of the Philippines is rural, development, by definition, points to the mobilization

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[1]This is how PBSP identifies itself in the first page of the pamphlet introducing the concept behind its creation and its organization, membership management and activities.

[2]Statement from its Brochure.

of resources and improvement of the quality of life in the generally agricultural, largely traditional sector of the society.

Given the dual public and private nature of rural development efforts in the Philippines, we have used a simple design that would enable us to look closely at the organizational mechanisms and processes that guide rural development in the Philippines. Rural development, while a national goal, is here viewed at the level of municipalities for the reasons given below. For in-depth study, we have constructed a small sample of four municipalities selected according to two dimensions. The first dimension takes into account the organizations involved in this task, whether they are governmental or non-governmental local development institutions. For this purpose we have selected two provinces: Capiz, where the development function is solely in the hands of government, and Abra, where the Abra Diocesan Rural Development, Inc. (ADRDI) operates.[1]

The second dimension aligns the municipalities directly along development lines. Thus, within each province, we have studied one municipality which has progressed well along the development road--defined primarily in terms of agricultural productivity--and another one which has not moved very far. The first set of municipalities are Panitan in Capiz and Sallapadan in Abra. As representatives of the less developed areas, we have Jamindan (Capiz) and San Quintin (Abra). The following table summarizes the criteria discussed above:

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[1]Both provinces also turn out to be pilot areas of the Barrio Irrigation Service Association (BISA) project and receive assistance to accelerate their irrigation as well as electrification programs. This similarity is a fortuitous circumstance and was not planned for in the original design.

Institutions Involved in Rural Development	Development Progress: High	Development Progress: Low
Government only (Capiz)	Panitan	Jamindan
Private and government (Abra)	Sallapadan	San Quintin

Municipalities have been chosen for study because they are the smallest viable unit for development purposes. The municipality in the Philippines is a subdivision of a province and is composed of several barrios or villages. During the past two decades, the barrio was the focus of the community development program. Technical aid and funds coming from the national government were spread out to the over 32,000 barrios in the country. Thus, the use of resources was not maximized and was devoted to small-scale community projects with limited socio-economic benefits. On the other hand, the municipality encompasses a larger area and can marshall more resources. As it has jurisdiction over the fragmented barrios, it is the logical choice in integrating the planning and implementation of development programs.

This paper will proceed as follows: The rest of this chapter will discuss the general Philippine situation, particularly its local government, economy and rural development profile. Chapter II covers Capiz, where we will examine how government goes about attaining rural development particularly in our two sample municipalities there. Chapter III discusses Abra where a private agency has

devoted effort, sometimes in cooperation with, and sometimes separate from, government, and Chapter IV summarizes the discussions and presents our conclusions.

B. Local Government*

1. History

For a variety of reasons, the Philippines has a tradition of relative centralization of government, owing to its colonial history, the dominance of Manila over all other centers of population, and the patterns of development over the past 30 years. This does not mean that there is not also a continuing concern in some circles of the Philippines with decentralization of government. Indeed, there have been continual movements and efforts to shift some part of official decision-making out of the center and to local governments. But on balance only minor modifications have been made. Thus, the changes in government since 1972 have not imposed a centralized structure on the Philippines as the apparent shifts of authority have been more in form than in substance and indeed, there have been some renewed efforts to promote decentralization within the political-administrative system.

A central feature of this highly centralized form of government is that one metropolitan area has dominated the nation since 1521. From this primate city the colonial administrators--both Spaniards and Americans--have ruled and controlled the nation. The same administrative experience continued upon the formal turnover of power to the Filipinos in 1946. Decisions emanated from the President in Malacañang--the same executive palace of the colonial past. The local government system remained based on the

*This section and the rest of this chapter were written by Arturo G. Pacho.

French model[1] although there had been infusions by the Americans of such practices at the local level as elections, committee or board system, and citizens' participation. Only of late the residue of a traditional and indigenous form of local government, called the barangay, has been revived. Over the years, the local government structure has remained basically the same pending the issuance presently of a new local government code which would restructure and redefine the powers of local governments.

The declaration of martial law in September 1972 commenced the regime of "constitutional authoritarianism" as a political approach to national development. The President exercises full powers with the support of the military to enable him to implement political restructuring and to institute social and economic reforms. The President derives his political authority from the 1973 Constitution, particularly the all encompassing transitory provisions. Until such time as the parliament is convened, the President makes decisions by decrees and letters of instructions which are in essence legally binding under the present situation.

Since the abolition of the Department of Interior in 1950, no single agency of the government served the needs and interests of local governments. Several departments and agencies either provided assistance and support to local governments or helped the President in exercising his power to control and supervise local governments. In 1972, upon the implementation of the national Reorganization Plan, the Department of Local Government and Community Development as mentioned earlier was created as a service agency that will help local governments assume more developmental responsibilities. The department is a cabinet level body which

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[1] Raul P. de Guzman and Proserpina D. Tapales, eds. Philippine Local Government (Manila: U.P. Local Government Center, 1973), p. 4.

assists the President in supervising the local governments in addition to: a)preparing and coordinating rural and urban community development programs; b)promoting, organizing, and developing cooperatives (Samahang Nayon); c)providing technical assistance and training opportunities to local governments; and d)coordinating local development plans with national development programs, particularly with the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA).

Nevertheless, certain functions remain with the existing departments such as the review of local budgets by the Department of Finance; the auditing of local accounts by the Commission on Audit; monitoring and integration of local plans with the NEDA; and review of highway or public works projects by the Department of Public Works, Transportation and Communications.

2. Structure

Structurally, the local government in the Philippines is composed of provinces, cities, municipalities and barrios. A province is the largest political subdivision having jurisdiction over municipalities. The main responsibility of the province is to coordinate the administration of local services in the various municipalities under it. An elected governor is the chief executive in the province. He has supervision over all elected mayors who are the leaders of the municipalities encompassed by the province.

The city, it should be said, is administratively independent of the province. It is administered by an elected city mayor. Cities draw their power and functions from charters creating them. In terms of functions and services, the city performs more responsibilities than the province. The reason for this is that the province acts in general essentially as administrative overseer for the national government. Both city and municipality have

jurisdiction over the smallest local unit called the barrio. The barrio is the political unit at the village level. It has an elected barrio captain who presides in the barrio council. The barrio as a unit closest to the people has been designed as a self-reliant government performing community development functions.

Provinces are of course the largest, and most variable, in size, while in terms of land area, the city and the municipality are comparable. A barrio may have an area of about 12 hectares only. Whereas provinces have an average population of about 440,629, cities have about 124,638, municipalities have about 20,153 and barrios 500. The factors of land size and population are not significantly taken into account when local units are created, however.

As stated in the previous section, the municipality will be the unit and level of local government which will occupy our attention in this study. It is the linchpin of the local government system, however well or badly it works, connecting the higher level authorities with the village and family.

Under the present system, a new structure with old name and function has been instituted, the barangay, to marshall mass participation in public affairs. As now constituted, a barangay is composed of 500 families each at the neighborhood level. The barangay is made up of members 15 years old and above, thus broadening the numerical base of popular participation. Such issues as the ratification of the 1973 Constitution, the decision on non-holding of elections and purely local problems have been the primary concern of the barangays. In the case of the barrio assemblies, the membership was confined to the residents from the age 18 years old and above.

3. Functions

Generally, the services undertaken by the province are the maintenance of provincial road networks, provincial

jail, demonstration farms, central motor pool, and essentially planning for development on a larger geographical scale. The responsibility of the province over services is confined to those which are purely financed from provincial funds. On the other hand, municipalities are in charge of providing basic services such as police and fire protection, management of public utilities and markets, maintenance of sanitation, and other municipally funded services.

The cities perform the same function as the municipalities in addition to carrying out programs which are within their financial capacity. For instance, secondary schools, hospitals, and parks are maintained by the cities.

Some functions are shared between the national and local governments. Categorizing these services into welfare, infrastructure, and agro-industrial services, the sharing of the responsibilities may be identified. The three services mentioned may be considered as supportive of rural production and development. In the promotion of health and welfare services, both the national and local governments share in administering and financing the services. Nonetheless, primary education remains a national function. Local governments contribute part of their income to maintaining hospital and rural health programs and the agricultural development program. Community development is undertaken by the national government with the counterpart support of the people in the barrios.

Infrastructure such as roads, bridges and ports are administered either by the national or local governments. The nationally identified road system, airports, irrigations, ports and harbors are constructed and maintained by the national government. Electric power is provided by the national government and the private sector. Water systems are maintained by local governments except the Metro-Manila

system which is covered by the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System.

Agro-industrial services are those which support agricultural development including non-agricultural activities such as fisheries, forestries, and cottage industries. The national government extends direct assistance on the administration of land reform, farm extension, animal husbandry, fisheries and forestry protection. Loans and credits and technical supervision are provided by a specialized agency of the national government. Cottage industries are encouraged and assisted by the national government.

4. Role of Local Government in Rural Development

While the national government assumes the main tasks of achieving rural development, the local governments also have an important role in this direction. The local governments in general act as a promoter of development and as a provider of the basic social and economic services for the people. Under the partnership concept, the local governments are expected to contribute to the goals of the national government in promoting social development, creating employment, achieving maximum economic growth, encouraging regional development and industrialization, and reaching equitable income distribution. Despite their limitations in financing, the local governments can provide the basic infrastructures, both physical and social, to stimulate economic growth. For example, roads and bridges, utilities such as water, power, or telecommunications, and social services such as protective, health, or education are extended to the people as well as to possible investors. The local governments likewise initiate the introduction of technology and rational tools of decision-making. In many instances, provinces and cities are now embarking on development planning which adopts modern management and planning techniques, thus aiding local executives in

reducing their subjectivity in decisions and in achieving priorities in rural project management. Local governments are now beginning to accept the value of collecting and using data for analyzing local problems and for monitoring the potentials and resources of the local areas to entrepreneurs and to national government agencies. Finally, the local governments may promote economic activities either directly or indirectly. They can use their taxing and regulatory powers to promote or attract local economic activity, though these can also be used so as to discourage it. In exceptional cases, the local governments have undertaken economic functions in the absence of private initiative, e.g., operating a telephone or electric company, maintaining animal breeding stations or farm nurseries, or starting cottage industries which tap local materials and skills.

A step towards increasing the participation of local governments in the community development program is the recent establishment of a barrio development fund. The fund is drawn from the 10 percent share of the barrios from the collections of the real property tax and from the yearly contributions of provinces, cities, or municipalities in an amount not exceeding ₱500 for every barrio. The national department of local government will administer the fund and supervise the community development projects in the barrios. Corollary to the barrio fund is the local government fund comprising 20 percent of the internal revenue collections. At the discretion of the President, the fund is to be used as counterpart to local development programs and as a way of distributing the national revenue allotments on an equitable basis. A new revenue sharing system was similarly introduced in the decree establishing the two local funds. The new system will attempt to reduce the imbalance in the concentration of revenues in selected local governments.

C. The Economy

The Philippine economy is characterized as primarily agrarian with a fast gaining agro-industrial sector. Table I compares the relative position of agriculture vis-a-vis the manufacturing and mining sectors through recent years. Although mining has rapidly increased compared with other sectors, it is a small sector and mainly a raw material extracting activity for export. On the whole, for the period from 1966 to 1971, there had been a slackening rate of growth in agriculture which affected the aggregate growth performance of the country.[1]

Table I: Economic Sectoral Growth Rates, Philippines (in percentages)

Sector	1966-1969	1969-1970	1970-1971
Agriculture	7.4	6.0	5.3
Mining	--	22.2	19.9
Manufacturing	5.9	6.5	3.7
Net domestic product	5.7	5.8	4.8

Source: ECAFE, 1971.

The overall economic growth indicates a fairly high rate for the period from 1965 to 1970 when it achieved nearly a 6 percent annual increase in GNP. There was a sharp decline in 1971 when GNP rose by only about 4.8 percent. The decrease had been attributed to natural calamities such as typhoons and droughts as well as to deep social problems, e.g., land tenure and inequality in income

[1] Cf. A. K. Sen, "The Philippine Economy: A Study," in Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East (UN ECAFE, December 1971), p. 93.

distribution. The de facto devaluation of the peso in early 1970 restrained growth but induced the spiraling of prices. By 1973, the economy had recovered and achieved more than the 7.0 percent growth target. The dramatic improvement in the economy is, however, being eroded by the enormous repercussions of the world-wide energy crisis.

D. Population

The total population of the country has reached 36.7 million (1970 census). With a land area of 297,410 square kilometers spread out in over 7,100 islands, the population density stands at 123 persons per square kilometer. The estimated population growth appears to have declined slightly from 3.5 percent in the 1960's to 3.1 percent in the 1970 census. However, the current growth rate is still considerably high compared with other developing countries.

Using the old regional divisions of the country, Table II reveals the pattern of population growth, the value added in each region, and the income per capita. It may be stated that in 1972, the Philippines adopted a uniform regional delineation composed of 11 regions and regional capitals. Metro Manila and Davao have an accelerated population growth resulting largely from rural migration and natural increase. Ilocos and Western Visayas regions where Abra and Capiz are located, have a very low growth rate in population and economic growth. Wealth is evidently concentrated in Metro Manila followed by Southern Tagalog region.

The Philippines has a young population, with 43.11 percent below 15 years of age.[1] A young population demands investments in consumer goods which otherwise could be used

[1] Bureau of the Census and Statistics, National Summary Philippines, 1970, (Manila, 1972).

for productive goods. The rural areas compared to the urban areas have a younger population. This reflects the presence of more people in the working ages in the urban areas, which means there is a "drain" on rural workers.

Table II: Population Growth Rate, Value Added, and Income Per Capita, By Regions, Philippines

Area*	1970 Population		1969 Value Added		Income Per Capita 1966 (₱)
	Size (1,000)	Growth rate p.a. (%)	Amount (₱M)	Growth rate p.a. (%)	
Metro Manila	3,277	4.7	9,977	6.1	955
Ilocos	1,259	1.7	358	3.3	303
Cagayan	2,037	3.3	1,061	4.6	226
Central Luzon	5,100	3.1	1,791	4.1	416
Southern Tagalog	3,880	3.9	2,493	5.0	687
Bicol	2,967	2.2	908	5.3	331
Western Visayas	4,501	1.5	2,087	3.7	351
Eastern Visayas	4,700	1.6	1,680	5.2	279
N & E Mindanao	3,016	3.5	1,589	7.2	364
S & W Mindanao	4,947	4.1	2,587	7.2	327
Philippines	36,684	3.0	24,531	5.5	415

*These are statistical areas defined prior to the Government's new regional delineation.

Source: SWHP and DPWTC, 1972.

E. Employment

Unemployment in the Philippines is seen to be close to seven percent of the labor force, while underemployment is apparently a little less than that rate. In Table III are the figures on unemployment and underemployment for selected years.

Table III

	Unemployment	Underemployment (worked less than 30 hours per week and wanting additional work)
1958	9.1	7.1
1961	8.6	6.1
1964	6.4	5.7
1967	8.2	6.8
1968	7.8	7.3
1969	6.7	--

Source: BCS and ECAFE, 1971.

Proportionally, unemployment is more apparent in the urban areas where 10.3 percent in 1967 were unemployed, while in the rural areas, it was measured as 6.6 percent. Unemployment fell most heavily on "young" males (those 24 years and younger) and particularly in urban areas (20.3 percent) where they had fewer chances of earning a livelihood than in rural areas (where unemployment stood at 7.6 percent). A significantly high rate of unemployment was reported among the female working force in both the rural and urban areas. The available data on underemployment (1966) reveal a high pattern in agriculture and other related sectors.[1]

The employment status of the labor force by sectors within rural and urban areas is shown in Table IV. The most significant change between 1965 and 1971 was that a large number of the labor force in rural areas have shifted to non-agricultural industries there (31.9 percent of the

[1] A. K. Sen, op. cit., p. 102.

total in 1971). Unexpectedly, the data indicate some decline in unemployment overall.

Table IV: Persons in the Labor Force by Employment Status, Urban and Rural, 1965 and 1971 (in thousands, except percent)

Year	Total labor force	EMPLOYED					UNEMPLOYED	
		Total employed	Agriculture		Non-Agricultural Industries			
			Number	Percent of total employed	Number	Percent of total employed	Number	Percent of labor force
Urban								
1965	3,313	2,958	481	16.0	2,477	83.7	355	10.7
1971	4,155	3,797	377	9.9	3,420	90.1	358	8.6
Rural								
1965	7,451	7,143	5,243	73.4	1,900	26.6	308	4.1
1971	9,078	8,737	5,952	68.1	2,784	31.9	342	3.8

Source: NEDA, 1972.

F. Income

Differences in family income between rural and urban areas are substantial, as seen from the median rural and urban family incomes shown in Tables V and VI. To be sure, some adjustment needs to be made for respective costs of living in the two areas, but the differential remains large in any case. Rural average family incomes were 64 percent of urban incomes in 1965, and only 49 percent of those in 1971--indeed only 38 percent of the median Manila family income in that year. Cost of living is difficult to reckon since there was a large devaluation of the peso in 1970. Considering median family income unadjusted for cost of living changes, rural incomes went up by 44 percent in this six-year period, while urban incomes rose by 86 percent. The consumer price index for the Philippines rose

61.6% in this period (59.6% in Manila), so real rural incomes declined while those in urban areas rose.[1]

Looking at changes in income distribution, it appears that if anything, income distribution in rural areas has worsened somewhat over the period 1965 to 1971. Estimated Gini coefficients for rural family incomes in these years are .43 and .46, while such coefficients for urban families, on the other hand, are .46 and .42, respectively. There was little overall change in income distribution, though the extent of income inequality is marked. Among the 16 countries considered in this study of rural local government, only Malaysia has greater divergence between top and bottom income groups.

Table V: Percentage Distribution of Families by Income Class: Urban and Rural, 1965

Income class	Total families	Urban areas	Rural areas
Under ₱500	11.6 %	4.5 %	14.5 %
500-999	17.7	7.7	21.9
1,000-1,499	16.7	11.7	18.8
1,500	13.5	11.4	14.4
2,000	9.9	12.1	9.0
2,500	7.6	9.5	6.8
3,000	8.9	13.0	7.2
4,000	4.6	7.0	3.5
5,000	2.8	5.6	1.6
6,000	2.5	5.3	1.3
8,000	1.5	4.3	.4
10,000 & over	2.6	7.9	.4
Median family income	₱1,649	₱2,135	₱1,359

Source: BCS (1968) in ECAFE, Economic Bulletin, UN, N.Y., 1971, p. 101.

[1]Data calculated from Central Bank of the Philippines Statistical Bulletin (December 1971), Tables 126 and 137.

Table VI: Percentage Distribution of Families by Income Class, Urban and Rural: 1971

Income class	Total families	Total urban	Manila & suburbs	Other urban areas	Total rural
Total (thousands)	6,347	1,913	525	1,388	4,434
Under ₱500	5.2%	1.9%	0.2%	2.6%	6.6%
₱500-₱999	12.1	3.5	0.9	4.4	15.8
₱1,000-₱1,499	12.2	5.6	1.7	7.1	15.0
₱1,500	11.8	7.0	4.0	8.1	13.9
₱2,000	9.6	8.6	6.9	9.2	10.1
₱2,500	8.1	8.7	8.6	8.8	7.9
₱3,000	12.5	15.1	15.3	15.1	11.4
₱4,000	7.5	9.8	10.9	9.3	6.5
₱5,000	5.0	7.7	7.6	7.8	3.8
₱6,000	6.4	11.0	13.3	10.2	4.3
₱8,000	3.6	7.1	9.1	6.3	2.0
₱10,000 ₱15,000 ₱20,000 & over	6.1	13.9	21.4	11.1	2.7
Median family income	₱2,456	₱3,972	₱5,202	₱3,650	₱1,954
Increase 1965-71	49 %	86 %	--	--	44 %

Source: BCS, The BCS Survey of Households Bulletin, Series No. 34, Department of Commerce and Industry, Manila, 1973.

G. Agriculture

The Philippines is and is likely to remain for some time an agricultural country, despite the progress which has been made on the industrial front. Over 61 percent of the Filipino labor force are in the agricultural sector or in the rural areas. The majority relies on subsistence or marginal farming and fishing for a livelihood. Modern agricultural technology has yet to reach the rural populace except in such limited areas as Central Luzon, Southern

Tagalog, part of the Cagayan Valley, the Panay Island, and parts of Mindanao for rice and in Negros Island for sugar. Rice cultivation is restricted by the absence of irrigation facilities, lack of farm management technicians, high cost of fertilizers and scarce package of technologies (certified seeds, farm chemicals, and equipment). Indicating the serious lack of irrigation, Table VII shows that of the 3.1 million hectares planted to rice only about 650.6 hectares are irrigated (1960 Census data) or 20.9 percent of the total land devoted to rice. Between Abra and Capiz, the former has a comparatively higher proportion--even higher than the national average of irrigated land. However, in aggregate terms, Capiz has more hectarage planted to rice.

Table VII: Irrigated Lands, by Province, 1960

	Palay (rice) area (000 hectares)	Irrigated area (000 hectares)	% of palay area irrigated
Philippines	3,112.1	650.6	20.9
Abra	29.0	8.9	30.7
Capiz	64.9	1.8	2.8

Source: NEDA 1974.

The total number of farms has slightly increased from 2.2 million in 1960 to 2.4 million in 1971.[1] In the same period, the number of farms has risen at a declining rate. The shift of a sizable portion of the labor force from the agricultural to the non-agricultural sector as

[1]Bureau of the Census and Statistics, Journal of Philippine Statistics (Second Quarter, 1973), pp. 81-86.

described earlier may explain the situation. The increase in the number of farms is attributed to the less than five hectare group suggesting the division of larger farms among the family members. The reason may be traced to the results of the Land Reform Act of 1963 (R.A. 3844) which shifted tenancy to leasehold. Presidential Decree No. 27 (1972) likewise expanded land reform and defined priority areas to include agricultural "lands devoted to rice and corn or basic tenancy whether classified as landed estate or not..." About 39.3 percent of the farm population are tenants (see Table VIII). The ratio is considerably higher in Capiz (66.5 percent) than in Abra (14.6 percent).

Table VIII: Area Planted to Palay (Rice) and Corn, and Tenancy Ratios, by Province

	Total farm population	Total tenants (all types)	Tenants as % of total	Total area planted to palay & corn (000 has.)	Total area planted to palay & corn by tenants (000 has.)
Philippines	12,668,250	4,977,142	39.3	4,632.4	1,838.5
Abra	85,120	12,458	14.6	27.9	3.3
Capiz	170,489	113,398	66.5	61.2	39.2

Source: NEDA 1974.

Self-sufficiency in rice became the urgent goal of the country in the mid-1960's. The coordinated efforts for a time brought initial success until technical problems

became apparent and natural calamities dampened it. Between 1972 and 1973, a serious rice shortage again mounted to create a crisis. In May 1973, the government began to launch the Masagana 99 program aimed at helping the rural farmers produce at least 4,466 kg./ha. of palay. A new high-yielding rice variety was introduced together with the other rice technologies. A liberal agricultural credit scheme was made available to the farmers in the rice program.

Taking two crop years for comparison, Table IX indicates the efficiency in food production computed on the land area and the total harvests (in kilogram). On the whole, despite the decline in the land area devoted to food crops, the production increased by 14.2 percent since 1969. Palay and corn, for example, dropped in land area, but the production went up considerably. The yield for palay in 1970 was 1,680 kg./ha. and for corn, 829 kg./ha.* However, the 1960 census revealed that the national yield for palay was 1,954 kg./ha. For Abra and Capiz, the average yield per hectare in 1960 (Census) was 1,008 kg./ha. and 1,390 kg./ha., respectively. Chapter II attributes the high rice yield in Capiz to such factors as intensive land use, availability of agricultural technology such as irrigation, fertilizer, etc., and the fertility of the soil in that province.

Philippine agriculture is dependent also on a number of commercial crops for export, in particular, sugar, coconut, abaca, and fruits. The country supplies about 60 percent of all the coconut products in the world market.

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*Source of data: Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Discrepancy in the data which tends to indicate a decline in the average yield of palay could be attributed to the fact that two sources of information were used. At the time of the study, the Census data for 1970 were not yet available.

Table IX: All Crops (Summary): Area and Quantity of Production, 1970 Compared with Previous Crop Year

Crops	Area 1969 (hectare)	Area 1970 (hectare)	Increase or (Decrease)	Production 1969 (kilogram)	Production 1970 (kilogram)	Increase or (Decrease)
Philippines						
	8,919,260	8,946,350	.3	13,259,103,800	15,200,544,800	14.6
A. Food Crops						
	6,440,250	6,406,260	(0.5)	9,345,564,400	10,669,993,500	14.2
palay	3,332,150	3,113,440	(6.6)	4,444,655,600	5,233,408,400	17.7
corn	2,256,140	2,419,600	7.2	1,732,834,200	2,008,212,600	15.9
fruits & nuts	368,030	380,260	3.3	1,373,301,400	1,569,484,700	14.3
citrus	25,190	21,280	(15.5)	74,604,400	70,686,000	(5.3)
root crops	253,580	252,360	(0.5)	1,338,107,400	1,316,263,100	(1.6)
vegetables	48,600	51,110	5.2	215,428,700	254,967,000	18.4
onion	4,860	7,410	52.5	15,365,200	30,698,700	99.8
irish potato	3,020	2,980	(1.3)	18,377,100	20,104,300	9.4
beans & peas	45,310	49,980	10.3	20,046,800	23,001,200	14.7
coffee	51,950	53,980	3.9	44,171,500	49,016,900	11.0
cacao	9,220	8,380	(9.1)	4,420,100	4,292,600	(2.9)
peanut	30,970	32,450	4.8	14,876,900	17,402,500	17.0
other food crops	11,230	11,700	4.7	49,375,100	67,996,000	37.7
B. Commercial Crops						
	2,479,100	2,540,090	2.5	3,913,539,400	4,530,551,300	17.8
copra & desiccated coconut	1,845,480	1,883,920	2.1	1,515,547,200	1,656,170,500	9.3
				44,151,000	70,007,000	58.6
sugar	342,960	366,070	6.7	1,662,678,800	1,987,009,200	19.5
molasses				503,827,200	607,637,700	20.6
abaca	172,940	173,020	--	105,896,200	122,380,300	15.6
tobacco:						
Virginia	32,310	33,370	3.3	19,931,800	21,983,300	10.3
Native	57,050	54,040	(5.3)	36,920,700	39,222,700	6.2
ramie	1,360	2,380	75.0	1,944,800	3,073,200	58.0
rubber	21,180	21,830	3.1	18,369,300	19,000,300	3.4
maguey	2,800	2,790	(0.4)	2,440,700	2,407,800	(1.3)
kapok	2,900	2,650	(8.6)	1,802,000	1,650,900	(8.4)
cotton	30	20	(33.3)	29,700	8,400	(71.7)

Source: BAECON 1970.

The coconut industry itself is the chief source of livelihood for about 25 percent of the Filipinos. The country also commands a large share of the American sugar imports (about 11 percent of U.S. consumption) by shipping about 1.25 million metric tons of sugar there annually. Timber is also a very important industry in the Philippines, though it is threatened by indiscriminate logging methods and slash-and-burn farming methods.

In examining the production figures in Tables IX and X, we see that commercial crops are produced on about one-quarter of the cultivated area (excluding timber). Between 1969 and 1970, there was a small increase in the reported area devoted to their production, while their rise in production was beyond the national average for all crops. Over the last 20 years, production of commercial crops (in metric tons--see Table X) has almost exactly doubled, while output of food crops has increased by 117 percent. Copra, sugar and native tobacco are examples of improving commercial crops. Maguey, kapok and cotton decreased recently in area of production, though there is great demand for raw materials from the growing domestic textile plants.

Meat production as well as the value of livestock on farms has dramatically increased from 1960 to 1970, as seen from Table XI. In spite of the increase in the value of cattle and hogs, however, there remains an insufficient supply of meat for human consumption. In terms of fish supply from cultivated fish ponds, yields increased by 54 percent between 1962 and 1972, as shown in Table XII. These figures on meat and fish production indicate, in however fragmentary a manner, some progress in agricultural diversification.

Table X: Agricultural Production by Kind of Crop, 1952, 1961, 1971
(in thousand metric tons)

A. Food Crops	1952	1961	1971
palay	2,830.7	3,704.8	5,342.9
corn	761.9	1,209.6	2,004.9
fruits & nuts	404.1	700.7	1,663.2
citrus	20.3	53.9	--
root crops	732.0	1,445.3	1,220.8
vegetables	120.0	146.9	244.8
onions	9.9	17.9	32.7
Irish potatoes	0.6	10.1	22.3
beans & peas	38.2	33.4	23.6
coffee	5.0	32.3	49.5
cacao	1.2	3.6	4.5
peanuts	15.4	12.8	18.8
other food crops	1.2	30.0	80.8
B. Commercial Crops			
copra	748.5	1,071.0	1,574.1
desiccated coconut	52.1	59.3	105.3
sugar: centrifugal and muscovado	1,017.0	1,353.6	2,109.3
molasses	188.0	355.5	--
abaca	114.6	114.8	104.5
Virginia tobacco	--	28.3	20.0
Native tobacco	26.7	31.7	35.8
ramie	0.1	2.0	3.1
rubber	1.8	3.7	20.8
maguey	1.0	2.2	2.4
kapok	1.6	2.1	1.5
cotton	0.4	0.4	0.6

Source: Tanco, Arturo R., Jr. "Philippine Agricultural Progress in the Last 25 Years," The Fookien Times Yearbook 1973.

Table XI: Farm Livestock, Inventory Value of Animal Population, by Kind, 1960-1970, in pesos

Kind of animal	Year		
	1960	1965	1970
carabao	506,183,000	755,400,300	1,338,526,600
cattle	135,271,000	365,493,500	460,167,100
horse	19,750,900	44,323,200	61,035,900
hog	182,393,100	273,536,100	485,479,800
goat	6,275,100	9,423,700	17,674,100
sheep	173,400	28,100	--

Source: Tanco, Arturo R. Jr. "Agriculture at the Crossroads," The Fookien Times Yearbook 1972.

Table XII: Area, Yield and Production of Fishponds

	Year		
	1962	1967	1972
area in fishponds (in 000)	129.1	140.1	174.1
index of area	100.0	108.0	135.0
yield (kg./ha.)	476	456	564
index of yield/ha.	100	95.8	118.5
total production (000 tons)	61.4	63.9	98.2
index of production	100	104	154

Source: Gonzales, Felix R. "The Status of Philippine Fisheries," The Fookien Times Yearbook 1973.

H. Welfare Services

Having looked at economic and demographic factors, some consideration should be given the impact of these on the welfare of the population and the contribution of

government services. Most of these, as has been noted, are provided through the central government, though in some cases, such as education and health care, cities and municipalities have some role to play.

Health is an area in which welfare--or its lack--is most acutely felt. The crude death rate in the Philippines is one gross measure of changes in the standard of health, and this has been reduced by more than one half during the past 50 years.[1] The present rate of 6.6 percent per 1,000 population is traceable largely to communicable diseases, which caused 39.7 percent of deaths in 1971, compared to 75.6 percent in 1923. The national government continues to maintain a rural health program begun in 1953, along with a family planning program initiated less than five years ago as population growth became a matter of increasing national concern.

Nutrition is an important component of health, but one about which government has done rather little. It has provided health services directly to the population but has left ensuring adequate food for consumption to the individual and his family. The Food and Nutrition Research Center has established that the regular Filipino diet lacks sufficient nutrients, being deficient in protein and fats as well as essential vitamins and minerals. About 72 percent of the population are unable to meet the average daily caloric intake of 2,000 calories which is the commonly stated minimum nutritional standard. The malnutrition problem is in part responsible for the fact that over one-half of the country's children die before reaching school age. Malnourishment not only makes persons more susceptible to disease but it also affects mental capabilities through later life.

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[1]Clemente S. Gatmaitan, "The State of the Nation's Health," The Fookien Times Yearbook 1973, p. 222.

In the area of education, the Philippines has made a notable contribution to welfare, having attained some of the highest school enrollment ratios anywhere at the primary, secondary and university levels. Among the 16 countries considered in this comparative study, it has the highest proportion of primary school age children enrolled and the second highest percentage at the university level (19 percent compared to Israel's 20 percent); only Japan, Israel and Yugoslavia have higher relative enrollment at the secondary level.* Enrollments continue to grow even though at a relatively high level already, as seen from Table XIII. In the period 1966-67 to 1970-71, graduate education and secondary schooling went up 33 percent, while undergraduate instruction increased by 27 percent. Primary education, already nearly universal, increased by one-quarter in this time.

Table XIII: School Enrollment by Level of Education, 1966-67 to 1970-71

1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70[1]	1970-71[1]
Pre-School				
36,660	38,975	46,199	48,418	52,173
Elementary				
6,192,660	6,406,826	7,054,053	7,939,967	7,713,799
Secondary				
1,285,064	1,363,129	1,504,378	1,628,067	1,704,454
Collegiate/ Undergraduate				
541,909	590,297	608,270	654,735	688,914
Graduate				
11,331	10,234	13,846	15,022	15,086
Total				
8,067,624	8,409,461	9,226,746	9,740,209	10,174,426

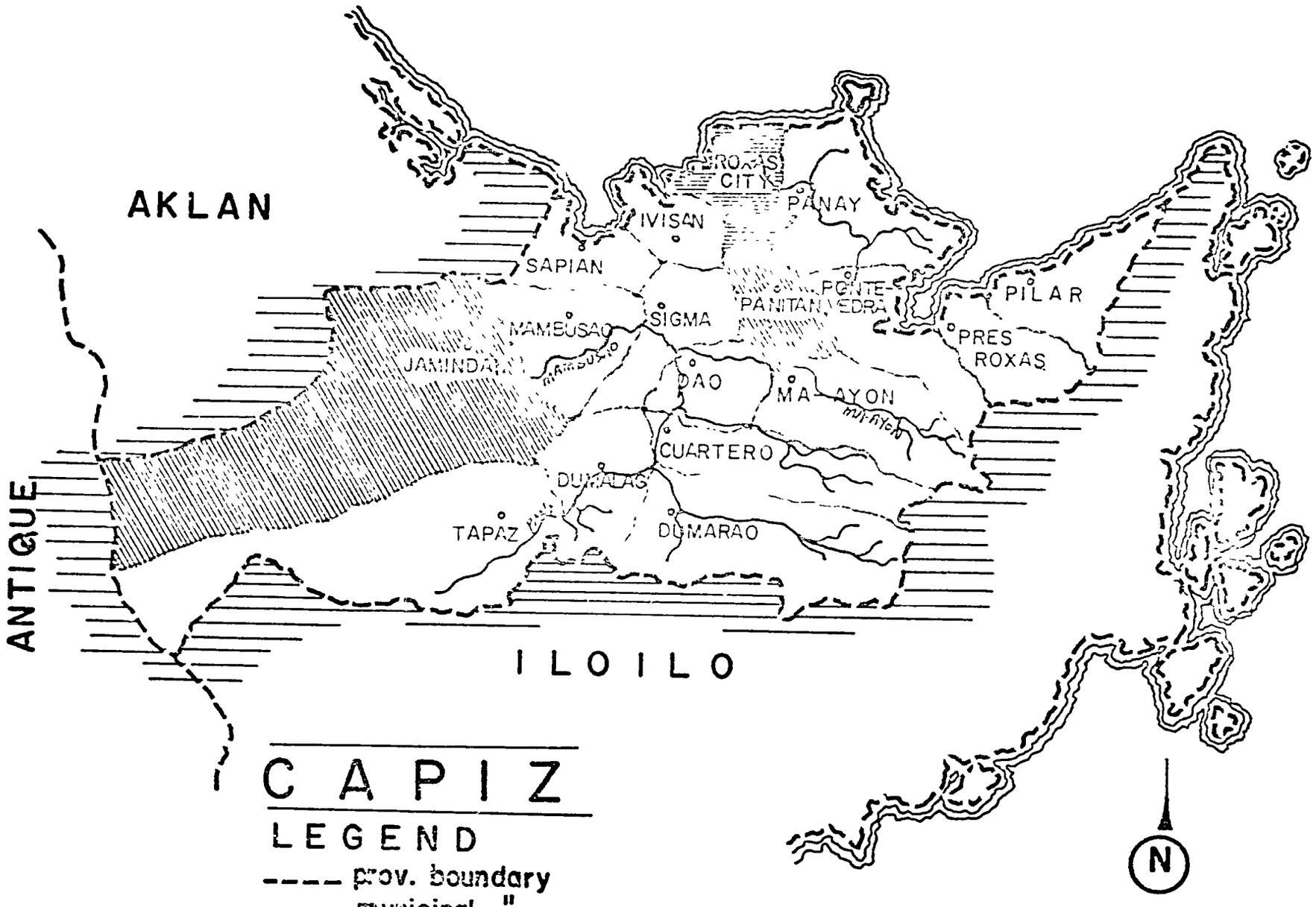
Source: Department of Education.
[1]Projected.

*Data are from UNESCO Statistical Year Book for 1972, Table 2.7.

The National Electrification Administration has estimated that only 22.5 percent of the population have access to electrification. Considering the availability of this service to local governments, the NEA found that about 716 municipalities (or half of the total) and all the chartered cities are served by some 900 power plants (with a total generating capacity of 2.3 million kilowatts). In 1971 there were 721 existing electric utility franchises which should provide elctric service to over 15,657 barrios. The total area covered is actually only 2,252 barrios by franchise holders with an average generating capacity of less than 500 kilowatts. In view of the present condition the national government has stepped up its rural electrification program for two reasons: "to increase agricultural productivity by enhancing the benefit of irrigation and farm mechanization; and to promote the development of rural industries, initially the cottage industries."[1] Rural electric cooperatives are organized in priority provinces including in Abra where a cooperative took over the operation from a private franchise holder.

This profile on the local government and socio-economic conditions in the Philippines places in perspective the trends in development and in particular the role of local governments in rural development. As the preceding description indicates, the need for more food, jobs, health and education services, rural electrification and the like increases with the expanding growth in population. The problems of the nation are therefore multiple but not insurmountable and beyond the challenge of the government. Both the national and local governments together with the private sector are confronted with this challenge in enhancing development in the countryside. As we turn to the following chapters public and private local institutions have undertaken programs for rural development.

[1] Jesus T. Tanchanco, "Rural Electrification," The Fookien Times Yearbook 1972, p. 189.



CAPIZ

LEGEND

---- prov. boundary

—— municipal "

—— river

II. Public Local Institutions for Rural Development*

The overview of the role of local governments in rural development outlined in the previous chapter gives little insight into the dynamics of the actual operations at the local level. It is important, therefore, that the various activities that occur at the micro level are examined. Here, we assume that macro aggregates do not explain development, and various actions take place which may indicate more clearly the mechanisms that trigger rural development.

The two provinces which were selected by the team for this study are Capiz and Abra. This chapter will deal with Capiz, where government institutions for rural development have been the dominant mode.

A. The Province

1. Topography

Capiz is one of the four provinces comprising the island of Panay in central Philippines, about 24 hours by interisland vessels and one hour by plane from Manila. It is 132 kilometers by land from Iloilo City, the seat of regional offices for the Western Visayas region. The province has an estimated land area of 263,317 hectares, stretching about 60 kilometers from north to south and about 50 kilometers from east to west.[1] Forest and timberlands constitute nearly 30 percent of the total land area, one-third of which is classified as timberland, the rest being unclassified public forest. Twenty-seven percent of this total land area is devoted to agriculture, half of

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*This chapter was written by Santiago S. Simpas.

[1] Provincial Profile of Capiz, 1973--Mimeo (Provincial Development Staff, Roxas City). p. 14.

which is utilized for rice production.[1] Mineral production has been limited although reserves of gold, copper, manganese, silver, lead, zinc, iron and other ores are said to be available.[2]

Four major tributaries make the province a large valley basin, the Mambusao, Panay, Maayon and Pontevedra Rivers. (Please see map on page 30.) These four rivers are navigable during the rainy months and supply water for the rice and sugarlands cuddled by the Capiz basin. They serve almost 52,000 hectares of rice and sugarland. It is estimated that their present discharge rate of 1,617,800 liters per minute, if properly harnessed through the use of electricity, is capable of irrigating all the agricultural lands in the province.[3] Bridges crisscross the rivers in key areas, but floods which occur with regularity during the rainy months render some of these impassable and hamper communication and transportation between the stricken

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[1] Ibid., p. 15.

Total Area Classified and/or Certified	hectares	percentage of total
Arable land	190,750	72.4
Timberland	21,000	8.0
Unclassified public forest	51,507	19.6
	263,317	100.0

For rice hectarage we relied on the figures provided by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics Branch in Roxas City, which state the total hectarage for agriculture is 72,759.7 hectares of which nearly 37,000 hectares are devoted to rice.

[2] Ibid., pp. 21-22. The recorded mineral production in the province for FY 1969-1970 was in the form of sand, gravel and earth. Total quantity is 28,904 cubic meters with an estimated value of ₱139,074. There are known deposits of: gold, copper, titanium, pyrite, lead zinc, silver zinc, manganese, iron, clay and limestone.

[3] Ibid., p. 20.

municipalities and Roxas City. Wanton logging, "kaingins"* and the lack of a workable flood control system for the province contribute to these destructive floods.

2. Population

The province has grown from 244,889 in 1948 to 394,041 in 1970. The increase has been especially marked between 1948 and 1960, when population increased by 28.7 percent. Since this period, Capiz was experiencing a steady outmigration. The 1970 census shows that the province had a yearly growth of 2.5 percent compared to the Philippine increase of 3.1 percent. Population density in Capiz is a little higher than the national average. In 1970 it had 1.49 persons per hectare as against the national average of 1.24 persons per hectare. Its urban population constitutes 15.1 percent of the total population by the 1970 census. This ratio is still half of the average urban population of the entire country, making the province a highly rural area (see Table XIV).

The dependency population of the province follows closely the distribution for the whole country. In 1970, 44.1 percent of the population was below 15 years old, and 3.94 were 65 years or over. This shows a high dependency ratio of 92 percent. Unemployment, which is about five percent, is lower than the national average (see Table XV).

Negritoes were the aborigines of the province. They now constitute a tiny portion of the population and reside mainly in the hill areas. The majority of the present population are Capizenos, whose stock can be traced to the first settlers but whose names and features often show traces of the Spanish influence.

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*The native term for slash-and-burn farming.

Table XIV: Population and Percent Change, Capiz Province, 1948, 1960, 1970

	Population			Land Area	Percent Change	
	1970	1960	1948		1960-1970	1948-1960
Capiz (total)	394,041	315,079	244,889	2,633.2	25.1	28.7
Roxas City	67,648	49,326	32,353	102.0	37.1	52.5
Jamindan	20,483	16,090	13,769	623.0	27.3	16.9
Panitan	23,259	19,828	15,179	89.8	17.3	30.6
Average for other municipalities (N = 14)	20,200	16,416	13,113	130.0	23.0	25.0

Source: Bureau of Census and Statistics, Capiz Branch, Roxas City.

Table XV: Percentage Dependent Population: Capiz, Panitan and Jamindan--1960 and 1970

Local gov't	Category	1960		1970	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Capiz					
	Dependent	122,223	39.0	139,097	35.3
	10-64 years	192,274	61.0	254,945	64.7
	Total	315,079	100.0	394,041	100.0
Panitan					
	Dependent	7,373	37.2	9,234	39.7
	10-64 years	12,455	62.8	14,025	60.3
	Total	19,828	100.0	23,259	100.0
Jamindan					
	Dependent	6,456	40.1	7,681	37.5
	10-64 years	9,634	59.9	12,802	62.5
	Total	16,090	100.0	20,483	100.0

Source: Bureau of Census: Statistics, CAPIZ Branch, Roxas City.

3. The Economy

Capiz is primarily an agricultural province. In 1970, 63 percent of the population drew its main source of livelihood from agriculture and forestry. This shows a little more dependence on agriculture than is obtaining for the whole country where the figure is 51 percent. Nevertheless, this 1970 statistic shows a marked decrease in agricultural population which in 1960-61 constituted 84 percent of the labor force. This shift may be explained by increases in the proportion of people employed in services (from 3 percent in 1960-61 to 12.1 percent in 1970) and manufacturing and construction (from 4 percent to 11 percent). (See Tables XVI and XVII.)

Table XVI: Percentage of Population 10 Years of Age and Over by Major Industrial Group for Urban and Rural Areas of Capiz, 1970

Group	Urban	Rural	Total	% of Total
Agricultural, hunting, fishing	4,185	86,186	90,371	63.1
Mining and quarrying	--	43	43	--
Manufacturing	2,739	9,432	12,171	9.2
Electric, water, gas services	137	163	300	0.2
Construction	625	3,454	4,079	2.8
Commerce	2,708	4,035	6,743	4.6
Transport, communication storage	1,021	2,454	3,475	2.3
Services	7,241	10,854	17,495	12.1
Activities not adequately described	205	2,026	2,231	1.5
Looking for work for first time	1,409	2,069	6,118	4.3
TOTAL	19,910	123,116	143,026	100.00%

Table XVII: Percentage of Population 10 Years of Age and Over by Major Occupation Group for Urban and Rural Areas of Capiz, 1970

Group	Urban	Rural	Total	% of Total
Professional, technical and relative	2,423	4,313	6,736	4.7
Administrative, executive, managerial	419	934	1,353	0.9
Clerical	976	729	1,705	1.3
Sales	2,552	4,085	6,637	4.8
Farmers, fishermen, etc.	3,999	84,349	88,348	61.9
Miners, quarrymen, etc.	47	69	116	0.1
Transport and communication	1,075	2,541	3,616	2.6
Craftsmen, production, workers, laborers	2,600	12,512	15,112	10.7
Service, sport and related	3,943	5,022	8,965	6.4
TOTAL	18,034	114,554	132,588	93.4

Rice, as is true to most of the country, is the main agricultural crop. Fifty percent of the total cultivated area is devoted to this staple which accounted for about 60 percent of the income from agricultural production in 1970. Sugarcane follows next (about 25 percent of agricultural income), while corn represents only about 2 percent.

Table XVIII illustrates the increases in yield per hectare of the three major crops in the province for 1950, 1968-69 and 1972-73. Using 1950 as a base year, rice production shows the highest increase for the 18-year period, registering an annual average of 6.4 percent. The increment went up to 8 percent annually between 1969 and 1973. Increased production for sugar and corn only registered a uniform rate of 1 percent for the 18-year for both crops, with the former maintaining the same yearly rate for 1969-73 and the latter going up to 2 percent for the

Table XVIII: Rice, Sugar and Corn Production,*
Capiz: 1950, 1968-69 and 1972-73

Product	1950	1968 - 1969			1972 - 1973		
	Yield/ ha.	Yield/ha.	Total number of times over 1950	Average annual rate of inc.	Yield/ha.	Total number of times over 1968	Average annual rate of inc.
Rice	1,188 kg.	2,552 kg.	2.15	6.4%	3,388 kg.	1.32	8.0%
Sugar	75 pcs.	90 pcs.	1.20	1.0%	94 pcs.	1.04	1.0%
Corn	440 kg.	528 kg.	1.20	1.0%	572 kg.	1.08	2.0%

*The BAECOM figures for 1970 were in cavans for rice and corn. To convert to kilos, which is the standard international measure for rice, we multiplied cavans by 44 kilos. Rice here is equated to palay or unhusked grain. When the rice is hulled, the equivalent weight per cavan is 56 kilos.

same period. Except for the corn yield, rice and sugar production is higher than the national average.

Since high-yielding rice varieties were not introduced until late in 1968, the higher increase in rice production may be attributed to a number of other factors. The emphasis on rice production was started much earlier than 1950 but additional efforts were exerted in early 1950. Various agricultural agencies of the national government began to undertake extension activities which included the introduction of improved farm practices, such as fertilizer use, improved seed selection, weeding, water control, and others. For such practices to be accepted and used, there was a need to increase local government participation in technical agency efforts to involve local farmers. This did not preclude contacts by government personnel with other local groups for assistance to attain the same ends. The extent to which local governments or local private groups have generated activities geared to increase rice production, while difficult to measure, are nevertheless manifested. Personnel of government agencies such as the Bureau of Agricultural Extension and the Presidential Arm on Community Development attest to the involvement of these groups in their development efforts. The further increase in average annual production during the period from 1969 to 1973 over the 18-year norm of improvement between 1950 and 1968 may be mainly due to the introduction of the High Yielding Rice varieties introduced by the national government. In this campaign, government agencies again got the cooperation of local governments and local institutions. The increase in production may also be attributed to the four river systems which supplied some water to the areas of rice hectarage along their respective courses. Irrigation systems have been constructed on a private basis to utilize the available water, thus making it possible to raise two crops where

before only one harvest was possible.* Furthermore, the national government in coordination with local government agencies has begun recently the construction of small government-assisted units to help the local farmers. It may be noted that the yields in rice and sugar have increased by about 25 percent for areas where irrigation facilities were available.

The quality and natural fertility of the soil devoted to the various agricultural crops are the other factors which may have contributed to the high rice and sugarcane yield. It is possible, however, to further raise productivity by the continued use of modern farm technology.

With respect to self-sufficiency in the production of rice, Capiz is in the black. In 1958, the province produced 224.4 kilos for each inhabitant. In 1968-69, it produced 277.2 kilos and in the 1973 crop year 330.0 kilos per inhabitant respectively. The 1973 figure is more than three times the average annual consumption of the Filipino male (101.2 kilos) as well as female (92.4 kilos).[1]

The average size of farms in Capiz was 2.95 hectares in 1960 compared with the Philippines average which was 3.59 for the same year.[2] In 1960, before the land reform program was implemented, 21 percent of the farm lands was under cultivation by full owners, 9 percent by part owners

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*The rice production figures on Table XVIII are based on first crop harvests. Data for second harvests were available only for the 1972-1973 period and hence there was no basis for comparison.

[1]Leon Maers and others, Rice Economy in the Philippines, (Quezon City: UP School of Economics, 1974), p. 81.

[2]Yearbook of Philippine Statistics, 1966 (Bureau of Census and Statistics: Manila) Chapter X, Table 15, p. 193.

and 67 percent by tenants,[1] while for the whole country it was 44.7 percent, 14.5 percent and 39.5 percent respectively. These data show that the land tenure situation in Capiz in 1960 was rather serious when compared to the country as a whole.

4. Welfare Services

Capiz, in spite of its self-sufficiency in rice, has serious health problems. Aside from some specific problems of malnutrition, the province suffers from a lack of health facilities. The ratio of government rural health physicians is one for every 21,890 inhabitants; one nurse for 32,835; one midwife for 11,844. Available government dentists present the more appalling ratio of one for every 43,780 persons. On the whole, the rural health unit in Capiz serves an average of 21,890 people. This is a little lower than the average for the whole country.[2]

There are seven hospitals in the province (five government and two private) which presently give a ratio of hospital beds to population at 1 : 1,037, higher than the national ratio of 1 : 984. Four of the seven hospitals are in Roxas City. There are other facilities in the municipalities and in some barrios such as puericulture and barrio health centers.[3] These data show that the ratio of hospital beds to population does not indicate much about health conditions--rather it is the distribution of hospitals and

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[1] M & R, Foundation, Agro-Economic Study: Province of Abra (Baguio City, 1972), p. 55.

[2] Provincial Profile, op. cit., p. 23.

[3] Provincial Profile, op. cit., p. 31. There are 18 physicians, 12 nurses, 34 midwives, 9 dentists, 22 sanitary inspectors and 44 administrative staff employed by the Government of Capiz.

the amount of use that the population has for them.

The provincial birth rate is 8.79 per 1,000 as compared to the national rate of 25.4 per 1,000.* The crude death rate for Capiz was also lower than for the entire country. The infant death rate of 245.14 in 1970 is high by national standards. This becomes more pronounced when one looks at the figure 133.33 in 1967.

The distribution of the school population in Capiz followed the trend for the entire country. The literacy rate (for those 10 years old and over) was 76.6 percent for the year 1970 as against 63.7 in 1960. This compares favorably with the national rate.[1]

5. Local Government

The provincial government, headed by an elected governor, is the principal administrative unit below the national level. A provincial board assists the government in its legislative and administrative functions.

In Capiz, there are numerous field offices of the national agencies which are under the direct supervision of the central or regional offices of their respective units. The governor has no formal control over these offices but can generally get the representatives to cooperate through informal means.

In 1960, there were 26 full-time field offices represented in the province. The number increased to 29 in 1970. In addition, there are mobile representatives of the national government operating in the province. The three mobile units present in 1960 were the Agricultural

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*In computing the birth rate for the province, the City of Roxas has been excluded. The birth rate for Roxas City for this period registered 19.6 percent.

[1] Ibid., p. 13.

Tenancy Commission, the Court of Agrarian Relations and the Judge Advocate General's Office Agricultural Tenancy team. These were directly concerned with the furtherance of land reform objectives of the national government. In 1970, the functions of the first and third groups were lodged on the Department of Agrarian Reform. The Court of Agrarian Relations remains separate but is presently holding a permanent office in the province. A chapter of the Philippine National Red Cross performed welfare services for the province and Roxas City, where its headquarters are located.

The structure of the provincial government has remained the same for the province since 1960. Presently, it has jurisdiction over the municipality. The coordination and administration of local services in these towns is the main responsibility of the provincial government. The governor as chief executive has supervision over the elected municipal officials.

The next local government unit to the province is the municipality. Its set of elective officials includes a mayor, a vice mayor and a municipal council.

The barrio is the smallest local government unit. It has its own set of local officials (Barrio Council) who are elected by the people. Under a specific law,[1] the Barrio Council has powers which allow it to raise funds for local development.

The advent of martial law hastened restructuring of local governments but its implementation is still being held in abeyance pending the issuance of the new local government code.

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[1] RA 1408, as amended by RA 2408 and later by RA 3590. The writer was a member of the "ad hoc committee" on local government which assisted two senators in drafting his law in 1961. RA 3590 among others, gave Barrio Councils some taxing powers, provided for a Barrio Assembly and defined the functions of these two formal barrio groups.

In 1956, Capiz was divided into two with the creation of the province of Aklan (RA 1414 dated April 26, 1956). This separation resulted in the diminution of the financial resources of the province. One of the indicators of provincial government viability is the summary of revenues and expenditures. In 1962, total revenues for Capiz amounted to ₱576,346 as compared to ₱2,199,332 in 1973 (see Table XIX). The total income, thus, has almost quadrupled for this period. In 1962, Capiz did not spend anything for economic development, while in 1973, it used only a little more than seven percent of its total expenditures for this particular expense category. The same table also shows that the percentage amount set aside for protective services in 1962 has more than quadrupled for 1973. The data on these tables serve as rough indicators of the low emphasis which the provincial government of Capiz has placed on economic development.

Table XIX: Percentage Revenues of Capiz by Categories 1962 and 1973

Source	1962		1973	
	Amount	%	Amount	%
1. Revenue from taxation	₱479,602.35	83.4	1,635,244.20	74.5
2. Incidental revenue	7,060.08	1.2	184,459.51	8.2
3. Receipts from operation	13,225.60	2.3	4,500.00	0.2
4. Other receipts	76,449.04	13.1	375,078.52	17.1
TOTAL	₱576,346.07	100.0	2,199.332.23	100.00

Table XX: Percentage Expenditures of Capiz by Categories 1962 and 1973

Category	1962		1973	
	Amount	%	Amount	%
1. Gen. adm. of gov't	₱153,540.79	27.1	627,642.18	26.4
2. Gov't finance	110,679.26	19.6	434,560.49	18.3
3. Adjudication	41,220.13	7.3	122,120.43	5.2
4. Protective service	6,317.24	1.1	114,845.67	4.8
5. Social improvement	103,573.57	18.6	563,474.21	23.7
6. Economic development	--	--	177,841.19	7.1
7. Oper. of econ. enterprises	22,392.50	3.9	40,568.38	1.8
8. Inter-gov't aids	71,406.31	12.6	181,840.97	7.3
9. Loans, adv. and transfer	53,611.92	9.6	20,574.30	0.8
10. Real property	--	--	49,481.56	2.1
11. Equipment	759.80	0.1	50,213.64	2.2
TOTAL	₱563,501.52	99.8	2,387,260.02	99.7

Another indicator of local government effectiveness in development activities in general is the percentage of tax collections. Capiz over the last ten years has averaged about 35 percent efficiency on total tax collections. A more stringent application of the tax laws increased the collection to about 50 percent of the total amount due after martial law. It has been argued that the reason for this low collection rate in the province is the lack of treasury

personnel, especially at the municipal level. Further, an additional tax imposed on real property by RA 5447 to help cover local educational expenditures has made taxes onerous in the view of taxpayers.[1]

More directly, the province assists rural development efforts in the areas of health, agriculture and community development. It defrays part of the salaries of the provincial health officer and the agriculturist. It also provides provincial counterparts for municipal development projects generated by the barrio people.

Martial law brought about several changes in the province. The creation of "barangays," a device resorted to by the national government to increase the base of participation in public affairs, has appeared to shortcut the old political patronage process. It is true that the old power structure where the politician, the landlord and the barrio farmer are joined together in traditional patron-client relationships has not entirely disappeared, but the new patterns emanating from this barangay structure have eroded the leadership usually found in the village before martial law. More recently, the barangay has taken on other functions. It has also become the center for distribution of prime commodities, performed a feedback role to higher levels of government on the effects of various programs at the barrio level, and such other tasks which it is deemed competent to perform.

The "samahang nayon,"[2] a form of cooperative

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[1] RA 5447, passed in 1969 imposed an additional one percent tax on real property. The immediate reaction of taxpayers was to delay paying their taxes. Most taxpayers felt that it was onerous in a survey of 141 municipalities in 1969-70. Most municipal treasurers agreed that the effect of the increase in assessment was the lower collection efficiency for realty taxes.

[2] "Samahang Nayon" was the brain child of the DLGCD Bureau of Cooperatives. Membership of this association is limited

organization specifically designed to encourage the development of viable cooperatives among farmers in the rural areas, is another innovation engineered by technocrats at the national level. However, it needs the support of local governments if its intended goals are to be achieved. Farmers in a local area are taught the principles and practices of cooperatives, trained to manage their own organizations after incorporation and made to understand and assume the attitudes which are necessary to make the cooperative a self-perpetuating project.

In the decade prior to the declaration of martial law, the national government has taken steps to achieve rural development goals. Several agencies of the government were harnessed to help realize these objectives. The idea of cooperative development, for instance, has been an ongoing government concern since the early 1950's. Community development programs, propagating the idea of self-help and reliance, came into existence in 1956. But the structure set up by the national government to achieve its goals then was ineffective not so much because of a lack of desire of barrio residents to help themselves, but because of subtle arrangements among the political leaders at the various levels of government to keep the existing social order intact and to keep themselves in power. The province of Capiz was no exception to this style of leadership in 1960 and to some extent even today. What seems evident, however, is that presently, the "barangay" and the "samahang nayon" lend themselves better to the dynamics of new existing power structures.* As mechanisms for development, they favor the

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to farmers in the rural areas. A minimum of 250 members is needed to set up one cooperative. Prospective members undergo 64 weeks of classes. Samahang nayon cooperatives enjoy special benefits under martial law.

*Under the old society, political power and control were lodged in political bosses usually in the person of

small farmer and the landless in the rural communities. With the emergence of what appear to be new political roles for the traditional leader and the traditional farmer as a result of more frequent plebiscites, and with reliance more on the community as a whole rather than on specific persons, there is a probable chance not only for political but also economic changes.

The provincial government of Capiz during the last few years has assumed the leadership in introducing new technology in health, agriculture and other areas. Even before martial law, linkages have been established with the national government which made it possible to increase the flow of capital and technology into the province. In the late 1950's and early 1960's, the situation was a little different. The elected officials then, chosen under the rules of the old political game, did not care much about getting needed assistance to the province for the solution of priority problems. The late 1960's saw the rise of local government officials who still administered the province largely under the traditional rules, but at the same time were able to infuse a new form of rationality to provincial government operations. A premium was placed on performance, in spite of the pressures for the continuance of the status quo (reliance on particularistic norms). The provincial governor began to gather about him municipal officials more attuned to the needs of local development. They were sent to attend seminars and workshops of various kinds, the subject matter of which often touched on the area

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absentee landlords and municipal politicians, who incidentally also assumed economic and social leadership in the barrio and municipality. The "barangay" structure under the new society has allowed for more participation in decision making at the barrio level. The "samahang nayon," where it exists, has substantially reduced the monopoly of loan sharks and traditional usurers, since farmers can now go to the "samahang nayon" for assistance in purchasing basic farm needs.

of relationships between national and local governments as well as the rationale for development efforts. Martial law also lent some impetus in this direction. At present, local government officials are being programmed to participate in a series of training activities on local government and development administration.

Over the last ten years, the province of Capiz has moved more in the direction of rural development. It has increased its agricultural production, expanded its welfare services, and improved the performance of administrative systems at the provincial, municipal and barrio levels. Concomitant to these changes were corresponding improvements in income of its residents. These changes may not be attributed solely to the provincial government of Capiz. Certainly, the national government shared in this development through central government agencies which provided not only material but also technical resources to the province, its municipalities and barrios. The private sector, too, has helped in these efforts.

B. The Presidential Arm on Community Development

1. Introduction

Like all other provinces in the Philippines, Capiz has been the locus of a government program whose main objective is to spur local development. The choice of Capiz for this study stems from the fact that the writer was involved in an earlier study of local governments in it.[1] Familiarity with the area and with the personnel of the agency directly linked with local governments was considered an asset. While it was established that there were other agencies of the

[1] Nicolass G. M. Luykx II, Some Comparative Aspects of Rural Public Institutions in Thailand, the Philippines and Vietnam (Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., 1960) Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Vol. II.

national government coordinating with the efforts of local governments in the province for rural development, the Office of the Presidential Assistant on Community Development[1] was the spearhead of government efforts in rural development since 1956. The PACD was a basic response of the late President Magsaysay as the elected representative of the people to "bring the government back to the masses."[2] As envisioned under the plan, President Magsaysay wanted to create a corps of dedicated public servants charged with the responsibility of assisting Filipino communities in identifying the needs and problems of the rural areas, setting up priorities and working with the rural residents to solve them. The PACD was the government agency responsible for implementing the Philippine Community Development Program. The experience of PACD, therefore, would be useful because the organization had its share of successes and failures within the province. By selecting Capiz, we were controlling for the environment. The choice of two municipalities within the province was based on 1958 data which showed that one of them was only a "radiation"[3] area, while the other was fully

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[1]Established under Executive Order No. 156 dated Jan. 6, 1956. In 1965, the original PACD (Presidential Assistant on Community Development) was changed to Presidential Arm on Community Development. Subsequent to martial law, the organization was called the Bureau of Community Development (BCD) under the Department of Local Government and Community Development, (DLGCD). The DLGCD has now three bureaus under it: the Bureau of Community Development, Bureau of Local Government, and Bureau of Cooperatives. However, the bulk of the personnel under the Department are former members of PACD. In fact, fieldmen of PACD do the triple job of handling local governments, cooperatives and community development in their municipal coverages.

[2]Jose A. Abueva, Focus on the Barrio. (Institute of Public Administration: UP, Manila, 1959), Chapter III, pp. 34-66.

[3]Luykx, op. cit., p. 367.

covered by the PACD. By looking at the extent of rural development activities in these areas, we hope to be able to pick out the elements that help a government agency in bringing about rural development.

2. Objectives and Organization

PACD was created in January 6, 1956 under Executive Order No. 156 of President Ramon Magsaysay. For purposes of this order community (rural) development was defined as "a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with the active participation and largely upon the initiative of the community."[1] More specifically, the Executive Order authorized the Presidential Assistant on Community Development to:

a. Plan and implement the President's community development program in barrios, municipalities and chartered cities, and coordinate offices of the government engaged in community development...;

b. Promote the organization of Community Development Councils at the provincial and municipal levels, and Barrio Councils according to law;

c. Develop a grants-in-aid program to stimulate participation of barrio citizens in community development;

d. Recommend to the President legislation contributing to the economic and social betterment of the rural areas, and the strengthening of local government;

e. Perform such other functions as the President may assign to him.[2]

On the basis of this mandate, the PACD was to serve as the major government agency for the promotion of rural development in the entire Philippines.

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[1] Executive Order No. 156, op. cit.

[2] Ibid. Emphasis added.

In Capiz, the role of the Provincial Development Officer (PDO) is one of facilitator-coordinator. He is only one of the many officials in the province whose agency is involved in rural development. So much of the success of the PACD program in the province depends on how well he can relate to the various agencies around him including the office of the governor. The PDO must submit matters involving finance and projects to the Regional Development Director (RDD), who, while enjoying some decision-making functions, is at the same time responsible to the PACD in Manila.[1] It is a practice to assign to a province a PDO who speaks the dialect.

The PACD Provincial Office in Capiz follows an organizational structure similar to those of the other provinces in the country. Its current fulltime personnel include the PDO who is assisted by a staff composed of the Provincial Training Officer, the Provincial Local Government man, the Provincial Cooperatives Officer and the Provincial CD Officer. There are 16 municipal development officers, 5 barrio development workers and an administrative staff based in Roxas City.

The PDO is in charge of the entire CD operations in the province. The provincial training officer (PTO) assists in the identification of training needs of personnel of PACD as well as for the different levels of local government officials and inhabitants of the rural areas of the province. He coordinates training activities with the Provincial Local Government Officer (PLGO) who is in charge of Local Government Affairs for the province, the Provincial Cooperatives Officer (PCO) who handles cooperative activities, and the Provincial Community Development Officer (PCDO). The Municipal Development Officers (MDO) are assigned one to

[1] Memorandum Circular No. 6, series 1961, Presidential Assistant on Community Development. This circular outlined the various duties and responsibilities of the different positions in the PACD hierarchy.

each of the 16 municipalities in the province. Some MDO's are assisted by not more than one Barrio Development Worker (BDW). The MDO's handle cooperatives, local government and rural development work in their respective municipal coverages.

At the start of the PACD provincial operations in 1957, the provincial team set up a Grants-in-Aid program to emphasize the national-local partnership principle contemplated under Executive Order No. 156. There are three major project categories under this program:

I. -- Projects to increase production and income

II. -- Public improvement projects*

III. -- Projects to improve health and sanitation.

Under the Grants-in-Aid (GIA) program, the PACD team, through its MDO's and BDW's in the field, jointly identify and discuss with rural inhabitants, individually or in groups, and eventually identify with them their basic community problems. The fieldmen do not interfere where these problems are within the competence of the inhabitants or the community to solve. However, in cases where the perceived needs could not be tackled by the individual or the community either because of lack of resources or a deficiency in technical knowhow, the fieldmen explain the national-local partnership concept to them. The requirements for specific projects are then spelled out, and the local government unit to undertake the project, as well as the appropriate agencies under whose technical supervision the project may fall, are identified. The local group or community puts up its counterpart in terms of labor or local materials, and the PACD, upon proof of the availability of the local contribution, releases the necessary funds so that work on the project may be started. One of the criteria for the approval by PACD of these local

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*Now known as infrastructure.

community projects is the potential that these projects have for generating other activities or promoting the self-help attitude vital to rural development. Thus, an irrigation system may be supported because it can teach the community the value of sharing water. At the same time, the increase in income which results from irrigation may favor the establishment of a barrio cooperative such as is contemplated under the "Samahang Nayon." Furthermore, coursing the project through the appropriate local government unit in turn enhances that unit's prestige in the eyes of its inhabitants, thereby making it an important base for bigger local projects. In the process, local government is strengthened also.

Anticipating the need for the development of administrative and management skills by local government officials, the PACD office, through its provincial teams, has conducted a series of Lay Leadership Institutes (LLI's) as early as 1959. In fact, training has been a major activity of the Capiz provinical team up to the end of 1964; it subsided in frequency between that year and 1972, and resumed its upswing from then onward.

Simultaneous with the organization of the PACD provincial team in 1957, the PACD helped organize the Provincial Community Development Council (PCDC), the Municipal Community Development Councils (MCDC), and the Barrio Councils, as contained in Executive Order No. 156. The unwieldiness of the PCDC and MCDC was aggravated by the hesitancy on the part of other national agency officials in Capiz to be coordinated. As early as 1963, the PACD in Capiz reflected in its reports the difficulty of coordinating rural development efforts in the province.[1]

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[1]Consolidated Reports of PACD fieldmen, 1962-63, Office of the Presidential Assistant on Community Development, United Nations Street, Manila.

A few municipalities managed to have functional councils, but these were the exceptions. Here, again the structure set up to facilitate rural development efforts in the province did not prove workable because of the failure of those involved to consider the subtleties of the local power structure and values held by the bureaucrats and people in the province. It may be mentioned in this instance that PACD personnel understood this phenomenon, but that they themselves were the victims of the bureaucratic norms accepted at levels higher than the province. Consequently, they found themselves helpless to control judiciously the allocation of rural development funds.

A project, whether undertaken by the PCDC or the MCDC and even by the Barrio Council, when completed belongs to the originator and the role of PACD is to see that it is maintained or managed properly. Often, however, PACD fieldmen had to prod local officials to keep their commitments--in the form of continuing active maintenance, generation of other related projects, contribution of local labor and materials and the like. In these cases, certain barrios go through the motions of self-help--without in effect ever benefiting from the experience and the process designed to create more enduring qualities of self-reliance which is the goal of the PACD program.

A significant aspect of joint PACD-local government efforts lies also in the involvement of the private sector in local projects. Civic and religious groups were co-opted in the process of project generation and were motivated to participate whenever this was possible. Through the Lay Leadership Institute (LLI), Community Development for Women and Youth Clubs (CDWAY) were organized to assist in these efforts. Linkages were established with Farmers' Clubs,

Rural Improvement Clubs and others organized by other government agencies.[1]

However, the initial enthusiasm generated by PACD fieldmen did not always beget the same type of reaction from local governments and the people in general. Also, years of operation in the field have often dulled the penchant for the kind of missionary work demanded of the PACD worker. Many projects were started which failed to generate the intended effects just as there were some which up to this day serve as living symbols of what real self-help can do.

3. PACD-Local Government-People Projects

Projects stimulated by PACD personnel or initiated by either the local governments or the people cover more than the original three categories contemplated under the GIA program. A summary of the projects set up under the GIA is presented in Table XXI. Tie-ups have been made with non-agricultural, non-health, and non-public works institutions. For instance, PACD has motivated projects in the area of education. A built-in goal of all these projects is the constant effort to increase the viability of local governments. On the whole, however, most projects fall under one of the three categories of Increased Production and Income, Public Improvements, Health and Sanitation.

The provincial data in Table XXII reveal that about two-thirds of the total costs of completed PACD-assisted projects fall under Category 2 (Public Improvements) although Category 1 projects outnumber the former by two. This is explained by the fact that public works projects include barrio roads, social halls, school buildings, rural

[1] Memorandum Circular Unnumbered, series 1959 dated June 1, 1959, Office of the PACD, United Nations, Manila.

electrification, footbridges, multi-purpose centers and the like which need high initial costs. Category 1 projects (Increased Production and Income), on the other hand, have only communal irrigation which carries a high initial outlay while the rest, such as market stalls, sewing machines, blacksmith shops, hollow block machines, handloom weaving and others, require less cash and material inputs. Category 3 (Health and Sanitation) appears to get the least attention. If the basic philosophy of PACD has been adhered to, then it could be deduced that the problem of health is the least priority in the perception of the people of Capiz. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned here that rural health may be peripheral to PACD interests since there are Rural Health Units (RHU's) whose personnel are responsible for performing educational, preventive and curative health functions in the municipalities. However, PACD fieldmen often coordinate health activities with RHU's as the need arises.

Table XXII shows that the local governments in the province have contributed more than half of the total cost of completed projects (54.4 percent) for the six-year period covered. Furthermore, barrios of the province have accounted for almost 83 percent of this local government share.

The data for Panitan and Jamindan show some differences. Barrios in Panitan contributed nearly 93 percent of the total local government share, while those in Jamindan account for less than 64 percent. The latter had more projects than the former. In contrast to Panitan (9.2 percent), Jamindan absorbed more (11.6 percent) of the total costs of CD projects for Capiz. These twin criteria of barrio government cost participation and percentage share of total project costs taken together point to Panitan as the more progressive of these two municipalities. We shall return to Table XXII as we discuss Panitan and Jamindan in the subsequent section.

Table XXI: Summary of GIA Projects, Capiz, Panitan and Jamindan, 1967-1973

	No. of projects	Cost Sharing Distribution					Total cost
		DLGCD	Barrio	Local gov't	Tech. agency	Other	
Capiz							
Category I	73	₱191,015.96	₱215,612.91	₱ 14,277.56	₱ 7,925.00	--	₱ 428,831.43
Category II	71	463,615.77	449,861.41	118,700.60	13,371.00	--	1,045,548.78
Category III	7	38,395.58	34,049.30	16,516.45	1,305.00	--	90,266.33
Total	151	₱693,027.31	₱699,523.62	₱149,494.61	₱22,601.00	--	₱1,564,646.54
Panitan							
Category I	5	₱12,217.10	₱ 17,096.00	₱ --	₱ 620.00	--	₱ 29,933.10
Category II	8	59,744.46	48,284.69	5,000.00	1,370.00	--	114,399.15
Category III	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	13	₱71,961.56	₱ 65,380.69	₱ 5,000.00	₱ 1,990.00	--	₱ 144,332.25
Jamindan							
Category I	10	₱23,896.85	₱ 24,977.50	₱ 3,663.56	₱ 870.00	--	₱ 54,804.56
Category II	7	39,838.90	37,052.61	35,366.10	1,675.00	--	113,932.61
Category III	2	6,319.65	6,775.30	--	555.00	--	13,649.95
Total	19	₱70,055.40	₱ 68,805.41	₱ 39,029.66	₱ 3,100.00	--	₱ 182,387.12

Source: Summary of Completed Projects, DLGCD, Bureau of Community Development, Quezon City.

Table XXII: Percentage Summary of Completed Grants-In-Aid Projects: Capiz, Panitan and Jamindan (1967-1973)*

Local government unit and project categories	Projects		Percentage Cost Sharing Distribution				Percent total cost by categories %
	No.	%	Department of LG & CD	Barrio %	Other local gov'ts %	Technical agencies %	
Capiz (Province)							
Category I	73	48.3	12.2 (44.5)	13.8 (50.2)	0.9 (3.3)	0.5 (2.0)	27.4 (100.0)
Category II	71	47.0	29.6 (44.3)	28.7 (43.0)	7.6 (11.3)	0.8 (1.4)	66.7 (100.0)
Category III	7	4.7	2.5 (42.5)	2.2 (37.7)	1.1 (18.3)	0.1 (1.5)	5.9 (100.0)
Total	151	100.0	44.3	44.7	9.6	1.4	100.0
Panitan (Municipality)							
Category I	5	38.5	8.5 (40.8)	11.8 (58.1)	0.0 (0.0)	0.4 (1.1)	20.7 (100.0)
Category II	8	61.5	41.4 (52.2)	33.5 (42.2)	3.5 (4.4)	0.9 (1.2)	79.3 (100.0)
Category III	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	13	100.0	49.5	45.3	3.5	1.3	100.0
Jamindan (Municipality)							
Category I	10	52.6	13.2 (43.6)	13.8 (45.6)	2.0 (6.7)	0.5 (4.1)	29.5 (100.0)
Category II	7	36.8	22.0 (34.9)	20.5 (32.5)	19.5 (31.0)	0.9 (1.6)	62.9 (100.0)
Category III	2	10.6	3.5 (46.3)	3.7 (49.6)	-- (--)	0.3 (4.1)	7.5 (100.0)
Total	19	100.0	38.7	38.0	21.5	1.7	99.9

*Percentages in this table are derived from Table XXI.

( ) Percentages in parentheses represent distribution as per row totals of Column 7.

The low percentage of cost sharing in these projects by other local governments (in this case by the province and the municipalities under study) points to the emphasis laid by PACD on the strengthening of barrio governments. Under the PACD scheme, barrio people, through their Barrio Councils, must learn how to identify their local problems, set up their priorities and undertake local projects to develop themselves. There is stress on the importance of community efforts without stifling individual motivation for his own improvment. The PACD worker serves as the educational arm of his organization. He sets training programs aimed at increasing the barrio resident's knowledge of his duties, upgrading appropriate skills in barrio administration and more important, developing wholesome attitudes which lend themselves to development. On the whole, the GIA program is supposed to serve as an institutional tool to be utilized whenever possible for bringing about rural development in the barrios. GIA projects, which barrio people identify as their own, may then lead to the undertaking of additional local projects. Over time, more projects can be generated on a multiplier basis. Meanwhile, knowledge is increased, needed skills are learned, and self-reliance, the base of the rural development pyramid, will become one of the developed community values.

The discussion of GIA under Table XXII represents only a portion of the total PACD-Local Government-People efforts towards rural development. At the different local government levels within the province, a number of projects and other activities directly related to rural improvement goes on. Where the community has adequate manpower and other resources available, they can undertake activities designed to improve the lot of their citizens. Other technical agencies of the government whose functions involve the uplift of rural communities are engaged in development activities. Local private groups and religious institutions

have been co-opted in the process. As an organization, the PACD has accepted the principle of total of all sectors of the community. Thus, the fieldman's activities are limited only by his own inability to stimulate people and groups within his coverage to engage in rural development projects.

4. Relationship with Other Government Agencies and Private Groups

PACD-assisted projects are intended to serve municipalities and barrios within the province. Certain procedures are set to facilitate their implementation. Projects approved by Barrio Councils and Municipal Councils are brought to the provincial office in Roxas City. The provincial PACD staff screens these requests. Where there is a need for the technical assistance of another agency, the staff consults with them. If necessary technical agency personnel visit the project site for a feasibility survey or cost estimates.

Referrals are usually made to the proper governmental unit on the details of the plan. Local private groups may be brought into the picture if they are interested or where their participation is necessary. When the project is finally approved and funds are released, the technical agency and private group concerned assist the PACD fieldman in overseeing its implementation.

Coordination has been a continuing problem over relationships with other government agencies and private groups. As cited earlier, other technical agency personnel view coordination as supervision and resent being asked to assist in projects because of this. In the case of private groups, the desire to share in the glory of achievement is an overriding factor. The very nature of PACD functions requires that it work closely with these agencies and groups in many of its projects. Over the years, it has tried to lessen the corrosive effects of lack of coordination. In

Capiz province, this problem has been minimized. More recently, the provincial governor recruited a PACD fieldman to serve on his provincial development staff.[1] From the PACD standpoint, this has increased the chances for better coordination with the provincial government and the other agencies in the province.

The establishment of the Department of Local Government and Community Development (DLGCD) has actually worked to the advantage of the PACD. DLGCD authority, in effect, created a more direct relationship between PACD and local government units in the province. Where before PACD personnel had to utilize a number of informal linkages to help achieve organizational goals, the DLGCD now has a formal relationship with local government units which the officials of the latter may no longer ignore. Whether this arrangement will serve the cause of rural development best still remains to be seen. But that it has opened avenues for new relationships cannot be denied.

C. Jamindan and Panitan

1. Comparison of the Two Municipalities

We shall attempt to examine the program of PACD and point out the factors which affect rural development. We hope to capture these elements by looking at the dynamics of two municipalities: Jamindan and Panitan. Their choice was based on the Luykx study which pointed out Panitan as the more developed of the two.

If urbanization is considered one indicator of development, the 1970 census shows that Panitan had 14.9 percent of its population urban while Jamindan had only 6.3 percent. Only 8 percent of the area of Jamindan can be

[1]The Provincial Governor of Capiz appointed Mr. Ernesto Baticados, a former PACD Municipal Development Officer, as Acting Head of the Provincial Development Staff to work under Mr. Montalbo who is presently under training abroad.

cultivated, and of this, four-fifths is devoted to rice. Of the 50 percent of its total hectarage which Panitan farms, four-fifths is likewise used for rice production. Both grow corn (Jamindan: 226 has., Panitan: 706 has.) and coconut (Jamindan: 390 has., Panitan: 247 has.) From 1968 on, there has been an increase in hectarage for sugarcane in Panitan; neither has Jamindan added any area for sugarcane.

Other points of difference may also be noted. Jamindan is a hilly municipality, about two hours ride to Roxas City, half of which route is dirt road traversed by makeshift bridges and the other half consisting of short stretches of cemented and asphalt roads. By contrast, Panitan is in the bottom of the Capiz basin, only 20 minutes away from Roxas City by an asphalted road. There are no notable differences in population size (Jamindan: 20,483; Panitan: 23,259), but there are in density (Jamindan: 33 persons per sq. kilometer, Panitan: 258). There is a reverse trend in the rate of population growth in the 1960-70 period (Jamindan: 27.3 percent, Panitan: 17.3 percent). Panitan has a dependency ratio of 93 percent; Jamindan 97.4 percent.[1] This difference may be explained partly by the fact that Roxas City, which offers opportunities for non-farm employment, is closer to Panitan.

Another index of the level of development is the level of income of the municipalities under study. Tables XXIII and XXIV show the annual revenues and expenditures of the two municipalities for fiscal year (FY) 1962-63 and from FY 1968-69 through FY 1972-73. While Jamindan has less income and expenditures for 1962-63 as compared to Panitan, it has caught up with the latter in FY 1969-70 and surpassed it

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[1]National Summary, Census of Population and Housing (Bureau of Census and Statistics; Manila. Table A-3, Capiz, NS-21); Also Yearbook of Philippine Statistics, 1966 (Bureau of Census and Statistics: Manila) Chapter 1, title 5, p. 5.

from FY 1970-71 onward. These changes were primarily due to legislation,[1] which provided for distribution of income using the criterion of area more relative to that of population for allocating funds to local government units. The nearly 600 percent increase for Jamindan and 400 percent for Panitan during this ten-year period may also be partly a function of higher assessment than tax collection.[2]

Real property tax collectibles give some indication of the value of land resources in a community. The collectibles for Panitan were higher than Jamindan for 1964 (₱54,025 vs. ₱35,542), but the situation was reversed by 1972 (Jamindan: ₱158,838; Panitan: ₱126,350). This situation may be explained by the fact that the area of Jamindan is nearly seven times bigger than Panitan and that reassessment of real property in the direction of increased value did much to make Jamindan exceed Panitan in this area. Actual collections show that both municipalities (Jamindan: 39 percent; Panitan: 37 percent) fell below the Capiz mean of 47 percent in 1974. Though they both registered a drop in the percentage of collection efficiency as of 1972 (compared to a slight improvement in the province average of 49.6 percent), in this year, Panitan has a slightly higher ratio of collection (30 percent compared to 26 percent for Jamindan).

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[1] RA 5185 as amended by Presidential Decree No. 144. In 1969, RA 5185 provided for a redistribution of internal revenues to provinces, chartered cities, and municipalities on the basis of population and area. Then the ratio was 70 percent for population and 30 percent for area. In PD No. 144 released in February 1973, the distribution was modified somewhat. Under this decree, provinces, cities and municipalities share 35 percent, 45 percent and 25 percent of the internal revenue allotment on the basis of 70 percent for population, 20 percent for area and 10 percent equal sharing, respectively.

[2] The province of Capiz assessed real properties in 1960. The increase is also a function of the passage of RA 5447 cited earlier.

Table XXIII: Summary of Revenues, Panitan and Jamindan, FY 1962-63 to 1972-73

Revenue	1962-63	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73
Revenue from taxation						
Jamindan	₱18,836.94	₱52,037.07	₱ 79,995.07	₱ 90,509.31	₱107,631.57	₱111,663.72
Panitan	25,894.92	52,703.93	77,400.16	88,712.02	86,570.05	118,126.54
Incidental revenue						
Jamindan	2,161.12	2,606.26	22,284.58	2,087.50	2,360.34	2,756.70
Panitan	3,247.35	4,257.65	3,801.49	3,081.20	3,780.04	3,374.34
Receipts from operation						
Jamindan	9,472.85	12,140.25	--	13,226.05	11,710.50	16,481.15
Panitan	7,521.00	8,413.55	9,272.20	11,972.50	12,517.50	13,705.00
Other receipts						
Jamindan	719.45	892.00	2,448.90	358.62	--	42,858.56
Panitan	--	27,519.05	15,015.50	323.70	--	8,862.65
TOTAL						
Jamindan	₱31,190.36	₱67,675.58	₱104,728.55	₱106,181.48	₱121,702.41	₱173,760.13
Panitan	₱36,663.27	₱92,894.18	₱105,489.35	₱104,089.42	₱102,867.59	₱144,068.53

Table XXIV: Summary of Expenditures (by functional groups of services), FY 1962-1963 to 1972-1973

Categories*		1962-63	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73
Gen. administration	Jamindan	₱ 6,790.05	₱12,606.83	₱ 12,212.62	₱16,584.75	₱ 23,629.65	₱ 60,766.30
	Panitan	5,562.93	12,067.05	10,766.85	9,632.96	17,123.70	39,743.19
Government finance	Jamindan	5,649.83	12,497.37	12,124.59	15,372.20	18,641.96	29,943.65
	Panitan	7,346.46	9,890.53	11,386.74	14,113.90	16,487.05	21,390.04
Adjudication	Jamindan	101.68	120.00	336.40	45.00	--	--
	Panitan	57.70	--	--	176.50	228.50	--
Protective service	Jamindan	6,617.31	16,560.10	18,066.55	29,949.55	29,844.86	29,948.91
	Panitan	12,431.82	22,601.53	23,376.75	29,008.11	34,678.55	33,751.87
Social improvement	Jamindan	407.60	605.60	668.70	713.70	1,529.20	1,984.69
	Panitan	639.50	1,093.95	2,836.20	2,233.60	3,128.80	2,086.80
Operation of economic enterprises	Jamindan	2,032.30	7,135.92	6,565.93	10,368.18	21,433.50	19,456.07
	Panitan	3,071.83	2,792.15	3,490.40	3,587.60	3,854.25	4,484.00
Inter-government aids	Jamindan	4,550.18	9,543.62	16,514.20	15,919.74	19,963.02	29,967.77
	Panitan	5,038.71	9,387.45	15,047.51	15,026.73	20,321.98	33,721.00
Loans, advances and transfer	Jamindan	2,275.09	7,271.81	7,257.10	7,809.87	8,021.51	8,915.64
	Panitan	3,359.14	33,162.86	33,545.45	26,922.38	11,881.33	20,943.50
Equipment and real property	Jamindan	2,336.63	158.60	--	12,707.50	5,383.60	2,900.90
	Panitan	10.00	3,499.07	545.00	1,892.00	--	--
TOTAL	Jamindan	₱30,760.67	₱66,499.85	₱ 73,746.09	109,470.49	₱128,447.30	₱183,883.93
	Panitan	₱37,512.09	₱94,494.59	₱100,994.90	102,593.78	₱107,737.36	₱156,120.40

*No expenditure made in Economic Development category in either municipality, so omitted from this table; otherwise listed as Category VI.

From the data, it can be gathered that Panitan is the more developed municipality. An examination of agricultural productivity, income and even certain social indicators appears to support this view.

The yield per hectare for rice in Panitan is 2,794 kilos per hectare which is not only higher than Jamindan's average harvest of 2,226 kilos, but is also more than the provincial mean of 2,569 kilos. This may be attributed largely to the basin location of Panitan ricefields as well as to the higher percentage of irrigated areas in Panitan. Furthermore, the easy accessibility of Panitan allows for more frequent visits from farm technicians based in Roxas City.

Education, health, road length, housing and electric power show plusses for Panitan. It has more elementary school rooms, pupils and teachers as shown in Table XXV. However, there is little difference between the two municipalities in secondary schooling because of the fact that more than half of the elementary graduates of Panitan continue their secondary schooling in Roxas City. Although both municipalities are serviced by one rural health unit, each composed of a physician, a nurse, a midwife and two sanitary inspectors, this favors Jamindan slightly in terms of physician-to-population ratio. This advantage is offset, however, by the greater number of private practicing physicians in Panitan (12) as against Jamindan (3). Furthermore, the smaller area of Panitan and the longer length of roads (Panitan: 48 kms., Jamindan: 32.5 kms.) make the medical teams more mobile there than in Jamindan.

Housing tended to be less substantial in Jamindan, where 27 percent of the dwelling units are classified as "light materials," compared to 35 percent in Panitan.[1]

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[1]"Light materials" represents middle-class housing.

Table XXV: Education Data--Capiz, Panitan and Jamindan--1972-1973

No. of rooms	No. of teachers	ELEMENTARY STUDENTS 1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	Total
Capiz								
3190	3345	20946	16821	14159	12611	10833	8687	87402
Panitan								
169	209	1246	971	844	727	635	463	4886
Jamindan								
145	172	1256	714	831	678	497	373	4349
		HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLEES						
Capiz								
133	179	2137	1541	1325	961			5964
Panitan								
8	11	128	95	92	45			360
Jamindan								
9	9	129	95	77	61			362

Source: Statistics from the Division Superintendent of Schools, Capiz Division, Roxas City.

Electricity now services Panitan through the Capiz Electric Company (CAPELCO),[1] while Jamindan has yet to taste the benefits of electrical power. The latter municipality

[1]This company has a generating capacity of 3,750 KVA from its six generators. Operating since 1973, the plant also services four other municipalities in the vicinity with at least 12 hours of electricity daily, but has started 24-hour service since March 25, 1974. Already, the plant operates four sets of irrigation units in Panitan. Each unit has two pumps each of which brings in water from the Panay river at 1,800 gallons per minute.

relies on power-driven pumps for their limited number of private irrigation units.[1]

2. PACD Efforts in Panitan and Jamindan

The PACD program in Panitan is implemented through the office of the municipal mayor with the assistance of other national offices represented at the provincial and municipal levels. All of these various units have their own direct linkages with the national government through their respective offices, and their municipal operations are expected to dovetail with the national plans.

Panitan has been assigned a Municipal Development Officer (MDO) since 1957 while Jamindan was only a radiation area until an MDO was posted there in 1963. Nevertheless, rural development projects were started in both municipalities at about the same time. Thus, it can be said that except for the physical presence of an MDO in Jamindan, both towns were exposed to community development programs at the same time.

Under the guidelines established by the PACD, the MDO is responsible for the stimulation and conduct of rural development activities in his area of coverage. The basic philosophy behind the PACD program is the inculcation of a credo of self-help to the people in the community.[2]

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[1]In an interview with the municipal mayor of Panitan, he gave us the information that the irrigation projects were part of the joint program sponsored by the National Irrigation Administration (NIA), the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP), the National Electrification Administration (NEA), the provincial government of Capiz, and the municipality of Panitan. He also informed me of the incorporation under the Securities and Exchange Commission of Barrio Irrigators Service Association (BISA) as part of a nationwide scheme aimed at studying prospective sites for the installation of irrigation systems utilizing motor pumps in the rural areas. The Panitan BISA is a pilot project of the NIA-DAP-NEA-CAPIZ-PANITAN complex in this program.

[2]There are ten principles of community development in BDW

Before assignment to the position of MDO, an officer has to serve as a barrio development worker (BDW) for at least six months. Prior to being a BDW, a prospective fieldman has to take written and oral examinations and undergo a six-month training program at the CD training center in Los Baños, Laguna.

To be effective in doing the job, the MDO and his BDW (one is currently assigned in Panitan, but no one in Jamindan) are given discretion on how best to operate within the municipality and its barrios in the stimulation and generation of projects designed to increase the capability of the people and the community to help themselves. The GIA program, as mentioned earlier, is one of the tools

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training. These are: a. Activities undertaken must correspond to the basic needs of the community: the first projects should be initiated in response to the expressed needs of people; b. Local improvements may be achieved through unrelated efforts in each substantive field; however, full and balanced community development requires concerted action and the establishment of multi-purpose programs; c. Changed attitudes in people are as important as the material achievements of community projects during the initial stages of development; d. Community development aims at increased and better participation of the people in community affairs, re-vitalization of existing forms of local government and transition towards effective local administration where it is not yet functioning; e. The identification, encouragement and training of local leadership should be a basic objective in any program; f. Greater reliance on the participation of women and youth in community projects invigorates development programs, establishes them on a wide basis and secures long-range expansion; g. To be fully effective, communities' self-help projects require both intensive and extensive assistance from the Government; h. Implementation of a community development program on a national scale requires: adoption of consistent policies, specific administrative arrangements, recruitment and training of personnel, mobilization of local and national resources and organization of research, experimentation and evaluation; i. The resources of voluntary non-governmental organizations should be fully utilized in community development programs at the local, national and international levels; j. Economic and social progress at the local level necessitates parallel development on a wider national scale.

which the PACD utilizes to motivate rural residents into undertaking self projects. All CD workers are asked to observe the caveat that projects must be identified by the people themselves. Thus, local participation in the project from planning to implementation to evaluation is stressed. A typical example is the irrigation project. Initially, the PACD fieldmen make the farmers of an irrigable area aware of the need for irrigation. This awareness he then helps translate into an interest which will stimulate a desire to undertake it. A series of small group meetings, followed by community-wide discussions, mainly upon the initiative of farmers and in some cases with the active stimulation of the PACD worker take place. Here, plans are made with farmer involvement on such things as who the partners to the enterprise will be, what are the specific areas to be covered, the possible costs, the degree to which technical agency personnel will be involved, the role of local government, the sharing of costs, the evaluation, the management of the irrigation system and its maintenance. More important, the PACD fieldman explains to the rural people that the project is only the beginning of a series of other activities such as the adoption of improved technology in agriculture, health and other service areas. Emphasis is also placed on an understanding of the government-people partnership concept espoused by the PACD. In GIA projects, the PACD fieldman stresses the requirement that the barrio people shoulder at least half of the estimated total costs. Where the PACD fieldman feels the need for a specific training activity to reinforce project implementation, he arranges for this too, with the barrio sharing in training costs. The important thing is for the barrio people to be aware that they share in this undertaking.

There are, however, some cases where the process is short-circuited by the fieldmen themselves. The fieldman is

sometimes torn between his desire to follow the CD process as envisioned on the one hand, and the demands of the people as well as the PACD organization itself. In these cases, the fieldman often opts for satisfying people's desires (we want this) and organizational requirements (more projects) over the rational and long range requisites of PACD operations.

The short-circuiting process often results in projects which cannot be maintained, do not generate other projects or may not even be utilized. These projects are not listed in Table XXI, although interviews with PACD fieldmen show that there are a few in the province.

The main accomplishments of PACD in Panitan and Jamindan in terms of GIA projects is shown in Table XXI. Although these figures indicate PACD-assisted projects since 1967, they show the trend of resource-sharing among the institutions involved. The discussion of the percentage distribution of cost sharing and others on page 56 needs some elucidation in this portion. It belies the amount of influence and other non-material support which local governments (provincial, municipal and barrio) have given in terms of legitimizing such projects and "pulling the proper strings" to get much needed cash inputs as well as technical agency assistance. While these are not readily quantifiable, they are, nevertheless, important inputs into project planning and implementation.

Whether directly or indirectly, local government leadership in these two towns, as evidenced by the behavior of their respective chief executives, has become more active through PACD stimulation. In Panitan, more specifically, the incumbent municipal mayor, since his assumption of the position, has been a dynamic and progressive rural developer. When he assumed office in 1968, he embarked on a municipal road building program which netted the municipality with 42 kilometers of all-weather feeder roads. Although at the

present time, his work relations with the lady MDO of the municipality are rather strained, he agrees that his exposure to the self-help principles espoused by the PACD workers set him on his present path. He has personally been instrumental in the creation of the CAPELCO, and more recently in the establishment of four communal irrigation projects capable of covering two thousand hectares within the municipality. It must be pointed out that his linkages with the provincial governor and some key officials in the national government have contributed to his success, but much of what has been done in the municipality can be credited to his inspired leadership.

The mayor of Jamindan, on the other hand, has also utilized his own linkages with the provincial governor and managed to get the provincial government to utilize about 300 hectares of the municipality for a model farm project. This area now serves as a pilot for the Masagana 99 program, a nationally-initiated program to raise production to 99 cavans (4,356 kilos) per hectare. Eventually, he hopes to have this area also devoted to corn production, coconut production, seed bank and even sericulture. The mayor also admits that his exposure to the PACD "idea" helped him a lot in his present job.

Both mayors may be said to be affected by, as well as a cause of rural development in their respective municipalities. Exposure to PACD philosophy appears to have launched them on the road to rural development. That they consequently took initiatives may be attributed to their own motivations and, as more evidenced in the case of Panitan, entrepreneurial qualities.

What appears to be a bright picture of rural development in these two cases does not represent the total picture of development in these two municipalities. Jamindan, considering its large area, still needs a lot of local improvement. The roads need repair, the devastation caused by

annual floods must be minimized, wanton logging needs more control, housing and educational facilities could be better. In Panitan, the clamor is for more irrigation systems, more classrooms, more fertilizer and flood control.

And yet, the two towns we visited 16 years ago are no longer the same. In Jamindan, the dilapidated municipal building of 1958 is now replaced by a concrete structure made possible through the PACD grants-in-aid program. The town plaza is better trimmed. The roads in the town center have been much improved. The municipal employee list has grown by nearly 50 percent. An army camp nearby has been partly returned to some settlers and a road now joins it to the town proper.

The permanence of change has also hit Panitan. Where in 1958 only about a hundred tons of sugarcane were carried out of the town a week, the figure has been raised to six times that by 1973. The mayor proudly pointed out that the municipal roads have not only increased in length but are also improved. The peace and order problem which Luykx noted in his 1958 study has been considerably lessened. The municipal building appears to be better maintained, its new coat of blue paint easily catching one's eye . Electric posts dot the municipal terrain with regular frequency and distance.

People interviewed in Panitan about their perceptions of the mayor and PACD identify the latters' roles in infrastructure development as the most significant. The CAPELCO, barrio roads and irrigation have been mentioned as evidence of these perceptions. In Jamindan, the same observations were made. The municipal building is often mentioned as proof of these. Furthermore, in spite of the relative isolation of Jamindan during the annual floods, people are quick to respond that road and bridge repairs are done immediately after and they attribute this to the mayor and the municipal council.

On the whole, however, Panitan still appears to have done better than Jamindan. On the criterion of urbanization, it is more urbanized than Jamindan. Roads are better in Panitan than Jamindan. Although Jamindan income (due largely to allocations) has surpassed Panitan's from 1970 onward, its tax collection rate is lower. Average yield for rice is still much higher in Panitan and Jamindan. It was also pointed out earlier that Jamindan lags behind Panitan in education, health, road kilometrage, housing and electric power. However, Jamindan's potential for development appears to be higher than Panitan. It has more room for expansion and as soon as facilities such as are found in Panitan become available, it may even surpass the latter.

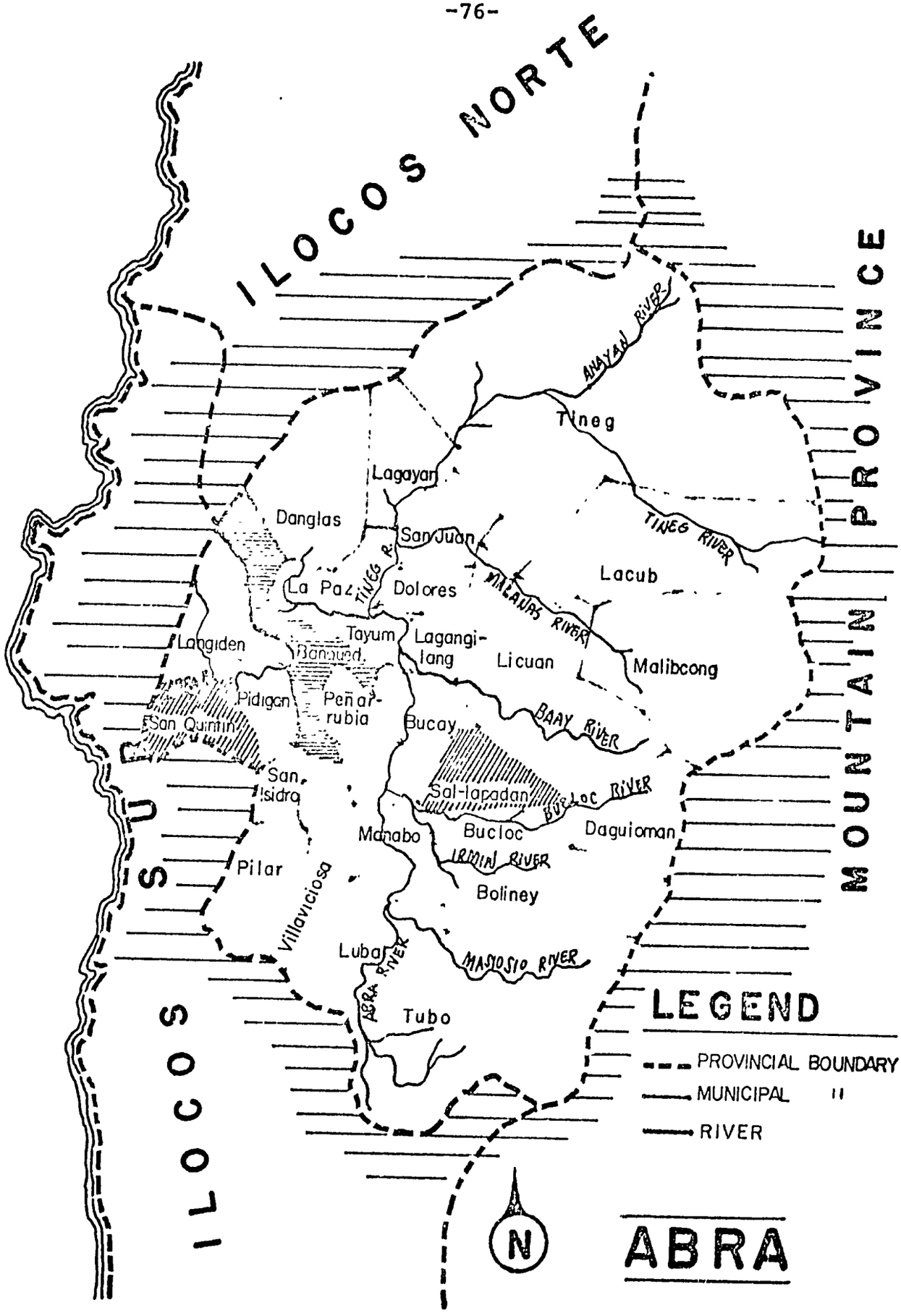
3. Summing Up

Our favorable evaluation of local government and PACD performance in both municipalities is anchored on the formal leadership of the municipal officials and on the massive national (as represented by PACD) and local government efforts to improve the rural areas. The experiences in Panitan and Jamindan also underscore the value of a coordinated approach to development. Whether the area is agriculture, welfare service, or economic well-being, the participation of people in identifying their problems, planning their solutions and getting things done looms as the key factor. On the part of PACD workers, it is their awareness of the existing beliefs supplemented by the knowledge that the process of building people and thus communities is a slow one. That this knowledge and awareness has seeped over the years to local government officials and barrio people may partly explain why in Panitan and Jamindan, rural development has occurred to a modest degree.

There is ground to believe that the different projects contributing to this development have been a

product of trisectoral efforts--government, the private sector and the religious institutions, even if the third has not been in the forefront in this province as compared to the first two. The training activities which have permeated all levels of government in the Philippines may have been contributory to the upgrading of knowledge and skills of the various personnel of agencies, local governments and rural inhabitants as well. It might also have facilitated the re-orientation of attitudes from one of dependence on the government to one of self-reliance and self-pride. It is not surprising to note that Jamindan, too, is moving in the direction of positive change in the three areas initially identified as our dependent variables--increased agricultural production, expanded welfare and income. There is need to be cautious even with this evidence when advancing the view that local governments are the key variables to rural development. That they share in this effort, nevertheless, cannot be denied.

We turn to Abra in the next chapter to examine private institutional attempts at the local level to contribute to rural development efforts.


ILOCOS NORTE
MOUNTAIN PROVINCE
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Lagayan
Danglas
San Juan
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La Paz
TINEG R.
Dolores
MALANAS RIVER
Tayum
Lagangi-lang
Licuan
Malibcong
Langiden
Bangued
Pidigan
Peñar-rubia
San Quintin
Bucay
BAAY RIVER
San Isidro
Sal-lapadan
BUCLOC RIVER
Manabo
Bucloc
Daguioman
IRMIN RIVER
Pilar
Villaviciosa
Boliney
Luba
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ABRA

III. Private Local Institutions for Rural Development*

A. The Province

1. Topography

The second province under study is Abra, a landlocked province in Northern Luzon, about 400 kilometers by land from Manila. Abra has an estimated land area of 397,555 hectares, stretching about 90 kilometers from north to south, and about 60 kilometers from east to west.[1] It is marked by a hilly terrain which makes for poor accessibility and communication for areas both within the province and outside. The rough topography also affects the utilization of the land. Forests account for most of the area.[2] Of these, only about a sixth is classified as commercial, and in turn, almost half of commercial forests are inaccessible according to the Bureau of Forestry.[3] Agriculture is limited to at most

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*This chapter was written by Dr. Ledivina V. Cariño. Mr. Arturo G. Pacho and Mr. Vicente Mariano wrote an earlier manuscript entitled "Rural Development and the Church in Abra."

[1]M & R Foundation, Socio-Economic Study: Province of Abra (Baguio City, 1972).

[2]As of 1968, the Bureau of Forestry classified the land of Abra as follows:

	hectares	% of total
Arable lands	93,844	23.07
Timberland	87	.02
Forests	303,624	76.37
forest reserves	269,591	67.81
public forests (otherwise unclassified)	34,591	8.56

Presidential Economic Staff, Provincial Profile of Abra, 1969.

[3]PES, Ibid., p. 20. There were 56,460 ha. of commercial forests, of which 26,890 were inaccessible. Data, however, are as of 1957.

eight percent of total land area.[1] Mineral production is practically nil although reserves of coal, gold, silver, copper and other ores are known to be available.

Another topographical feature that affects the province considerably is the Abra River on whose banks the main settlement is located, centering in Bangued, the capital town. The Abra River is the only water resource of importance in the province. When harnessed, the river can generate power up to 10,000 kilowatt hours.[2] Because few other bodies of water are in the locality, Abra has very limited fish production and "imports" its fish from the adjacent shore provinces. The river originates from the adjoining Mountain Province, enters Abra at its southwest tip, travels north through half of the province and thence turns west into the province of Ilocos Sur and ends in the China Sea. The absence of bridges hampers transportation and communications between the northwestern municipalities and Bangued. Moreover, when the rivers swell during the rainy season--especially from June to August--accessibility becomes virtually a practical impossibility. Floods are aggravated by the indiscriminate cutting of the forest and vegetative cover of the province.

2. Population

Abra is usually identified as one of the four provinces of the Ilocos region. Indeed for the longer part of its history--from the time of the founding of Bangued in 1198 until the early years of the American regime--it was

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[1] M & R Foundation, op. cit., p. 9, using the 1960 Census of Agriculture gave the area of farmlands to be 32,544.8 hectares (8.1 percent of total land area). This Census figure tends to be somewhat higher than those of other governmental agencies; it also included potential farm areas.

[2] PES, op. cit. p. 19.

only a part of the province called Ilocos, or when that was subdivided, a part of Ilocos Sur. It has continuously been recognized as a separate regular province only since 1917.[1]

Ilocanos, though now in the majority, are relatively recent migrants into Abra. The aborigines are Negritoes, the size of whose population is now negligible, and the Tinguians (literally, mountain people) who were pushed back into the hills by the Ilocanos.[2]

Abra has grown from 51,860 in 1903 to 145,508 people in 1970. The increase has been especially marked between 1948 and 1960, when population increased by 33 percent (see Table XXVI). Nevertheless, Abra was a province of out-migration during that period, and the trend has continued even in the last intercensal decade, when population had a yearly growth rate of about 2.4 percent, compared to the national Philippine increase of 3.1 percent.

Population density in Abra is rather low: 37 persons per square kilometer in 1970 as against the national average of 123 persons per square kilometer. It also has a very small urban population: 18 percent compared to almost 30 percent for the entire country. Most Abranians live without the conveniences of electricity and tap-water.

The province, like the rest of the country, has a rather large dependent population. In 1970, 40 percent of the population was below 15 years old, and 5.5 percent were 65 and over. This suggests a high dependency ratio of 84 percent.[3] Unemployment can be set at about 4 percent which

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[1] M & R Foundation, op. cit., pp. 10-12.

[2] M & R Foundation, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

[3] The Dependency ratio was computed as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Population below 15 + Population 65 and above}}{\text{Population 15 - 64}} \times 100.$$

M & R Foundation, op. cit., p. 27.

is lower than the national average.

Table XXVI: Population Size and Rate of Increase of Abra 1903-1970

	Number	Percent Increase (Decrease)
1903	51,860	--
1918	72,731	40.24
1939	87,780	20.69
1948	86,600	(1.34)
1960	115,193	33.01
1970	145,201	26.05

Sources: Censuses for the respective years.

3. The Economy

Despite the low hectarage devoted to agriculture, Abra maintains an agrarian economy. The main source of livelihood is agriculture and forestry, which in 1970 supported 70 percent of the population. This shows a much greater dependence on agriculture in Abra than in the nation as a whole (about 51 percent). However, the figure represents a marked decrease in the agricultural population which constituted 91 percent of the labor force in 1960-61. The change is accounted for largely by increases in the proportion of people employed in services (from 1 percent in 1960-61 to 12 percent in 1970) and manufacturing and construction (from 2 to 6 percent).[1]

As in most of the Philippines, Abra's main crop is rice which occupies about 70 to 90 percent of agricultural

[1] M & R Foundation, op. cit., 1972, p. 35.

lands[1] and accounted for more than 50 percent of the income from agricultural production in 1960. Other important crops are tobacco (representing about 25 percent of agricultural income) and corn (about 7 percent).[2] In 1960, the productivity was 1,012 kgs. per hectare for palay, 528 kgs. per hectare for corn, and 415 kilos per hectare for tobacco.[3] Yield per hectare for palay and corn increased to 1,408 and 616 kilograms respectively for the crop year 1971-72.[4] However, these figures are still very much lower than the national average for both crops.

The consideration of self-sufficiency in production is another measure of agricultural productivity. In 1960, Abra produced 66 kilos of rice for each of its 115,193 inhabitants.[5] In 1971-72, it produced 79 kilos per inhabitant.[6] These statistics suggest that Abra is not self-sufficient in rice; the average Filipino adult

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[1]The estimates vary. The Agricultural Census of 1900 gives the figure of 28,970 hectares; the Presidential Economic Staff, citing the Bureau of Agricultural Economics for the same year put palay farms at 22,436 hectares. However, BAECON in 1971-72 had rice farms totaling 23,632.6. Total agricultural lands are reported as 32,544.8 hectares in the 1960 Agricultural Census.

[2]PES, Provincial Profile 1969, op. cit.

[3]From Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Bangued, Abra. No data are available for tobacco.

[4]The per capita share of rice was computed by dividing palay production by 3, to get the amount of milled rice, which is in turn divided by the total population. The data for 1960 is from M & R Foundation, p. 56.

[5]Note that this covers rice, not palay. A kilogram of rice is equivalent to one-third a kilo of palay.

[6]This may be an overestimate as it compares the production of crop year 1971-72 to the 1970 population.

consumes 101.2 kilos annually, while his female counterpart eats slightly less at 92.4 kilos per year.[1]

Low agricultural productivity appears to be a function of a combination of several factors. First, there is the difficult terrain and the general aridity of the land, except for the areas close to the Bangued River. In addition, there is a great lack of irrigation facilities. The present system covers only a total of 4,297 hectares irrigated communally and 3,101 hectares by pump irrigation. According to the National Irrigation Administration, about 28,000 more hectares need to be included in the irrigation system. It may be noted that the productivity of irrigated ricelands in Abra in 1971-72 was 1,716 kilograms per hectare, or 22 percent more yield per hectare than average for all the rice farms in the province.

Another problem is the fact that cultivation of crops depends largely on the natural fertility of the soil. Experts in agriculture in fact maintain that Abra's rice production is quite high, considering that fertilizer and other modern agricultural techniques are generally not used in the area.

The average size of farms in the Philippines is small, but Abra farms tend to be even smaller--around 1.42 hectares in 1960. This varies by the type of farm operator. Thus, while 73 percent of tenants in an M & R Foundation survey cultivate farms smaller than one hectare, only 53 percent of full-owners and 40 percent of part-owners operate areas of this size. No tenant and only 2 percent

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[1] Leon Mears and others, Rice Economy in the Philippines, (Quezon City: U.P. School of Economics, 1974), p. 61, citing the Bureau of the Census' Philippine Survey of Households, 1958, 1959 and 1960. Adults include everyone at least ten years old. The per capita consumption of children was estimated at 1.1 cavans per annum.

of part-owners tend farms of six or more hectares; on the other hand, 7 percent of full owners have these large farms.[1] However, the land tenure situation in Abra is not as potentially explosive as that in Central Luzon, traditional center of dissidence in the Philippines. As early as 1960, before the land reform program got into full swing, 61 percent of farm lands were under cultivation by full owners, 28 percent by part-owners, and only 10 percent by tenants.[2]

B. The Abra Diocesan Rural Development, Inc.

1. Introduction

The choice of Abra for this study has been prompted by the presence of an important institution in its midst, the Abra Diocesan Rural Development, Inc. (ADRDI). Unique in that it is the only private institution committed to promoting faster growth in this Class VI province,[3] ADRDI may also be considered as representative of an increasing number of non-governmental organizations which have been established all over the country. The experience of ADRDI would be instructive because it has tasted success and failure as it operates throughout the province. Other organizations tend to limit themselves to smaller areas or operate in quite disparate surroundings so that it is difficult to trace what seem to be institutional problems as against those dictated by the environment. Here, by

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[1] M & R Foundation, op. cit., p. 52.

[2] M & R Foundation, op. cit., p. 55.

[3] Classes are based on income. Classifications are made by the Department of Finance every two years. The lowest is Class VII.

keeping the environment (Abra) constant and by selecting municipalities within it which are similar in most aspects--except in their acceptance of ADRDI and the results of the diocesan involvement in these areas, we may be able to identify salient factors that aid a local institution in bringing about rural development.

2. Its Objectives and Organization

ADRDI is a non-stock corporation created in 1968 for the following purposes:

"1. To promote an integrated program of rural development in the Province of Abra by and through:

a. the promotion of agricultural projects and enterprises designed to increase food production;

b. the giving of technical aids to promote scientific and mechanized farming; the procurement and use of fertilizers and insecticides;

c. irrigational and forestal projects and enterprises;

d. livestock enterprises; carabao production, cattle, swine and poultry raising, backyard fishponds, gardening, and farm orchards;

e. development of cottage industries allied with agriculture;

f. disposal and retailing of agricultural and industrial products; and

g. such other allied agricultural enterprises as may be directly or indirectly conducive to the furtherance of the aforestated purposes;

"2. To cooperate closely with the Government in the acceleration of its rural development projects and to mobilize all possible resources, human and material, national and international, public and private, to carry out with the least minimal costs the program of effective production and rural development and thus lay a stable foundation for the build-up of a strong and democratic country."[1]

[1]From the articles of incorporation.

The ADRDI, then, is the vehicle of the Bishop and the Church for the promotion of rural development and the upliftment of the lot of the inhabitants of Abra. The Bishop's role in ADRDI is central; he is its founder, its one main source of funds,[1] the chief propagandist for the agency, and he appears to exercise all its major decisions. The Bishop, a German, is the head of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD) in Abra and has spent most of his life there. He has been known as one of the liberal bishops in the Philippines; his organization of the diocese into a social action unit reflects this orientation and formalizes his long-standing development concerns. His liberalism is also shown in the relative concentration of the ADRDI in places where more Tinguians than Ilocanos reside.

ADRDI maintains a rather loose organization. Its full-time staff includes a Director, eight economic coordinators, several farm workers and bulldozer-operators and an administrative staff based at the main office. The Director is a German priest who, until recently, had his parish in Sallapadan, one of our sample areas. His main assistants are the coordinators who tend to be former schoolteachers and who, like the government's community development workers, engage in motivating and sustaining the people's interest in the improvement of their communities. The parish priests, though not strictly a part of ADRDI, frequently get involved in articulating or drumming up the interest of the people. They also assist the coordinators in their various tasks since they frequently are knowledgeable on the technical aspects of such matters as agriculture, animal husbandry, credit institutions, reforestation,

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[1]The Bishop's financial assistance comes not only from the SVD mission but also from his personal funds and those of his parents and other relatives. Other sources of funds include the rental income from two bulldozers and earnings from an ADRDI farm, and support from the Misereor Foundation, a Roman Catholic foundation based in Germany.

athletics, and the like. In addition, ADRDI relies on the parish priest's close contact with the people in making decisions about a project's continuity or termination. Thus, a project remains under ADRDI aegis until the priest certifies that the people can sustain it by themselves.

ADRDI also works through the church's network of organizations such as the Knights of Columbus, the Catholic Women's League, the Catholic Action Diocesan Center and Catholic Youth groups. Catechists frequently volunteer their services in its various projects. The close identification of ADRDI with the Roman Catholic Church is in general advantageous in a province which is more overwhelmingly Catholic (83.2 percent, 1960) than the country at large (78.3 percent) and its support is partly traceable to the influence and leadership of the Church in Abra as in the entire Philippines. In addition, the SVD mission has historically had close ties with the ethnic tribes in the province and its experience has afforded ADRDI insight into the structure and values of the ethnic minorities.

Unfortunately, enthusiasm for ADRDI which is manifested by the Bishop and other German SVD missionaries does not appear to have infected Filipino parish priests. There have been many cases when interest in particular projects, or in RD work in general, diminishes after a foreign clergyman is replaced by local SVD members.

3. ADRDI Projects

Diocesan projects encompass practically all the major areas of rural development. Except for the operation of 25 schools which are directly under the Bishop, all the projects are run by ADRDI. The projects may be classified under these broad headings: (a) agriculture and forestry; (b) communications and transportation; (c) building of rural institutions; and (d) small-scale industries.

a. Agriculture and forestry. The ADRDI operates demonstration farms for agriculture and livestock, and nurseries for seedlings. It rents out two bulldozers at nominal cost to help poor farmers open up hilly land, engages in reforestation through Operation Green, and conducts mobile seminars which feature not only agricultural extension per se but also the integrated approach of rural reconstruction. In addition, it manages its own land reform program by buying and improving titled lands and reselling them to the landless at generous terms. Moreover, it has provided technical assistance in the construction of irrigation systems, the biggest of which will serve up to 2,000 hectares.

b. Communications and transportation. ADRDI publishes Silnag (literally, "Light") and operates radio station DZPA; these not only disseminate information about the Church's undertakings; more importantly, they regard the farmer as their main target and provide him with developmental communication in agriculture. Projects in transportation include the rental of bulldozers for road building and the construction of suspension bridges to prevent the isolation of some municipalities during the rainy season.

c. Building of rural institutions. In line with its philosophy that development requires the participation and cooperation of the people affected, ADRDI has encouraged the formation of credit unions, and consumers' and rice and corn millers' cooperatives.

d. Other projects. ADRDI has its own hollow block-making enterprise, an auto repair and welding garage and a carpentry shop which provide low-cost goods and services, but also serve to provide needed skills to the labor force. In certain areas, it has assisted in building crop storage areas and rice drying facilities. It has also served as a purchasing, credit and distributing agency for materials needed by cooperatives, by highland residents and by other

social action and rural infrastructure projects. Drinking water systems have also been put up.

Projects vary according to the system of priorities of the people and the initiative of local residents or parish priests.

4. Relationship with Government Agencies

Some projects cover the entire province and are either initiated or coordinated at Bangued. However, if the scope has to be limited in any way, ADRDI chooses to work in highland municipalities or in areas of greater isolation. These places are apt to be the same localities which lack in the delivery of governmental services. Thus, overlap with public programs tends to be avoided.

As quoted earlier, the ADRDI recognizes the need for close cooperation with the government. It consults with governmental agencies when areas of interest coincide with them. However, because of territorial choices, instances of overlap and conflict may be considered as minimal. ADRDI also deals with administrative agencies when so required, or when invited to meetings or social events. The coordination of activities which occurs between public agencies and ADRDI has an informal basis and rests largely on the important role of the Church in the community. It is also in large part fostered by the personal relationships and mutual respect between the parish priest and other individuals identified with ADRDI, on the one hand, and the representatives of the Bureau of Community Development, various agricultural agencies and local officials, on the other. In fact, the parish priest, who is never rigidly supervised by ADRDI, tries to use whatever means will result in the involvement of the rural people in development projects. Thus, sometimes, he appeals directly to them and at other times, works through government officials or the traditional ethnic leaders. Our case studies will attempt to show the dynamics and results of

such institutional linkages.

C. Sallapadan and San Quintin

1. Comparison of the Two Municipalities

This section will look more closely at the program of ADRDI and point out what seem to be the elements which affect rural development. We will do this primarily by studying the process in two municipalities of Abra--Sallapadan and San Quintin. Their selection was based on discussions with the Bishop and the ADRDI staff. Both belong to the same level of development as determined by two separate studies.[1] Both their populations are predominantly Tinguian rather than Ilocano. They are both Catholic towns and have had until recently German priests. Moreover, both municipalities have received similar assistance from ADRDI.

The two municipalities are classified as completely rural in the 1970 census. Both devote about ten percent of their land area to rice. Tobacco and corn are also grown in both areas.

Several points of difference must also be noted. San Quintin is a lowland municipality only a half-hour ride from the capital through an asphalted national road. By contrast, Sallapadan is in the highlands, two-and-a-half hours away from Bangued. It is reached mainly by feeder road after crossing the Abra river and is cut off many months of the year when the river swells.[2]

The two towns do not differ very much in population size (Sallapadan: 3,551; San Quintin: 3,259); in density

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[1] M & R Foundation, op. cit.; and Viloria, Gutierrez, and Tioleco, 1971.

[2] However, the inauguration of the 830-meter Lagangilang Bridge early in March 1974 makes Sallapadan accessible all year round. The bridge is the third longest in the country.

(Sallapadan: 40 persons per square kilometer; San Quintin: 48), nor in literacy (Sallapadan: 78 percent; San Quintin: 74 percent). However, San Quintin has grown much faster in the 1960-1970 period, registering an increase of 31 percent, while Sallapadan increased by only 3 percent, or one tenth that figure. In terms of age distribution, Sallapadan has a lower dependency ratio than San Quintin (91 percent and 109 percent, respectively).[1] However, San Quintin, probably because of its closeness to Bangued, has more opportunities for non-agricultural employment, with its farm population being only 75 percent in contrast to Sallapadan's 86 percent.[2]

From what has been reported above, it may be expected that San Quintin is our more developed municipality. However, a look at agricultural productivity, income and even at certain social indicators belies that notion. Let us study each of these in turn.

The yield per hectare for palay in Sallapadan is about 1,848 kilograms/ha. which is not only 40 percent more than San Quintin's average productivity in palay of 1,100 kilograms/ha. (Table XXVII) but is also appreciably more (23 percent) than the mean yield for the entire province. This may be largely due to the greater percentage of irrigated ricelands in Sallapadan than in San Quintin or Abra as shown in Table XXVIII. However, Sallapadan maintains its advantage in all types of rice farms regardless of irrigation facilities or location. The same holds true in the production of corn.

Income is also an index of the relative development of the municipalities. Real property tax collectibles give

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[1]Basic data from 1970 Census advance reports; dependents are assumed to include persons below 15 and above 64.

[2]M & R Foundation, op. cit., p. 20.

some indication of the value of the land resources in the community. Both our sample towns are far behind Bangued in this measure (₱46,433.90 in FY 1969-70). However, the collectibles for fiscal year 1969-70 of Sallapadan are much higher than San Quintin, even if one controls for the size of the land area since Sallapadan is bigger by almost 2,000 hectares. Sallapadan continues its dominance through 1972-73 as it increased in collectibles by 57 percent while San Quintin's actually decreased by just under 6 percent (see Table XXIX).

Table XXVII: Palay Production in Abra, Sallapadan and San Quintin, in Kilograms per Hectare, 1971-72

	Abra	Sallapadan	San Quintin
Irrigated lowland	1,716	1,980	1,188
Second crop	1,276	1,584	--
Upland kaingin	968	1,012	968
Non-irrigated lowland	1,320	1,892	1,100
Average for area	1,408	1,848	1,100

Source of basic data: Burea of Agricultural Economics, Bangued, Abra.

Table XXVIII: Types of Ricelands in Abra, Sallapadan and San Quintin (in hectares)

Type	Abra		Sallapadan		San Quintin	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Irrigated lowland	8,116.0	40.7	708.1	77.8	190.3	34.4
Upland kaingin	3,202.9	16.1	54.7	6.0	163.0	29.4
Non-irrigated lowland	8,597.7	93.2	146.9	16.1	200.4	36.2
Total ricelands	19,917.6	100.0	909.7	99.9	553.7	100.0

Source: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Bangued, Abra.

Table XXIX: Amount of Real Property Tax Collectibles For Sallapadan and San Quintin, Fiscal Year 1969-70 and 1972-73

	Sallapadan		San Quintin	
	1969-70	1972-73	1969-70	1972-73
Total collectibles	₱5,386.40	₱8,459.10	₱3,207.10	₱3,024.80
Collectibles per hectare	60.48	94.99	46.30	43.67
Percentage increase (decrease)		57.1%		(5.7%)

Source: Provincial Treasurer's Office, Bangued, Abra. Per hectare collectibles were computed using the base of 8,905 hectares in Sallapadan and 6,926 hectares in San Quintin.

Actual collections give some insight into the efficiency of local administration. Again, Sallapadan was on top in 1969-70, showing over 40 percent of collections vis-a-vis San Quintin 24 percent. While both towns increased their collection efficiency remarkably in 1972-73, Sallapadan maintained its lead, collecting 75 percent as against San Quintin's 64 percent (see Table XXX).

Education, health and housing indices also tend to favor Sallapadan. For example, it has more schools than San Quintin, the difference being accounted for by three diocesan schools. There are slightly more medically-trained personnel fielded by the national government in Sallapadan, adding up to about 1.4 rural health units (RHU) per 1,000 inhabitants in Sallapadan compared to .9 in San Quintin. In addition, housing in San Quintin tends to be inferior: 17.9 percent of its dwelling units are classified as barong-barong (makeshift houses). They number 104, the highest for any town in Abra. By contrast, Sallapadan has no barong-barong, and it has the same proportion of buildings

of light materials as the entire province (36.7 percent). By contrast, 47.1 percent of buildings in San Quintin are of light materials.

Table XXX: Efficiency of Real Property Tax Collection in Sallapadan and San Quintin, Fiscal Year 1969-70 and FY 1972-73

	Sallapadan		San Quintin	
	1969	1972-73	1969	1972-73
Collections	₱2,179.86	₱6,374.24	₱756.32	₱1,922.78
Ratio of collections to collectibles	40.5%	75.3%	23.6%	63.6%

Source: Provincial Treasurer's Office, Bangued, Abra.

2. The ADRDI Efforts in Sallapadan

The ADRDI program and its linkages with national and local government officials and agencies are different enough to account at least partly for the edge of Sallapadan over San Quintin.

Sallapadan did not have its own Municipal Development Officer (MDO) from the Bureau of Community Development (BCD) until the later part of 1973. (Earlier, it was serviced partly by the MDO in Manabo--an hour away.) The Church and ADRDI see Sallapadan as the center of the Sallapadan, Bucloc and Daguioman (SBD) triad. So does the BCD whose MDO is expected to cover the same group of towns.

The Church, however, has close links with the community because of its long-standing mission in the highlands. It is looked up to by the Tinguians who appreciate the church people's knowledge of their norms, appreciation of their arts and use of their dialect. Many community leaders are also active lay Catholics. For

instance, the present municipal secretary used to be the general manager of the ADRDI-sponsored cooperative and was a close friend of the parish priest. Another close friend is the mayor whose family had been a patron of the church for generations. He gives official imprimatur to the priest's projects.

Because of the absence of an MDO in Sallapadan, the German priest assigned to this parish took community development there to be one of his major responsibilities. His concern actually antedates the institution of ADRDI. He stirred up interest in the self-help philosophy and was at the forefront of many CD projects undertaken in his parish.[1] One of his main accomplishments may be the organization of the SBD League of Farmers Consumers' Cooperative, Inc. For a time, however, the League was feared as a possible communist-front organization, assisted as it was by the Federation of Free Farmers, a militant group. This was one reason for its dissolution and eventual replacement in 1970 with an organization with more specific objectives. The Co-op has grown tremendously, registering sales of about ₱12,000 in 1970 and taking in about ₱53,000 by 1972. The cooperative maintains distribution branches in five locations and supplies not only consumer items (clothing, foodstuffs, medicines--prescribed by the RHU doctors, household items) but also farm implements and fertilizers. It was also through the defunct league that the priest introduced new techniques of agricultural production.[2] He has been aided by DZPA agricultural programs which are beamed from the office of the provincial

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[1]Sallapadan is now served by a Filipino priest.

[2]His mechanical thresher, however, was not accepted for harvesting: people cling to their belief that rice stored on the stalks is tastier. The thresher is thus used only for parish rice fields.

representative of the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources.

The Church's agricultural extension in Sallapadan is not without its failures. While the use of fertilizer is greater than in San Quintin, beliefs that it will harden the soil and harm the plants die hard. For one thing, this is supported by the experience of those who applied fertilzers without full knowledge and instruction on how to use it. Still in 1973, for example, 50 sacks of fertilizer were sold by the co-op directly to farmers, disregarding the government requirement that fertilizer purchase must be accompanied by a certification from the Provincial Agriculturist's office. At this time, an ADRDI economic coordinator is collecting soil samples in Sallapadan to be submitted to the Bureau of Soils so that the farmers can get instruction as to what type of fertilizer and how much is required by the soil on their farms.

The co-op counts most municipal officials as members. It is now in the process of negotiating with the MDO concerning the procedures for its registration, since the present Samahang Nayon concept regards all rural organizations of this type to be at the pre-cooperative stage. Meanwhile, Sallapadan has a Samahang Nayon in every barrio, and their early organization may have been affected by positive experience with the SBD co-op. A former mayor heads the municipal federation of these Samahan units.

A project which illustrates the working relationship among ADRDI, government and the people is the suspension footbridge connecting Sallapadan-Bucloc-Daguioman to Manabo. Constructed in 1971, the SBD ten-meter bridge is the sole link to Manabo and outside areas during the rainy season. ADRDI contributed cable wires and other materials in the amount of around ₱6,000.00; the municipal government appropriated ₱2,000.00. Many barrio people volunteered their labor, each working continuously for

two or three days. Other religious groups, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, donated in cash or kind to the project. Both the parish priest and the mayor endorsed the project and visited the construction. The municipal council approved a resolution to slaughter a carabao in celebration of the completion of the bridge.

Many people in Sallapadan regard the church's role in education as its greatest contribution. Although schools are not directed through ADRDI, their operation again provides insights into the church-government-people relationship. The parochial school complex started with three primary schools and one institution offering secondary education. However, the church phased out its primary schools as the national government moved into the area. The high school remains, with its students paying minimal tuition, many enjoying church scholarships. At the Bishop's request and with the approval of the Bureau of Private Schools, this school opens classes earlier and closes later than the prescribed academic calendar and also includes a longer Christmas vacation. The adjustment allows students to help in the planting and harvesting season in Sallapadan, a show of goodwill which is not unappreciated in the town. Parenthetically, the revision of the school calendar along these lines was a major national controversy some years back. Most schools in the Philippines operate under the calendar prescribed by the Department of Education and Culture which does not take the peculiar requirements of the agricultural schedule into account.

The people's appraisal of ADRDI and the Church[1] is overwhelmingly favorable. A former mayor cites with approval the former priest's faith and training in rural programs and his attitude--backed by his example--that idleness belongs to the same category as crime.

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[1]No one makes sharp distinctions about these institutions.

The present MDO evaluates the ADRDI in these words:

> The relationship between the local government, the people and the parish church has become closer because people know that the church can contribute to development...The church took over most of the social responsibilities of the government at the time when the need (for them) was acute.[1]

3. The ADRDI Efforts at San Quintin

As in Sallapadan, a German priest used to be assigned at San Quintin. He worked closely with the full-time municipal development officer there who has since been promoted to Provincial Development Officer. One of their joint projects was the installation of a potable water system in the poblacion (town center of San Quintin in 1969).[2] The priest motivated the people and coordinated the voluntary labor which got stones from the river bed, levelled the ground of the reservoir site, and dug a deep well. The poblacion barrio government provided ₱4,000 for the project. ADRDI provided a 15-horsepower pump. The priest collected ₱0.10 a day (₱3 a month) from the water users to pay for maintenance and fuel costs. This did not sit well with most of the residents who refused to pay the user's fee. Because of this, the priest decided to transfer the pump to another barrio where it will be used for irrigation purposes. However, the National Irrigation Administration did not prepare a cost estimate for the converted project and the pump remains unused to this day. Meanwhile, the poblacion government spent another ₱2,000 to develop water through springs. Although the water is insufficient--

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[1]Personal interview by Arturo Pacho and Vicente Mariano.

[2]Water is a major problem in Abra. Many other municipalities including Sallapadan, listed a water system as a priority need and constructed one as an ADRDI-government people effort.

the spring dries up during the dry season--the people seem to prefer it because it is free. Another irrigation project never materialized because of the departure of the priest for Germany in 1973. This one would have cost ₱40,000; the MDO had already prepared the work program for this project when it was abruptly terminated.

Another abortive project in the poblacion was the establishment of a credit union in 1968. Here the priest and the MDO were assisted by the latter's wife who was the Cooperatives Administrative Office representative in Abra. However, funds to make the credit union operational were never collected despite a number of informational meetings and the identification of a core group of cooperators. Under the current Samahang Nayon program, San Quintin's barrios have already organized and contributed their share for the establishment of the pre-cooperative associations.

Not all projects have the negative results of the above instances--a livestock project has been started, and interest in it is probably encouraged and sustained by the ADRDI demonstration farm and animal breeding station in the next town. The priest also distributed vegetable seeds which came from the Agriculturist's office in Bangued. However, the cooperation of the people does not seem to be comparable to that which sustained ADRDI in Sallapadan. For instance, a tree-planting project initiated by the priest drew a number of volunteers--but many of them came from outside San Quintin.

It is interesting that one appraisal of the San Quintin priest cited the same attitude which people saw in the Sallapadan priest. Said a barrio captain in a village far from the poblacion:

> My observation is that the parish priest did not want to see idle people. When he saw others in the poblacion being inactive, he became disillusioned. He preferred

to work with the people in the barrio. People in the poblacion did not completely help. That's a characteristic some people have here.[1]

4. ADRDI and the Two Towns: An Appraisal

Certainly, it is rather premature to evaluate ADRDI conclusively when it is barely six years old, or to attribute the developments in municipalities primarily to the efforts of this organization. However, ADRDI is only the formalized involvement of the church in rural development, and its actual endeavors along this line are at least as long as the incumbency of the present Bishop (about 18 years). Moreover, some of the contrasts in Sallapadan and San Quintin look distinct enough that at least some preliminary conclusions may be warranted.

a. The rapport between the community and the person who personified ADRDI there--the parish priest--seems to have been much stronger and more enthusiastic in the case of Sallapadan than in San Quintin. No doubt the personalities of the two men have a bearing here. However, one may also look at the structure of relationships that each priest had. In Sallapadan, the priest got the support of both officials and the ordinary citizen for his projects. In addition, he was practically the only source of direct assistance in matters of agricultural extension and other problems weighing heavily on the rural people's minds. By contrast, the San Quintin priest had no local supporter influential enough to serve as liaison between the church and the community. He had young volunteers, to be sure, but these were not equivalent to the municipal secretary and other leaders who backed up his Sallapadan counterpart. The need for him was not as great because there was always at least one other person--the MDO--to whom people could turn. While

[1]Interview by Arturo Pacho and Vicente Mariano.

there is no evidence that the latter undermined his efforts, it is also likely that the people felt they could afford to ignore him because the MDO was there.

By the same token, Sallapadan is an isolated area not only geographically but also in terms of government services. Meanwhile, since San Quintin is very near Bangued, many municipal leaders lived and commuted from there regularly. Thus, goods and services not available in San Quintin were simply searched for in Bangued or Narvacan, Ilocos Sur, a big town which is also close by.

b. The influence of the church in Sallapadan is quite strong since it has been a mission center for a long time. Besides, the church maintains schools which are regarded highly, are in close touch with the community and which no doubt reinforce the church's hold by youth socialization. This support of the church not unexpectedly extends to ADRDI. On the other hand, San Quintin has no parochial school and has a greater proportion of non-Catholics; its closeness to Bangued may reflect a degree of secularization not present in a highland municipality.

c. Lastly, ADRDI seems to have been better able to use the people's traditional ways of doing things in Sallapadan than in San Quintin. For example, it worked with local leaders rather than representatives of national agencies or young locals without status. It also adjusted the school calendar to take account of the farmer's needs. And it has not charged a user's fee for the water system; perhaps the people do not feel they should pay for something they built themselves.

It also appears that the people were not rushed into responding to innovations. The evolution from the farmer's league to a cooperative took a long time; mechanical innovation like the thresher was not forced on the people. Demonstration rather than exhortation even spelled success in San Quintin's livestock project. Perhaps it is this

sympathy for their way of life that makes the people of Sallapadan more responsive to developmental efforts than the residents of San Quintin.

IV. Summary and Conclusions*

The general direction in which rural development seems to be moving in the Philippines indicates some form of progress in three general areas--increased agricultural production, expanded welfare and increased income.[1] The basic question raised in this paper is: Do local governments play a major role in this country's rural development efforts? Furthermore, at the level of municipalities, do these units account for some of the increments which we have identified with rural development?

In Chapter I, it was stated that local governments have been identified with the promotion of development activities and the provision of basic social and economic

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*By Santiago S. Simpas in consultation with Ledivina V. Cariño and Arturo G. Pacho.

[1]Although the national data found in Table I showed recent negative trends in the economic sectoral growth rates and per capita income, the period between 1965 and 1971 showed positive increments in income in the rural areas (Tables V and VI). There was a decrease in the percentage of rural households at the ₱1500 and below per annum income levels, and an increase in the percentage with incomes from ₱2,000 up. It may be argued that income increments are not adequate to keep up with corresponding increases in cost of living indices between these periods. However, these latter increases have not been high enough to back up this view for the 1965-1971 period.

Palay production in 1971 increased by 1,638.1 thousand metric tons over the 1961 harvests and was nearly double compared to the 1952 production. Corn went up by 795.3 thousand metric tons from 1961 and almost trebled the 1952 production figures. Sugar in 1971 topped the 1961 harvest by 745.7 thousand metric tons and more than doubled the 1952 figures (Table X).

Between 1964 to 1971, birth rate went down from 28.2 per 1,000 population to 25.4 and death rate from 6.9 per 1,000 to 6.6. Between 1966-1971, total school enrollment registered a 26.2 percent increase. This is an average of 5.2 percent

services for their constituents. National-local partnership was also pointed out as an approach. National government roles in this relationship have been identified as the following: encouraging regional development, industrialization, and facilitating equitable income distribution. Lower-level governments, in turn, have set up a number of infrastructure projects connected with economic development. Some of these are roads, bridges, and utilities such as power, water and communications.

Social services have also been undertaken by local governments in coordination with national agencies. Thus, peace and order, health, welfare and education are made available to their respective clientele. Local governments have also served as purveyors of new technology and knowledge. Starting with the decade of the 1960's, provinces and municipalities have embarked on development planning, taking into account the merits of more rationized approaches to local administration.

The national government has encouraged local government participation in rural development by allowing the latter more autonomy, through the passage of laws and decrees which increased local regulatory and taxing powers as well as through directly providing additional funds for development purposes. Local governments have also been

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per year, which is 2 percent higher than the annual population growth rate of 3.2 percent per annum (calculated from Table XIII).

Capiz shows a positive growth between 1950 in palay, corn and sugar (see page 36). Abra has also shown progress in palay and corn, although the increase is less dramatic than Capiz (see page 80). No data on per capita income were available for both provinces. However, provincial and municipal income figures indicated that between 1963 and 1973, Capiz almost quadrupled its income from revenues (Table XIX), a feat which Panitan equalled but Jamindan surpassed, the latter municipality obtaining a 1973 total five times its 1963 figures (Table XXIII). These data were not procured for Abra and its municipalities.

empowered or, on their own initiative, have undertaken, to perform economic functions in the absence of private efforts in such activities as the operation of telephone systems, the maintenance of animal breeding stations, the initiation of cottage industries and similar projects which utilize local materials and skills. More recently, the national government by decree of the President provided for the establishment of rural institutions such as the "gitnayon" and the "Samahang Nayon" among whose tasks would be the bearing of the burden of development at the local levels.

As the focus turned from the general role of local government to the dynamics of rural development at the level of municipalities in the two provinces under study, the relationships between these formal institutions and development were examined.

In the case of Capiz, it was observed that a pattern of rural development has taken place. The municipalities of Panitan and Jamindan show positive changes in agricultural production, expanded welfare and increased incomes. We have examined the operations of one government agency (the Bureau of Community Development) in its attempt to achieve the objectives of development primarily through the existing local governments in the province. In this agency, the promotion of activities which led to the attainment of specific rural development targets had been characterized by planned and deliberate involvement of local governments and the private sector. Concomitant to these agency efforts to achieve goals, there was an interplay within a complex of inter- and intra-community relationships, sometimes reaching to the level of two or three farmer groups which may be actuated by agency and local government efforts. Sometimes, development occurred even without direct stimulation from the agency or the local unit--as traditional organizations acted in response to their perceived needs.

There are other agencies of the national government which have joined hands with the Bureau of Community Development and the municipalities in an attempt to generate development in these localities. Their participation, too, has contributed to the total process in ways which for the moment defy quantification. The observation that some of their efforts need more coordination to maximize goal attainment has been made earlier. This is one area of interaction that needs more attention, since the achievement of effective coordination appears to be a necessary precondition to efficient use of resources for rural development. Planning rural development, for example, would mean, ideally, a reasonable pooling of resources, thorough involvement of all concerned in the planning process and eventually, maximum utilization of expertise in the implementation and evaluation of priority activities.

The two municipalities in Capiz, in spite of the difficulties attendant to achieving their goals, appear to have moved in the rural development continuum quite steadily over the past decade. While Panitan still appears as higher than Jamindan at this point of the case study, the latter seems to be catching up, considering its potentials for expansion in the agro-industrial dimension.

For effective local government, certain leadership is needed to thrust a municipality on the road to rural development. The case of Panitan lends some credence to this view. It does not seem appropriate to look at leadership in terms of a conventional authoritarian-laissez faire-democratic trichotomy (this is borne out in our close observation of the municipal mayor since the mayor moves from one mode of leadership to the other depending upon his assessment of the situational context in which he operates). A more important quality exhibited by the Panitan mayor (and in some respects the Jamindan mayor, too) is what would generally be described as entrepreneurship. Certainly,

the building of roads, the establishment of the CAPELCO or the ability to convince key provincial officials of the feasibility of setting up an experimental farm in the municipality, requires some degree of enterprise in the form of risk-taking and the other attendant behaviors identified with entrepreneurship.

Even at the barrio level, the same phenomenon has manifested itself. Barrio captains spearhead a number of efforts to stimulate activities geared towards rural improvement, although barrio size and resources often are not adequate to set up projects on the scale of the municipality.

Fieldmen of the Bureau of Community Development perform the roles of interest generator, stimulator and catalyst for rural development. They also provide some form of leadership, but with a difference from that supplied by the mayor. MDO and BDW leadership is exercised in the organization of training activities for specific knowledge and skills needed by local leaders or in behind-the-scene motivation of potential leadership functions in the community. They also bring other technical agency personnel into the rural areas to provide additional information and other assistance to residents who need them.

The experience in Abra provided insights into the role of a private institution in the development efforts of the two municipalities studied. The two persons identified with the ADRDI operated under different relationship structures. The Sallapadan priest had support of both officials and citizens for his projects in addition to being the only source of direct assistance in matters of agricultural extension and other problems of the rural residents. The other (San Quintin) did not have the same kind of support from the populace--in part because there were alternative sources of assistance other than the parish priest from the same area.

The influence of the religious institution was

stronger in Sallapadan than in San Quintin, a fact that could have contributed to the higher progressiveness of Sallapadan, in spite of its relative geographical isolation from the provincial capital.

The closer adherence to the traditional patterns of doing things by the ADRDI in Sallapadan may have also accounted for this difference in degree of development.

In both municipalities, observance of the slowness of the accepting innovations as well as the value of showing rather than telling people about the worthiness of local projects appeared to work.

The observations and experiences drawn from the four municipalities have led us to the following tentative conclusions.

1. Local governments have a definite role in rural development.[1] As a formal institution, the municipality (and the barrio) can certainly be linked to the increments in rural improvement which we have specified as agricultural production, expanded welfare and increased incomes. The extent to which this role explains the variance in these increments has not been fully established, but we have also identified other sources of variation.

2. Governmental agency efforts, hand in hand with private sector activities, are also related to the rural

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[1]Canedo, Fulgencio M. "Local Government Participation in Grants-in-Aid Projects," Local Government Bulletin, VI: 3, May-June, 1971. In this article, Mr. Canedo concludes that local government participation has been increasing, with respect to GIA projects. He suggests that several factors affect local government participation in GIA projects. These are training, political interference in the approval of GIA projects, financial stability of local governments, value orientation of local officials, proximity of local governments to the President and budgetary aids from national government to local governments.

development process. The cases of the Bureau of Community Development and the ADRDI appear to back this contention. There is a need to examine the extent of this influence on a wider setting.

3. Outside of local government, public agency and private institutional efforts, individuals occupying positions at different hierarchical levels within each of these three entities serve as a base for building and expanding working relationships which actuate projects and activities designed to achieve rural development. This is another area which needs more investigation.

4. The coordinated mix of institutional and individual efforts at the different local government levels creates changes at different administrative institutional levels which have an impact in local economy and politics. What is needed is to continue the search for local strategies that provide acceptable coordination among participating institutions, groups and individuals.

5. The national-local partnership concept is an operational concept in the light of the Philippine situation. Grants-in-Aid represent one tool which works well in Capiz given the caveat that it remains a tool and not a goal. Where GIA projects became goals, their effectiveness in promoting rural development wanes.[1]

6. There are forms of public and private organizations and actions which have historically developed such as the "barangay," the Catholic and other Christian organizations, the "local" credit arrangements, the barrio council, the barrio assembly and others which may also contribute to

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[1]Abueva, Jose V. and Raul P. de Guzman (eds.), Foundations and Dynamics of Filipino Government and Politics (Manila: Bookmark, 1969), p. 467. According to these authors, GIA projects "are not ends in themselves, but means or training mechanisms to gain the development of the people as self-reliant citizens in a democracy." See also Canedo, op. cit.

rural development. This focus should be taken into account in future studies of rural development.

7. A rural development promoter (worker), whatever his origins or organizational affiliation, needs to be sensitive to the diverse interactions which occur in the community in which he operates. This will require a knowledge of community norms, values and ways of doing things. Perhaps he needs a little more altruism to sustain him when the chips are down as well as more tolerance to accept the reality of frustration.

8. Rural development, even from the purely local government perspective, is not wholly an administrative process. It does not only involve public decision-making and program implementation through a number of formal and informal structures or individuals. It also includes the political process of legitimation of power, the acquisition of skills and the accumulation of experience which, aside from decision-making and implementation, may also set up defenses against conflict and competition.

9. Rural development requires at least a modicum of participation from its beneficiaries, the type and the manner of which need to be resolved at local community levels. The goal of equality for all could be only a myth in reality, since at the individual level, there are always differences in skills, knowledge and attitudes. After all, rural development, in a sense could be viewed as an aggregate of individual accomplishments.

10. There is a need to create new institutions (or to revive old ones) which will perform the role of providing supportive services to rural areas, where formal governmental institutions, because of fiscal and other related constraints, may not be able to increase the traditional protective, health, agricultural and educational services they are expected to perform.

To our minds, rural development is a long and complex process of modernization. The conclusions enumerated here cannot be taken as exhaustive or definitive at this point, given the nature of the subject, which has been so little examined. There is still a need to examine continuously the validity of these conclusions in the light of experiences in other provinces and municipalities in the country, and elsewhere. These case studies serve to map out the terrain for further analysis to ascertain relationships between rural local institutions and rural development in the Philippines.

Peasant and Bullock by Chuah Theah Teng
From the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.