

A DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM IN ACTION: A PROGRESS REPORT ON A PHILIPPINE CASE *

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THIS PAPER REPORTS the experiences in the initiation of a three-agency¹ Cooperative Rural Development Project in eight pilot barrios. It is an attempt to describe the actions of key influentials and other barrio people to the workers and to the project; to isolate the different extension approaches and techniques used during the first six months² of the program; and to present some impressions on the effects of these techniques. An effort is also made to identify the so-called unintended consequences of certain features of the program. It is hoped that from such a report, insights on the stimuli that induce or inhibit change, and on the mechanisms through which changes occur, may be obtained to provide some of the in-between links which are sometimes missing in the typical before-after analysis of change.³

Introducing the Project and the Workers

In directed change an extension worker or any similar kind of change agent can hardly expect to be effective unless his role is accepted by his

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Seminar on Life and Culture in Asia, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, on December 5, 1963, during the Asia Week celebrations.

¹ The three agencies cooperating in this project are the Commission on Agricultural Productivity, the Presidential Assistant on Community Development, and the University of the Philippines through its College of Agriculture, Farm and Home Development Office. In addition to the contributions of these three agencies, the project receives substantial support from Ford Foundation and the Agricultural Development Council, Inc. (formerly the Council on Economic and Cultural Affairs, Inc.).

² Field work started in March 1963.

³ According to Hinkle, an adequate theory of change may be expected to offer answers to these questions:

- (1) What is it that has changed?
- (2) How much has it changed (extent)?
- (3) How quickly has it changed (rate)?
- (4) What were the conditions before and after change?
- (5) What occurred during the transition?
- (6) What were the stimuli that induced the change?
- (7) Through what mechanisms did change occur?
- (8) What brought stabilization at a particular point in change?
- (9) Can directionality be observed in the change?

(See Roscoe C. Hinkle, "Howard Becker's Approach to Social Change," *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 3, July 1961, pp. 155-180.)

clientele.⁴ However, articulation between the target and the change systems is not unidirectional. The change agent must also accept his clientele within their own setting. To begin to develop such a mutual acceptance, the worker and the proposed program have to be brought to the attention of the target system.

In this cooperative project, the center of operations is the barrio so that municipal sanction was sought not so much as a legitimizing procedure but as a form of ceremonialism. It was equivalent to an "excuse-me-may-I-pass" gesture in order to avoid being accused of trespassing. Neither the municipalities nor the barrios have anything to do with their having been selected as centers of operations. Besides relative degree of "virginity" (in terms of exposure to other agencies engaged in rural development) the other considerations in the choice of the barrios were requirements of research, supervision, and logistics. There was no possibility of turning down the project for the approach was essentially one of "Your place has been chosen to be the locale for this project. Give us a chance to work with you." This project is not unusual in this regard for many an action program is launched for a variety of reasons—implicit or explicit. Development of the place might very well be only one of its manifest objectives.

At the municipal level the project was presented as a three-agency package designed to develop the "chosen" barrios with the help and guidance of two teams made up of technicians in livestock, crops, local government and home management, who are based in the barrios for three years.

On the scheduled date and time for the meeting with the municipal and barrio officials at the Poblacion, one of the mayors was waiting for a bus to go somewhere else. He had "forgotten" the appointment which was confirmed by the workers two days before, and none of the barrio officials had been notified. He was politely apologetic but showed a minimum of enthusiasm for the project. His comments were quite revealing of his skepticism: "Could this be another *ningas baob* just like the Municipal Community Development Council which met only once and never again? Now, of all years, there are many agencies who purposely approach people offering projects like yours." It so happened at the same time that a representative of the NACIDA (National Cottage Industries Development Authority) was also around to explain their program and an EEA⁵ gang was working in full blast at road construction. In the meeting which was finally held a week later, this mayor was also absent. He

⁴ Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957, pp. 18-19.

⁵ Emergency Employment Administration.

was only represented by the municipal secretary who introduced the workers to the barrio lieutenants.

The other Mayor was more enthusiastic, although rather uncertain, as to what might be expected from the project. He emphasized the need for initiative, industry and self-reliance on the part of barrio people and ended with a note that after self-help, whatever assistance the workers might render, would be bonus. He considered it rather fortunate that their barrios were chosen. "If these workers had not really wanted to be with us, no amount of bribe would have brought them here." Unlike the first mayor, the latter gave the impression that the workers were most welcome. Typical politician's hospitality was his immediate "I'll pick up the tab" for the lunch which the teams and the project leaders had.

The questions asked after the explanation of the project leaned heavily on expectations of material aid, particularly from PACD.⁶ An unexpressed concern for what-do-we-have-to-do-for-all-these was finally verbalized by one barrio lieutenant who shyly inquired as to who will be responsible for the workers' sustenance during their three-year assignment in the barrios. There were smiles of relief when told that the barrio folks would not have to support the workers. There was really nothing to lose, and who knows, perhaps there was something to gain.

The workers were introduced and the project objectives explained to the barrio people, through barrio assembly meetings. In some cases additional opportunities were made available to the technicians by the school teachers, when the former were invited to give short talks during the closing program of the barrio school. The first visit of one worker to the barrio was made possible by the teachers who endorsed him to the barrio officials. All the technicians emphasized the team approach not only to make people aware of the tri-agency tags to the project but also to focus on the different areas on which "specialized" help will be provided. Other residents, later on, tried to serve as informants on the project and the workers. However, there is a difficulty here, and it lies in possible distortions in interpretation as the description passes on from one mouth to another.

Self-introduction by nickname was used apparently to create the informal, intimate, and more personalistic identification of the workers. Three of the technicians referred to themselves as teachers in homemaking, crops or livestock. Even one of the community development workers introduced himself as an agriculturist with the idea of facilitating his acceptance by the barrio considering the predominantly agricultural en-

⁶ Presidential Assistant on Community Development.

vironment. In spite of the nickname calling, he thought of allowing barrio people to continue addressing him with *po* and *opo* (polite appendages to statements made to someone as an indication of respect) and third person references in order to maintain a reasonable distance which he considers essential if he is to be taken seriously.

In order to minimize problems on which agency gets the credit, the teams were named after the two municipalities where the eight pilot barrios are located, but so far, this label is recognized and utilized only by the workers, the project leaders, and researchers, but not by the barrio people. The technicians made repeated explanations to differentiate themselves and their project from other government functionaries and programs previously assigned in the area, but even after six months, they are still frequently called *EEA* or *CD*.⁷ Occasionally they are referred to as agriculturists from the *Kolehiyo*⁸ and now and then someone identifies them as *IPIS-DO* (*FHDO*).⁹ Sometimes it is a question of which initials are easier to say or remember. At any rate, Shakespeare's "What's in a name?" is not exactly applicable here, because people's initial response to the workers and to the total project is colored to some extent by the images they attach to these different labels, especially when they have had some experiences with the content of the labels mentioned.

Images of the Project and the Workers

The worker's presence in the barrio, his definition of his role, and explanations of project objectives and operations doubtless create certain expectations on the part of the barrio people. The following expectations and images were revealed in a variety of remarks:

A new hope is suggested in such expressions as: "This is a dream come true." ". . . a rare opportunity for any place to be blessed with such an undertaking . . ." ". . . a very worthwhile program unlike some farmers' organizations who do nothing but agitate . . ." "The worker is the only one who could stimulate indifferent barrio residents to cooperative efforts for community improvement." "The present administration is very good for now we have agriculturists who can help us." "This is a new breed of public servant." "This program is rather late but we are glad that at last someone is here to teach us."

"*Another one of those*" is a type of reaction which reflects people's tendency to generalize from their experiences with other government agencies engaged in rural development. "Why are there too many such

⁷ Community Development Worker.

⁸ College of Agriculture.

⁹ *IPIS* means cockroach. Farm and Home Development Office.

programs when there is nothing actually accomplished? What we need is demonstration—not lip service again.” “Ah! We know. Your job is like that of the CD we had in our barrio.” “The life of an agriculturist is an easy one. There was an agriculturist in our place who did nothing but sleep.”

The technician as a worker paid for doing nothing is suggested in the following comment—“Your job is very enviable. You get paid regularly just for walking around and *pa-miting-miting lang* (holding meetings).”

The most common perception of the project is that of a *prospective milking cow*. Persistent insinuations on need for sprayers, vaccines, fertilizers, feeder roads, water pipes and other materials for unfinished or planned projects are familiar strains on an old theme—material aid.

Not a few barrio residents dismissed the project as a *political stunt*—a vote-getting gimmick for the then forthcoming elections.

The female technicians were mistaken for *Jehovah's Witnesses* who go around on missionary campaigns, hence some people had ready-made rebuttals.

One of the team members was suspected of being a *secret service agent* for he arrived on the day for registration of firearms. This is significant, considering rumors that *Stalin University* is just nearby. In this connection also, some staff members involved in this project did not feel very secure riding in an old army jeep assigned to them for use in these barrios, until a repainting job was done, with a more “neutral” color.

In certain quarters hostility was manifested when teams were thought to be *Irrigation Service Unit* personnel who came to collect fees for the use of what is known as *irrigutom* (starvation canals) for there was no water flowing through at the time.

Some of these images may be utilized as an entering wedge, a positive force the program can ride on; some leave the burden of proof on the worker and the project, while other misconceptions may be easily explained away. For the “virgin” barrios this project will, in many ways, determine the kind of reception future rural development programs will encounter. For the previously “exposed” barrios, the challenge lies in building on whatever creditable groundwork had been laid and/or rising above the weaknesses which characterized past programs.

Reactions of Key Influentials and Other Barrio People

Different groups of people exhibited different reactions after project objectives have been explained and team operations have been described.

The *school teachers* were, in general, appreciative of the opportunity to obtain some help in the area of rural development. "This is also one of our roles in the community and it's good that you can assist us along this line." Other said — "It will also be a chance for us to learn something new." Some teachers volunteered sites for demonstration lots and one was willing to have his poultry serve as a demonstration project. Of course these offers could have been inspired also by the prospects of technical as well as material assistance in some farming enterprises. A few teachers who were at loggerheads with the Barrio Council expressed doubts as to whether the team could initiate community projects in a barrio of "indifferent people who refuse to do their part in fencing the school yard and in repairing the schoolhouse." In short, these teachers wished the technicians *good luck* in their work with the barrio people.

The team members and the researchers have the impression that barrio school teachers are not necessarily influential outside the four walls of the school¹⁰ although they serve as key informants for newcomers to the barrio. Non-residence in the place is probably one factor which contributes to the "outsider" status of the teachers. Although the responsibility for community improvement is marginal as far as they are concerned, the teachers are willing to pave the way for the acceptance of other functionaries who will undertake this task.

The *representatives of other government agencies at the municipal level* look at the team members as reinforcements rather than as replacements in the job of improving rural conditions. Willingness to cooperate was verbalized by personnel from the Bureau of Plant Industry, Bureau of Animal Industry, Presidential Assistant on Community Development and the Rural Health Unit. At least initially, these oral expressions were not really empty words for they actually attended barrio meetings and tried to coordinate their work with that of the technicians. The Plant Pest and Disease Control Officer and the Livestock Inspector contributed their share of chemicals, drugs, and services in tackling the disease problem. The physician works with the team on a sanitary toilet drive and one of the pilot barrios is also a model barrio of the Rural Health Unit.

In spite of the high percentage of tenancy and absentee landlordism and reminders on the role of decision-makers in legitimizing and sustaining change, so far no deliberate efforts have been made to involve landlords in the program. However, a lawyer who owns practically one whole barrio indicated his amenability to any innovations the workers may sug-

¹⁰ Similar findings were observed in G. T. Castillo, P. S. Villanueva, and F. V. Cordero, *Leaders and Leadership Patterns in Four Barrios of Los Baños, Laguna*, Social Research Division, U. P. College of Agriculture, August 1962.

gest, for he recognizes that present techniques of cultivation are still at the primitive level. He even offered his lot for demonstration purposes. This reaction was manifested by the landowner in a chance meeting but his *blessings* were not deliberately sought by the team.

A positive sanction came from one *parish priest* who voluntarily endorsed the project in one of his evening sermons. He thought that barrio people, especially the teen-agers should take advantage of the agriculturists' presence.

However in *the other municipality* the *parish priest* expressed pessimism particularly with respect to two barrios which are notorious for gambling and drinking and which, incidentally, are commonly known as the *Tondo* districts of the town. The priest said, "Even in the distribution of free milk and corn meal, we are having a rough time. People don't bother to get their rations from Catholic Relief Services." The *Barrio Lieutenant* in one of these barrios bluntly stated, "If you want to be readily accepted in this barrio, introduce gambling and drinking." He was expressing his own frustration in initiating development activities. The community development worker who was previously assigned to this place asked for a change of assignment after two months. He was willing to go anywhere but this place. When he initiated Farmers' Classes, the barrio council said "Yes" but no one attended. People "philosophically" considered themselves as "graduates" and therefore did not need classes anymore, he was told.

On the basis of these reactions, barrios were impressionistically predicted to be *easy* or *difficult* for extension work. Exposure to the above-mentioned comments made the technicians assigned to the barrios define as *difficult*, apprehensive of unfavorable "evaluation" of their work in the future because of the anticipated obstacles. They began to ask whether the choice of barrios was final. Since the project leaders were not too keen on being accused of wanting to tackle only the *easy* barrios and since the municipal officials had already been informed of the project, withdrawing from these barrios was not deemed as a sound course of action. Besides, barrio assignments were made by drawing lots, hence the workers had an equal chance of being assigned to these barrios. By and large, the technicians concerned approached their assignments with a mixture of resignation, pessimism, challenge, and a note that in the evaluation of their performance later on, they should not be compared directly with other workers assigned to the *easier* barrios. It should be added that the very lukewarm, skeptical Mayor mentioned earlier is the Mayor of this *difficult* town.

Barrio lieutenants and council members from other barrios enjoined their constituents to take advantage of the team's presence. A touch of realism is usually added to their exhortation—"These technicians will receive their salaries regularly and will not lose anything even if you do not utilize their services." These barrio officials were grateful for the teams' location in their barrios and *hope* (with a flavor of wishful thinking) that "your" project will be successful. One council member was proud of the fact that he heard a news broadcast about the project and this gave people an elated feeling that their barrios might some day be *found in the map*, so to speak.

The reactions of the other barrio citizens ranged from verbal expressions of enthusiasm for new things in farming to a near-ultimatum statement that—"Unless something is done about our irrigation system, you can't expect much cooperation from us." This pronouncement is understandable for the project started in the midst of summer when the canals were practically dry. Many reactions were sort of wait-and-see. "If you can show us what can be done, there's no reason why we will not be interested." Again, a number of people also saw this project as an opportunity to collect on some of the unfulfilled promises made by past programs such as feeder road, school annex, etc.

The prospect of *help-in-reverse* was hinted in such remarks as—"Imagine! These people came here without our asking, so we should help them. *Kahiya-hiya naman.*" (We should feel embarrassed if we don't.) It will not be surprising if later on, farmers will regard their cooperation as something the technicians need in order to report accomplishments, stay on the job, and even merit a promotion. After all—how else can a technician justify his existence? In other similar action programs it has been reported that farmers plant hybrid corn or attend meetings primarily because of *pakikisama* (personal relations) with the technician and not so much because they are convinced of the merits of the recommended practices. This would not be "too bad" if the farmers did not revert to their old practices when the technician left. The attraction is more toward the worker as a person who is *mahusay makisama* (has good P. R.), an intimate personal friend, and not so much toward him as a professional crop technician. It is probably in such instances where too much of the personalistic rapport has been established and not enough professional acceptance generated. In this connection, it might be particularly apropos to cite the case of a home management technician in an action training program, who so endeared herself to the barrio people that not a few parents started building hopes of owning her as a daughter-in-law. She addressed the members of the family she stayed with as if she actually be-

longed to the family. It reached a point where this family embarked on definite wedding plans for her and their Stateside homecoming son so that she had to be officially relocated to some other place. What is amusing in this case is, that while she was loved by everyone and all cried when she left, her work as a home management technician was hardly known.

When one goes through volumes of technicians' diaries and researchers' field notes, an element stands out because of its conspicuous absence—being young does not seem to pose a barrier in gaining acceptance.¹¹ The acid test lies in the worker's ability to show what he knows and not in *age per se*. A municipal councilor put it aptly when he warned farmers—"Do not be *pilosopos* (smart alecks). What these technicians will teach you is a product of painstaking study." Thus far, old age is not a convenient passport nor youth, a built-in handicap as far as the change agent's acceptance is concerned. This phenomenon may be a reflection of changing values on age or increased respect for technical know-how or it may be a product of both. Being a female agriculturist does not seem to inhibit acceptance either. Farmers watch with amazement, a lady livestock technician injecting a carabao or castrating a pig. No taboos are manifested and these operations are not considered unwholesome for a woman to perform. They marvel at the realization that female workers have other areas of competence besides homemaking. Again, acceptance seems to be based on job performance, demonstration of competence, rather than on the sex or *age per se* of the worker.

Getting Established in the Barrio

Choosing a Home in the Barrio

Since residence in the barrio of assignment is one feature of this Co-operative Project, choosing a home was an immediate concern of every team member. Seven of the eight workers are staying with barrio officials' families or their close relatives. Only one worker is residing with a non-relative of a barrio official but the arrangement was made by the Barrio Lieutenant. In anticipation of future events which might necessitate transfers of residence, all the boarding houses were made to understand the workers' *temporary* stay. Acceptability of the homeowner to the community, accessibility of the place to other barrio residents, and availability of

¹¹ So far, Sibley's observation that ". . . to be directed in college improvement by juniors in age was improper and insulting for such direction necessarily ignored or seriously modified traditional beliefs concerning age respect. . ." has not found support in this development program. (Willis E. Sibley, "Social Structures and Planned Change: A Case Study from the Philippines," *Human Organization*, Vol. 19, No. 4, Winter 1960-61, pp. 209-211.)

physical space for the worker were some of the considerations in choosing the workers' homes. Since the barrio officials were instrumental in settling the workers where they are now, it would be worthwhile later on to examine the possible influence of this pattern of residence on the technicians' work.

The temporary residence arrangement on housing was calculated as a provision for a gracious social exit if anything unsatisfactory would develop. However this proviso did not seem to minimize the commitment for a female technician, who discovered she had a tubercular landlady could not readily manage a way out lest the latter be offended. She had to take soft drinks for a while in order to avoid use of the same drinking glass. In another case, boarding with the overseer of the absentee landlord also had its disadvantages for the overseer is considered as an authority figure. This makes the technician somewhat marginal as far as the barrio is concerned but changing his residence poses a problem for him. He will not be readily accepted as a boarder in some other home because this behavior is not likely to be looked on favorably by the overseer. The choice of residence in the barrio functions as a status placer. When the worker is referred to as the *Agriculturist who lives with Mang Julian*, people's perception of him is not entirely dissociated from their perception of Mang Julian. It is also probable that the first choice of a place in the barrio may very likely be the final one, hence the implications of *Kilroy lives here* need more careful scrutiny.

In conformity with the expectations accompanying traditional barrio hospitality, all the workers reported their respective landladies' refusal to accept payment for their meals. What does this mean? Is this hospitality per se or is this, in certain instances, a deliberate attempt to start off the worker on a chain of *utang na loob* (debt of gratitude) relationships? This business-like arrangement of paying for meals is quite an innovation and perhaps one of the first in this program of directed change, hence barrio people are uncertain as to how it should be handled. This is contrary to the usual practice of their entertaining VIP's *gratis et amore* but it represents an important preliminary step toward defining the technician as a professional, fulltime, paid worker who has a special job to perform in the barrio. He is not just a visitor.

Even when the landladies were finally convinced to accept meal payments, they were still evasive on the question of how much. "Bahala ka na" (It's up to you.) was the typical response. In a situation like this, it is not uncommon for a person to actually spend more because of the mutual *hiya* (embarrassment) involved in quoting figures. The tendency to overpay is usually greater than the tendency to underpay to escape the

brand of *cheap skate*. One worker convinced his landlady to accept payment by arguing that the money for meals and lodging was given by the government, set aside specifically for the purpose. "If you don't accept this government money, it will go to my pocket. But that would be theft and I don't want to be a thief." Finally all the workers agreed on a price and they insisted on paying. Once the practice had been started, the *hiya* associated with it diminished. An evidence that barrio people are not entirely naive about the *multiplications* of expense accounts can be seen in certain instances when they bluntly inquired about technicians' salaries and per diems. "Perhaps you are receiving a big salary plus your per diems so you can save a lot." It is evident that simple arithmetical calculations have already crept into these remarks.

Establishing Rapport with the Barrio People

It is almost impossible to find literature on extension and community development which makes no mention of *rapport*. From different parts of the world come different approaches to the problem of developing harmonious relations with the villagers. In this project, a number of techniques—deliberate or unintended have been identified.

Visits to some barrio homes were done for two reasons: to know and be known. In the process of *making the barrio map*, the workers got acquainted not only with the geography and physical resources of the community, but they also met more people since some of the information they needed were supplied by the barrio residents. The *prelisting of households* in preparation for the farm and home management surveys served the same purpose of getting acquainted. *Groups of people* gathered around the *sari-sari stores*, the *copra dryer* or the *artesian wells*, were also objects of informal rapport-establishing conversations.

Unlike the more bureaucratic office jobs, in extension work, the dividing line between private life and official aspects of the position are not as distinct as the change from army uniform to civilian clothes of an army officer who is off-duty at certain specified times. The extension worker is on duty almost all of the time. Many activities which are ordinarily unofficial and personal may be of equal if not of greater significance to the job than the task of demonstrating methods of weed control. This also partly explains why formulating the job description of such workers is not the easiest thing in the world to do.

The *serenade* which is usually a romantic interlude serves some other purpose—not exactly unromantic—that of welcoming a female newcomer in the barrio. This is indulged in by both young and old. In such instances

the *singing talent* of the worker which may or may not exist is called forth by popular request and she is not in a position to say *NO*. During meetings, birthday and baptismal parties, fiestas or other barrio get-togethers, this musical talent is almost always tapped. Sometimes even *dancing the twist* on a dirt floor becomes part of the barrio people's expectations of the worker. *Eating with the fingers* even when offered spoons and forks was another *plain folks* device resorted to. When the team members gave their voluntary contribution for a funeral, the reaction was—"These people know how to be with us in the hour of need." Two male technicians literally *shouldered part of a roof* which was being transferred to another site—the *bayanihan* way.

Quite a deviation from the above practices of *pakikisama* (going along with the natives) the team members thought it imperative that they be defined as non-drinkers. This rule which they held to, tenaciously was proscriptive, not preferential, for the latter allows room for exceptions. To any one who has tasted coconut wine which is about 90 per cent alcohol, this rule can readily be appreciated as self-protection rather than strictly self-denial. Later on when drinks are offered by those who are not yet aware of the imposed prohibition, the informed barriomates do the explanation. The workers usually do not have to go through the whole script of their "dry" story.

Within the first months of barrio operations, workers' seriousness of purpose became apparent in a number of ways: getting into the rice paddies to demonstrate straight row planting, willingness to stay in the barrio for work even during Sundays, holidays, and in times of illness; arriving for evening classes in spite of heavy downpour, swollen creeks, and long muddy hiking distances. Such actions which convey a readiness to carry on above and beyond the call of duty, contribute substantially to diminish skepticism.

Workers' Perception of Their Acceptability to the Barrio

After six months of field assignment, the technicians were asked about the extent to which they have been accepted by barrio people. Five of the eight workers said they are *much accepted* and three indicated acceptance to *some extent*. The specific ways in which barrio people showed their acceptance were also mentioned by the workers. These evidences cited may be roughly classified into two categories: Acceptance of the worker as a *professional* and as a *person*.

EVIDENCES OF BARRIO PEOPLE'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE
WORKER AS A PROFESSIONAL

EVIDENCES CITED BY THE WORKERS	NUMBER OF WORKERS MENTIONING THE EVIDENCE
1. Farmers consult the technician on crop and livestock problems. They go to his house or ask more questions after farmers' classes.	5
2. Farmers request the technicians to buy seeds for them or to arrange for artificial insemination services.	2
3. Barrio council officials approach the community development worker for local government problems.	1
4. Sometimes farmers invite the technician to visit their farms.	1
5. If somebody from another barrio needs technical assistance he is directed to the worker.	1
6. Some barrio residents help in assembling the group for the start of farmers' class.	1
7. Some barrio residents attend farmers' and homemakers' classes.	1
8. A homemaker commented that she can learn to sew, since the home management technician has arrived.	1
9. A husband commented that his wife was unhappy about the postponement of classes.	1

None of the workers mentioned any evidence of non-acceptance. Elsewhere in the technicians' diaries, reference was made to a status privilege accorded them in the barrio—that of being served first during fiestas or other meals. Inclusion in this first table service (*primera mesa*) puts the worker on the category of VIP, although the gesture means more than just status recognition. It also represents first, and therefore privileged, use of limited supply of glasses, silverware, and plates—a highly appreciated privilege because of the equally limited water supply.

EVIDENCES OF BARRIO PEOPLE'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE
WORKER AS A PERSON

EVIDENCES CITED BY THE WORKERS	NUMBER OF WORKERS MENTIONING THE EVIDENCE
1. Workers are invited to meals and barrio parties.	4
2. Barrio residents smile and greet the technicians or ask them to drop in as they pass by their homes.	3
3. Workers are allowed to share in the family or barrio secrets.	2
4. Workers are given gifts in the form of bananas, young coconuts, fish or poultry.	2
5. Workers are addressed by nicknames, without <i>po</i> or <i>opo</i> .	2
6. Workers have a joking relationship with the residents.	1
7. Barrio lieutenants commented that the technicians have good <i>pakikisama</i> —they are just like one of us.	1
8. In deference to the technician, one of the researchers who committed a breach of conduct, was spared physical punishment by the barrio officials.	1
9. When the researchers came to conduct the baseline survey, the technicians just requested the barrio council to help them.	1

Evidences cited on workers' acceptability to the barrio people tend to stem equally from personalistic relationships with the clientele as well as from recognition of the worker as a professional. While this distinction is not clear-cut even at an analytical level, the relation between intimacy with barrio people and effectiveness as a crop or livestock technician remains problematic. How much personal familiarity with the barrio people can be pursued without developing dysfunctions for the worker's professional role?

Approaches Used in Introducing Change

The extension worker, just like any other change agent, has his own bag of tools for getting things across. Some of these tools are deliberately held in stock to be pulled out when the need arises, while others are recognized as possible extension tools only after consequences have been observed. And of course every once in a while, the "standard gimmicks" generate unintended effects which result in a modification of the technique, if not a desired change in the skills, attitudes, and knowledge of the intended clientele.

In this project a number of these techniques have been identified and some impressions on their workings are presented.

Field Trip or Educational Tour

About two weeks after the teams moved into the barrios, a field trip organized by the incumbent Municipal Community Development Officer was conducted. The places visited were: two barrios in another town which were covered by the Farm and Home Development Office, the International Rice Research Institute and the College of Agriculture. Reactions to the field trip underscore the value of out-of-town visits as eye-openers on what can possibly be done in the barrios, if the barrio people only knew how. Healthy-looking pigs, sturdy rice plants, vigorously growing vegetables and attractive handicraft items all help to open up new vistas for the farmer and his wife. However, the "fancy" nature of experiment station projects somehow detract from the impact of the trip because farmers tended to conclude that such "growth" is possible only when labor, machinery, facilities, and money are *ad libitum*. The nylon netting used by the International Rice Research Institute to protect their experimental plots from birds and insects became the butt of jokes among the farmers. "If we could not provide mosquito nets for our children, how much more for our palay?" Studies on lodging which showed rice plants tied to keep them upright, proved equally funny. "How can anyone duplicate this even on half a hectare?" Shabby-looking pigs in nutritional deficiency studies brought sad comments. "Our native pigs look better than these."

On the other hand, projects shown to them by farmers in the two barrios visited, were immediately perceived as something feasible within their own resources. Besides exposure to new farming practices, a number of farmers actually bought seeds which were tried out right away. The next field trip six months later was better planned. The technicians had a dry-run on what to be shown at the Rice Institute and at the College of Agriculture, and the farmers were apprised as to what they were going to see. Incidentally at the Rice Institute, one of the first things that were explained, was the nylon nets and what they were for. This shifted focus away from the bizarre and the "inapplicable" to the experimental character of the rice plots before them. The visitors were then impressed by the amount of time, money, effort and study that go into the development of a particular rice variety before it can be recommended for use in their farms. The open forums which followed directly after each visit to the livestock, vegetable and crop sections encouraged farmers to ask questions. Because they were in their own small groups and were

accompanied by the technicians in their respective barrios, they were relatively uninhibited in their questions and remarks to the specialists who explained the projects.

Some of the manifest effects after the trips were the participants' contagious enthusiasm as they talked to friends and neighbors about what the latter missed. A few farmers bought weanlings of upgraded pigs—quite a substantial innovation considering the initial investment and the fact that such foreign breeds are practically untried in their area. Farmers in the barrios visited answered questions on the what's and how's of swine raising. Here again the other farmers' words seem to carry more credibility than those of the specialists' because the visitors appreciate the parallelism in their situations and resources. The attitude was—"If they can do it, why can't we?"

The field trip enabled some barrio people to witness a few things which challenged their existing beliefs; for example, that cabbages instinctively form heads even without the help of clay pots to give them shape; that cows can be sired by bulls from New York by the use of artificial means; and that even small farmers can afford to raise big, fat graded pigs. Bush sitao and hybrid corn seeds were also purchased when they were available. Inquiries on availability of certified rice seeds have been repeatedly made. It is rather disheartening that after arousing the farmers' interest on higher yielding and disease-resistant varieties, he could not adopt them because seeds are not available.

Another side effect of the field trip to the College of Agriculture is the validation of the technician's status as someone who really belongs to an institution devoted to the scientific pursuit of agriculture. Considerable prestige was given the technician when the farmers saw him quite at home with the agricultural experts.

Farm and Home Management Surveys

If the farm and home surveys had been conducted before or at the start of the program, they would have served the triple functions of baseline data for evaluation, background information for program planning, as well as convenient devices for introducing the project and the workers to the barrios. However, it was during the ninth month of the project that these surveys were finally completed. Inclement weather, farming operations, conflicts between time for farmers' classes and time for interviews, distances between houses and the hilly, muddy terrain prevented an early completion of the job. Such a situation leads to "contaminated" benchmark data. How baseline are baseline data gathered after 3 to 9 months of the program's operations?

During the first three months there was a reluctance on the part of the technicians to make deliberate attempts to start extension work for there was a conviction that survey results were prerequisites for extension efforts. Program planning had been practically nil at least during the first six months. Now that the survey results are available, it is interesting to see what use would be made of them, as far as program planning goes. As a device for getting acquainted with the barrio, the delayed surveys made some limited contributions by way of providing occasions for reinterpretations of the teams' functions which had already been misinterpreted at this point. To the barrio people, the surveys were explained as necessary indicators of where they were at the beginning of the project in order to determine whether the barrios will "progress" in any way after the three-year period.

The delay in the conduct of the surveys was justified on the ground that more reliable responses could be obtained from the barrio people only after the workers had been established and are known in the barrio. On the question of reliability, there can easily be positive as well as negative factors, depending upon the respondents' image of the worker who is asking the questions and their expectations from the project especially after they have been exposed to it for several months. Sometimes the impersonality of an interviewing situation lessens the "push and pull" of responses toward the direction of whatever mutual expectations exist between interviewer and interviewee. The attitude could be one of—"Anyway this person does not know me so even if he finds out what a backward farmer or inefficient housewife I am, I don't really care." The pressure to save face might be less in such situations than when the respondent is concerned with making an impression on the person asking the questions. At any rate, it seems that interviewer's familiarity with the respondent can affect reliability either positively or negatively. Timing is of extreme significance in the planning of barrio surveys if maximum benefits are to be reaped and if interviewing costs are to be reduced.

Farmers' and Homemakers' Classes

On the third month classes on crops, livestock, and homemaking were started. The discussions centered on livestock care and management, cultural practices on crops, and control of pests and diseases. Home management classes focused on clothing construction and plastic bag making. The emphasis so far has been on the introduction of specific practices such as weeding, spraying, straight row planting, fertilizer application, castration, inoculation, sewing, etc. Apparently these individual farming practices serve as convenient devices for the technician to get recognized as a person who has some skills in farming or homemaking. The econo-

mics of production and the concept of farm management have hardly been touched. Analyzing the total farm and home complex, taking stock of existing resources and assessing potentials for development at the individual farm level are tasks that have to be faced—in the light of the program's manifest economic objective.

Concern for the financial side of these lessons in farming is reflected in the questions raised by some farmers—"Of what use will all these classes be if we don't have the capital needed to carry out these recommended practices?" "Yes, we are learning how to construct a hog house but we have no money to spend on building one."

Attendance in farmers' classes during the first sessions ranged from 29 in one barrio, to 9 in another—but later on all the charts recorded dips in attendance. A more discouraging trend was observed in the home-makers' classes where attendance has gone down to three in one barrio and only one student in a certain barrio. In a research for explanations, a number of factors were mentioned by the technicians, the barrio officials, and the researchers. Among the factors mentioned were:

- (1) Farmers are busy with farming operations during the day, so classes had to be scheduled at night but evening meetings are not the most exciting events for tired and sleepy farmer to look forward to.
- (2) In most of the barrios, long distance hiking over muddy trails and deep rice paddies is needed to reach the barrio center where classes are usually held. Some farmers rationalized—"If people who live close to the barrio center do not all attend, perhaps the classes are not worthwhile."
- (3) A number of farmers do not quite understand what the classes are all about.
- (4) The intermittent rains make movement in the barrios difficult especially at night.
- (5) There were some occasions when classes had to be postponed because the technicians were busy writing periodic reports. Such changes in schedule led to confusion and later discouragement in coming to classes.
- (6) Many housewives have babies to take care of, so they send their teen-age daughters to learn sewing. Besides, for some wives, their picture of a "class" as schoolwork, makes them feel too old for such lessons.
- (7) In a barrio divided into two factions known as "North and South Korea," the "North Koreans" are not inclined to attend classes held in "South Korea."

Measures taken to increase attendance in classes took the form of letters of invitations sent out by the technicians; barrio assembly meetings to reexplain why classes were being held; house-to-house campaigns; pos-

ters announcing classes; personal letter handwritten by the home management technician requesting the barrio council members to remind women about homemakers' classes; and appeals to barrio leaders to enjoin other barrio residents to attend classes. A big group turned out when movies were shown. Appeals to "hiya" and community pride by comparison with reportedly better participation in other barrios were made. Now and then the barrio officials reminded people that this was not just a *hand-out project*. "What will the top brass in Los Baños¹² say? What will the technicians say? We are good only in taking advantage of material aid but we do not cooperate with them in activities they initiate?" To some extent the responsibility for reviving classes fell on the shoulders of the barrio council members.

A *sitio-to-sitio*¹³ rotational system of conducting classes in order to reach as many farmers as possible had its weaknesses because people attended only when the class was held in their own *sitio* but failed to follow the class in the next *sitio*. This disrupted the lessons which were started in one *sitio* with the intention of continuing them in the next *sitio*. Implicit in all of these efforts to get more people to attend classes is the use of group size as a measure of attendance—a criterion often used to judge success in extension activities. Whether big attendance actually means effective development work is something that deserves more intensive study.

This problem of dwindling attendance also brings to the fore the reasons for holding classes. A cursory examination of the matter seems to indicate that "felt need"¹⁴ was the basis for engaging in this activity. This is reflected in such statements of the technicians as: "Farmers are inquiring about classes. They are very eager to learn more about farming so they can improve harvest." "The women wanted to know when classes will be started." A few questions may then be asked: Who felt the need? The farmers? The Homemakers? or the technicians? Who among the farmers *felt* the need? How many people *felt* it? How many is *many*?

If the identity of the persons who reportedly felt the need remains almost anonymous, the extension worker has no concrete objective evidence that such and such persons have signified their interest in classes. Therefore he is not in a position to expect commitment from the barrio people to this particular extension activity.

¹² Place where the College of Agriculture is located.

¹³ A *sitio* is a district of a *barrio*.

¹⁴ See Howard W. Beers, *Sociological Principles of Action: A Note Proposing Adaptive Research in Developing Countries* (a forthcoming paper). The author proposes some approaches in testing commonly-supported principles of action, one of which happens to be *felt need*.

What should be pointed out however is the fact that those who participated regularly in the classes appeared to be motivated by a serious desire to learn better ways of farming. Discussions frequently centered on intelligent questions raised, for example, How many times should hogs be vaccinated? Which of the recommended palay seeds could be planted this season? What do the number 8-13-0 in fertilizer bags mean? The few teen-agers and housewives who pursued their clothing lessons actually learned to sew their own clothes.

Every now and then there are farm *pilosopos* in these classes who put the technician on trial for what he knows. It has been observed, however, that these *pilosopos* are relatively subdued during discussions on livestock. The livestock technician who, among other things, diagnoses animal diseases, performs some surgical skills, and even writes prescriptions, has a little aura of mystery around him coupled with specialized skills not unlike the reaction to a physician. Cases of successful livestock cures make for dramatic illustrations of what a technician has to offer. Furthermore these particular farmers have not had much experience in livestock and are therefore not sufficiently armed with know-how with which to confront the technicians.

The barrio which was predicted to be the most *difficult* to work with registered the highest attendance in farmers' classes. This phenomenon was completely unexpected for at the start all the prognosis seemed to be negative. Gambling and drinking were the major activities of the people. A classical story is told of husbands who are willing to mortgage their wives for betting money. Another observation is made of tenants who, undercover, haul away part of the harvest before the landlord gets his share—an additional income invested in *cara y cruz* and *feria*. The first livestock technician who was assigned to the barrio never succeeded in organizing even a single meeting.

An analysis of the forces contributing to the shift in the plot of the story showed the following:

The incumbent technician who was withdrawn in favor of another assignment was rather insecure about his competence in livestock. He felt that crops was more of his specialization. Perhaps this insecurity showed—so farmers never got beyond the skeptical stage. However the new technician readily won the farmers' confidence when recoveries were reported for the first cases of livestock diseases he handled. This became more significant because the owners of the animals are influential and respected persons whose endorsement of the project in the barrio was bound to be contagious. Another contributory factor—the loss of the barrio map and the list of households which were accomplished by the former

technician necessitated a repetition of the job. This gave the new technician an opportunity to make house-to-house visits during which he introduced himself, defined his role, and reexplained the whole project.

Answering Service Calls

To some extent the team members have performed service functions particularly for livestock cases of disease, farrowing, castration, deteething, deworming, and other similar jobs. One chronic problem encountered is the unavailability of drugs and other needed materials in the local stores. Several times the livestock technician bought the medicine himself only to receive a "Thank you" from the farmer and a post-script "Someday we might also be of help to you." The project's policy of "free service but no free drugs" deviates from the practice of two existing government agencies which provide free chemicals along with the services, hence asking people to buy them has its drawbacks. In the classes in clothing, the home management technician bought some materials for the homemakers but the women are rather slow in paying for these materials after they have been used.

Another type of service function is performed by the community development worker who is used as a contact person to follow up resolutions and to establish connections with different government offices from which assistance is expected by the barrio people. He is also called upon to help draft ordinances and resolutions for the barrio council and to clarify items that involve technicalities in the provisions of the Barrio Charter.

These service calls have so far been partly utilized as teaching, as well as acceptance-gaining devices. Castration and deteething have been demonstrated such that the farmers can now perform the operations themselves. In the process of treating sick animals a few deaths have occurred but the technicians used these casualties as *lessons from the dead* in terms of calling attention to the importance of preventive measures and prompt diagnosis of illness. A parallelism between animals and human beings is often drawn to emphasize the point.

Requests for local government, livestock or crops services also become opportunities for the technicians to invite people to attend farmers' classes and Lay Leadership Institutes for further enlightenment. One particular case of a sick carabao which recovered, led to the owner's endorsement of the project which he was not enthusiastic about earlier because it was identified with the barrio lieutenant who was his political rival.

Use of Visiting Experts

It seems that no development program proceeds without its battery of experts. The present project is no exception. A whole group of spe-

cialists was brought to the barrios for three reasons: (1) to expose them to situations existing in the barrios in preparation for future requests for technical assistance; (2) to provide first-hand technical guidance to farmers; and (3) to create an awareness of and to develop an appreciation for the specialists' role in the extension outreach of the different agencies involved in the project. In other words, the trip was intended to be a double-edged instrument to bring about change not only in the farmer's practices, attitudes, and skills but also in the potential change agent himself—the specialist.

In the barrio meetings some farmers brought soil samples, specimens of army worm and plants suffering from rice blast in order to get the "word from the experts." While the rest did not have specimens to show, they brought with them very specific questions on rice, bananas, citrus, and coconuts. They described symptoms in their plants and expected to obtain both diagnosis and prescription. After all—"Aren't these people experts?" The farmers were also preoccupied with soil analysis as a one-shot measure which would determine kind and quantity of fertilizers, varieties of rice to plant, and susceptibility of plants to pests and diseases. Obviously some soil experts have oversold soil analysis. When field trials and controlled experiments were recommended, there were shoulder-shrug-gings on the part of the farmers. "If they are such experts, what do we need experiments for?" Besides, tenant farmers were reluctant to assume the risks involved in field trials, without the landowner's consent.

When asked what chemicals might be used to combat disease in banana plants, one of the experts suggested that the diseased plant be pulled out, burned, and replaced with a more resistant variety. The immediate reaction of the farmers was—"We don't need an expert to tell us that. We do it all the time." The experts' proposed remedy appeared fatalistic for the economic (the chemicals cost more than the bananas) and the disease control implications of the recommendation which were obvious to the specialist were not obvious to the farmers. Another *faux pas* was committed when the first question asked by one specialist was—"Are your *kaingins* titled?" In an area where the current practice is illegal *kaingin*, such a question automatically puts the farmers on the defensive and inhibits further discussion.

In the question and answer session, conditional answers with if-clauses were not well received. The farmers were searching for definitive and to-the-point solutions to the specific problems they had in mind.

As a method of bringing innovations to the barrio this visit by the experts had its weaknesses but as a device for getting the "ivory tower"

expert and the bureaucrat initiated into the dynamics of extension work, it was a healthy "shocker." The stereotype of the typical barrio man as ignorant, naive, and reticent begins to give way. There is also the quick recognition that working with farmers is rather different from answering research questions under controlled conditions. And finally, the experts agreed that extension work is not exactly for the *low-brow*. In the *post mortem* analysis of their barrio exposure, the specialists pointed out that concrete technical questions in agriculture can not be adequately answered in a meeting. The actual field situations need to be seen and they would prefer to work through the technician rather than directly with the farmers. Preference for the latter course of action arises from the desire to avoid discrediting the *expertness* of the technician and the need to lean on him for his grasp of methods in communicating with farmers.

Lay Leadership Institute

One of the methods commonly used by community development workers is the Lay Leadership Institute which is designed to prepare local people for leadership in their respective communities. Among the topics covered in such an Institute are: importance of attending barrio meetings, responsibilities of a leader and of a group member, characteristics of a good participant, barriers in group decision making, provisions of the Barrio Charter, preparation of ordinances and resolutions, and keeping minutes and records of barrio meetings and other activities. Role playing is a technique frequently employed to dramatize some of the dynamics in group action.

During the sessions the participants tended to project their discussions into what was actually happening in their barrio. The characters described in the lessons were identified with true-to-life persons in the community, such that the uncooperative group member described became Ka Pendong or Mang Segundo. While there were cases when the individuals concerned were positively affected in terms of assuming responsibilities, in other cases the persons who perceived the similarity between themselves and the "undesirable" characters referred to, stayed away from the Institute because of embarrassment. A symbolic Tagalog song on community problems entitled *May Butas*¹⁵ which was taught during the Institute, acquired a malicious connotation and a few persons spread the news that the Institute was nothing but nonsensical singing.

On the whole, however, there was an increased awareness of the barrio's rights and responsibilities under the Barrio Charter. In many instances this piece of legislation was explained to the barrio officials and

¹⁵ Literally, this means "There's a hole."

other residents for the first time. Even the provision on the barrios 10 per cent share of the real estate tax which is one of the better known aspects of the Charter, was not understood. Some people thought this had reference to the crop sharing system. Barrio officials have expressed a conviction that municipal officials can no longer dictate to them. The inclusion of the Filipino flag and the Philippine National Anthem as one of the topics for the Institute drew favorable response from the participants. They remarked that so-called disrespectful or irreverent behavior toward the flag arises from ignorance and not from lack of patriotism.

The most conspicuous effects of the Institute lay in the immediate passage of several ordinances and the drafting of various resolutions after the procedures were learned with the guidance of the community development worker. Ordinances were passed imposing fines for non-attendance in barrio council meetings, for failure to put up toilets, and for allowing animals to go stray. Resolutions were drafted for all kinds of reasons: construction of artesian wells, extension of spring water pipes, purchase of site for barrio center, fencing of school yard, putting up of a barrio market, and even a blanket resolution to get any form of material aid from a Senator who happened to be passing through on a pre-election campaign. Resolutions and ordinances are regarded as instant solutions to many community problems. So far the ordinances have not been enforced and the barrio council faces the risk of embarrassment. However a few resolutions have produced pre-election *aid* from the Governor and the Congressman.

The Lay Leadership Institute, by the way, was not responsible for some existing practices in group action. The *committee* way of doing things is not a novelty at the barrio level. Before any LLI class was held, in one of the barrios people, had already launched the construction of a barrio hall using volunteer committees with their respective chairman. The same system of organizing barrio residents was utilized in preparing for the Community Assembly. Quite unique in this barrio also is the practice of feeding fiesta enthusiasts after the mass in a community kitchen instead of inviting guests to each individual household. Incidentally this was an expense-trimming innovation inaugurated by the barrio long before the Fiesta-for-Progress Movement. In this very same place, the barrio leaders appropriate existing indigenous institutions not only for sentimental but also for more "utilitarian" ends. For example, the needed barrio assembly meeting was scheduled on the day of the Flores de Mayo *alay* (offerings) and the last day of the nine-day prayer for the dead was designated as the date for the *bayanihan* (cooperative labor) on the con-

struction of the barrio health center. In both occasions, there were captive participants and prepared refreshments anyway.

The Politics of Material Aid

Material assistance which is a universal pattern of approach to development takes on a particular quality under Philippine barrio conditions. The Community Assembly which is purportedly designed to bring the provincial government and its incumbent officials closer to the barrio people, functions in many ways as a mechanism for dispensing public funds in politically strategic places. Barrio feeder roads, spring development projects, wooden foot-bridge, and barrio centers are credited by the barrio people to different politicians—Congressman, Governor or Senators. Laborers and timekeepers recruited to work on these various projects are of known party affiliation. Whether or not barrio people recognize that these projects are supported by public funds and not by personal finances of these politicians is not clear, but one thing stands out—people feel a sense of *utang-na-loob* (indebtedness) to these incumbents who gave them the aid.

There is an interesting example of a politically inspired case of a proposed grant of a site for a barrio center, provided the barrio council would endorse a resolution to the effect that they would support the candidacy of a reelectionist. The cost of the piece of land was ₱700 but the barrio lieutenant and other council members refused to sign the resolution lest the candidate withdraw the lot if he loses in their barrio. The barrio folks had a similar experience in the past when a defeated candidate took back the materials he donated for a schoolhouse before the election, hence, the refusal.

Another insight-provoking incident on grant-in-aid was witnessed when NAWASA (National Waterworks and Sewerage Authority) officials notified the barrio council of their intention to recall the unused water pipes given to the barrio about a year ago. A temporary crisis was created for they did not want to lose the pipes which were worth ₱2,500. In response to the crisis, the barrio's first move was to tap the PACD grants-in-aid program. Even after free labor was pledged, rough computation showed that the peso equivalent of labor was still inadequate for the barrio counterpart. The ingenious suggestion made by the barrio lieutenant was the possibility of reckoning the NAWASA pipes as part of the barrio counterpart since NAWASA is a different agency from PACD. This approach to grants-in-aid certainly adds a different dimension to the principle of governmental partnership with the barrio people.

The Role of Women

Although most administrators pay tribute to the role of women in action programs,¹⁶ much of the emphasis has been on the sentimental and the inspirational, rather than on the real, down-to-earth functions of barrio women in development work. In this project there are a few illustrations on the distaff side's role in the many activities at the barrio level.

On the first visit of the team to the barrios, the technicians were impressed by the barrio lieutenant's mother who had all kinds of plans not only for their farm but also for their barrio. She is an example of powerful female influence behind the throne.

Several barrio council members' wives and even the local midwife (the *hilot*) attend farmers' classes and participate in the Lay Leadership Institute. They are as much interested in the discussions as the men—a phenomenon which has not been fully exploited by the technicians. A barrio lieutenant's wife who found out that attendance in homemakers' classes in other barrios was higher than that in her own, went on a house-to-house campaign to convince women that their barrio should be able to do as well, if not better than others. When her husband can not attend barrio council meetings, she is there to represent him not just symbolically but substantively. Another barrio lieutenant's wife was authorized by the barrio treasurer to handle the financial disbursements of the council when he could not do it himself.

The role of women as "communicators" is a stereotype that finds reinforcement in these barrios. Besides being key informants on what's what and who's who in the barrio, they also serve as radiating points for news about the project and the workers. The farmer's wife encourages or discourages him to participate in project activities. Wives of farmer co-operators in result demonstrations assume a major responsibility in the lay-out and maintenance of the lot, as well as in the disposal of the harvest either for friends and neighbors or for the market. She usually decides what the price tags will be.

Since the housewife is the uncontested treasurer in the Filipino family, her role in farm and household management can not be underestimated. While on the surface, extension workers acknowledge this fact, operationally they still behave as if women belong exclusively to homemaking, and men, to farming. However a livestock technician reports on what he considers an outstanding case of female decision-making:

¹⁶ For a provocative article on this subject, see Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., "Women in Economic Development," *Malayan Agriculturist*, Vol. 3, No. 9, 1962-63, pp. 11-21.

Three wives who joined the field trip to a barrio known for its swine-raising were so convinced of its potentialities that they decided to go into the business. They bought the pigs, looked for construction materials, and consulted the technician on the appropriate hog housing plan. What were the husbands' roles in this enterprise? They were the carpenters who built the hog pens after the wives had made substantial investments on stock and construction materials.

In the barrio, the men themselves showed evidence of deference to their women when the home management technician asked barrio council members their opinion on whether a formal homemakers' club should be organized or not. Their reply was—"We can not tell you. Let the women decide for themselves." This question came up because one of the women present during the first meeting of the homemakers, was pressing for an appointment of officers right then and there. The suggestion was made because her estimate of the situation pointed strongly to her possible appointment as leader—a shrewd insight for a scheming female. As the technician found out later on, she is a prestige-hungry self-selected leader.

Perhaps for the purposes of development work, it would be more fruitful to think of the Filipino woman in the rural scene as an active initiator, legitimizer, and decision-maker in her own right, rather than just a person who plays a more supportive role to her husband, her father, or her barrio.

A Few More "Possible" Unintended Effects

Sometimes a change agent's preoccupation with certain ends and commitment to specified tools of action lead to ramifying effects which may not always seem relevant to the stated objectives of a given program.¹⁷ Throughout the previous discussion an attempt was made to describe some of the effects, intended or unintended, of different extension approaches. In this section, a few more unintended effects which are existing or may be forthcoming are cited.

- (1) In the name of *pakikisama* with the barrio people, technicians have turned down the use of spoons and forks and to a large extent, ended up eating with their fingers. Their landladies in the boarding houses also praise them for willingness to eat any kind of food available in the barrio. For a home management technician, what leverage do these practices provide in terms of improving health, sanitation, and nutrition when the change agents themselves have been "converted" to the ways of the "natives"?¹⁸

¹⁷ See Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1953, pp. 253-256, for a discussion of sources of unanticipated consequences.

¹⁸ A similar point is raised by Albert Mayer and Associates in *Pilot Project*

- (2) Participation in activities initiated by the workers is regarded by some barrio people as a favor to the worker. For example, taking down the names of farmers and homemakers attending classes was readily interpreted as a desire on the part of the worker to produce a long list for the benefit of his supervisor. This is probably a reflection of their appreciation for government agency's concern for numbers in evaluating the accomplishments of the worker. The researcher was once defined by the barrio people as a "chronicler" of the team's achievements.
- (3) The acquisition of some skills in local government procedures may lead to an increased dependency on politicians since they are able to make resolutions embodying requests for more material aid. So far, resolutions have been used only for this purpose. Amateur experiences in making ordinances may result in the *penal* approach to barrio development—fines for failure to "develop."
- (4) Some activities which seem to be remotely related to politics acquired political flavor during the pre-election period. Candidates tried to check on the technicians' schedule for farmers' classes and meetings, for then they just moved into captive audience for their campaign speeches. A transistor radio donated by CARE (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere) became the source of partisan factionalism because an incumbent government official gave instructions to the vice-barrio lieutenant that the radio was for the exclusive listening pleasure of the Liberals. Actually the radio had been enjoyed mainly by the vice-barrio lieutenant's family. The factions which revolve around the radio greatly affect participation in development activities at the community level.

These instances cited above call attention to the need to comprehend not only the direct, but also the derivative, and even successive derivative effects of the different features in an action program.

Some Comments and General Questions

A descriptive view of the different steps taken in introducing change provokes a few questions and comments:

- (1) It seems that the problem of rural development is not simply a problem of cutting the paternalistic ties with the *goberno* or any other father figure, but it is more a problem of shifting this dependency to the kind of dependency which arises from specialization and division of labor and not from paternalism. One of the pressing needs in this direction is the development of a "genuine" functionary at the barrio level

India: The Story of Rural Development at Etawah, Uttar Pradesh, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1958, p. 20.

"Identification with the village people is all-important to the Grandhian constructive worker. This is usually equated with a sharing of all the people's hardships. One could only humbly learn from this identification with the villager. There might be the tendency to over-identify with the people's hardships, i.e., to accept so much of deprivation, so much of plain living and high thinking that the drive toward necessary improvements would be weakened."

who will fill the need for this latter type of dependency. Sometimes in the preoccupation with the social aspects of development, too much emphasis is placed on building relationships with the barrio people and not enough on the technical requirements of development. Actually as has been shown in the first months of work, convincing proof of technical competence in a field of specialization is one of the easiest ways to gain a foothold in the barrio. It helps overcome the barriers of skepticism and apathy, and serves as a point of entree for the worker to introduce more innovations. Seriousness of purpose, devotion to duty, and rural bias are essential requisites for work in the villages but these merely represent *intent* and not *content*. In spite of the social scientist's constant caution on the social and cultural factors in directed change, extension workers need to be reminded that technical competence is one of his most potent weapons and increased income, one of his objectives in development. Without them, he is like a teacher who is equipped with teaching methods but has very little to teach.

- (2) The approaches used in introducing change have been mainly farmers' and homemakers' classes and Lay Leadership Institute. There is a semblance of SOP (standard operating procedures) in the identical subject matter and extension techniques used in the different barrios. A change agent, it seems, can use a substantial dose of analytical ability and creativity such that the utilization of these tools of action do not become ends in themselves. Quite contrary to the popular notion for the so-called practitioner, the need to indulge in abstract thinking and idea manipulation is as great, if not greater, than for the academician because the decisions of the former have more direct and immediate implications for human existence. Quite often, also, in the analysis of why changes did or did not occur, it is only in the target system that stimulators or inhibitors get identified. It is seldom that the change system is subjected to the same scrutiny as the village that responded or did not care to respond.
- (3) What is the role of the home management technician? How does she fit into the overall scheme for development? An inquiry into her possible functions outside the limited scope of homemaking may make for a more effective entree into the home. The wife's active role as a decision-maker on the farm and in the community can not be dissociated from her role as a homemaker. Furthermore, the sequence with which different innovations are adopted by the family and the community should be examined. At what point during the development process does an improved kitchen, better-looking clothes, and better-tasting meals attract the barrio family's attention?
- (4) Experiences at least during the first six months have shown that a development program can not be neatly insulated from politics. In cases where the technician's informed opinion is called for in matters which have political implications, what does being noncommittal mean? Does it mean neutrality or does it mean a withdrawal from a situation where change might be needed?

- (5) What is the role of a change agent in so far as local factions are concerned? Are local conflicts to be avoided, ignored, resolved or utilized by the worker as competitive rivalry for achievement?
- (6) To what extent can the extension worker "go native" without being absorbed into the target system and without losing his perspective as a change agent? How much of the personalistic relationships with the barrio people can be pursued without jeopardizing his professional role as a change agent? How much cultural congruity is functional for a program of directed change?

Meaningful answers to these questions will not be forthcoming unless the designers of development programs step out of the operational details, the maze of administrative and logistic problems, and look at the enterprise as a totality. The innumerable events and activities that take place assume coherence only when the total configuration is visualized. Policies adopted depend upon the thoughts underlying the program and the explicit action taken is often circumscribed by the pattern of behavior within the make-up of each individual extension worker.¹⁹

¹⁹ See Abbott P. Usher, *A History of Mechanical Inventions*, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. 23-26, for a discussion of thought and action at three distinct levels: abstract ideas and concepts, patterns of behavior expressed as habits or policies, and explicit action.