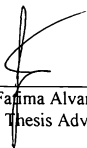


## Approval Sheet

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Social Science (Area Studies), this thesis entitled: "A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POPULATION PARTICIPATION AND DECISION-MAKING CONCERNING QUARRYING IN TWO BARANGAYS OF TAGKAWAYAN, QUEZON", prepared and submitted by Adrian Campillo, is hereby recommended for approval.

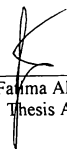


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Dean Fatima Alvarez Castillo  
Thesis Adviser

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Accepted and approved in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Social Science (Area Studies).



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Dean Fatima Alvarez Castillo  
Thesis Adviser

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Dr. Sabino Padilla  
Chairperson  
Department of Social Sciences  
University of the Philippines  
Padre Faura, Manila

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

~~A~~ COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF  
PEOPLE PARTICIPATION AND  
DECISION-MAKING CONCERNING  
QUARRYING IN TWO BARANGAYS OF  
TAGKAWAYAN, QUEZON

A THESIS PRESENTED TO  
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,  
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
BACHELOR OF ARTS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
(AREA STUDIES)

BY:

ADRIAN CAMPILLO  
OCTOBER 1997

## Acknowledgements

“Thank-You”. say it:

- 1) When somebody gives you a gift or does you a favour.
- 2) When somebody saves you from a chore or errand.
- 3) For service by a maid, waiter, bank clerk, gasoline attendant, bartender, salesgirl, etc.
- 4) Because you appreciate a gesture of kindness, a good deed or just because someone made you feel special.

Julie Y. Daza, Manners for Moving Up

This thesis would not have been possible without the unending support of the following: *Ang mga mamamayan ng Barangay Bagong Silang at San Diego. Maraming Salamat po sa pagsasagot ng aming mga survey. Alam po namin na medyo makulit na kami. Sa mga mamamayan ng Santa Monica, salamat din po sa pagkumbida sa amin sa inyong kainan at sayawan.* My Dad, who opposed the idea of integration, but whose concern for me can never be challenged by any mother. Mother Tess, Ate Jenny and Kuya JoJo... I don't think I would have survived the experience without you guys. Omar, my buddy. Craig, Tet and Mike thanks for bailing me out at the right time. Nando Acance, you're a lifesaver! I am in debt to you for the guidance with the quantitative side of this thesis. Sir Dennis Millan for introducing me to Tagkawayan. Dean Castillo who introduced me to the Field School and qualitative analysis...thank you ma'am! Mayor Salumbides, thanks for the sumptuous banquets at your residence! Future mayor Ed Villaseñor... our hats off to you sir, thank-you for being a kind and generous host. Naku, Sammy! What would we do without you! You were everyone's guardian angel. Thanks for letting me drive your jeep, use your room and not to mention your clothes! Kuya Fiel thank you for widening my views about rural society: semi-feudal semi-capitalist. Ka Digna, Ka Pitong, I one day want to return the favor of billeting us. Tatay Celso and Nanay Itay, thank you for treating us like one of your children. Randy, *salamat sa paggamit ng kwarto mo. Pasensya kana.* To the Baltazar Bros. for the photocopying, to Mr. Lagdameo for the insight about quarrying and to the two cute nurses of Gumaca District Hospital who attended to me. Thank You! to Ka Brandy, Ka Nestor (*sorry mahina ako uminom ng Gin!*) and Ka Leony. Also to Judy for taking us to the doctor, Marites for waking us to come to breakfast at sir Ed's, Grace V. thanks for being company; don't worry you'll survive Tagkawayan but Manila is still a rockin' town. And finally, to the Barangay Captains, Kagawads, and SK's (Benny, *salamat sa pang-i-ilaw sa ilog cabibihan*) sorry I forgot your names, we are deeply grateful for your cooperation and support. There,... I think that just about covers it.

## INTRODUCTION:

The College of Arts and Sciences of UP Manila has recognised the importance of integrating its students with the people through community based activities. Each of the Departments has its own concept of fieldwork in conjunction with the courses where these have been incorporated. The peculiarities of the needs in the field of each of the departments, concerned community as well, have given rise to distinct systems by which field work is attained. Currently, there is concerted effort that the field of activities of the college assume a multi-disciplinary approach<sup>1</sup>.

The CAS-Field School was thus created to meet the need to provide the students with a community based education. Community-Based Education (CBE) is an educational program which is carried out in a community setting. Beyond the need to share learning with the people, there are extra academic reasons why the College of Arts and Sciences students are brought to integrate with the community. There is compelling reason for the student to learn from the life of its people. Academic as it sounds, the university now recognises that learning must continue even beyond the classroom walls. Thus, the formation of the CAS field school was initiated.

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<sup>1</sup>Lacdan, Padilla et al. College Field Manual, 1996



From the perspective of pedagogy, a community is a potentially rich place for many of the values students do not get from their books, from laboratory work, or their lectures. The community opens a pedagogical resource.

The State University being supported by taxpayer's money has a task of responding to the larger needs beyond its immediate responsibility of training its students to become absorbed into the work force. For those dedicated to serve the masses of disadvantaged people, this direction has a social purpose.

It is an educational experience that involves the community and which considers the community as an important environment in which learning takes place. It requires immersion with the community. For a specific period of time the students stay in the community where learning activities are planned and carried-out. The community serves as a learning environment for objectives which cannot be learned effectively in the confines of the classroom. In CBE, it is essential that students live and learn in the community<sup>2</sup>.

This is exactly what Batch 2 of the Field school experienced. For one month, our group "immersed" in a rural community in Tagkawayan, Quezon in order to fulfil our graduation requirements. Most of the time, we were working on our research in the barangays away from the *poblacion* or town proper. Only in times of dire need did we venture there to make that phone-call to home or to stock-up on supplies needed back at "home base". Our topic of research went through a series of evolution's and slight revisions to cater to what was relevant to the

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<sup>2</sup>Cristina Mencias, PhD. D., Community Based Education. 1996.

community. Finally, we chose the quarrying issue since it played a significant role in the course of community affairs. What eluded us was the fact that one barangay was able to prohibit quarrying activity in their river while another barangay, not so far away, allowed concessionaires to carry on with their activities; the ill effects would only be seen a few years later. And so we embarked on this tedious inquiry which of course is, the title of this study; A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PEOPLE PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING CONCERNING QUARRYING IN TWO BARANGAYS OF TAGKAWAYAN, QUEZON.

“The concept of education has been viewed as not being confined within the university walls nor make the student sit on an ivory tower away from the reach of the people...”

Professor Natividad Lacdan et al.,  
College Field Manual

## QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

### I. RESEARCH DESIGN

#### Rationale:

This study was undertaken not merely to satisfy the college requirements for graduation, but rather, to render service to the Tagkawayan community by returning, in an “empirical and tangible” form, the data we had earlier extracted.

On the academic level, this study serves as a course requirement of Social Science 199 and also as an output for the UP Manila Field School. Hopefully, this study and those of future batches will contribute to the growth and popularity of the Field School so that the university’s mission, commitment to deliver service to the people, would truly be achieved. On a grander scale, however, this research has social purpose. The coverage of the research is one that involves rural communities and their struggle for to achieve mass-participation in government . It is with this spirit that this work is written.

#### Statement of the Problem:

Previous development strategies have failed to reach the rural poor. Instead of a trickle-down benefits to the poor, a trickle-up process has occurred in the favor of the rich, hence, a bottom-up rather than a top-down approach is favored. People participation is supposed to be a bottom -up strategy.

However, the idea of people participation is quite like taking a mouthful of cod liver-oil syrup: nobody is against it in principle because it is good for you. Population participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of true democracy- a revered idea that is given an applause by everyone. This ovation is reduced to hand-claps, however, when this principle is advocated by the have-nots at the “grass roots” level<sup>i</sup>. And when the have-nots define participation as the redistribution of power in which they have a significant role in the decision making of development projects, the Philippine consensus on the fundamental principle explodes into many shades of outright ethnic, ideological and political opposition<sup>ii</sup>. Only when the community feels that its voice is heard in the corridors of power, its members feel empowered knowing that their convictions sway influence in the outcome of decision made at the “Top”<sup>iii</sup>.

Our study on people participation takes us to the municipality of Tagkawayan situated in Quezon province. Here, we started our study on two rural communities using the quarrying issue that was present in both Barangays, as means to study the process of people-participation.

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<sup>i</sup> Sherry Arnstein, A Ladder of Citizen Participation. Journal of American Institute of Planners, vol. 35, July 1969, p.216.

<sup>ii</sup> Jonathan Okamura, Participatory Approaches to Development Experiences in the Philippines, Chapter , p. 1 De La Salle University, 1985.

<sup>iii</sup> Human Development Report 1997. United Nations Development Program, Oxford University Press, Inc. 1997.

The problem analyzed here is the presence of people participation in the decision making towards the quarrying issue of both Barangays. Why, how and to what degree did the households of the two communities participate in the decision making on the development projects?

Theoretical Framework:

Gelia Tagumpay Castillo, a social-scientist from the Philippine Institute of Development Studies, made a review of participatory development experiences in the Philippines. Her research, titled: How participatory is Participatory Development? A Review of Philippine Experience<sup>iv</sup>, proposed the following arguments for people participation. These are the following:

- a) People participation is basic need and a basic human right which is also essential for effective rural development programs.
- b) The poor make up the majority of the population in developing countries but they have virtually no say in the events that affect their lives.
- c) Rural organizations can contribute significantly to popular participation in development, but so far, they have been reached only the better-off members of while the bulk of under-privileged remain unorganized and oppressed.
- d) Previous development strategies have failed to reach the rural poor. Instead of a trickle-down of benefits to the poor, a trickle-up process has occurred in

favor of the rich, hence, a bottom-up rather than a top-down approach is favored. People participation is supposed to be a bottom-up strategy.

- e) Despite the prevalent image of small farmers as individualistic and dependent on government, there are numerous successful stories of small farmers who, through group action, have been able to improve their lives.
- f) To reach the most disadvantaged rural poor, structural change has to be achieved at low enough cost per unit by mobilizing local people for their own advancement through voluntary labor, local initiative in problem-solving, and local responsibility for the maintenance of created assets. Although this approach puts the burden of development on the poor, self-reliance is preferred to chronic dependencies. After all, even the poor have some resources. Besides, the advantage of sustained development for the poor and emphasis on self-reliance lowers the cost of aid donors.
- g) Public programs do not have much impact on the land-less and the administrative system which moves public goods and services does not reach down to the local level. Local people do not have equal opportunity to use intermediary institutions either directly or through organized groups. The suggestion is to utilize catalyst agents in sensitizing public agencies to the requirements of the poor, to aid them in acquiring public goods and services, and to enhance their self-help capabilities.

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<sup>iv</sup> Gelia Castillo, How Participatory is Participatory Development? A Review of Philippine Experience, Philippine Institute for Development Studies, Makati 1983, p. 466-69.

- h) People know best what is good for them and the poor present a massive human resource both in terms of labor potential, practical knowledge, experience, and ideas. Furthermore, it is felt that community projects will be better maintained if residents participated in their design and implementation. On a very pragmatic vein, "participation" is a condition for approval of international development loans or grants.
- i) Popular participation contributes to non-violent forms of social action to bring about a new social order. The alternative is revolt.
- j) The United States, the United Nations organizations, the World bank and other international development agencies have made decentralization, local involvement and participation of the rural poor in the development process a central policy concern. These three features are supposed to reinforce productivity, equity, and welfare objectives and, therefore, greater chance of success in rural development activities is expected where they are made part of the development strategy.

For the purposes of this research, G. Castillo's thoughts and arguments on participatory development will be used as reference to see if they applicable to the community in Tagkawayan.



### Conceptual framework:

The framework used in this study is adapted from the concept of citizen participation, by Sherry R. Arnstein<sup>v</sup>. Her model of citizen or popular participation is an eight-rung ladder. Each rung in the ladder, beginning from the bottom to the top, is a stage progressing to towards greater citizen power and control over development: politically, economically and socially.

For example, rung one is the level of manipulation and is classified as non-participation, while rung six is the level of partnership and qualifies as a the first degree of citizen power ( see appendix A ).

Our model is similar to that of Arnstein's in that participation and empowerment are viewed as a succession of levels.

However, our framework deviates from her ladder model where we believe; although citizen power and participation are indeed based on achieving different levels, we see people participation in decision making ( political, economic or social in nature ) as a “strategy” on a continuum; both as a means and an end, in order to attain people empowerment<sup>vi</sup>.

We came up with an illustration to conceptualize such a process. It manifests itself in the form of steps on both the horizontal and vertical matrix, with community organization forming the foundation ( refer to figure1 ).

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<sup>v</sup> S. Arnstein. A ladder of citizen participation. Journal of American Institute of Planners. Vol. 35 p. 216-24.

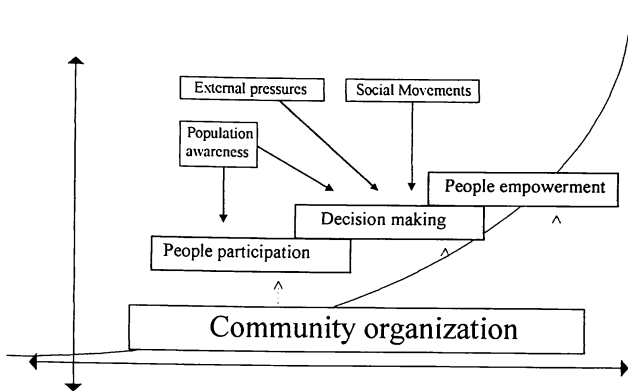
<sup>vi</sup> Susan Holcombe. Managing to Empower. (Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1995) Chapter 2.

Since this strategy is a continuum in ideology, the horizontal axis gauges the degree of participation, in decision making, increasing positively from left to right and the vertical axis measures the degree of power attained.

The hyperbola was included in the framework to stress the point that, similar to the  $y = x^2$  graph in mathematics, as power increases on the vertical or X-axis its corresponding degree of participation on the horizontal or Y-axis increases exponentially. In simple terms, as a community becomes more empowered, the participation by members of the community increases two, three, even four-fold.

Also illustrated in the framework are the possible factors that affect decision making in the community level. These are: the external pressures, population awareness, and social movements.

FIGURE1. THE STRATEGY OF COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT



Variables:

- a) Dependent- decision making of the population
- b) Independent- people participation and people empowerment
- c) Intervening- community organization, external pressures, social movements, population awareness

### Objectives of the Study:

This study aims to a) To study the process of People participation in the two samples b) Analyze how people participation is essential to community empowerment c) Quantify, among the two samples under study, where population participation was more prevalent d) Clarify the incongruity; regarding popular participation and people empowerment, between the samples, by citing the quarrying issue e) to expose the adverse effects of quarrying on the livelihood of river communities, specifically the two Barangays under study.

### Operational definition of concepts:

People participation and people empowerment: defining people participation and empowerment is difficult since there is a large and growing literature on these concepts that multiply the range and nuance of definitions. The literature cuts across disciplines including economics, anthropology, sociology, politics and geography. It traverses political-economic philosophies, from Marxist to capitalist interpretations of the distribution of wealth and power. Participation and empowerment are seen as being ends, or as being means ( Holcombe.1995: 12-13). Citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, at present, excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future.

It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in the determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parceled out. In short, it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society ( Arnstein.1965: 278 ). Empowerment is the control over an action that rest with the people who will bear the consequences ( Korten. 1970: 118 ).

Decision making: the control, influence, or “say” in actions or decisions. When we talk about decision making, what is really important is the action that results, and who has the say or influence on that action. They are not simply the choice of a course of action. Decisions are a process that begins with the identification or the recognition of the need to decide ( Holcombe.1995: 27 ). For this study, decision making will refer to the course of action carried out by each of the two samples concerning quarrying.

Population awareness: is the knowledge the community has concerning a specific issue. It is a key word that emerges from the definitions of participation and empowerment (Holcombe.1995:17 ). In this study, population awareness of the quarrying issue is used to gauge the degree of empowerment between the two samples.

External pressures: For the purposes of this research, external influences will mean the exerted “will” on a community’s decision-making in the implementation of the development projects in the interests of the private sector, local elite or the government.

Social Movement: a conscious, purposive attempt to bring about social change. Its ultimate goal is the transformation of a larger portion of society<sup>vii</sup> (“social” means naturally living or growing in groups and “movement” is an act of making a formal request to stir the emotions).

For this study, social movements are classified under reform social movement<sup>viii</sup>. This type attempts to modify a part of society and includes such goals as environmentalism, tax- reform, and birth-control.

Community organization: organization is necessary in order to ensure that participation is fostered on a collective basis such that all members of the community have equal access to project benefits and decision making rather than the local elite monopolizing the benefits or authority and thus reinforcing local stratification and cleavages (Okamura. 1985: 222 ).

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<sup>vii</sup> Manuel B. Garcia, Introductory Sociology: A Unified Approach, ( Navotas: Navotas Press, 1994 ) p.215

<sup>viii</sup> Hedding and Glick, Introduction to Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ( Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1985) p.6

Community organization is the specific methodology of popular participation, that is, the means by which people and their resources can be mobilized for collective efforts to improve their socioeconomic status ( Hollsteiner. 1979: 403-404 ).

For the sake of anonymity and respect to the two communities the following coding was adopted in the research:

C1 will stand for community one.

C2 will stand for community two.

R1 will stand for the river located in community one.

R2 will stand for the river in community two.

#### Assumptions and Hypotheses:

In this study, the quantifiable assumptions from the empirical data gathered are in the form of YES-NO answers to the survey questions. The majority of the remaining questions in the survey shed more light on the qualitative side of the research. Awareness or any knowledge on the quarrying issue, will serve as the indicator to people participation, since it is the only one that can be quantified to give meaning to the problem at hand. This will allow us to determine whether participation in decision-making was present in the sample.

In this study, we assume that all households sampled participated in the decision making of the quarrying project. In our surveys, it turned out that all the households sampled were either aware of, had heard of or witnessed the activities wrought by the project. According to Sherry Arnstein, the fact that there is an exchange of ideas within a group, on a particular issue, is already a form of citizen participation ( see Appendix A ). This qualifies them for a level two type of citizen participation, specifically Therapy, which she labels as “non-participation”. Therefore, it is also safe to assume that the whole population participated in the decision making. With these in mind, we came up with our Null and alternative hypotheses.

Ho: There is no population participation in decision making within the sample population

Ha: There is population participation in the sample population.



### Research Methodology:

The research techniques used in this study were both quantitative and qualitative methods. For our quantitative method, we chose the survey. This was carried out by conducting a random door-to-door surveying of the two Barangays namely, C1 and C2. Taking into account the mountainous terrain of the sites where our study was to be under-taken and the widespread location of the population, we found that it was necessary to first, map out the areas where most of the households were located. Second, we had to determine the size of our sample from the total number of households in each Barangay. Third, we had to selectively label these houses with an assigned number giving consideration to their distance from the more densely populated areas. And finally, we had carried-out the carefully planned surveying of the sample population.

For our qualitative data, we chose to have at least three key informant interviews per sample. In total, that would amount to six key informant interviewees. They served as very reliable sources to verify and reinforce the initial findings from the surveys conducted.

A revealing, yet unorthodox method that we used in this study, which was to prove far more effective than quantitative methods, was the “integration with the community” approach to the research. This is different from the conventional penetration of a community where the researcher does a quick survey and leaves

the site not giving particular attention to the genuine needs of the community. Research of this kind then becomes “extractive” in nature.

The weakness of quantitative methods in research also lies in the fact that it seeks the end of the researcher only and thus the community plays a minimal role in his study. There is room for faulty opinion and bias form quantitative research methods, since those surveyed may feel that what is being examined about their community does not directly involve the “real” relevant needs of its members.

“Integrative” research dissolves the notion of simply extracting data from the community. It requires the researcher to reside at the place of study for a certain period of time. Before one can even begin the surveying, one must first acquaint oneself with the community by way of participation in their day to day affairs, thus, a “When in Rome do as the Romans do” approach is more feasible and likely to draw out the emotional opinions of those under study.

This way, respondents and interviewees may feel more at ease with the researcher. One may eventually begin to open their fervent views towards the research. The results obtained from integrating with a community are more true to the real feelings of the community towards a specific topic of research. Why? One may ask. The answer is elementary, by utilizing this method, the research directly involves them.

### Statistical Tools:

The statistical tools used to interpret the data obtained from the field were Frequency tabulation, the Chi(Q<sup>2</sup>) square test, a Frequency-percentage table, and a Bar-graph.

Frequency tabulation was used so the answers from the survey questionnaires could be arranged in an un-grouped raw data form (see Appendix C ).

This “raw data” particularly the population’s Pro-Con opinion to the quarrying issue, was then used for the Chi(Q<sup>2</sup>) square test. This statistical tool is useful for problems wherein data generated are in terms of frequencies that fall in specified categories of a variable or variables. It was chosen so that our hypothesis could be either be rejected or accepted.

The Frequency-percentage table was used to depict the conversion of the YES-NO responses of both samples (from the frequency tabulation) to a percentage value. This percentage places the two samples, although differing in size, at a common basis of comparison. The Bar graph then allows us to gauge the results of the percentage table.

### Review of Related Literature:

Since this thesis leans more on the qualitative approach to research, the literature reviewed was basically used for the operational definition of terms and the formulation of a theoretical and conceptual framework.

A handful of books and articles aided us in defining participation, empowerment and community organization and the formulation of a conceptual framework. These were, namely; A ladder of citizen participation by Sherry Arnstein, Managing to Empower by Susan Holcombe, and Participatory Approaches to Development Experiences in the Philippines by Jonathan Okamura. They also shed light on the need for a participatory approach from the grass-roots level in developing countries. These books are relevant to the research since they recount recent studies done in the same field that were also conducted in the Philippine setting.

Introductory Sociology: A Unified Approach, by Manuel Garcia, is basically a text book that we used as reference for the definitions of different sociological concepts used in the conceptual framework of this research.

The Human Development Report 1997, prepared by the United Nations Development Program gave us the background for the discussion on political empowerment of the poor people and the need for collective action that will eventually empower peoples in developing nations. It is basically a report that outlines the progress that member nations have achieved in human development. Here, the role of people participation, coupled with a decent standard of living and education are vital factors that must be addressed in order to achieve real human development.

### Scope and Limitations of the study:

The study will limit itself to the two Barangays in the municipality of Tagkawayan. The basic sampling unit we will be using is the household. In C1, the calculated random sample population turned out to be 48 households. In C2, it was 22 households. The total sample population was 70 households.

The scope of the study focuses primarily on the population participation of households in the Barangay level and the corresponding policies formulated ( regarding the issue of quarrying ) as a manifestation of this participation. The awareness of households in the two samples, concerning the quarrying issue, is used as a basis to gauge the degree of participation and empowerment .

### Significance of the study:

This study is significant on the macro-level because it deals with what the global consensus considers a human right. According to the United Nations Development Program, specifically outlined in the Human Development Report 1997, the strategy of poverty alleviation by addressing the lack of participation and empowerment in the decision making processes of developing countries is the first priority for action:

1. Everywhere the starting point is to empower women and men- and to ensure their participation in decisions that affect their lives and enable them to build their strengths and assets.

For policy makers worldwide, the poverty of choices and opportunities is often more relevant than the poverty of income, for it focuses in the causes of poverty and leads directly to strategies of empowerment and other actions to enhance opportunities for everyone<sup>ix</sup>.

On the micro-level, the study serves as an example of people participation and empowerment at the Barangay level, the basic political unit of the Philippine State. It typifies the bottom-up or “grass-roots” level approach to policy since it deals with the redistribution of power from a central “top” source to the “bottom” community.

Though only on a minuscule scale, widespread dissemination of the struggle of one community could in fact inspire other communities sharing the “poverty of choice” to follow suit.

This research also “doubles” as an “output” that will be used as part of the continuing pilot program of the UP Manila field School which is still in its formative stage. It may serve as a guide to future students and encourage further research on the topic or related topics.

Of equal significance and importance also, is the fact that this thesis was done for the information and reference of the community in Tagkawayan.

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<sup>ix</sup> United Nations Development Program. Human Development Report 1997 (New York: Oxford Press. 1997) p. 5.

## Testing the Hypotheses

### A. Hypotheses:

Ho = There is no population participation in decision-making within the population sampled.

Ha = There is population participation in decision making within the population sampled.

### B. Statistical test: Chi Square( $\chi^2$ ) Test

Application: To determine whether or not a significant difference exists between the observed number of cases falling into each category of a variable and the number of cases.

Formula:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$$

where:

O = observed number/frequencies in a categories  
E\* = the expected number/frequency in a category

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\* computed by  $N/k$ ; where N = total number of cases and k = total number of categories.

TABLE 1  
CONTINGENCY TABLE OF BARANGAY AGAINST QUARRYING  
RESPONSE

Barangay	Response	YES	NO	TOTAL
C2		O = 15 E = 6.6	O = 7 E = 15.4	22
C1		O = 6 E = 14.4	O = 42 E = 33.6	48
TOTAL		21	49	70

Calculations:

$C1 = \frac{21 \times 22}{70} = \frac{462}{70} = 6.6$	$R1 = \frac{49 \times 22}{70} = \frac{1078}{70} = 15.4$
$C2 = \frac{21 \times 48}{70} = \frac{1008}{70} = 14.4$	$R2 = \frac{49 \times 48}{70} = \frac{2352}{70} = 33.6$

C. Significance Level:

Let alpha ( $\alpha$ ) = 0.05 (95% level of confidence) and 0.01(99%) level of confidence using the one-tailed test



D. Degree of Freedom (df):

That there are two categories (k) but involving only one sample:

$$\begin{aligned}df &= (r-1) (c-1) \\&= (2-1) (2-1) = 1\end{aligned}$$

therefore:

$$df = N - 1$$

$$N = 70$$

$$df = 70 - 1 = 69$$

E. Rejection Rule:

If  $\psi^2$  critical is greater than  $\psi^2$  observed, then reject  $H_0$  and accept  $H_a$ .

If  $\psi^2$  critical is less than  $\psi^2$  observed then accept  $H_0$  and reject  $H_a$ .

In this study, the  $\psi^2$  critical is 22.7 (see table 2. for computation).

At  $\alpha = 0.05(95\%)$ ,  $\psi^2$  observed = 3.84

At  $\alpha = 0.01(99\%)$ ,  $\psi^2$  observed = 4

At  $\alpha = 0.001$ ,  $\psi^2$  observed = 10.83

TABLE 2  
COMPUTATIONAL TABLE FOR THE  $\psi^2$  CRITICAL VALUE

Cell	O	E	O-E	(O-E) <sup>2</sup>	(O-E) <sup>2</sup> /E
1	15	6.6	8.4	70.56	10.69
2	7	15.4	-8.4	70.56	4.58
3	6	14.4	-8.4	70.56	4.9
4	42	33.6	8.4	70.56	2.1

$$\psi^2 \text{ critical} = \underline{22.7}$$

F. Decision:

Whichever alpha ( $\alpha$ ) may be used ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ,  $0.01$ , and  $0.001$ ) the  $H_a$  will be accepted and the  $H_o$  will be rejected. Therefore; at 95% level of confidence there is population participation in decision making and at 99% level of confidence there is population participation in decision making.

TABLE 3  
FREQUENCY-PERCENTAGE TABLE. RESPONSE OF  
HOUSEHOLDS TO QUARRYING (EXPRESSED AS A %)

	Barangay	C1	C1	C2	C2	TOTAL (N = 70)
Response		Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency
YES		6	12.5%	15	68.18%	21
NO		42	87.5%	7	31.8%	49
TOTAL (N=70)		48	100%	22	100%	70

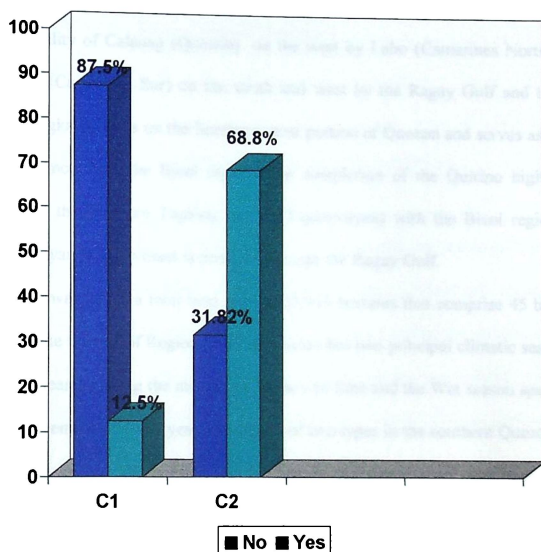
### Analysis of Quantitative Data:

The result of the Chi-square test accepted our alternative hypotheses that **there is population participation in decision making within the sample population**. Using the 95% ( $\alpha = 0.05$  and 99% ( $\alpha = 0.01$ ) confidence levels proved that there was a significant difference from the observed  $\chi^2$  values of 3.84 and 4.04, respectively, from the  $\chi^2$  critical value of 22.7. However, in order to show from which barangay people participation was more prevalent, converting the frequency tabulation (yes-no) responses (concerning the issue of quarrying) to a percentage was deemed appropriate. The rationale being; awareness of the quarrying issue already means some level of citizen participation (see Assumptions and Hypotheses ). Although the two samples differed in size, taking the percentage value of their responses allows us to gauge each sample at an equal measure (see Table 3). In order to see where this participation was more prevalent, the percentage values obtained for each barangay were then plotted on a Bar-graph depicting the population response to the quarrying issue. Here, we can easily perceive that, in 1993, C1 had a higher NO response towards the issue of quarrying with a total of 87.5% as compared to the YES response of C2 which totaled only 68.18%. Hence, according to the statistical data obtained from the field, people participation in decision making, using the quarrying issue as a basis, was present in both barangays C1 and C2 (see Testing the Hypotheses).

However, when both samples are plotted on a percentage bar graph, people participation was more visible in barangay C1 (see figure 2 ).



Figure2. Bar Graph  
(showing the response of households to Quarrying)



## QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

### II. GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY OF TAGKAWAYAN<sup>i</sup>

The municipality of Tagkawayan, Quezon province, is bounded on the North by the municipality of Calauag (Quezon) on the west by Labo (Camarines Norte) and by Del Gallego (Camarines Sur) on the south and west by the Ragay Gulf and the Kabibihan river. Tagkawayan is on the Southern most portion of Quezon and serves as a gateway to the province from the Bicol region. The completion of the Quirino highway in 1994 coupled the southern Tagalog region (Tagkawayan) with the Bicol region. Travel to Tagkawayan by sea-vessel is possible through the Ragay Gulf.

Tagkawayan has a total land area of 65,945 hectares that comprise 45 barrios and 64 *sitios*. Like the rest of Region Four, the region has two principal climatic seasons namely; the Dry season during the months of January to June and the Wet season spanning July to early December of every year. Rainfall is of two types in the southern Quezon area where Tagkawayan lies. The northern portion has no dry season with maximum rainfall from November to January. The southern portion has a very pronounced rainfall but is evenly distributed throughout the year.

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<sup>i</sup> Historical Research Committee of Tagkawayan, Tagkawayan turns Fifty: 1941-1991. Quezon, 1991.

The dialect predominantly spoken by the people is Tagalog. Bikolano is second this is due to the close proximity of the Bicol region. All other dialects such as; Ilocano, Lineyte-Samarron (Waray) were carried over by different groups of migrants who had settled in the area because of the municipality's agricultural potential.

Most of the population belong to the Roman Catholic Religion. The other sectarian groups found in the locality are Iglesia ni Cristo, Seventh-day Adventists, Protestants, Jehovah's Witness, and born-again Christians.

### III. THE QUARRYING ISSUE IN BARANGAYS C1 AND C2

Barangays C1 and C2 are both located in the mountainous region of Tagkawayan. The river, for a rural community, is an important source of livelihood<sup>ii</sup>. From it, they draw their daily rations of water. It is where they go to do the washing of piles of laundry and is also a place for bathing. The river also supports its own wildlife such as turtles, varieties of fish, ducks, fresh water shrimps, crabs, clams and water snakes. These fauna serve as a source of food for the community as well.



When a river is quarried, by machines -even just a minute portion, the effects on the community are hardships and inconveniences. But to the environment, the effects are irreparable. Water resources have to be protected, taking into account the functioning of aquatic ecosystems and the perennality of the resource, in order to satisfy and reconcile needs for water in human activities<sup>iii</sup>.

#### Quarrying and its Effects on the River Community

Quarrying is the extraction or removal of rocks, sand and gravel from its natural location (mountain, valley, river etc.) either by man or machine<sup>iv</sup>. This type of activity can have adverse effects on the environment if carried out on a massive scale using bulldozers, cranes and crushers. What happens is that when the material is removed the visibility of the water decreases. It becomes murky and muddy from the silt that is no longer held by the rocks but is mixed with the water. The water level of the river decreases and the river banks erode. This erosion process not only destroys property along the banks but also flattens out the river. When the monsoon rains come, serious flooding plagues residents along the riverbanks. Destruction of the river also spells disaster for the wildlife found there since it is their habitat that is ruined.

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<sup>iv</sup> United Nations. United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development. Protection of the quality and supply of freshwater resources: Application of integrated approaches to the development, management and use of water resources. Agenda 21 section 18. June 1992.

<sup>iii</sup> *ibid*.

In instances where a bridge crosses the river, its structural foundation becomes unstable; posing as a hazard to vehicles and to the members of the community. In this case, the underlying rocks are removed and what is left to provide the needed support the bridge is a muddy riverbed.

#### The Case history of Barangay C1<sup>v</sup>

C1 is the larger of the two barangays sampled. There are a total of 174 households in this community but we took a random sample of 48 households. The quarrying issue began back in 1993 when a certain concessionaire wanted to use building material from the river in C1 for a road that was not even for the barangay, let alone the municipality of Tagkawayan. However, this was not the main reason that agitated the residents of C1. What mattered more was the environmental damage and the effects on their livelihood.

The pro-concessionaires tried to propagate the benefits of quarrying such as the development of the Barangay. This, according to our survey, could be manifested in terms of employment for the local population and the improvement of the highway; since this would expedite the transportation of goods from the town proper to the Barangay. However, our key-informants revealed, that those who were in favor of quarrying R1 were really only propagating their self-interests. It turned out that the pro-quarrying residents in C1 were relatives of the concessionaires. It is a well known fact in the community.

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<sup>v</sup> Interview with Mr. Lagdameo at Our Lady of Lourdes Academy. August 1997.

When the people found out that the heavy equipment had been brought to the river and they had set-up what appeared to be quarrying activities, the people began to organize themselves. First, the barangay leaders initiated the circulation of a petition versus the company responsible for the activity. They were able to gather signatures not only from their barangay but also from others who were also benefiting from use of the R1 river.

Second, they took immediate action to make sure that not a single rock was to be removed from the river. This was achieved by placing a bamboo barricade across the roads that give access to the river. This was also complemented by a crowd of anti-quarrying signatories who took shifts guarding their barricade. Members opposed to quarrying also staged rallies at the town proper to get the attention of the mayor and the affluent townsfolk. Conferences were also held with the Sangguniang Bayan, but these meetings were to prove futile, as the protesters were either snubbed or had to walk-out since both sides could not reach a solution to the issue; let alone a compromise that would benefit both parties<sup>vi</sup>. The whole struggle was a two year battle. Despite a military confrontation which was life threatening for the protesters, despite opposition from the higher levels of authority, and despite being abandoned by their own lawyer, ironically from a reputable environmental NGO, their determination and perseverance in the struggle to prohibit quarrying finally paid off. In late 1995, the concessionaire furnished a letter addressed to the secretary of barangay C1. It stated that the quarrying activities will be stopped and pull-out of their machinery was effected immediately.

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<sup>v</sup> Interviews key with informants at C1. August 1997.

People participation in the decision to stop the quarrying of the river was a form of people empowerment. It began from “grass-roots” community organization since it was the community themselves who decided on how the development project was to be undertaken, in this case; the quarrying of R1 for the Quirino highway.

#### The Case History of Barangay C2<sup>vii</sup>

The quarrying activity in barangay C2 began in 1993 as well. In this case, the quarrying was for the completion of the Quirino highway which bisects and cuts right through the town. According to the residents there, the concessionaires simply established their equipment such as: cranes, bulldozers, trucks and crushers. Quarrying began almost immediately.

The Barangay Captain supposedly asked the workers for the municipal permit to quarry. They in turn replied that they did not need one. Direct orders from “above” was the reason they gave the residents there. A few days later, the mayor approached the residents of C2 and explained to them the reason for quarrying the river. His contention was that quarrying the river was for the construction of the highway that would conjoin Tagkawayan to the Bicol region. This meant the promise of development for the barangay since a major highway now runs through the heart of their town. Another philanthropic reason given to the crowd was that; although quarrying may cause some inconvenience to the community for a short time, in the long run, allowing the

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<sup>vii</sup> Interview with Digna Alcedo, Barangay secretary. C1. August 1997.

concessionaires to quarry their river would benefit the majority of Filipinos and the contribute to the welfare of the nation. A few opposed the issue, however; their opinions were quenched by the majority of pro-concessionaires.

Today, the one kilometre stretch of R2 that was quarried four years ago, for the completion of the highway has been reduced to a mere stream. At the centre of the riverbed piles of alluvial debris have accumulated. There are no more rocks to speak of.

According to residents, flooding occurs every time the heavy rains fall. They now also complain about the cleanliness of the water. They can no longer do their washing there, let alone, bathe. An important source of drinking water was also lost. They now have to go to other parts of the river which have not yet been prey to quarrying or rely on the artesian pumps supplied by the municipality. One draw back is that these often run dry.

#### The Benefits of quarrying?

Majority of those who opposed quarrying came from barangay C1. They composed 87.5% of the population sample for C1. However; the pro-concessionaires there had “other” reasons for their stand these were that: quarrying the R1 river for the highway would bring development for the barangay in the form of jobs, improvement of transportation and the completion of the highway.

A majority of those who favoured quarrying came from barangay C2. They composed 68.18 %of the population sample for C2. Their bias for quarrying was the same as those from C1.

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<sup>vii</sup> Interview with Kagawad and Barangay Captain of C2.

### The “Common Good” Approach to the Quarrying Issue<sup>viii</sup>

The pro/con responses of households regarding the quarrying issue can be understood when viewed from the pluralist perspective of the “common good”. This, according to pluralist Joseph Schumpeter<sup>ix</sup>, varies in definition from society to society. For one community the “common good” regarding development may mean the universal benefit of all its members, but for another, development may be disastrous to the livelihood of the community. For this study, the “common good” will refer to the opinions of those surveyed regarding quarrying of the river. In Barangay C2, the notion of the “common good” was that development, by quarrying the R2 river, would benefit the town and the nation as a whole since the highway now links Southern Tagalog to the Bicol region.

In Barangay C1, however, the notion of “common good” was: the R1 river is open to all. It is a source of livelihood of the community that must be preserved for the future generations. Quarrying R1 is unsustainable development, due to the long term effects on the ecosystem. Thus, viewed in the pluralist perspective, the “common good” for both Barangays would now take on a more “relative” factor.

Another point raised by Schumpeter concerning the “common good” that could be used to clarify the divergent opinions of respondents was the that: even if there was a general consensus reached by both Barangays, it would not necessarily warrant that the political decisions reached would imbibe the so called “will of the people”.

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<sup>viii</sup> Source: Key informant interviews and survey questionnaires.

In Barangay C2, for example, the general consensus was pro-quarrying for the benefit of the town at the expense of a disadvantaged few. The fact remains, however, that this consensus was reached through “peaceful talks” by representatives of the local government with the residents. From key informant interviews and surveys with households in C2, majority of the respondents said that this was the reason they agreed to allow quarrying. Not surprisingly, when we asked those who were pro-quarrying if their views had changed during the last four years, most of them did change their opinions. They said that the effects on the environment and river ecosystem was what made them realize the exchange for development.

A final contention proposed by Schumpeter was; that people are occasionally misinformed or uninterested in political issues except those that affect them directly and economically, in which case rather than acting in the “common good” they would be acting out of self-interest. This point was present in both Barangays. In Barangay C1, the pro-concessionaires were all praises for quarrying. It is a known fact, however, that these people had “kinship” ties with the contractors and so this explains their eagerness to allow it to continue.

The residents of Barangay C2, on the other hand, were not informed by the administration of the long term effects that quarrying could do to the river and to their livelihood. And so, they saw no harm in permitting quarrying in the R2 river. This point

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<sup>ix</sup> Reinterpreting the Common Good, State and American Political Thought by J. Carnoy.

could also be used to explain the “helplessness” or “powerless” situation that some of the respondents felt.

It is also worthwhile to note that the historical experience of C1 could also contribute to the fact that they were more aware of the issue that residents in C2. There is rumor that majority of the residents of C1 used to be part of the New Peoples Army who have now retired and come down from the mountains. However, the community is still frequented by informants and organizers of the leftist movement.

#### Barangay BS: A Shining Example of People Empowerment

Let us now refer back to our conceptual framework for people empowerment and begin our comparative analysis of the two Barangays. The basis of course are the individual case histories.

We earlier stipulated that the strategy of community empowerment is a continuum on a matrix. On one end of the spectrum, participation may consist of manipulated consensus by the recipients with the decision making remaining “top-down”.

At the other end, there is genuine representative or “grass-roots” participation of the poor in the identification, design and management of the intervention. In between are the variations such as decentralization of decision making to representatives of the local elite.



We had also presented the fact that empowering the community to participate in the development projects is one of the primary elements of the proposed participatory strategy; since empowering ultimately is the basis of the community's substantive participation<sup>x</sup>.

This emphasis on power follows from the definition of participation as the "organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control" (Stiefel and Pearse 1982: 146).

Comparing the community participation in Barangay C1 to Barangay C2, viewed in the light of our conceptual framework, would yield Barangay C1 as having a higher degree of empowerment. C1 achieved community organization; the foundation of people participation, first; by disseminating information on the long-term effects of quarrying. Second, the community began the circulation of a petition condemning any quarrying activity of the R1 river. This petition, initiated at the Barangay level, had repercussions at the Provincial level. This was how community consensus was gained.

Community participation in their decision to abolish quarrying was manifested through the mobilization of a reform type of social movement. C1 did not allow external pressures in the form of private enterprise or military force and even the municipal government to dictate the affairs of their barangay concerning quarrying.

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<sup>x</sup> Jonathan Okamura, *Towards a Strategy for Popular Participation in Development* (Diliman: University of the Philippines Press, 1985) p. 223

In the case of barangay C2, community organization achieved by the community where they decided to allow the development project to continue. Since community organization was present, logically, it follows that there was people participation. What must be scrutinized here is how this common consent was formed. Again, key informant interviews reveal that the Filipino-Cultural personal approach namely; the “pakiusap” with the residents by, local government representatives, was the main reason that quarrying gained popular unanimity.

This type of participation in decision making, according to Sherry Arnstein, is the lowest form of citizen empowerment which she as manipulation ( see appendix A ). External pressure from the private enterprise and the municipal government influenced the outcome of decision-making of the community in allowing quarrying to continue there.

A majority of respondents to the surveys from C2, when asked “why were you in favour of quarrying?”, replied “we were only following orders of the “Pamunuan” and “we cannot do anything because they already established their equipment.” Clearly, there is no sign of people empowerment here. And since it was the residents of C1 themselves who decided how their “resources were to be managed”, the community at C1 can be said to have higher degree of people empowerment.

#### IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study focused on people participation in decision making at the barangay level. The quarrying issue was cited as an example whether people empowerment was indeed achieved.

The two Barangays C1 and C2 were surveyed randomly. The quantitative data was tested; verifying our hypothesis which was **there is population participation in decision making within the sample population**. What could not be determined from the Chi square test, however, was in which sample was population participation more prevalent. Therefore, we had to convert the pro/con bias ( toward quarrying ) of the two samples into percentages. This would put the samples at an equal level of comparison regardless of the population difference. Once the percentages were obtained we plotted the data in a Bar-graph presentation.

Here, one can immediately see the difference in population participation between the C1 and C2. There is greater population participation in C1 than in C2. One can also interpolate that barangay C1 is mainly an anti-quarrying river community while barangay C2 is dominantly a pro-quarrying river community.

As an introduction to the discussion on the qualitative data, a brief geography and demography of Tagkawayan was given. Then, the main issue, quarrying of the R1 and R2 rivers, was undertaken by delving into the respective case histories of the two Barangays.

The data gathered dealt mostly with the opinions and biases of those surveyed. Here, we discover that the “development of the barangay and the nation” according to the concessionaires was the main benefit that quarrying would bring. The anti-quarrying respondents, on the other hand, claimed that the “destruction of the river and livelihood of the community” is the greatest effect that quarrying imposes.

The divergent views of the respondents from both Barangays on the quarrying issue can be better understood when taken from the perspective of what pluralist thinker, Joseph Schumpeter, calls the “common good”. Here, we cite some examples, from both barangays, that could be seen in the light of pluralist thought.

From this study we were able to conclude that the indicators of citizen participation and people empowerment lie in the ability of the community to organize themselves in pursuing a common goal. Once organized, they can take non-violent action specifically; information-dissemination, lobbying, staging rallies, and reform movements, that are a manifestation of people participation. When the community, from the “grass-roots” level, has significant influence in the outcomes of decisions concerning the allocation of their natural resources they can be said to have achieved some form of people empowerment. However when a community’s decision is swayed by manipulation tactics, there is only “non-participation” and no people empowerment.

This research has tackled the four objectives earlier laid out in this study. First, it has shown, by citing the case of C1, that population participation is essential to community empowerment. The community there had achieved a high degree of population participation in decision making citing the quarrying issue as an example. And so, they can be said to be empowered.

Second, this study has proven quantitatively, by the use of statistical tools, that population participation exists in the two Barangays. However, there is greater participation in C1 than in C2 as the qualitative data would reveal. Third, the misconceptions regarding participation and empowerment were cleared-up in the discussion of our conceptual framework.

Finally, this research has also exposed the ill effects of quarrying, on the river and environment according to the personal accounts of members of the community.

The events that occurred in the two barangays where this research was undertaken clearly showed signs of a struggle to achieve People participation in development projects. When understood in the theoretical framework of Gelia Castillo the definition becomes even more relevant since hers deals with the Philippine setting. We see similarities in her theories and the reality of our society.

People Participation is essential if we truly are to be called a Democratic society. In the words of the United Nations Development Programme:

“People must organize for collective action to influence the circumstances and decisions affecting their lives. Isolated and dispersed, poor people have no power and influence over political decisions that affect them. But organized they have the power to ensure that their interests are advanced. As a group, they can influence state policies and push for the allocation of adequate resources to human development priorities, for markets that are more “people-friendly” and for economic growth that is pro-poor<sup>xi</sup>.”

The field school is not even a year old. Our batch was the second to be sent to Tagkawayan and was still part of the pilot batch. At first, I was very hesitant to join the Field school. But after the experience, I am glad I was given the opportunity despite the illness.

The research was not just about fulfilling my academic requirements. It is about the “real life” in the community. I am now a believer that the “real world” is not just the city I live in.

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<sup>xi</sup> United Nations Development Program. Human Development Report 1997.

## Appendix A

REINTERPRETING THE "COMMON GOOD": PLURALISM

Writing in 1942, Joseph Schumpeter profoundly criticized the classical and liberal theories of democracy (Schumpeter 1942). Schumpeter's analysis seems heavily influenced by Max Weber's theory of the development of Western culture and social action (Weber 1958), and, in turn, Schumpeter's analysis influences pluralist theory. Weber describes cultural development as the progress of collective "rationality": a nation passes through stages of development from certain attitudes and behavior to others, from one "kind" of rationality to another. The affective-emotional end of Weber's spectrum is incompatible with modern capitalist society, while the purposive-rational is compatible; the implication is that the latter is more rational than the former. However, even though purposive-rational attitudes allow a nation to achieve systematically particular goals within a



legal-rational framework, the question of who is to set these goals still remains. Weber argues that it should be a single charismatic leader, although he admits that this argument does not—indeed cannot—stem from any scientific theory of goal setting.

Schumpeter and the pluralists interpret Weber's analysis by implicitly applying his rationality categories and concept of development of entire societies to individual differences within societies: individuals are implicitly placed on a continuum of social-psychological development from "traditional" to "modern." This means that not everyone in a society is as "rational" as everyone else, contradicting the liberal assumption of rationality as a universal human characteristic. In sharp contrast with "modern" capitalistic individuals, the norms and values of "traditional" individuals are viewed as nonrational on utilitarian grounds. Secondly, applied in this context, Weber's value-based theory of action implies that traditional members of society would not be able to function as "rational" political citizens. Hence, their nonparticipation in a functioning democratic system is actually a positive contribution to the system. Schumpeter contends that direct democracy is not possible because not everyone in the society is at the same stage of cultural development. There are leaders and ratifiers; and those who are not interested and those who are misinformed. According to him, the purposes of society must be formed by leaders—by an elite that is politically involved, can devote itself to studying the relevant social issues, and is capable of understanding them.

Schumpeter made some specific points about political participation and democracy. First, there is no such thing as a uniquely determined common good that all people could agree on or be made to agree on by the force of rational argument; to different individuals the common good is bound to mean different things (Schumpeter 1942, 251). Second, "even if the opinions and desires of individual citizens were perfectly definite and independent data for the democratic process to work with, and if everyone acted on them with ideal rationality and promptitude, it would not necessarily follow that the political decisions produced by that process from the raw material of those individual volitions would represent anything that could in any convincing sense be called the will of the people" (1942, 254). Third, citizens are typically misinformed or uninterested in political issues except for those that affect them directly and economically. In those cases, rather than acting in the common good, they will act out of individual self-interest. "Thus, the typical citizen drops down to a lower level of mental performance as soon as he enters the political field. He argues and analyzes in a way that we would readily recognize as infantile within the sphere of his real interests. He becomes a primitive again" (1942, 262).

Furthermore, citizens are easily influenced by political advertising, which

can shape their views. Although in the long run the people may be wiser than any single individual, "History however consists of a succession of short-run situations that may alter the course of events for the good. . . . If all the people can in the short run be 'fooled' step by step into something they do not really want, and if this is not an exceptional case which we could afford to neglect, then no amount of retrospective common sense will alter the fact that in reality they neither raise nor decide issues but that issues that shape their fate are normally raised and decided for them" (1942, 264).

Given this critique, Schumpeter posed an alternative model of how the modern, democratic, capitalist State does and *should* function. The classical theory argues that power resides in the "people" and that the State is composed of legislators, chosen by those people to represent their interests—the general will. Selection of representatives is made secondary to the primary purpose of vesting power in the electorate. Schumpeter reverses these roles; he makes the deciding of issues by the electorate secondary to the election of representatives who are to do the deciding: "The role of the people is to produce a government, or else an intermediate body which in turn will produce a national executive or government. And we define: the democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote" (1942, 269).

In this theory, then, the State gains a certain power of its own—it is the decider of issues, of legislation, of the course of economic and social development. The electorate is left with the power to decide which set of leaders (politicians) it wishes to have carry out the decision-making process. Although it can be argued that this still implies power in the electorate (voters can dismiss a government and replace it with another set of representatives), choices are limited to those politicians who present themselves to be elected. Nor do voters decide issues; it is politicians who decide these issues and present themselves to the voters as believing that certain issues and not others are important and as having a particular set of views on the issues at hand.

For this type of State (the democratic model) to be a "success," certain conditions have to be fulfilled: (1) the human material of politics must be of sufficiently high quality; (2) the effective range of political decisions must not be extended too far—that is, many decisions should be made by competent experts outside the legislature; (3) democratic government must command a dedicated bureaucracy that must be a power in its own right; (4) electorates and legislatures must be morally resistant to corruption and must exhibit self-control in their criticism of the government; and (5)

competition for leadership requires a large measure of tolerance for difference of opinion.

Schumpeter's theory of the democratic State is therefore an empiricist theory that conforms to neoclassical economics in its amorality and its problem-solving approach (Popper, 1945). For Schumpeter, the principal issue, as he poses it, is whether the democratic State can work; whether it is an efficient governor in terms of democratic principles. Macpherson contends that the pluralist model makes democracy a mechanism for choosing and authorizing governments, not a kind of society or a set of moral ends; it empties out the moral content that the classicists and nineteenth-century liberals had put into the idea of democracy and the State. "There is no nonsense about democracy as a vehicle for the improvement of mankind. Participation is not a value in itself, nor even an instrumental value for the achievement of a higher, more socially conscious set of human beings. The purpose of democracy is to register the desires of a people as they are, not to contribute to what they might be or might wish to be. Democracy is simply a market mechanism: the voters are the consumers; the politicians are the entrepreneurs" (Macpherson 1977, 79).

Once the political system is posed as a market, and voters' decisions are based on a political version of neoclassical utility theory, the issue becomes one of the degree of consumer sovereignty in the market.<sup>6</sup> In a pure, competitive market, power over State behavior still lies in the hands of the voter. Even though the politicians may decide what issues or decisions to produce, it is the voters who have to buy those issues—political consumers decide what they want to buy. Furthermore, not every voter wants to buy every issue, and there are many functions of government—many decisions to be made—that the consumer is not interested in. These are the details of the production process that Schumpeter wants to leave to special agencies and the bureaucracy. Dahl argues that this does not contradict the concept of voter (consumer) sovereignty. He goes even further to argue that even though elections rarely reflect the will of the majority, they are

crucial processes for insuring that political leaders will be somewhat responsive to the preferences of some ordinary citizens. But neither elections nor interelection activity provide much insurance that decisions will accord with the preferences of a majority of adults or voters. Hence we cannot correctly describe the actual operations of democratic societies in terms of contrasts between majorities and minorities. We can only

<sup>6</sup> See Dahl (1956) on polyarchal democracy, for a detailed application of utility theory and consumer preferences for public goods to political choice.

distinguish groups of various types and sizes, all seeking in various ways to advance their goals, usually at the expense, at least in part, of others. . . . Elections and political competition do not make for government by majorities in any very significant way, but they vastly increase the size, number, and variety of minorities whose preferences must be taken into account by leaders in making policy choices. (Dahl 1956, 131-132)

Power, according to Dahl, still resides in the voters, even though this power is not expressed as majority versus minority "will." Rather, each issue calls forth those voters interested enough in the issue to vote for the politician on the basis of that issue. Given that political demands are so diverse, some device is needed to translate these diverse demands into pluralities or majorities in elections for public officials, or produce a set of decisions most agreeable to or least disagreeable to the whole set of diverse individual or group demands. Political parties fulfill this function. The parties package political goods and offer the voters these packages; this produces a stable government which equilibrates demand and supply. The resulting reformulation of utilitarianism for the modern industrial economy by Schumpeter, Dahl, and others is called pluralism.

Pluralism can be defined as a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into an unspecified number of multiple, voluntary, competitive, nonhierarchically ordered and self-determined (as to type or scope of interest) categories which are not specifically licensed, recognized, subsidized, created or otherwise controlled in leadership selection or interest articulation by the state and which do not exercise a monopoly of representative activity within their respective categories. (Schmitter 1974, 96)

For pluralists, the State is neutral, an "empty slate," and still a servant of the citizenry—of the electorate—but the common good is defined as a set of empirical decisions that do not necessarily reflect the will of the majority. At the same time the State has some autonomy, and there is considerable disagreement among pluralists on to what degree the State itself makes decisions and to what degree the electorate controls those decisions. The debate parallels the economic discussion about the competitiveness of the market and the validity of the assumption of consumer sovereignty.

The more "optimistic" pluralists, agreeing that democracy depends on elites (i.e., that the very survival of democratic systems depends on maintaining the position of elites as the repository for democratic values), stress that what keeps this division of labor from evolving into a rigid oligarchy is the competition between groups of elites for decision-making power.

and it is by competition that elites remain open and responsive to pressure from the mass of the public (Greenberg 1977, 41). "Ordinary citizens exert a high degree of control over leaders" (Dahl 1956, 3). For the optimists, the system fails to conform to the tenets of the classical democratic State, but is acceptable because it works. Since most citizens are uninformed and uninterested—even misinformed and irrational, with low tolerance for competing political views—the fact that many do not participate in the political process actually makes the system more efficient (functional apathy). That does not mean that the apathetic don't have power; it is just that—fortunately, for the system—they usually do not exercise it. They are basically satisfied with elite decisions. On the other hand, the system is relatively open to people who are interested and concerned. There are many points of access for participation and since people are free to express themselves, if they felt strong grievances, they would participate (Greenberg 1977, 38-40). All in all, according to Dahl, the American political system "does nonetheless provide a high probability that any active and legitimate group will make itself heard effectively at some stage in the process of decision. . . it appears to be a relatively efficient system for reinforcing agreement, encouraging moderation, and maintaining social peace in a restless and unmoderate people operating a gigantic, powerful, diversified, and incredibly complex society" (Dahl 1956, 130-151).

The "pessimists" like Schumpeter and Robert Michels (1966) argue that the consumer sovereignty that is fundamental to the democracy of the pluralistic model (as it is to the "democracy" of the neo-classical economic model) is questionable. In that view, elites not only control the decision-making process, they are not effectively responsive to the electorate. Schumpeter bases this argument on two grounds.

First, he contends that the competing elites not only formulate the issues, they attempt to manipulate opinions about those issues. "Since they can themselves be manufactured, effective political argument almost inevitably implies the attempt to twist existing volitional premises into a particular shape and not merely the attempt to implement them or to help the citizen to make up his mind. Thus, information and arguments that are really driven home are likely to be the servants of political intent" (Schumpeter 1942, 264). And he argues that citizens "neither raise nor decide issues but that issues that shape their fate are decided for them" (ibid.). So, the consumer and voter are not sovereign; the supplier (entrepreneur-politician) influences the consumer-preference function to such an extent that it is impossible to speak of an independent-voter demand curve.

Second, the bourgeoisie does not produce the types of politicians required by such a system. They lack independence from bourgeois economic interests. This, in turn, makes it impossible to settle social-structural ques-

tions. Politicians cannot separate themselves from a particular group in the social structure. The State is autonomous (elites make the decisions), but it is not neutral in its decision-making: "The democratic method never works at its best when nations are much divided on fundamental questions of social structure. . . . The bourgeoisie produced individuals who made a success at political leadership upon entering a political class of non-bourgeois origin, but it did not produce a successful political stratum of its own, although, so one should think, the third generations of the industrial families had all the opportunities to form one" (Schumpeter 1942, 233).

## Appendix B

## 14. A ladder of citizen participation<sup>1</sup>

Sherry R. Arnstein

*Who participates in making ecopolitical decisions—and with what weight? The following article offers a good example of the large critical literature that has arisen in the United States and other highly developed countries in connection with various government programmes which deal—too often inadequately—with the problem of persistent poverty and deteriorating urban environments. The article makes a strong case for direct participation and power-sharing by the poor strata, slum-dwellers and minority groups, who suffer most from these conditions, but it does not tell the reader that these poor 'citizens' of whom it speaks are most often a minority of the population and the electorate in every highly developed country, and that the city councils, school boards, and national and state governments most often have been elected by majorities of voters. Most of the literature of political science has not yet explored in depth the serious differences between developing countries where the poor most often form a substantial majority of the people, and the highly developed countries where the poor usually are only a minority nor has it analysed thoroughly the implications of this contrast.*

The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you. Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy—a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone. The applause is reduced to polite handclaps, however, when this principle is advocated by the have-not blacks, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Eskimos and whites. And when the have-nots define participation as redistribution of power, the American consensus on the fundamental principle explodes into many shades of outright racial, ethnic, ideological and political opposition.

There have been many recent speeches, articles and books<sup>2</sup> which explore

1. Abridged and edited from Sherry R. Arnstein, 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 35, July 1969, p. 216-24.

2. The literature on poverty and discrimination and their effects on people is extensive. As an introduction, the following will be helpful: B.H. Bagdikian, *In the Midst of Plenty: The Poor in America*, New York, N.Y., Beacon Press, 1964; Paul Jacobs, 'The Brutalizing of America', *Dissent*, Vol. 11, Autumn, 1964, p. 423-8; Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, New York, N.Y., Random House, Inc., 1967; Eldridge Cleaver, *Soul on Ice*, New York, N.Y., McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1968; L.J. Duhl (ed.), *The Urban Condition: People and Policy in the Metropolis*, New York, N.Y., Basic Books, Inc., 1963; William H. Grier and P.M. Cobbs, *Black Rage*, New York, N.Y., Basic Books, Inc., 1968.



of our time. There has been much recent documentation of why the have-nots have become so offended and embittered by their powerlessness to deal with the profound inequities and injustices pervading their daily lives. But there has been very little analysis of the content of the current controversial slogan: 'citizen participation' or 'maximum feasible participation'. In short: What is citizen participation and what is its relationship to the social imperatives of our time?

My answer to the critical 'what' question is simply that citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, at present excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programmes are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parcelled out. In short, it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society.

There is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process. Participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. It allows the power-holders to claim that all sides were considered, but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit. It maintains the status quo. Essentially, it is what has been happening in most of the 1,000 community action programmes, and what promises to be repeated in the vast majority of the 150 model cities programmes.

#### TYPES OF PARTICIPATION AND 'NON-PARTICIPATION'

A typology of eight levels of participation may help in analysis of this confused issue. For illustrative purposes the eight types are arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining the end product. (See Fig. 1.)

The bottom rungs of the ladder are 1. Manipulation and 2. Therapy. These two rungs describe levels of 'non-participation' that have been contrived by some to substitute for genuine participation. Their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programmes, but to enable power-holders to 'educate' or 'cure' the participants. Rungs 3 and 4 progress to levels of 'tokenism' that allow the have-nots to hear and to have a voice: 3. Informing and 4. Consultation. When they are proffered by power-holders as the total extent of participation, citizens may indeed hear and be heard. But under these conditions they lack the power to ensure that their views will be heeded by the powerful. When participation is restricted to these levels, there is no follow-through, no 'muscle', hence no assurance of changing the status quo. Rung 5.

Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*, New York, N.Y., Macmillan Co., 1962; Peter Marris and Martin Rein, *Dilemmas of Social Reform: Poverty and Community Action in the United States*, New York, N.Y., Atherton Press, Inc., 1967; Millie Orshansky, 'Who's Who Among the Poor: A Demographic View of Poverty', *Social Security Bulletin*, Vol. 27, July 1965, p. 3-32; Richard T. Titmuss, *Essays on the Welfare State*, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1968.

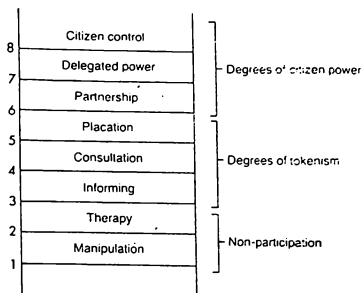


FIG. 1. Eight rungs on a ladder of citizen participation.

Placation, is simply a higher level tokenism because the ground rules allow have-nots to advise, but retain for the power-holders the continued right to decide.

Further up the ladder are levels of citizen power with increasing degrees of decision-making clout. Citizens can enter into a 6. Partnership that enables them to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional power-holders. At the topmost rungs, 7. Delegated Power and 8. Citizen Control, have-not citizens obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power.

Obviously, the eight-rung ladder is a simplification, but it helps to illustrate the point that so many have missed--that there are significant gradations of citizen participation. Knowing these gradations makes it possible to cut through the hyperbole to understand the increasingly strident demands for participation from the have-nots as well as the gamut of confusing responses from the power-holders.

Though the typology uses examples from federal programmes such as urban renewal, anti-poverty, and model cities, it could just as easily be illustrated in the Church, currently facing demands for power from priests and laymen who seek to change its mission: colleges and universities which in some cases have become literal battlegrounds over the issue of student power; or public schools, city halls, and police departments (or big business which is likely to be next on the expanding list of targets). The underlying issues are essentially the same--'nobodies' in several arenas are trying to become 'somebodies' with enough power to make the target institutions responsive to their views, aspirations, and needs.

#### CHARACTERISTICS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

It is in this context of power and powerlessness that the characteristics of the eight rungs are illustrated by examples from current federal social programmes.

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## Manipulation

This illusory form of 'participation' initially came into vogue with urban renewal when the socially elite were invited by city housing officials to serve on citizen advisory committees (CACs). Another target of manipulation were the CAC subcommittees on minority groups, which in theory were to protect the rights of Negroes in the renewal programme. In practice, these subcommittees, like their parent CACs, functioned mostly as letter-heads, trotted forward at appropriate times to promote urban renewal plans (in recent years known as Negro removal plans).

At meetings of the Citizen Advisory Committees, it was the officials who educated, persuaded, and advised the citizens, not the reverse. Federal guidelines for the renewal programmes legitimized the manipulative agenda by emphasizing the terms 'information-gathering', 'public relations', and 'support' as the explicit-functions of the committees.<sup>1</sup>

This style of non-participation has since been applied to other programmes encompassing the poor. Examples of this are seen in community action agencies (CAAs) which have created structures called 'neighbourhood councils' or 'neighbourhood advisory groups'. These bodies frequently have no legitimate function or power.<sup>2</sup> The CAAs use them to 'prove' that 'grass-roots people' are involved in the programmes. But the programme may not have been discussed with 'the people'. Or it may have been described at a meeting in the most general terms. 'We need your signatures on this proposal for a multiservice centre which will house, under one roof, doctors from the health department, workers from the welfare department, and specialists from the employment service.'

The signators are not informed that the \$2 million-per-year centre will only refer residents to the same old waiting lines at the same old agencies across town. No one is asked if such a referral centre is really needed in his neighbourhood. No one realizes that the contractor for the building is the mayor's brother-in-law, or that the new director of the centre will be the same old community organization specialist from the urban renewal agency.

After signing their names, the proud grass-rooters dutifully spread the word that they have 'participated' in bringing a new and wonderful centre to the neighbourhood to provide people with drastically needed jobs and health and welfare services. Only after the ribbon-cutting ceremony do the members of the neighbourhood council realize that they did not ask the important questions, and that they had no technical advisers of their own to help them grasp the fine legal print. The new centre, which is open 9 to 5 on weekdays only, actually adds to their problems. Now the old agencies across town will not talk with them unless they have a pink paper slip to prove that they have been referred by 'their' shiny new neighbourhood centre.

Unfortunately, this chicanery is not a unique example. Instead it is almost typical of what has been perpetrated in the name of high-sounding rhetoric like

1. United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, *Workable Program for Community Improvement, Answers on Citizen Participation*, p. 1 and 6, February 1966. (Programme Guide 7.)

2. David Austin, 'Study of Resident Participants in Twenty Community Action Agencies', United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, CAP Grant 9499.

'grass-roots participation'. This sham lies at the heart of the deep-seated exasperation and hostility of the have-nots toward the power-holders.

One hopeful note is that, having been so grossly affronted, some citizens have learned the Mickey Mouse game, and now they too know how to play. As a result of this knowledge, they are demanding genuine levels of participation to assure them that public programmes are relevant to their needs and responsive to their priorities.

### *Therapy*

In some respects group therapy, masked as citizen participation, should be on the lowest rung of the ladder because it is both dishonest and arrogant. Its administrators—mental health experts from social workers to psychiatrists—assume that powerlessness is synonymous with mental illness. On this assumption, under a masquerade of involving citizens in planning, the experts subject the citizens to clinical group therapy. What makes this form of 'participation' so invidious is that citizens are engaged in extensive activity, but the focus of it is on curing them of their 'pathology' rather than changing the racism and victimization that create their 'pathologies'.

Common examples of therapy, masquerading as citizen participation, may be seen in public housing programmes, where tenant groups are used as vehicles for promoting control-your-child or clean-up campaigns. The tenants are brought together to help them 'adjust their values and attitudes to those of the larger society'. Under these ground rules, they are diverted from dealing with such important matters as: arbitrary evictions; segregation of the housing project; or why there is a three-month time lapse to get a broken window replaced in winter.

### *Informing*

Informing citizens of their rights, responsibilities and options can be the most important first step toward legitimate citizen participation. However, too frequently the emphasis is placed on a one-way flow of information—from officials to citizens—with no channel provided for feedback and no power for negotiation. Under these conditions, particularly when information is provided at a late stage in planning, people have little opportunity to influence the programme designed 'for their benefit'. The most frequent tools used for such one-way communication are the news media, pamphlets, posters, and responses to inquiries.

### *Consultation*

Inviting citizens' opinions, like informing them, can be a legitimate step towards their full participation. But if consulting them is not combined with other modes of participation, this rung of the ladder is still a sham since it offers no assurance that citizen concerns and ideas will be taken into account. The most frequent methods used for consulting people are attitude surveys, neighbourhood meetings, and public hearings.

When power-holders restrict the input of citizens' ideas solely to this level,

participation remains just a window-dressing ritual. People are primarily perceived as statistical abstractions, and participation is measured by how many come to meetings, take brochures home, or answer a questionnaire. What citizens achieve in all this activity is that they have 'participated in participation'. And what power-holders achieve is the evidence that they have gone through the required motions of involving 'those people'.

Attitude surveys have become a particular bone of contention in ghetto neighbourhoods. Residents are increasingly unhappy about the number of times per week they are surveyed about their problems and hopes. As one woman put it: 'Nothing ever happens with those damned questions, except the surveyer gets \$3 an hour, and my washing doesn't get done that day.' In some communities, residents are so annoyed that they are demanding a fee for research interviews.

Attitude surveys are not very valid indicators of community opinion when used without other input from citizens. Survey after survey (paid for out of anti-poverty funds) has 'documented' that poor housewives most want tot-lots in their neighbourhood where young children can play safely. But most of the women answered these questionnaires without knowing what their options were. They assumed that if they asked for something small, they might just get something useful in the neighbourhood. Had the mothers known that a free prepaid health insurance plan was a possible option, they might not have put totlots so high on their wish lists.

### Placation

It is at this level that citizens begin to have some degree of influence though tokenism is still apparent. An example of placation strategy is to place a few handpicked 'worthy' poor on boards of community action agencies or on public bodies like the board of education, police commission or housing authority. If they are not accountable to a constituency in the community and if the traditional power élite hold the majority of seats, the have-nots can be easily outvoted and outfoxed. Another example is the model cities advisory and planning committees. They allow citizens to advise or plan *ad infinitum* but retain for power-holders the right to judge the legitimacy or feasibility of the advice. The degree to which citizens are actually placated, of course, depends largely on two factors: the quality of technical assistance they have in articulating their priorities; and the extent to which the community has been organized to press for those priorities.

It is not surprising that the level of citizen participation in the vast majority of model cities programmes is at the placation rung of the ladder or below. Policy-makers at the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) were determined to return the genie of citizen power to the bottle from which it had escaped (in a few cities) as result of the provision stipulating 'maximum feasible participation' in poverty programmes. Therefore, HUD channelled its physical-social-economic rejuvenation approach for blighted neighbourhoods through city hall. It drafted legislation requiring that all model cities' money flow to a local City Demonstration Agency (CDA) through the elected city

council. As enacted by Congress, this gave local city councils final veto power over planning and programming and ruled out any direct funding relationship between community groups and HUD.

HUD required the CDAs to create coalition, policy-making boards that would include necessary local power-holders to create a comprehensive physical-social plan during the first year. The plan was to be carried out in a subsequent five-year action phase. HUD, unlike OEO, did not require that have-not citizens be included on the CDA decision-making boards. HUD's Performance Standards for Citizen Participation only demanded that 'citizens have clear and direct access to the decision-making process'.

Accordingly, the CDAs structured their policy-making boards to include some combination of elected officials; school representatives; housing, health, and welfare officials; employment and police department representatives; and various civic, labour, and business leaders. Some CDAs included citizens from the neighbourhood. Many mayors correctly interpreted the HUD provision for 'access to the decision-making process' as the escape hatch they sought to relegate citizens to the traditional advisory role.

In most model cities programmes, endless time has been spent fashioning complicated board, committee and task force structures for the planning year. But the rights and responsibilities of the various elements of those structures are not defined and are ambiguous. Such ambiguity is likely to cause considerable conflict at the end of the one-year planning process. For at this point, citizens may realize that they have once again extensively 'participated' but have not profited beyond the extent the power-holders decide to placate them.

### *Partnership*

At this rung of the ladder, power is in fact redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power-holders. They agree to share planning and decision-making responsibilities through such structures as joint policy boards, planning committees and mechanisms for resolving impasses. After the ground rules have been established through some form of 'give and take', they are not subject to unilateral change.

Partnership can work most effectively when there is an organized power base in the community to which the citizen leaders are accountable; when the citizens' group has the financial resources to pay its leaders reasonable honoraria for their time-consuming efforts; and when the group has the resources to hire (and fire) its own technicians, lawyers and community organizers. With these ingredients, citizens have some genuine bargaining influence over the outcome of the plan (as long as both parties find it useful to maintain the partnership). One community leader described it 'like coming to city hall with hat on head instead of in hand'.

In the Model Cities Programme only about fifteen of the so-called first generation of seventy-five cities have reached some significant degree of power-sharing with residents. In all but one of those cities, it was angry citizen demands, rather than city initiative, that led to the negotiated sharing of power. The negotiations were triggered by citizens who had been enraged by previous forms

of alleged participation. They were both angry and sophisticated enough to refuse to be 'conned' again. They threatened to oppose the awarding of a planning grant to the city. They sent delegations to HUD in Washington, D.C. They used abrasive language. Negotiation took place under a cloud of suspicion and rancour.

In most cases where power has come to be shared it was taken by the citizens, not given by the city. There is nothing new about that process. Since those who have power normally want to hang onto it, historically it has had to be wrested by the powerless rather than proffered by the powerful.

### *Delegated power*

Negotiations between citizens and public officials can also result in citizens achieving dominant decision-making authority over a particular plan or programme, model city policy boards or CAA delegate agencies on which citizens have a clear majority of seats and genuine specified powers are typical examples. At this level, the ladder has been scaled to the point where citizens hold the significant cards to assure accountability of the programme to them. To resolve differences, power-holders need to start the bargaining process rather than respond to pressure from the other end.

Such a dominant decision-making role has been attained by residents in a handful of model cities including Cambridge, Massachusetts; Dayton, and Columbus, Ohio; Minneapolis, Minnesota; St Louis, Missouri; Hartford and New Haven, Connecticut; and Oakland, California.

In New Haven, residents of the Hill neighbourhood have created a corporation that has been delegated the power to prepare the entire model cities plan. The city, which received a \$117,000 planning grant from HUD, has subcontracted \$110,000 of it to the neighbourhood corporation to hire its own planning staff and consultants. The Hill Neighborhood Corporation has eleven representatives on the twenty-one-member CDA board which assures it a majority voice when its proposed plan is reviewed by the CDA.

Another model of delegated power is separate and parallel groups of citizens and power-holders, with provision for citizen veto if differences of opinion cannot be resolved through negotiation. This is a particularly interesting coexistence model for hostile citizen groups too embittered toward city hall—as a result of past 'collaborative efforts'—to engage in joint planning.

### *Citizen control*

Demands for community controlled schools, black control and neighbourhood control are on the increase. Though no one in the nation has absolute control, it is very important that the rhetoric not be confused with intent. People are simply demanding that degree of power (or control) which guarantees that participants or residents can govern a programme or an institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects, and be able to negotiate the conditions under which 'outsiders' may change them.

A neighbourhood corporation with no intermediaries between it and the

source of funds is the model most frequently advocated. A small number of such experimental corporations are already producing goods and/or social services. Several others are reportedly in the development stage, and new models for control will undoubtedly emerge as the have-nots continue to press for greater degrees of power over their lives.

Though the bitter struggle for community control of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville schools in New York City has aroused great fears in the headline-reading public, less publicized experiments are demonstrating that the have-nots can indeed improve their lot by handling the entire job of planning, policy-making, and managing a programme. Some are even demonstrating that they can do all this with just one arm because they are forced to use their other one to deal with a continuing barrage of local opposition triggered by the announcement that a federal grant has been given to a community group or an all black group.

Among the arguments against community control are: it supports separatism; it creates balkanization of public services; it is more costly and less efficient; it enables minority group 'hustlers' to be just as opportunistic and disdainful of the have-nots as their white predecessors; it is incompatible with merit systems and professionalism; and ironically enough, it can turn out to be a new Mickey Mouse game for the have-nots by allowing them to gain control but not allowing them sufficient dollar resources to succeed. These arguments are not to be taken lightly. But neither can we take lightly the arguments of embittered advocates of community control—that every other means of trying to end their victimization has failed!



# Appendix C

## Frequency Tabulation of answers to survey questionnaires (un-grouped raw data)

Barangay

C1

C2

sampling size	48	22
mean age	40.35	44.5
male	22	3
female	26	19
Average members per household	6.08	5.2
occupation:		
vendor	1	3
housewife	22	12
farmer	17	4
barangay health worker	2	1
carpenter	1	0
storekeeper	2	0
lineman	1	0
labourer	1	0
none	0	2
1.0 Living in barangay in 1993?		
Yes	41	21
no	1	1
2.0 Aware of Quarrying issue?		
Yes	48	22
no	0	0
3.0 In 1993,		
pro Quarrying	6	15
against Quarrying	42	7
3.1 Pro Quarrying reasons why?		
Approved by government	3	9
help economy	2	3
for development and infrastructure	1	6
for completion of Quirino highway	1	3

3.2 Against quarrying reasons why?		
River belongs to all and must be shared	1	0
destruction of river	30	3
evidence of other rivers destroyed already	1	0
no place to wash laundry	4	0
no source of water	2	0
for economic reasons	1	0
visibility of water	1	0
destruction of wildlife	3	0
erosion of riverbanks/floods	1	3
decrease in water level	1	1
hardships/ruin livelihood	5	3
4.0 benefits brought about by quarrying?		
Yes	10	19
no	38	3
4.1 benefits:		
development of barangay	4	10
improvement of Quirino highway	4	5
improved transportation means to deliver goods	1	5
employment/jobs	5	5
5.0 III effects of quarrying?		
Yes	44	20
no	4	2
5.1 III effects:		
visibility of water decreases, pollution of water affecting washing and bathing	30	19
decrease in water level	19	6
destruction of wildlife in river	21	8
will ruin foundation of bridge	4	0
erosion of river banks	4	7
fewer rocks left	2	2
decrease in gravel and sand for personal use	1	0

6.0 of those who said yes to quarrying in 1993, did their views change?		
Yes	2	11
no	46	4
6.1 why did they change?		
Destruction of river	1	5
government still makes decisions	0	
has to be undertaken with proper procedures	1	0
road project complete because of erosion/ landslides/floods loss of rocks		5 1 1
7.0 of those who said no to quarrying in 1993 did their views change today?		
Yes	0	1
no	38	6
why did views not change?		0
Many barangays benefit from river	1	0
already won, why want it to return for the coming generations	6 4	0 0
destruction of river	18	0
no good benefits from quarrying	1	0
only few benefit from quarrying	2	0
quarrying is bad for the environment	8	0
Concession will finish all rocks in river	1	0
livelihood will be affected (washing, bathing)	1	0
government still makes rules	0	4
improvements in roads		1

## Appendix D

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES MANILA  
Padre Faura, Ermita  
CAS- FIELD SCHOOL

SURVEY QUESTIONS

Idad:

Kasarian:

Trabaho:

Bilang ng miyembro sa pamilya:

Posisyon sa pamilya:

Taong inilagi sa barangay:

1. Kayo po ba ay naninirahan na sa barangay ng taong 1993?

( ) Oo

( ) Hindi

2. May nalalaman po ba kayo tungkol sa isyu ng quarrying?

( ) Oo

( ) Hindi

3. Noong una pa man, sang-ayon na po ba kayo sa pagka-quarry?

( ) Oo

( ) Hindi

4. Bakit?

5. May naidulot po bang tulong/kaginhawahan ang quarrying?

☐ Mayroon

☐ Wala

6. Kung mayroong katulungan, ano-ano ang mga ito?

7. Mayroon po bang mga kapinsalaang naidulot?

☐ Mayroon

☐ Wala

8. Kung mayroon ano ang mga ito?

9. Nagbago na po ba ang inyong pananaw tungkol sa quarrying?

☐ Oo

☐ Hindi

10. Kung Oo, bakit?

11. Kung hindi, bakit?

SD-3

University of the Philippines - Manila  
P. Faura, Ermita  
CAS FIELD SCHOOL

Survey Questions  
Kasarian: F

Idad: 65

Trabaho: Maybuhay

Bilang ng miyembro sa pamilya: 11

Posisyon sa pamilya: Lolo

Taong inilagi sa baranggay: 25

1. Kayo po ba ay naninirahan na sa baranggay ng taong 1993?  
☒ Oo ☐ Hindi
2. May nalalaman po ba kayo tungkol sa isyu ng quarrying?  
☒ Mayroon ☐ Wala
3. Nung una pa man, sang-ayon na po ba kayo sa pagka-quarry?  
☒ Oo ☐ Hindi
4. Bakit?  
- infrastructure  
-  
-
5. May naidulat po bang tulong/kaginhawahan ang quarrying? casual worker - can  
☒ Mayroon ☐ Wala

6. Kung mayroon mga katulungan, ano-ano ang mga ito?

7. Kung walang mga katulungan, mayroon po bang mga kapinsalaang idinulat?

(✓) Mayroon

( ) Wala

8. Kung mayroon, ano-ano po ang mga ito?

- Hangganan

- Tao

- I

9. Nagbago na po ba ang inyong pananaw tungkol sa quarrying?

(X) Oo

(✓) Hindi

10. Kung oo, bakit?

11. Kung hindi, bakit?

Desaster Driver & Livelihood Oppor.



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