

Rural Development: Concepts and Components

JAIME B. VALERA*

The history of development concepts presents general ideas that can be applied to the discussion of rural development. The linear view of development, typified by the trickle down and modernization models, and the theory of underdevelopment, espoused in dependency theory, are discussed in this paper. From these models, the concept of rural development is introduced as a continuation and elaboration of the general idea of development. Two approaches are emphasized: one that seeks productivity; the other, using social and political processes. The basic human needs method of targetting can then be used to attain goals based on these two approaches.

Introduction

Rural development is like asking for things we do not have — everything — or it may be asking for things we should not have. It depends on what is desired for ourselves and what is perceived to be needed for others. The range of ideas about development especially when applied to poor countries begins on one end with philosophical abstractions such as those expounding on human worth or human dignity,¹ to mundane but concrete indicators like "poverty thresholds" in recognizable numbers such as income of P5,212 a month for a family of six in Metro Cebu.²

Rural development is at once a shorthand device for the apparent: that development is for the majority who are outside Metro Manila and other urban centers. For the most part, developmentally, the Philippines is Metro Manila and what is beyond Metro Manila³ since in terms of the usual indicators of progress communication media, schools, hospitals, entertainment shows and the like — there seems to be only a "center," Metro Manila, and the "periphery," the rest of the country. It is expected that the rural portion of the population which was about 65 percent in 1975 will be only about half (53 percent) by the turn of the next century.⁴ In absolute figures, something like 41.5 million people will still be rural which was approximately the total population in 1975. Then, the rural people were only 27 million. The expected population increase will also put

*Associate Professor, Department of Agricultural Education and Rural Studies, University of the Philippines at Los Banos.

pressure on urban centers. For instance, the national center, Metro Manila, will have to contend with about 16 million inhabitants by year 2000. This number is more than three times the population in 1975. A large proportion of these is expected to be migrants from rural areas.

Underdevelopment

Rural development will be a continuing and substantial part of national development. Arguably, it is national development and for most poor countries, "it is a prerequisite to national development."⁵ Yet rural development will have features unique as well as similar processes happening to urban development. At certain times, it will be complementary to urban development when it is positive. When it is negative, such as when the consequences are not desirable, rural development is part of a process called *underdevelopment*.

For example, the farm population of Toledo (now a city) in Cebu province was drastically changed by the reduction of the areas planted to rice, corn, cassava and sweet potato. In 1960, there were 5,716 farms with a total area of 10,835 hectares, but by 1971, there were only 2,247 farms left with 4,787 hectares. This was caused by the establishment and expansion of mining company.⁶ The farm population was reduced not because the displaced farm labor was absorbed by the mining firm since only 3,594 of the 11,981 employees were residents of Toledo. Not only were people driven away from this "development" but the ecology of the marine life in Tanon Strait and the atmosphere around the foundry in Sangi were slowly but surely compromised.⁷

Alternatively, development is a process of "decolonization" from both foreign and local elite domination. Currently,⁸ it is claimed that there is an urgent need to break out from underdevelopment.

What is development? How did rural development come about? Following is a short essay on the history of development and the application of the associated ideas to rural development. Different perspectives of selected scholars will be presented. As a disclaimer, this is not an attempt to portray the final, unbiased or value-free summary of rural development. While economic growth in such indices like the Gross National Product (GNP), or modernization may be analyzed in a cold-blooded, value-free way, development is never value-free. "People who speak of development should frankly admit that they are engaged in the business of ethics and, at least potentially, of politics."⁹ This is only one attempt at the truth. This piece certainly does not conceive of the truth to be a collection of perspectives since it is possible to have a rock-like collection of errors. Rather, it is hoped we will have presented another shifting of the grains of truth from different points of views.

Evolution of an Undemocratic Idea

Development is definitely the new clothes of the proverbially naked emperor; otherwise it is only a new tag for the old dog. Specifically, the word "developing" is the polite name for societies that have been described earlier as primitive or backward.¹⁰ Its roots are the many ideas of "progress" and "modernization." More than anything else, these ideas of progress and modernization were the stereotyped views of Third World¹¹ development by educated laymen and scholars, a great majority of whom were from the First World.¹² "Historically, the word 'development' was coined by spokesmen from 'developed' areas to dramatize efforts by others which implicitly presume to be aimed at imitating their own accomplishments and achieving their own status."¹³ In particular:

The history of Philippine development and most developing countries shows that development did not grow from the roots, the rural people. For one thing, we existed as a colony of another; therefore, things have been handed down from the top and everything has to come from the top which is the very nature of colonial development. . . .¹⁴

Economic Trickle-down and Take-off

Modernization in its economic design and practice by the end of the Second World War focused mainly on general economic growth. It was hoped that the industrialized sector when developed would stimulate growth of other sectors of a national economy. Thus, we have the two sector model of development.¹⁵

The two-sector idea suggested that the effects and benefits from the industrial sector development will "trickle down" to the less developed sector. In short, development will proceed from the developed country to the less developed country; within a country, from the industrial sector to the rural sector. This model was the primary pattern of practically all Western international development aid to developing countries. A very popular development model which fitted this mode of thinking was the anti-communist manifesto of Walter Rostow.¹⁶ He likened development to a series of stages the end point of which is the stage of mass consumption. Countries have to pass through a critical stage called the "take-off" to economic growth. This text had great influence in development thinking for more than two decades. The message was clear: countries may develop their economies with this anti-communist model.

The trickle-down idea was also consistent with the social and psychological dimensions of development. Among the popular social-psychological models of development in the individual level were Hagen's,¹⁷ McClelland's,¹⁸ and Lerner's¹⁹ notions of societal progress. Complementary to this, a modernization model for communication as a key to the dissemination of ideas and inventions was elaborated by Rogers²⁰ in a famous process called diffusion of innovations.

Modernization Paradigms

All of these economic, psychological, and social theories about development belonged to what is now known as the "dominant paradigm." Paradigms are the collected basic intellectual beliefs and assumptions from which specific theories are formed.²¹ The fundamental ideas of development are not only in the formal ideas like theories but also in the core assumptions that scholars have about people, in general. These ideas go to the heart of what development is. Ideas about people's inherent goodness or badness, for instance, are considered. Whether or not they ought to be "saved" since they are impoverished or otherwise culturally primitive are also tackled.

This dominant paradigm presumed that less developed countries were socially backward if not technologically inept. Thus we have the notion, among others, that many countries are underdeveloped because of personal or social weaknesses as captured in catchy words and phrases like "laggards," "familism," "culture of poverty," and low "need for achievement."

In the latter part of the 1960s, these varying versions of the "individual blame" syndrome were openly excoriated by Western²² and non-Western²³ scholars of development. Questions were raised about the simplistic ideas and assumption behind development theories such as the communication-development model of Everett Rogers.²⁴ As Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn describes it:

...the world is not monolinear, not made of homogenous parts that all follow the same course. The mistake of the West... is that everyone measures their civilizations by the degree to which they approximate Western civilization. If they do not approximate it, they are hopeless, dumb, reactionary. . . .²⁵

A group of Latin American scholars beginning in the late 50s have been explaining development as underdevelopment.²⁶

Briefly, the criticism may be summarized: most of the theories of societal development were either circular or culturally biased. The main argument offered why societies fail to develop was that the people in those societies do not have the qualities of the Western industrialized peoples. The ultimate pattern was the Western model. It was not simply a case of economic profiles that had to be emulated but more fundamentally, the psychological and social patterns of the West had to be copied in order for societies to take off.²⁷

Underdevelopment Models: An Improved Conception?

By the end of the 60s and early 70s, the dominant paradigm already had its notable results, as in the cases of Singapore and Korea, but also the unpleasant, if not entirely execrable consequences. Brazil is an example. In the Philippines, we had our development debacle.²⁸ For more than two decades the country was

described to have experienced growth without development.²⁹ Since the 1950s up to the 1970s, poverty has worsened such that the "gap between the rich and the poor" widened.³⁰ Majority of the Filipinos felt that the socioeconomic conditions in 1974 were worse than they were in 1969.³¹ For most of the Third World, the same phenomenon was observed:

It is now clear that more than a decade of rapid growth in underdeveloped countries has been of little or no benefit to perhaps a third of their population. Although the average per capita income of the Third World has increased by 50 percent since 1960, this growth has been very unequally distributed among countries, regions within countries, and socioeconomic groups.³²

In the Philippines:

Growth without development means that in the last 20 years, we have been channeling scarce investment and financial sources, much of these borrowed, towards activities that have little, if any, relevance to the building of a modern industrial economy. These activities which in fact were simply entrenching and hardening the imbalances and irrelevancies of an economic system that had long ago ceased to be responsive to the requirements of our people, as well as the requirements of the state.³³

Gradually, an alternative group of ideas was proposed—*theories of underdevelopment*—to explain the many instances of development debacle in Latin America and Africa.³⁴ Many of these were intellectual heirs of Karl Marx and Lenin. These underdevelopment schools of thought accept the general historical processes described as mercantile capitalism (1600-1800), colonialism (1800-1900) and neocolonialism (about 1900 to the present).

Uneven Development

Put very briefly, it was not development that happened to Third World countries. At best it was *uneven development*. For instance, while the infant mortality rate in the Philippines was declining from the 50s to the 70s, the 67 per thousand mortality was still higher than the 15 per thousand of advanced economies. On the other hand, by 1965 in the rural areas, 37 percent of the families were living below the "food threshold" (level of absolute poverty). In 1971 this went up to 48 percent; that is, almost half of the rural peoples were not having the minimum food required for mere survival.³⁵ It was also doubted whether development was occurring in First World countries. The industrialized societies which were expected to be more developed experienced their own forms of *maldevelopment*. As development writers summed it:

... In the later sixties, with rising unemployment, crime, drugs, terrorism, and the youth revolt against materialism, the West was losing its arrogant self-confidence. The ecology movement gained ground. The impending oil shortage brought into question the philosophy of eternal growth. For all their increased wealth, people were plainly not getting any happier; indeed in many countries the point seemed to have been reached where further increases in material wealth brought an actual decline in human

welfare. The Western model no longer seemed such a desirable goal to aim for. At the same time, as Western growth rates slowed, concern for social justice came to the fore, as poorer groups aimed to get from redistribution the extra income they could no longer hope for from growth...³⁶

. . . in the face of increasing bureaucratization of life in 'developed countries,' there is a growing readiness to entertain the possibility at least that rich countries are emotionally, aesthetically, communally and spiritually underdeveloped.³⁷

The leading industrialized nation, the United States, did not prove to be the most egalitarian society it was supposed to be. In 1964, the distribution of the total wealth of families was better in Czechoslovakia, for instance, where the top 20 percent of the families had only two-and-a-half more than the total income of the lowest 40 percent.³⁸ Further, the inequality in the US income distribution has not changed substantially since the Second World War, with the poorest 20 percent having 3.9 percent of the wealth and the richest 20 percent having 44.5 percent of the wealth in 1975. In 1947, it was 3.5 and 45.5 percent, respectively.³⁹

For the Philippines, the ratio of incomes between the richest 20 percent of the people and the poorest 20 percent was about 11 times in 1956. It increased to 21 times by 1981.⁴⁰

Dependency

Accordingly, the underdevelopment theories explained that the poor countries were poor because of the continued exploitation, if not persistent colonial penetration, by dominant Western countries. Furthermore, the link between international centers of economic power and the peripheral poor countries is repeated through the local commercial, governmental and intellectual elites' exploitation (or underdevelopment) of their own national peripheries. Thus, the "dependency" relationship, first on a worldwide system of exploitation and second, simultaneously within a poor country. The latter phenomenon is also called "internal colonialism," a process where the national centers (like capital cities) invest and control commerce in the provinces only to draw capital to the national centers or, more profitably, to "salt" it out to the other financial capitals of the world. The usual justification, in the case of the multinational firms, is that they pay the highest wages among all competing enterprises and that they make available the use of new technology, thus benefiting the periphery. The fact is that they are in business in a poor country because cost of labor is very much cheaper than what was given in their former locations.⁴¹ This is clear in the case of transnational companies involved in agribusiness. In 1975, the Philippines and Somalia had the lowest daily wage for banana workers, about one US dollar and 76 US cents, respectively.⁴² If a transnational company could make higher profits in another poor country, it may move out its operations from a former poor country even if it has made reasonably large profits earlier from

there. The moving of Mattel Toys out of the Philippines to Thailand is one recent example.⁴³

The growth of the advanced industrialized countries is dependent on the simultaneous underdevelopment of the less developed countries. To be sure, these theories do not suggest complete underdevelopment but only say that this is the major reason for the slow growth of poor countries. The linkage of advanced and poor countries is very close in some cases such that within 24 hours, the fluctuation of the price of gold in the London markets is known in the mining sites of the hinterlands of a poor country.

Theoretical and Empirical Problems

As theories, Lenin's economic imperialism and dependency notions such as Frank's⁴⁴ were found to be deficient conceptually as well as empirically.⁴⁵ Dependency theory is a circular explanation: "dependent countries are those which lack the capacity for autonomous growth and they lack this because their structures are dependent ones."⁴⁶ It appears that there is dependency of all sorts but more of interdependency since developed societies are inextricably dependent not only on poor countries but also on other industrialized countries.

It has been observed that under actual field conditions, the socialistic or centralized regimes offered as an alternative by *dependistas* have serious problems. Some of these have been enumerated by Moris:⁴⁷

- (1) Elitism also emerges since policies are defined at the top by the political purists and virtually exclude important decision-making by those who are managed, the bottom.
- (2) Class-based programs often are sources of community conflict such that they provide serious divisiveness rather than unity towards a common aim.
- (3) Too much time and effort are spent in identifying the *kulaks* or bad peasants, from the good peasants.
- (4) There are questions as to whether or not the dominant political party reflects the true interests of the majority. It is not unusual for the leaders to hide behind exigencies and bureaucratic requirements when actually, they merely justify the continuance of power or the cover-up of administrative malfeasance.
- (5) There is a tendency to prevent market mechanisms to operate even among small rural enterprises which summarily depresses the need to be innovative and productive.

Finally, even if we accept that there are certain types of domination, the dependency that results is not necessarily total and unending. Some development may occur and it may lead to autonomous growth.⁴⁸ Some other writers claim that dependency can be overcome.⁴⁹

In summary, the central themes to which most theories of dependency would adhere to are the following:

- (1) There is an international system wherein most of the world's wealth is accumulated by appropriating inordinate profits from peripheral countries.⁵⁰
- (2) There has been increasing organization among rich countries as well as opposition among poor countries. The crisis is not merely a continuation of the US versus USSR expansion of influence.⁵¹
- (3) No thorough understanding of the development of one country can be pursued without linking it to the rest of the world economy system and the role of dominant countries like the United States.⁵²

From this highly simplified presentation of a history of development concepts, it is clear that the idea of societal development is an evolving, if not a contentious process. More importantly, it should be one that has to be put into a global perspective and in the context of a changing society. The features, analogies and the realities change through (1) the temporal experience of nation states, and (2) the continuous building and critical examination of contending ideas towards a more tenable approach to development, since there is doubt as to the viability of a universal theory of development.⁵³ It is on this note that we have to examine our own ideas about rural development.

Continuities of Development: The Rural Sector

Rural development is not a sub-species of development. From one perspective, rural development is a continuation, an elaboration, as it were, of world development which emerged as a response to the plaguing problems that traditional models were not able to arrest. Rural development has been "an apparatus of the process of modernization," the dominant paradigm and theory in the Third World in the past two decades.⁵⁴ The focus on rural development was formally acknowledged in the pronouncements and the expansion of the World Bank development lending activities.⁵⁵ This was followed by similar statements in other international organizations such as the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) the New Delhi Declaration of 1975. Eventually, we were given new phrases such as "integrated rural development." Conceptually, the interest and the focus were no different from that of "community development" of the 50s.⁵⁶ Therefore, as a programmatic attempt to solve rural problems, rural development is not new. "The present government does not seem to have developed rural development strategies much different from past approaches."⁵⁷

Some Definitions

How different is rural development? Some of the definitions in the literature are the following:

- (1) A process through which rural poverty is alleviated by sustained increases in productivity and incomes of low income rural workers and households.⁵⁸

- (2) There are various definitions of rural development but one that seems most relevant for Asia is to identify rural development with the objective of raising incomes of smaller farmers and landless workers.⁵⁹
- (3) A process of change among hundreds of thousands of rural people... Development refers only to those changes which are seen as desirable among rural people who are changing.⁶⁰
- (4) A planned process using any form of action or communications designed to change the environment, techniques, institutions and attitudes of rural people in such a way as to eliminate poverty and improve their way of life.⁶¹
- (5) A process which leads to a continuous rise in the capacity of rural people to control their environment, accompanied by a wider distribution of benefits resulting from such control.⁶²

Poverty in Wealth and Power: Two Approaches

These definitions are fairly recent compared to the entrenched ideas such as "modernization." It can be said that rural development became an emphatic redefinition of development especially when it is about the developing countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa whose major characteristics are (1) poverty and (2) their being populous. It is not quite surprising that by the seventies, the target and rationale of the prime development lending institution, the World Bank, was "rural poverty." The eradication of poverty is at the focal center of the concept of "integrated rural development."⁶³ This rediscovery of poverty is made more salient considering that close to four decades after the grant of formal independence, the Philippines continues to be burdened by the most typical features of economic backwardness: a rural and agricultural structure that impoverishes the majority of the population.⁶⁴

Productivity and Social Transformation

The selected definitions listed above clearly identify the core of the problem and the general approaches to solve this. To simplify, there are two general approaches:

- (1) Poverty will be eradicated, if we follow the traditional (World Bank) approach emphasizing the need for increases in the income generation, i.e., productivity. There is the fundamental assumption that development may be attained mainly through economic growth in order to attain quality of life and to achieve political goals.⁶⁵
- (2) For others, put in the context of general development, the second approach is more of the use of social and political transformation or mobilization processes.

Productivity is not a sufficient condition for development. It has been noted in recent Philippine experience that productivity has not benefited the majority of the people. Recent surveys showed "that the poor have lesser chances to benefit from economic growth."⁶⁶ Even in Metro Manila in 1988, those who reported to be better-off due to the recent economic improvement (as indicated

by the rise in GNP) were in the socioeconomic groups classified as "A," "B" and "C". Those of the lower social categories as "D" and "E" had negative movements, i.e., they reported that they did not benefit from the general economic growth. Mangahas summarized the gains and losses as follows:⁶⁷

Class A, B	+ 6 percent
Class C	+ 9 percent
Class D	-11 percent
Class E	- 4 percent

The process of increasing production itself can be destructive. Therefore, mere attainment of productivity may be a Pyrrhic victory, among others:

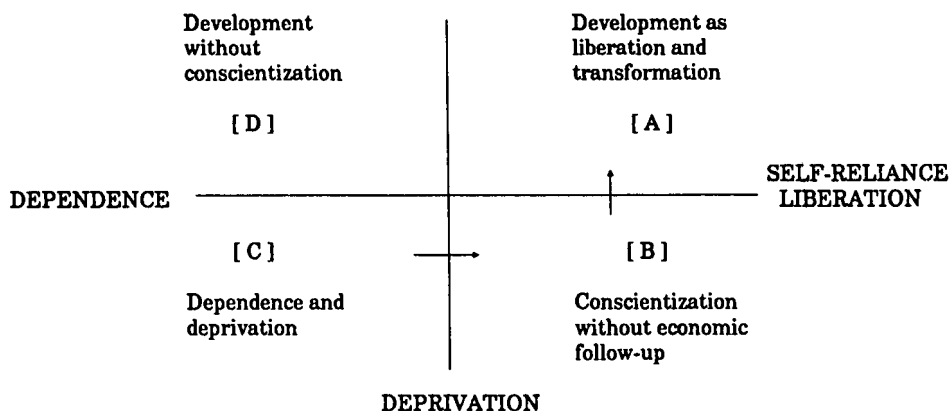
The primary goal of productivity that underlies rural development has in fact strengthened the material basis for increasing social differentiation within and among rural classes. In land reform areas, while a small landholder stratum has been created, an even larger and growing mass of impoverished and discontented leaseholders and amortizing cultivators have sunk deeper into poverty by the very same process of rural development. Indebtedness to rural banks, not to mention the traditional usurer-merchants, had become widespread and in mid-1977, out of around 500,000 loans some 366,000 were underpaid. In land reform areas, estimates put the default rate in amortization as high as 70 percent.⁶⁸

Paradoxically, the drive for more production may be counterproductive in modernizing agriculture:

For example, in the Philippines, despite the presence of IRRI and substantial investment in agricultural infrastructure and support services, significant expansions of the state's role in input allocation and marketing dramatically increased the instability of farming as an economic enterprises. In recent years, several hundred thousand hectares of rice land have been removed from production, often now sitting idle because their operators simply cannot afford to cultivate - this at the time when malnutrition rates, particularly among the poor, may have increased.⁶⁹

Consequently, models such as the NACIAD's is a representative approach that has the goal of "liberation and transformation," in contrast to the traditional development goal which has gross economic upliftment as its primary target without "conscientization and liberation." Figure 1 illustrates the process: beginning with the current state of oppression and poverty (quadrant A), the society must move towards conscientization and liberation (quadrant B), then finally ends up in the state of development (quadrant C), liberation and transformation.⁷⁰ Productivity then is either a means to a higher end or a concomitant result of people having greater control of their lives.

Figure 1. A Model of a Path to Development



A = the desired situation

C = the state of the poor and the oppressed

D = where most traditional development efforts are situated; they do not change dependency

The human development path: C B A

Source: National Council on Integrated Development (NACIAD), *Operational Guidelines for Community Development*, Metro Manila, 1987.

This temporary division between two approaches is not merely to make a convenient conceptual distinction. In 1978, the thrust of UP Los Baños, which has had a tradition of rural development experience, was documented in a collection of papers in rural development.⁷¹ This text organized the country's rural development experience into three major parts: (1) production oriented rural development programs; (2) human oriented rural development programs; and (3) integrated rural development programs. Clearly, for the University the task is one of productivity ("production resource transformation") and human development ("social services and institutional transformation").⁷² Either the two are separate and would meet in the integration section, or programs are necessarily distinct and integration needs varied and separate programs that orchestrate different goals. Yet, this and other definitions were criticized for being "broad and all-encompassing, that it does not guide effectively to any system of priorities."⁷³ It was pointed out that rural development

should focus *immediately* on the two objectives of development: increased productivity, essentially and specifically through the process of industrializing the rural economic structure; and a system of property relations, of which the fruits of development are to be shared widely and equitably. Economic development and social justice.⁷⁴

In short, the first model says that the royal road to development is productivity. We have to be taxed for this royalty. The second path is slow and full of conflict since it needs a process like "empowerment." Empowerment is the "long term

strategic process of transferring economic and social power from one center to another or the creation of new centers for socioeconomic power complementary to or in competition with traditional centers.⁷⁵ Briefly, it means the promotion of true democratic power at the rural community level through genuine participation.

Given this short survey of what rural development means to the different writers, the next step is to outline some programmatic dimensions as an aid in charting prospective programs.

Development: Contents and Program Dimensions

Who is to be developed? It is mostly the rural laborers and their families. According to the Bureau of Rural Workers, this category includes: (1) landless rural workers; (2) upland farmers; (3) subsistence fishermen; and (4) rural women and youth.⁷⁶ To be complete, however, we may include rural workers in mining, transport and market enterprises in agricultural, forestry and fishery areas. These will be the majority (75 percent) of the total Philippine labor force (21 million). There are 15.1 million rural workers. In the upland areas alone, the estimate is from 4.5 to 11 million people.⁷⁷ About 4 million of the upland people belong to cultural minority groups.⁷⁸ There are about 700,000 workers in the fishery sector. Thus, approximately four million people are dependent on fisheries.⁷⁹

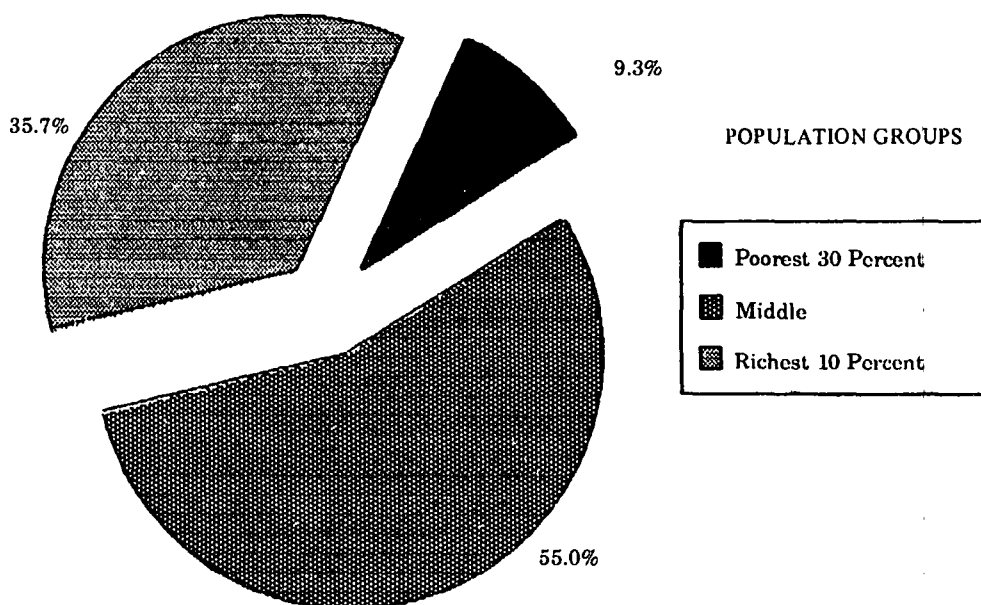
To say that most rural families are poor may be trite but their poverty is increasing. The World Bank (1980) reported that from 1971 to 1975, rural families living in absolute poverty increased by 23 percent. Sixty-one percent of all Filipino families living below the poverty line had agriculture as their main source of livelihood. Specifically, majority of those who produce our staple rice (18 million small rice farmers) have only about P1,335 income per month; hence, "rice producers are very poor."⁸⁰ Table 1 shows the absolute (median) poverty lines for rural and urban areas from 1985 to 1987 summarized from various surveys.⁸¹ Further, the World Bank⁸² also said that the skewness of income distribution is worse in the Philippines among countries in Southeast Asia. By 1985, the inequality was only a little better than in 1956: the richest 20 percent had 10 times more of the wealth than the poorest 20 percent.⁸³ In 1956, it was 11 times. More recent estimates by the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) show the poorest 30 percent of about 60 million people have only 9.3 percent of the national income, and this was the case since 1985 to 1988.⁸⁴ The same report indicated that the richest 10 percent did not decrease much in their share of the entire income: 36.4 percent in 1985, 35.7 percent in 1988. The distribution for 1988 is illustrated in Figure 2. These almost static shares remained in spite of the increase in the average annual family income from P31,052 in 1985 to P39,728 in 1988.

Table 1. Income Poverty Lines

Median Poverty Line as Rated by the Poor, Pesos Per Month								
Survey Period	Philippines	Luzon		Visayas		Mindanao		
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
July 1985	1500	1200	1200	1500	1500	1500	1400	
May 1986	1500	2000	1500	1500	1000	1500	1500	
October 1986	1250	2000	1250	1500	1000	1000	1000	
March 1987	1250	2000	1500	1250	1250	1500	750	
As rated by all respondents								
March 1987	1500	1500	1250	1500	1000	1500	1000	

Source: PIDS, "Measuring Poverty and Development," *Development Research News*, Vol. 5, No. 4, July-August 1987.

Figure 2. Distribution of Family Incomes, 1988



In terms of quality of life, recent surveys tend to show that there is an improvement. It is, perhaps, due to the change in government. The subjective judgment on the quality of life in 1984 was such that 51 percent said it was worse than before while 37 percent said it remained the same.⁸⁵ By 1987, only 25 percent said that the quality of life was worse but 38 percent said it was the

same. Nonetheless, only 37 percent or less than half, readily said that the quality of life has improved. Likewise, the reported incidence of poverty declined from 74 percent in 1985 to 43 percent in 1987.⁸⁶ It is due to the corresponding increase of the "borderline" poor, from 13 percent in 1985 to 39 percent in 1987. This gain may be short-lived. In February 1988, poverty incidence was reported to have climbed to 60 percent.⁸⁷ In the much publicized increase of the GNP in 1986- 87, there were more who actually said they were worse off ("losers") than those who said they were better off ("gainers"): 33 percent said they were among the losers compared to 26 percent who said they were better off.⁸⁸

Paradigms or ideologies?

What is to be developed? What aspects of rural life are to be targeted?

Using the two approaches described above, we may borrow one of the systematic suggestions in relation to development goals described for the Philippines. It is more of a prediction rather than a prescription. This classification divides development goals into two poles.⁸⁹ Another way of saying it is that we have at least two contending paradigms. Real programs may be anywhere, designed and directed at either pole. Thus, we can visualize several gradations (along many continua) where specific program objectives may be anchored. In terms of goals, there are two distinct end-points or directions: one that emphasizes material outputs, hence a material output maximization goal, and second, a goal that has human resource development as its end.⁹⁰ These bipolar classification may be construed as development management ideologies since ideologies provide "the believer with a picture of the world both as it is and as it should be. . . . The kinds of interventions one considers depend heavily on one's image of rural development and beliefs about how it can be realized."⁹¹ In this grouping, the production paradigm may be roughly equivalent to what is called "penetration" and "commercialization" ideologies. The human resource pole, on the other hand, corresponds to Moris' "participation" and "mobilization" management ideologies. A summary of these ideologies is in Table 2. Following these and incorporating some of the values and dimensions implied in the various conceptual definitions, a list of the social and economic desiderata is in Table 3. The two columns show two distinct paradigms. Hence, these are not theories but more of values or fundamental assumptions (desired directions). It need not be a case where the choice should be all within a column since it must be realized that there are varying degrees of need or realization in the different aspects of socioeconomic life. For example, the need for rural and heavy urban industries could be targeted without sacrificing needed information, behavioral tools. Industrialization can be "phased" and may start either in the rural or urban locations since society may aim to maximize all productive human resources. Industrializing the rural areas is one means of attaining this end. Integrating these two suggestions, Table 3 may be read as a list of desired development

goals while Table 2 illustrates some of the existing policy and administrative methodologies needed in terms of management ideas and practices.

Table 2. Some Illustrative Ideologies of Development

Paradigm Goals	Penetration/ Commercialization	Participation/ Mobilization
Direction:	Top-down Outside-in	Bottom-up Inside-out
Agency:	Bureaucracy Corporation	Community Party
Goal Definition:	Material well-being Client satisfaction	Social well-being Collective- consciousness
Rationale:	Economic growth Innovation Microeconomic theories	Community Development Underdevelopment theories
Starting Point:	Planning Market survey	Need Identification Class analysis
Approach:	Funding from center Organize company branch	Group formation Organize cells
Major aim:	Implement programs Offer services	Solve problems Raise consciousness
Project emphasis:	Infrastructure Equipment/New Crops	Social Services Production co-ops
Key Personnel:	Outside experts Local entrepreneurs Some local help	Local Leaders Party cadres Sympathizers

Source: Jon Moris, *Managing Induced Development* (Bloomington, Indiana: International Development Institute, 1981), p. 90.

Table 3. A Simple Contrast of Concerns for Two Development Paradigms*

Paradigm Name	Production	Human Resource
Goal:	Material output maximization	Human resource development
Values/Epistemological Bias:	External, physical world events	Internal, human values and capabilities
Role of Man in production:	Labor is only a factor of production	All productive human resources to be maximized
Production units:	Firm, factory	Family, group, community, school
Consumer units:	Household	Firm, factory
Critical tools:	Machine tools, heavy industry, infrastructure hardware	Behavioral tools, knowledge, software
Critical technology:	Hard sciences	Soft sciences
Support technology:	Soft sciences	Hard sciences
Pressure on Life Systems:	Heavy	Light
Environment where most viable:	Large man/land ratio	Small man/land ratio
Nature of social change:	Social relations adapts to technology	Technology adapts to social needs
Production entity:	Corporation, bureaucracy barangay corporations	Cooperatives,
Allocation of revenues:	Based on ownership of factors of production	Based on active participation/contribution
Role of mother/women:	Non-monetized sector of national accounts	Most important human resource developer; equally responsible for development/work

Table 3. (Cont.)*

Paradigm Name	Production	Human Resource
Factor intensity:	Materials and energy intensive	Labor and information intensive
Education:	Predetermined, fixed schedule, certification-oriented, formal, centralized	Generative, flexible, performance-based Mixed (formal informal, nonformal), decentralized
Role of Laws:	To police, litigation Stricter than norms	Facilitative More informal norms are stricter

*Adopted and elaborated from Serafin Talisayon, "Development Goals and Values for the Philippine Future," in Bernardo Villegas, et al., *The Philippines at the Crossroads* (Metro Manila: Center for Research and Communication, 1986).

Towards Realizing Development Goals

Concepts and dimensions have to be transformed to specific objectives so that paradigmatic goals may be realized. Intermediate, operationalized steps have to be designed, successfully administered or implemented. One of the steps for operationalizing the chosen goals is the use of the basic needs method of targeting. It is also called the BHN – basic human needs approach. It was devised to counter the overwhelming dependence on development concepts based on maximization of investment, growth or accumulation.⁹² BHN is less abstract as it is specific, concerned with particular goods and services directed at particular, identified human beings. It is more positive than the double negatives of eliminating poverty or reducing unemployment.⁹³ BHN usually means the minimal, socially-determined needs. Table 1 which shows the median poverty lines for incomes is an example of a perceived "threshold." Any value lower than the threshold is considered abject or absolutely a state of poverty. According to NEDA, the proportion of the population classified as poor (those families earning less than 2,500 pesos a month outside Metro Manila) will have to be decreased to about 45.2 percent in 1992.⁹⁴ The BHN approach requires spelling out the sectors and areas of concern, the measurable targets as well as the unquantifiable cultural values. In the latter case, strategic values are to be identified and reinforced. This helps in clarifying societal goals. Examples of these are: what a decent burial must have; respect for tribal or ancestral lands; and universal, "liberating" education for children, women and the handicapped. Values may be restated in behavioral terms whenever possible. Otherwise, acceptable and unacceptable conditions, situations and relationships may be described such as those steps recommended by the committee to study what is right and what is

wrong with Filipino values.⁹⁵ Among the recommendations, the study committee reemphasized the felt need for a national ideology that can "summon all our resources for the task of lifting national morale, pride and productivity.

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