

## **Community Participation and Its Role in Rural Development: The Bontoc Case**

**DARWIN C. SOKOKEN\***

*The national government should recognize the traditional institution of authority as the legitimate instrument of rural development. In a study conducted on the planning and implementation of a rural road project in Malegkong, Bontoc, it was found that local government officials ignored the villagers and their traditional institution, the ator, in the planning and initial construction of the barangay road. The participation of the people was merely on the level of tokenism and placation to appease a restive populace who opposed the project violently. The barangay was ineffective as an instrument of rural development because its authority was not recognized by the people.*

### **Introduction**

Rural development in the Mountain Province seems to suffer from the ill-effects of the top-down strategy. Other provinces, like Bataan, apparently have a share of the same experience where the primary problem is the national government's adherence to this planning strategy.<sup>1</sup> By its very nature, this strategy, also called the technocratic approach,<sup>2</sup> disregards citizen participation in the plan formulation and program implementation. The problem with this approach is such that "there were even instances when plans and programs evolved in Manila could not even be modified to suit local needs."<sup>3</sup> Clearly, it gives little consideration to the felt-needs of people, who are encouraged to articulate through barangay assemblies and other means, their needs and interests as inputs into the formulation of national policies and programs.<sup>4</sup>

A more serious consequence of this strategy is insensitivity on the part of government technocrats and implementors towards local conditions and needs. A good illustration is the reaction of a National Power Corporation

---

\*MPA Student, College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines.

Seminar paper submitted on June 29, 1982 in partial fulfillment of the requirements of P.A. 249 (Policy Analysis).

(NPC) representative to a conference held in Baguio in 1979 on the Chico Dam project. Commenting during an open forum to the talk of Carol H.M. Brady De Raedt on the socio-cultural meanings of the Chico project, the NPC staff made the following assertion:

The needs of the social scientists do not go hand-in-hand with the economic needs of the country. You seem to ask for more data regarding the establishment of the Chico Dam. I would just like to give an analogy. When the escalator was constructed, the people who conceived the idea of the escalator did not ask the people if they wanted to go upstairs without exerting any effort at all. So the escalator was constructed. The people came to know that it was easier to go up using the escalator than using the stairs. In other words, time will solve the problem. . . . Once the Chico Dam becomes operational and useful, I suppose that the Kalinga or Bontoc will come to realize it and come to adjust to it. It is only a matter of time. . . . We are in government and we have to go by the decision of the government. It is immaterial whether or not there is opposition from the Kalingas and the Bontocs. . . . It is up to the government to solve that.

Such mentality is not an isolated case among government technocrats. No less than a key director of the Ministry of Energy expressed the same position at the Baguio Religious Acculturation Conference (BRAC) in December 1981 when he gave a lecture on the energy projects of the national government. His attitude could be paraphrased with these words: the mandate of the President has to be carried out and it is our task to implement national projects to attain national goals in development.

### Purpose of Study

This is a study on how the government applied the policy of rural development in the Mountain Province among the Bontoc people. The criterion of citizen participation is used to determine the effectiveness of the policy. The subject of the study is an infrastructure project, the Bilibid-Malegkong road which was constructed in 1979 in the municipality of Bontoc.

The objective of the study is to determine if the villagers of Malegkong were involved in the planning, building and maintenance of the road. It is addressed to questions such as: if there was citizen participation, how was it operationalized? was it through the formal government machinery of the Barangay Council? through the Bontoc traditional institution of the Council of Elders? or both? if there was citizen participation, what was its nature and extent? if there was none, was it because the local government and the Ministry of Public Works and Highways (MPWH) were unaware of the importance and necessity of citizen participation? What were the consequences of the absence of citizen participation?

The second objective of this study is to recommend strategies and mechanisms for citizen participation within the framework of cultural values and structures of the Bontoc people. It seems that the government authorities

and decision-makers have overlooked or chosen to ignore the ethnic and cultural factors towards the development of the people of the Mountain Province.<sup>5</sup> To have an impact on the Bontoc people, rural development should be fostered through their traditional institutions of authority and decision-making. There are certain implications to achieving the policy of rural development which this study would identify, and for which it would provide alternative solutions.

The study also attempts to describe and compare the differences between the formal governmental institutions (*barangay*) and the Bontoc traditional institution (*ator*) for citizen participation. Thus, this paper seeks to present policy recommendations which will enhance the development of the Bontoc people.

### Methodology

Interviews were conducted to gather primary data. Respondents interviewed included the former mayor who was incumbent during the road construction, the provincial governor, the municipal councilor who was the head teacher at the Malegkong Elementary School during the construction, the acting *barangay* captain, and a number of elders, elder women, and youth of Malegkong.

Due to time constraints, panel interview was used. Respondents in groups, namely, the elders, womenfolk and youth were interviewed. As per experience of this writer during a survey in 1973 in Benguet, Ifugao and Kalinga-Apayao, difficulty is encountered in conducting interviews on a one-to-one basis, that is between the researcher and the respondent only. Other members of the village would somehow find ways to force their bodily presence into the interview; the majority would listen out of curiosity but a few would interrupt and assist the respondent in answering the questions.

Other sources of data were published literature which were mostly anthropological and sociological studies on the Bontoc people and culture. Data on the project were not made available, except for a blueprint of the Location Plan and the road plan of work for just one day, the first day of June 1978. For lack of statistical data, analysis had to be confined to the use of an extended case study.

A source of bias of this study is in the translation of the questionnaire from English to the vernacular. This is a common limitation of surveys in which the questionnaire has to be translated from English to the vernacular.<sup>6</sup>

### Area Profile

Before 1966 Mountain Province was a large, wealthy province composed of five sub-provinces: Apayao, Benguet, Bontoc, Ifugao, and Kalinga.

On June 18, 1966 it was, however, sliced by Republic Act 4695 into four provinces: Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga-Apayao, and Mountain Province. The sub-province of Bontoc makes up what is now known as Mountain Province.

Mountain Province has an area of 2,097.3 square kilometers, representing 0.70 percent of the total land area of the Philippines. With ten municipalities and 137 barangays, its population in 1970 was 93,112 which increased by 1.1 percent in 1975 to 94,096.<sup>7</sup> Bontoc Poblacion is the seat of the provincial government of the new Mountain Province as it was in the old Mountain Province. (See Map 1.)

Agriculture, hunting, forestry, fishing (rivers and rice paddies) comprise the largest industry in Mountain Province, in which 87.2 percent are gainfully employed. Services follows at 7.3 percent, and manufacturing at 1.8 percent. Construction, mining and quarrying are gainful industries but engaged by a small percentage (1.4) of workers. Only 1.2 percent are gainfully employed in commerce.<sup>8</sup>

The municipality of Bontoc covers an area of 234.6 square kilometers. It has 15 barangays with a total population of 17,476 (See Table 1). It is accessible from three approaches: through the Halsema highway, which is more popularly known as the Mountain Trail, from Baguio; then through the Bontoc-Kalinga provincial road from Tabuk; and lastly, through the Bontoc-Ifugao provincial road from Banawe. (See Map 2.)

Map 1. The Mountain Province

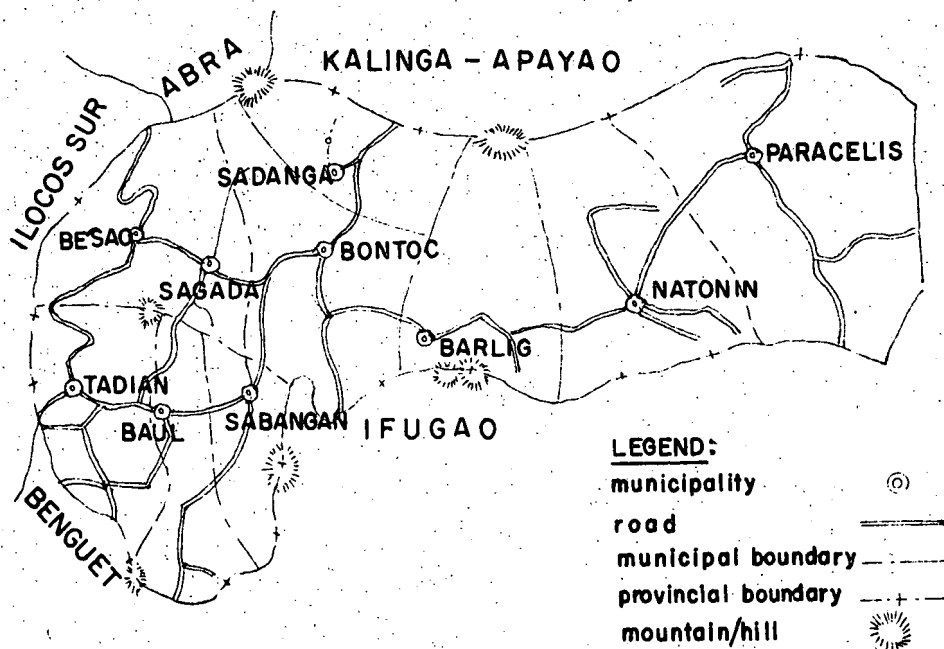


Table 1. Barangays of the Municipality of Bontoc by Population Size and Distance from the Poblacion

<i>Barangay</i>	<i>Population (1975)</i>	<i>Distance (from the Poblacion) in km.</i>
Bontoc Poblacion	3,460	0
Bontoc Ili	2,840	0.5
Samoki	1,275	1
Tocucan	1,040	8
Alab & Alab Oriente	1,015	12
Talubin	1,171	12
Balili	286	15
Malegkong	946	15
Gonogon	844	16
Bay-yo	583	18
Can-ao	354	18
Dalican	876	18
Guina-ang	1,588	18
Mainit	1,198	24
T o t a l	17,476	

Source: *Philippine Yearbook 1975* (Manila: National Economic and Development Authority/ National Census and Statistics Office, 1975); Kate Chollipas Botengan, *Bontoc Life Ways* (Manila: CEU Research and Development Center, 1976).

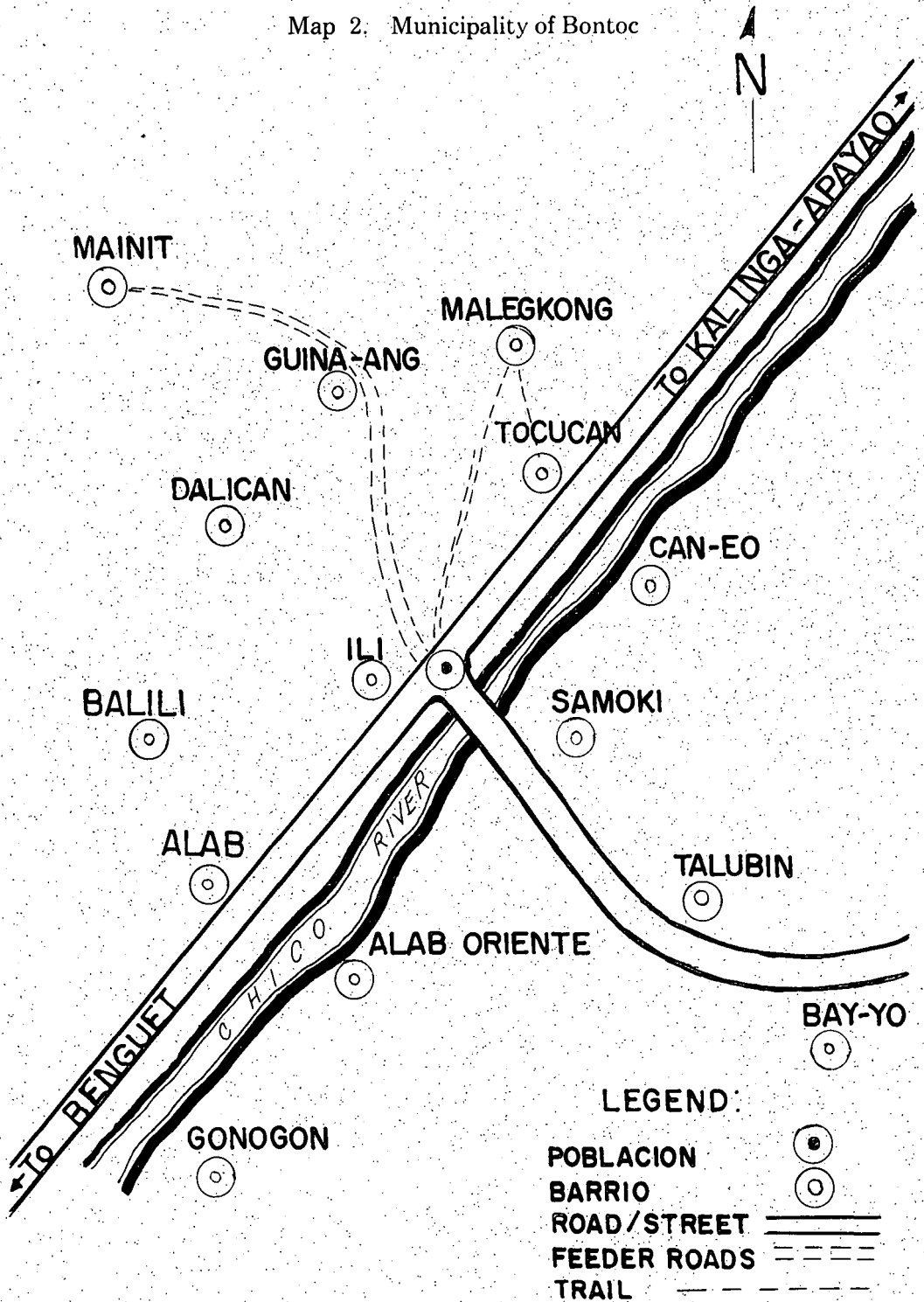
The Bontoc Poblacion is located on a narrow, flat land along the Chico river. As the capital of the province, it is the government, commercial, and educational center.

Having a mixed population of highlanders and lowlanders, its external material culture has lost its distinct Bontoc characteristics. Nevertheless, its proximity to the Ili and Samoki gives the Poblacion its Bontoc-ness, with sights of old men in g-strings sitting on their haunches on the sidewalk drinking coffee and women wearing wrap-around skirts (tapis) hurrying on the street to the rice fields.

Malegkong, on the other hand, is nestled in Central Cordillera, 15 kilometers northeast of the Poblacion. The completion of the road construction in 1970 hardly diminished the use of the trail which links Malegkong to the Poblacion.

Malegkong proper, known as "Fabrey" or "Ili," squats on a mountain surrounded by panoramic rice terraces, built of stones and higher than Banawe's eighth wonder of the world from the base to summit.

Map 2: Municipality of Bontoc



### Bontoc Cultural Values

The cultural values of the people of Malegkong are essentially the same as those living in the other barangays of Bontoc.

Rice fields (payeo) establish the economic status of people in Malegkong. The rice (kadangyan) count their wealth by the number of rice fields they possess. An Ilocano settler in the Poblacion was disappointed when he met Malegkong's wealthiest man, an illiterate wearing a loin cloth (wanes) and carrying his own pack (sangi) rather than having a servant walking behind with the load.

A poor man (lawa) who is able to buy rice fields with savings from working in the mines, cannot attain the status of the rich man whose wealth is by inheritance. He is considered a kadangyan but given lower status.

Malegkong has more rice fields than people, so they have more than enough rice. To generate cash to buy salt or sugar, they sell surplus rice in the Poblacion.

Other valuable possessions (akon) include gold ornaments (sengseng), gongs (khangsa), China jars and beads. These gold ornaments, made of Chinese gold and Spanish silver, come in two basic designs, the "pinangpanga" and the "Tsinomog." As indices of economic status, they are either worn as earrings or necklaces. They are not fertility icons, unlike those peddled in Baguio City where tourists are hustled to buy bronze imitations.

Gongs (khangsa) are precious musical instruments, which are played during celebration, from wedding feast to victory dance. Designed from brass, these gongs, mostly the old ones, have handles of human jaws, mostly of befallen foes (fusor) from neighboring barangays or Japanese soldiers during World War II. The newer gongs have handles of wood and other materials which scarcely spark tales of valor in combat. Copper gongs are less valuable than the brass gongs which produce rich and resonant sound.<sup>9</sup>

The people of Malegkong possess a wide variety of antique China jars, which must not be broken, lost or sold. Cases are told where owners had gone crazy for violating the unwritten contract of stewardship they entered into upon inheriting the China jars.<sup>10</sup> These valuable containers are used for storing rice wine (tapey).

The agate beads worn by women for adornment are also valuable inheritance which have passed from one generation to another.

Besides these material possessions, membership in the Bontoc's traditional institution of authority, the ator, is highly valued. The ator is considered the other "half of the home."<sup>11</sup> It provides fraternal identification to member families. Membership is usually hereditary, through the father. The ator also provides a sleeping quarter for boys, young men and old men. All village activities are sanctioned in the ator. Malegkong has seven ators: one in Ada-an, one in Fang-oraw and five in the Ili.

The villagers of Malegkong value and honor their kinship relationship. Over and above blood and affinal relationship, they regard fictive kinship relationship sacred.<sup>12</sup> One common fictive relationship is the "Peden" which may evolve from a peace pact (peden). It involves the village and is consummated in the ator. The objective is to promote peace between members of two villages. One member of the ator, usually family head, is elected by the members to become the keeper of the peace pact for the village; the other village likewise elects their own peace-keeper. These two individuals serve as channels of information and negotiations.

The keeper of the peace pact develops a guardian relationship to any member of the other village. He hosts any visitor from the other village and provides him with food, shelter, and protection. He carries out these obligations with the assistance of fellow-members in the ator to which he belongs.

When conflicts arise due to misunderstandings between members of these two villages, amicable settlement is negotiated through the two peace keepers with the vigorous support of the elders.

The peace pact is maintained with feasts, which are celebrated in the ator alternately between the two villages. The centrality of the ator lies in the fact that this is the institution where decision-making is done. The elders of the various ators meet as a council and invite the villagers to participate in the discussion of vital issues that concern the whole community; after listening to the different sectors of the community, the council of elders makes its decision.

### **The Formal and Traditional Decision Centers**

There are two centers of decision-making in Malegkong. One is the formal institution, which is represented by the barangay council, and the other is the traditional institution, which is represented by the ator and the council of elders.

#### *The Barangay Council*

The barangay council was introduced in Malegkong in the early '50s. As an organization of government, it is new to the people in comparison with the indigenous, traditional government which is borne out of the ator as an institution of power and authority.

As amended by Presidential Decree No. 557 on September 21, 1974, the Revised Barrio Charter (Republic Act No. 3590, June 23, 1963) provides that the barangay council be composed of one barangay captain and six councilmen. The Charter provides that their election be held on the second Sunday or any day in January following the elections of municipal and provincial officials.<sup>13</sup> However, a referendum was conducted on June 1981 which provided for the election of barangay officials on May 17, 1982.



**Barangay councils have the following powers, duties, and responsibilities:**

- (1) To promulgate... ordinances and resolutions... to provide for the health and safety, protect the property, promote the prosperity, and improve the morals, peace, order, comfort, and convenience of the community and the inhabitants therefor;
- (2) To construct and/or maintain within the boundaries of the barangay the following public works: roads, bridges, viaducts, sidewalks, playgrounds and parks, school buildings, water supply drainage, irrigations, sewerage, public toilet facilities, and other public works facilities;
- (3) To undertake cooperative enterprises that will improve the economic condition and well-being of the barrio residents. . . .;
- (4) To submit to the municipal council such suggestions or recommendations as it may see fit for the improvement of its barrio and/or for the welfare of the inhabitants thereof; and
- (5) To initiate and submit to the barangay assembly community programs of economic and social benefit to the barangay inhabitants.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, the Barangay Assembly is a body composed of all the residents of the barangay 15 years old and above.<sup>15</sup> It meets at least once a year to hear the annual report of the barangay council on the activities and finances of the barangay. It may also meet at the call of the barangay council or upon written petition of at least one-tenth of the members of the barangay assembly.<sup>16</sup> The Barangay Assembly has the following powers and responsibilities:

- (1) To recommend to the barangay council the adoption of measures for the welfare of the barangay;
- (2) To decide on the holding of a plebiscite which may be held when authorized by a majority vote of the members in the barrio assembly or when called by at least four members of the barangay council;
- (3) To hear the annual report of the barangay council concerning the activities and finances of the assembly;<sup>17</sup> and
- (4) To act as an agency for community action of national government programs, and as a medium of the national government through which proclamations and regulations are coursed to the members of the community.<sup>18</sup>

The barangay government has been granted powers and responsibilities to effectively implement national goals of socio-economic development at the barangay level.<sup>19</sup> The purpose is good because it is developmental, but a question is raised on the legitimacy of the barangay government among the Bontoc people, because there already exists in Bontoc an institution through which the national goals could be implemented: the ator.

#### *The Ator and the Council of Elders*

The ator is the institution invested with power and authority in every Bontoc village. Each village has several ators. Malegkong, for instance, has seven ators, for a population of about 200 households. An ator consists of several families, represented by the male household head.<sup>20</sup> It is the elders who

make decisions on matters affecting the life of the people.<sup>21</sup> When all the elders meet en banc, they assemble as the council of elders.

The council of elders has the power to declare war and sue for peace, or accept peace treaties.<sup>22</sup> It decides on disputes, agricultural and welfare rituals and public works construction. Its decisions are arrived at by consensus based on experiences and precedents.<sup>23</sup>

Membership in an ator is hereditary: that is, the male members join the ator of their father. On the death of the father, the male members may join the ator of their choice. They may choose the ator of a grandfather, either maternal or paternal. The female members participate in the ator of their father. Upon marriage, however, they automatically become members of their husband's ator. Leadership in the ator resides in the elder whose lineage counts among the wealthy.<sup>24</sup> Age is also considered a significant criterion. In the absence of a kadangyan (rich man) or in cases where the kadangyan is the least experienced among the elders, the oldest is acknowledged the leader, the elder of elders.

Between the barangay council and the council of elders, Brett maintains that the former is a support to the latter, asserting that

the barangay captain has no power to enforce any activity without the official approval from the villagers, which is arrived at by traditional village participation in decision-making. The real power and authority are the community elders when they sit in council as a body, to coordinate, hear and decide cases which is further legitimized by the villagers.<sup>25</sup>

The usual practice is that when the elders sit in council, the villagers are called into an assembly (*ma-amongan nan umili*) to participate in the discussion of the issues at hand. Anyone may make a comment or raise a question, but the traditional rule is that the men discuss and the women and youth keep silent and listen to the wisdom of the men, particularly on issues related to external conflict and ator rituals. On other issues, the women and youth are given a chance to speak up. The elders listen to all sides and then reach a final decision.<sup>26</sup>

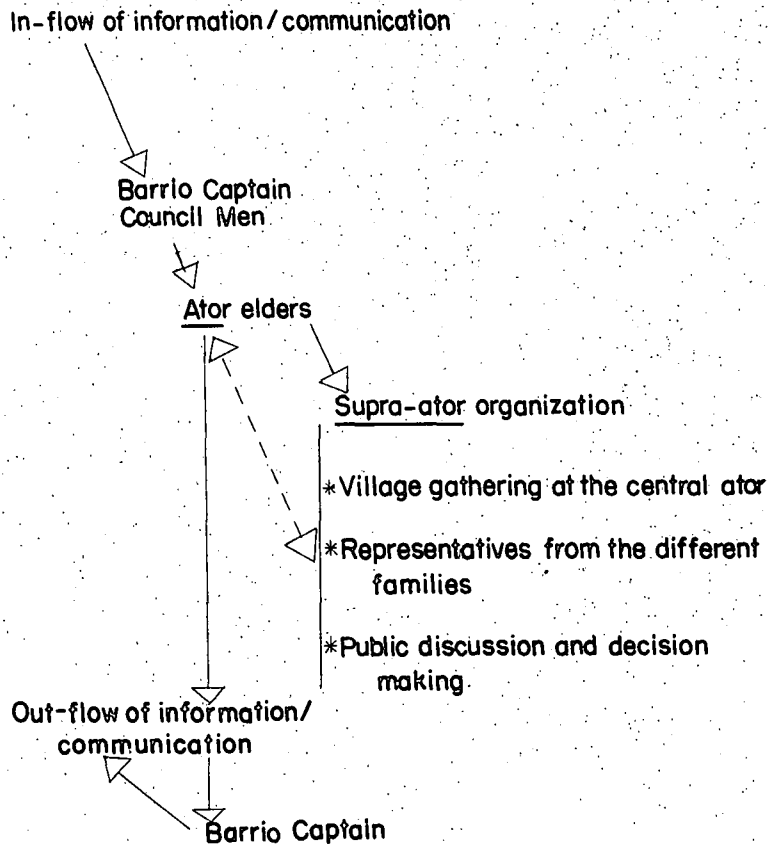
In her talk at the De La Salle University on January 30, 1982, Brett presented a model showing the relationship between the barangay council and the council of elders and their responsibilities. (See Figure 1.)

The model shows two types of government within one village: the formal which derives its power, authority and responsibilities from the Barrio Charter; and the traditional whose mandate comes from the people. Formal government refers to the barangay government whose structure and procedures are specifically spelled out in the Barrio Charter. It shows clearly how burdensome the setup is for the Bontoc people. It raises some doubts on the presence of the barangay government in a village situation where there is already a form of government existing and adequately and effectively meeting the administrative demands and requirements of the village.

The model as shown does not represent the reality in Malegkong, where the barangay council and council of elders carry out their responsibilities on

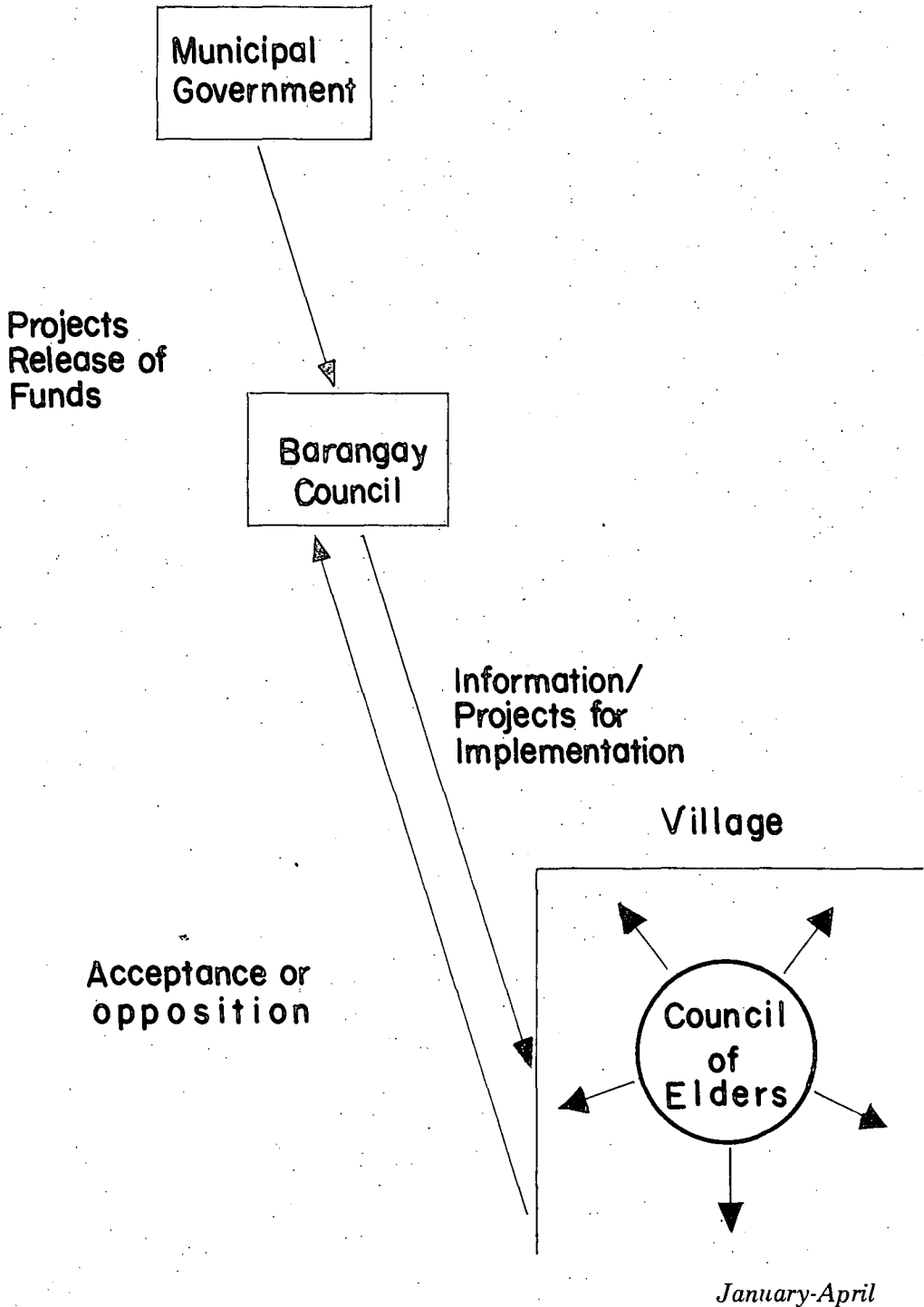
two parallel lines, so to speak. The barangay officials lead the people in the implementation of government projects and the council of elders provide leadership in relation to customs and traditions. The barangay officials are intransigent on how they view their duties and responsibilities. The acting barangay captain during the period of the survey trip, said, "Our business is the business of the government; the business of the elders is what concerns our traditional way of life." On the other hand, the elders showed a capacity to accommodate the presence of the barangay council. They could afford to be tolerant because their authority is for life and are willing to cooperate with the barangay officials on projects they approve for the village.

Figure 1. A Model of Village Participatory Decision-Making in a Bontoc Village



Source: June Prill Brett, "The Bontoc Model of Village Participatory Decision-Making," paper read at De La Salle University, January 30, 1982, p. 10.

Figure 2. The Relationship Between the Barangay Council and the Village People of Malegkong



The relationship bears out several observations. First, the barangay council is too dependent on the municipal government, which is looked upon as a Santa Claus releasing funds for various projects. Although the barangay council is encouraged to initiate project proposals, the barangay council of Malegkong is weak and lacks leadership capabilities required to carry out the duties and responsibilities of barangay officials as stipulated in the Barrio Charter.

Second, the barangay council is an "outsider" to the village people. It acts only as a transmitter of messages from the municipal council to the villagers and implementor of projects. As an outsider, its authority is posed against that of the council of elders, which makes decision for the people. In many ways the barangay council becomes disruptive of village traditional life. This concerns the elders who have begun questioning the proper role of the barangay council within the framework of Bontoc traditional government.

Third, the response of the people is either reluctant acceptance or violent protest. In this study, the response to the road construction was a strong protest, staged by the elders who brought their case to the office of the Provincial Governor.

The ators in Malegkong are strong and do not show any sign of weakening. In the seven ators, there are 47 elders whose mean age is 66. (See Table 2.) In a society where old age is associated with power and authority the council of elders clearly has the edge over the barangay officials whose mean age is 42. (See Table 3). It has been observed that education has had no weakening effect on the ator. Seven of the present elders were adopted by Episcopal missionaries and educated in mission schools in an attempt to convert the Bontoc people from paganism into Christianity, but all seven are steeped in the practice of the Bontoc traditional folkways. Anglicanism has not really changed the values of the people, who conveniently put on the cloak of Christianity only when the priest comes once a month to say mass and shed it off when he moves to another village to preach the gospel of Christ. Even the youth who work in the mines and study in Baguio show deep reverence for the traditions of Malegkong, despite their display of western influences on material culture. The point of giving emphasis on the strength of the ator as an institution of authority is to focus the attention of the national government to consider it as the instrument of development in Malegkong and in the entire Bontoc municipality.

Table 2. Names of Ator, Elders and Their Respective Ages

<i>Ator</i>	<i>Luwg</i>	<i>Lengwa</i>	<i>Chogo</i>	<i>Chal-lip</i>	<i>Fang-oraw</i>	<i>Ada-an</i>
Sagkodang 67	Focasan 70	Kara 65	Farong-yad 66	Kedyam 69	Feken 63	Gessa-ed 70
Sapi-en 60 (Council Man)	Che-es 68 Pango-wen 65	Farao-as 66 Warsiyen 66	Angno-wen 46 (Council Man)	Kapawen 68 Arakyang 65	Chamul-log 67 Mata-ag 72	Fuanta 60
Kurar-rad 60	Cosudan 64	Fas-ayen 64	Chenayen 70	Angsofan 66	Atew-an 67	
Sawayen 66	Pe-el 67	Lak-ayen 64	Ngos-ifan 69	Pangesfan 66		
Farnag 68	Ud-chas 80	Kasilen 66	Long-chaya 65	Fang-roy 67		
Chogowen 55	Mangatam 66	Pongad 66		Sokoken 64		
Cawed 62	Fumeng-ad 65 Fanged 60	(Municipal Councilor) Limmayog 60 Masgay 80 Choi-kawen 80 Cobsilen 80		Paducar 67		
				Mean age: 66		
				Mode : 66		
				Age range: 46-80		

**Table 3. Names, Position and Age of the Members of the Barangay Council of Malegkong Before the Elections Held on May 17, 1982**

<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Age</i>
Cawed	Barangay Captain	62
Angno-wen	Council man	46
Labasni	Council man	42
Sapi-en	Council man	60
Farnigan	Council man	48
Furayang	Council man	58
Fanged	Council man	32
	Mean Age: 42	
	Age Range: 32-62	

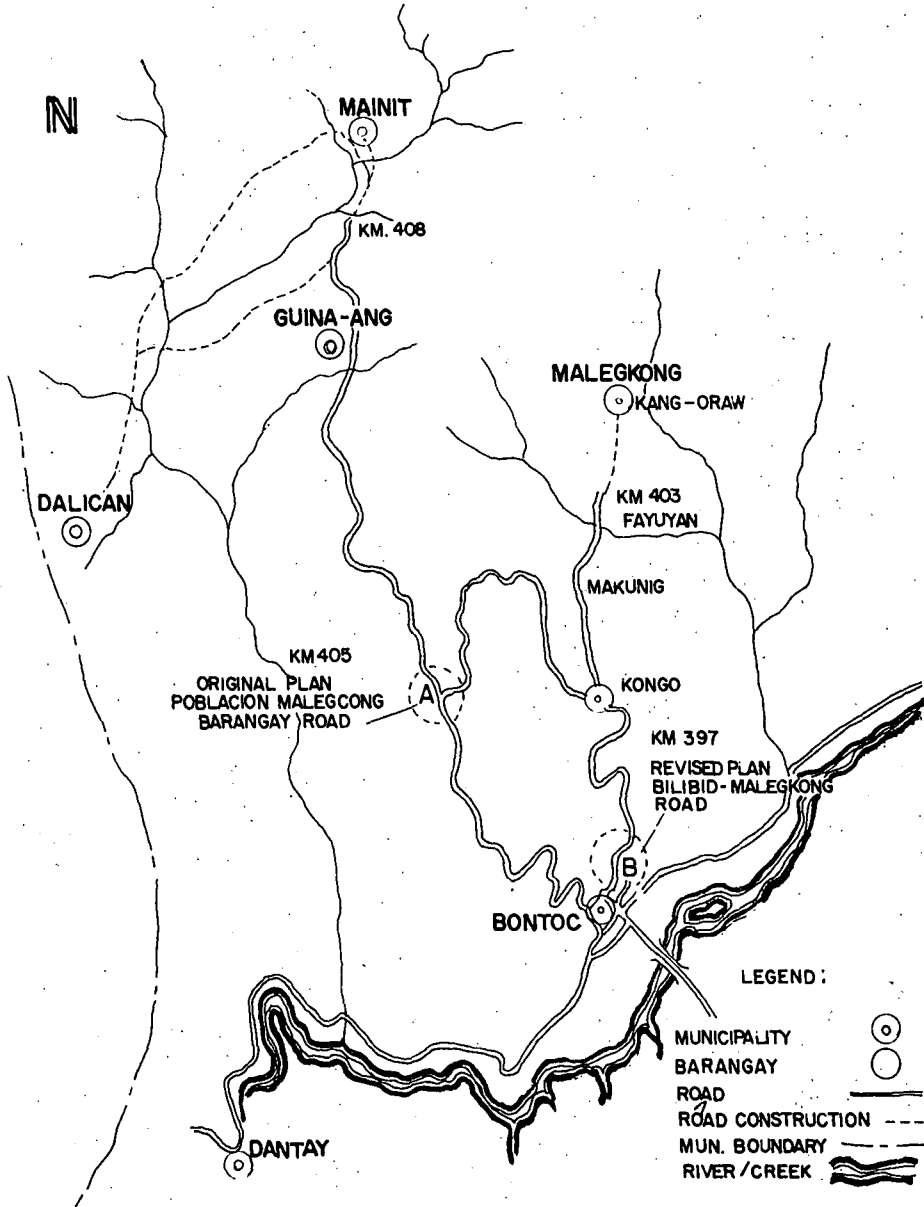
### The Bilibid-Malegkong Barangay Road

#### *Planning of the Project*

The Bilibid-Malegkong Barangay Road was planned to link the barangay of Malegkong and the Bontoc Poblacion. The office of the district engineer under the MPWH, designed the project with the approval of the provincial governor. Provincial engineer Padua said it was allocated with P420,000 budget. The work plan stressed that the road construction be undertaken with the maximum use of heavy equipment and the minimum use of manpower labor. It would begin at Km. 405 towards Kongo, down to Makunig and up to Fang-oraw, a peak of Malegkong, its destination. It was planned as a six-kilometer barangay road. (See Map 3).

In the planning phase, the local government agencies made no effort to involve the people of Malegkong. There was no attempt to ask the people to articulate their needs, and to find out whether the barangay road was a priority need or a need at all. Yet the barangay is designed to promote rural development and strengthen citizen participation in government affairs.<sup>27</sup> The erstwhile mayor, then the municipal executive during the road construction, said in an interview that he was certain that the people of Malegkong needed a farm-to-market road. He added that it was a government project which President Marcos generously offered the people of Bontoc, and they should respond by accepting it with thanksgiving rather than by showing opposition. He said that he summoned the barangay council of Malegkong to a meeting and informed the officials of the project; and he later instructed the barangay captain to inform the people through the ators and the council of elders.

Map 3. Location Plan, Municipality of Bontoc





In Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation this task of informing the citizens takes the form of tokenism.<sup>28</sup> The mayor wanted the villagers informed but did not provide them with a feedback mechanism or power for negotiation. The plan was already finalized and ready for implementation when the mayor deemed it proper to inform the people of Malegkong. The instruction went unheeded and the information never reached the people, who came to know of the project only upon seeing the bulldozer cutting across the mountain towards Kongo. Asked to explain the failure to inform the people, the acting barangay captain said that the project was the "business" of the government which had nothing to do with the council of elders. The municipal councilor, who was the head teacher of the Malegkong Elementary School during the road construction, agreed with the barangay officials' explanation. Interviews with some elders yielded the singular allegation that the municipal councilor, the barangay captain and the six councilmen conspired to keep the information from the people due to selfish interests. A 60-year-old elder, a former barangay captain himself, was quick to accuse the councilor and the barangay council officials of having pecuniary interests in the project.

It seemed that the underlying fear of the barangay officials was that they knew the villagers would oppose the project once they heard of the plan. They knew there would be strong opposition because it meant that the rice terraces would have to be bulldozed to destruction. To insure that the project would push through, they chose the expediency of non-information; as the saying goes, "no news is good news."

How the Bilibid-Malegkong barangay road project was planned ran counter to the procedural steps outlined by the Municipal Development Officer of Bontoc discussed as follows:

First, the barangay council calls an assembly of all responsible citizens in the community, those from 15 years of age and above, to prioritize projects according to felt needs. Second, the barangay council passes a resolution addressed to any funding agency (the provincial and municipal governments, MPWH, NIA and MLGCD). And finally, another assembly meeting is called upon the approval of the project to discuss the implementation.

Had these steps been followed, other projects would have taken priority over the barangay road project as indicated in Table 4. Asked to name three priority projects which they would like the local government to build, the 33 respondents considered as a priority need the cementing of pathways along rice paddies and of footbridges. Twenty-six pointed to the repair of water system and its maintenance as second priority, while 25 would like the government to construct a clinic provided with one health staff and medicines. PANAMIN built a small clinic in 1979, but up to the time of this study, there was neither staff nor medicine, and the building is used as a resthouse by government officials during occasional visits.

Table 4. Priority Needs are Perceived by Respondents in Malegkong

<i>Priority Needs</i>	<i>Number of Respondents</i>
Cement pathways/footbridges	33
Water repair/maintenance	26
Medical clinic	25
School repair/maintenance	7
Sanitation/cement canal	2
Reforestation	3
Agricultural projects	2

\* Registered multiple responses.

These are the projects the people of Malegkong would rather have implemented for their village. It seems clear that there was no felt need for a road because it was not even listed. The people still use the trail, much of which was bulldozed to become part of the road, when going down to the Poblacion. When they return home, with or without loads, they would walk and climb the mountain rather than take a jeepney ride, saving the three-peso fare that can buy them salt and sugar. They said, the road which is about four-years old, is useful only during the dry season, since it becomes impassable during the wet season. They said that those who avail themselves of the jeepney transportation are the tourists, the families employed in the mines, and local government officials who receive allowances when they travel to the Poblacion.

The five local government officials interviewed for this study were unanimous in saying that little or no people participation in the planning of infrastructure projects like the barangay road is a common practice in Bontoc. The former mayor asserted that the road was the project of the President and must be implemented whether the people approved of it or not. This was also the opinion of the provincial engineer, who thought that the participation of the people in road construction must be limited to determining the right of way, especially by owners whose rice fields would be affected by the road construction. The acting barangay captain and the councilor thought that community participation in project planning was a waste of time. The municipal development officer was, however, of the opinion that community participation should be encouraged because it is a significant factor in the success of the project. The Malegkong respondents were emphatic that their participation be sought even at the pre-planning phase of future projects as indicated in Table 5.

Table 5. Reasons for Desiring Participation in Project Planning

They should listen to what we think we need	21
Our elders must be given respect and their ideas heard	10
It will diffuse opposition to projects	1
No answer	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>

### *Road Construction*

In 1976, under the District Engineer's office, road construction started with the use of a bulldozer and grader and with the minimum use of manpower labor. Administrative misunderstandings caused the stoppage of the work; it resumed only after almost a year but this time under the provincial engineer's office. This change of authority brought into the project a different approach to building the road. The provincial engineer preferred the labor intensive method with minimum machine support.<sup>29</sup> Anticipating opposition from the villagers, he disclosed that he would use this approach to appease the anger of the people by employing their men in road construction. Citizen participation, in this instance is reduced to tokenism, specifically, placation.

Opposition was aroused when the bulldozer cut across the mountain from Km. 405 to Kongo, and became visible to the people of Malegkong. Upon instruction of the elders, the womenfolk rushed to Kongo, stopped the bulldozer with a human barricade and beat the operator to flight. In hot pursuit of the angry women, the barangay council officials and two public elementary school teachers attempted to stop the protest. Irritated by the interference, the women sent a delegation to the provincial capitol and filed a complaint at the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports (MECS) Division Office against the teachers. For meddling in the protest, one was transferred to another barangay, but the other teacher, the head teacher who was about to retire at the end of that year, was simply reprimanded and allowed to stay on until his retirement.

Asked to give reasons for their opposition to the road construction, the respondents cited the destruction of rice fields as the primary consideration. They expressed fear that the forest of Malegkong would be accessible to the people of the Poblacion and Ili and indiscriminate tree cutting would become rampant. This, in turn, would endanger the rice terraces because of the landslides it would cause due to denudation.

Carabao rustling is not uncommon in nearby villages, especially those with barangay roads or near provincial roads. The elders argued that the road to Malegkong would attract rustlers who would take advantage of the newly opened thieving ground. They also heard of landgrabbing cases in other parts

of the province,<sup>30</sup> and they expressed apprehension that lowlanders might come up and have communal lands titled in their names.

Then there is the "evil" of more strangers coming in, such as, tourists and government officials like the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities of the Philippines (PANAMIN) workers. Tourists, said the elders, were harmless because they come to see the rice terraces and their village, but the PANAMIN workers were rumored to be mine prospectors. They said that the PANAMIN workers were helping a mining company which had an interest in Mainit, a barangay just over the mountain, by trying to persuade the people to welcome the mine surveyors. It is said that Malegkong has gold deposits. It was disclosed during the interviews how three men, who used to work in the Lepanto and Suyoc mines, dug samples of high-grade gold ore. The discovery is allegedly kept a "secret" so as not to attract the attention of mining companies. Finally, there is the concern for the preservation of the Bontoc culture. One elder pointed to the school as the main adversary because it turned the youth against the traditions which the elders cherish, such as the right and privilege of parents to choose the life partners of their children. He said that the road will reinforce the influence of education upon the youth who are indoctrinated on the "better" way of life of the literate lowland Filipinos at the expense of the Bontoc culture. Table 6 enumerates the reasons given by the respondents for protesting the construction of the road and the corresponding number of responses.

Table 6. Reasons for Protesting the Construction of Road of Malegkong

<i>Reasons</i>	<i>Respondents*</i>
Destruction of ricefields	23
Indiscriminate tree cutting	20
Increase in carabao rustling	18
Possible land grabbing	9
More strangers coming in	2
Destruction of culture	1

\* Registered multiple responses.

The barangay council officials agreed with the stated reasons, but said that as trustees of the government, they were responsible for the implementation of the project.

One month later, the municipal mayor, with the barangay council officials, on the one hand, and the council of elders, on the other, met in Kongo. It was agreed in the meeting that the road from Kongo down the mountain to the Poblacion would be first bulldozed, and only after that section is completed will the construction of the Kongo-Malegkong road be resumed. The work

commenced on the Kongo-Bilibid section and proceeded smoothly until the bulldozer reached the rice fields. This caused the people of the Poblacion and the Ili to howl in protest. The provincial engineer recalled how the owners of the rice fields burned the camp of the construction crew and ran after the bulldozer operator with bolos. An earlier project, which threatened to destroy the land of the Bontoc people by inundation, prompted the people to rise in arms and drive away the government surveyors with long bolos and spears.<sup>31</sup>

When the Kongo-Bilibid road construction was stopped, PANAMIN suddenly proposed to build cement footbridges in Malegkong. As PANAMIN diverted the attention of the people of Malegkong to the construction of footbridges, the bulldozer climbed back to Kongo and resumed work on the Kongo-Malegkong road, following the trail towards Malegkong. It was found that road construction over existing trails reduced the volume of earthwork operations and made work easier.<sup>32</sup> It was a trick, a clear violation of the Kongo agreement made three months earlier. A three-man delegation from the council of elders hastily went to the office of the Provincial Governor. The Governor explained that it was necessary to work on the Kongo-Malegkong road to keep the bulldozer busy and to give him time to persuade the people of the Poblacion and Ili that the road was meant to benefit them. The council of elders showed no lack of understanding and agreed to the Governor's plea. The protest of the people of the Poblacion and Ili lasted for six long months.

There was a delay in the project on the Malegkong side because the barangay council officials were slow in hiring people from Malegkong to construct the road. The labor intensive plan of the provincial engineer was discarded, but the elders questioned the action of the barangay council and informed the Governor about the situation. A meeting was set up between the Governor and council of elders. The Governor gave specific instructions to the barangay captain in the presence of the elders to organize a labor force from Malegkong. The work resumed, but the progress was slowed down by the daily negotiation between the foreman and the people whose rice terraces were affected by the construction on the road's right of way. With few rice fields on the way from Kongo to Makunig, there was little opposition. It was when the construction began to proceed to Fang-oraw that the opposition again burst with strength because a sizeable area of the rice terraces would be destroyed. Work stopped for a month and the negotiation ended with the agreement that the road should be diverted to Favuyan where it would end to avoid destruction of rice fields. Favuyan is about two kilometers from Fang-oraw, the road's original destination, but the people were glad it would end there.

Assured by the Governor that all rice fields and other private property would be paid for, the people of the Poblacion and Ili ended their protest and allowed the bulldozer to come down to the Bilibid. Unlike the original work plan, the road was built on the steep mountain rising from Bilibid. It was not really much of a road. Even the provincial engineer admitted that it had too many

dangerous sharp curves and was unsafe during the rainy season. The Bilibid-Malegkong road, which could have been built in three months, was finally completed in 12 months. Nine months were spent mostly in cajoling and sometimes threatening the people to submit to government authority.

In an interview, the provincial engineer was quick to state that there was citizen participation in the building of the Bilibid-Malegkong barangay road. From Kongo to Favuyan, the road gang consisted of the menfolk of Malegkong. The families of the elders were represented by at least one male member recruited to work with the construction crew. A few of the elders themselves who were still strong to heave a shovel and carry stones got hired into the labor force. On the other half of the road, from Kongo to the Bilibid, the people of the Poblacion and Ili made up the road gang. It came out in the interviews that the people were willing to provide free labor if the project was relevant and responsive to their priority needs. The bayanihan spirit has been a motivating force in the building of many a farm-to-market road and irrigation and water system.<sup>33</sup> But in this road project from Kongo to Favuyan, the people of Malegkong refused to supply free labor; firstly, it was not wanted, and secondly, they knew too well there was much money in it to pay the laborers. Using Arnstein's ladder of participation, this could be classified as tokenism because the purpose of involving the people was to placate an outraged citizenry.<sup>34</sup>

A similar strategy was used in the daily negotiation of the road's right of way. The former municipal mayor headed the negotiation team for the local government; he would sit down with each of the families whose rice terraces or lands would be partly or completely overtaken by the road and tried to persuade them to accept the payment of their property. It is worth noting that the negotiation was not with the council of elders but with those particular families whose land property were endangered by the project. The provincial engineer claimed it was a valid approach because it gave the owners of the lands an opportunity to protect their property and to make suggestions on how the road should turn and proceed. In the employment of laborers, the whole village of Malegkong was represented with the hiring of workers from all seven ators, but in determining the road's right of way only the owners of the affected rice terraces were involved. These forms of participation are therapeutic, in the sense that the government officials took this opportunity to "treat and cure" these particular families of their allegedly erroneous thinking and misplaced values and tried to inject on them the value that the barangay road is good for the welfare of the Bontoc people.

There were many instances where citizen participation in road building reduced cost. In a study of barangay roads by Patrocinio Villanueva in 1958, it was observed that "the barrio people exhibited some interest in local road building. They participated by contributing any one or combination of labor, right of way, locally available materials, animal power, tools and cash."<sup>35</sup> The author then went on to conclude that "road constructed without local

participation cost ₱10,000 per kilometer, on the average. Where participation of the local citizens was obtained, however, the average cost per kilometer was reduced to ₱4,000. The immediate result, therefore, of 'self help' in the construction of roads is the reduction in economic cost, not to mention the tremendous social benefits the people get from working together in community projects."<sup>36</sup> There would have been no difficulty soliciting the participation of the people of Malegkong in road construction because they are used to providing free manual labor for government projects since the early '50s. As the elders said, "We are ready to cooperate and provide free labor (gratis) if the government would talk to us first before implementing any project."

A summary of the events, actions and reactions during the planning and implementation of the Bilibid-Malegkong road is shown in Table 7.

The result of planning without citizen participation was additional cost in terms of months of delays and negotiations. Provincial Engineer Padua said that nine months were used up for negotiations between the local government and the villagers. Estimating the average cost of the project at ₱5,000 per day, the cost of one month delay and negotiation should have amounted to ₱100,000 (computed from 20 working days per month multiplied by ₱5,000). The value of the nine months' delay was sky high, twice the actual cost of the project which was ₱420,000. There was another cost involved: the villagers were not willing to help in the road maintenance, bayanihan style. On the other hand, had there been citizen participation in the planning, the cost could have been less. According to the provincial engineer, the road construction could have been completed in three months (60 days). At ₱5,000 per day, it would have cost only ₱300,000. Citizen participation would have eliminated village opposition. It might even have gained the villagers' support to willingly cooperate with the road maintenance. A simple diagram of the analysis is shown below.

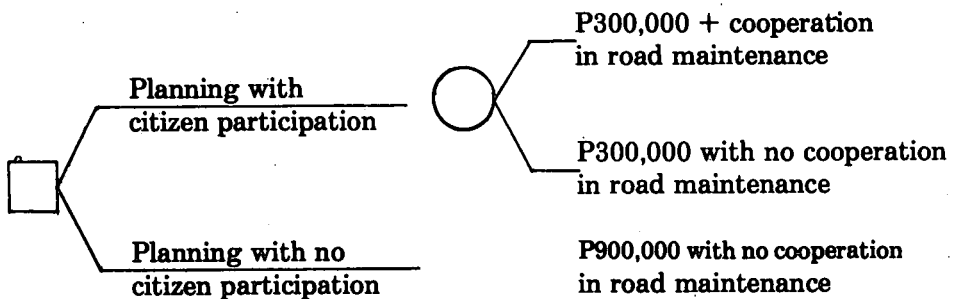


Table 7. Bilibid-Malegkong Road: Planning and Implementation

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Government Action</i>	<i>Village's Role/Response</i>	<i>Government Reaction</i>
Planning	* Plan designed by MPWH office	* No participation of any form	* Justification for non-participation: villagers lack expertise
	* Plan approved by Governor		
	* Barangay Council instructed to inform villagers	* No information	
	* Road construction from Km. 405 to Kongo (1976)	* Malegkong villagers protested and stopped work	* Mayor met with Council of Elders
	* Road construction re-directed, from Kongo to Bilibid	* Poblacion people protested and stopped work (six months)	* Work stopped and negotiation began
	* Governor asked PANAMIN to build footbridges in Malegkong	* Malegkong villagers cooperated	
	* Road construction redirected back to original plan, from Kongo to Malegkong	* Council of Elders protested and sought a meeting with Governor	* Meeting granted, while work stopped
	* Road construction from Makunig to Fang-oraw	* Malegkong villagers protested	* Work stopped, negotiations continued
	* Road construction diverted, from Makunig to Favuyan	* Malegkong villagers pleased	
	* Road construction continued, from Kongo to Bilibid, Poblacion	* Poblacion people continued protest	* Negotiations on the road right of way



The diagram shows that the local government officials had no anticipation of the consequences of the presence or absence of citizen participation. There was no lesson learned from the people's opposition to the Chico dam project, which the Bontoc residents of the Poblacion and Ili staged when the project proposal was announced in public. Although the Chico dam project and the Bilibid-Malegkong barangay road project were different in size and magnitude, both had one common woe: the destruction of rice terraces. This aroused the people into opposition. The political consequence was that the people of Malegkong voted against the then incumbent mayor who was said to be the contractor of the road project. The mayor lost to a newcomer in politics. In the May 17, 1982 barangay elections the barangay council officials of Malegkong were replaced with a new set of officials. Whether or not it was a direct consequence of how the former officials conducted themselves during the road construction, it was an indication of the people's dissatisfaction in their performance as public servants during their incumbency. These could have been really avoided with citizen participation. It was more likely that had there been participation, the people would have willingly cooperated in the maintenance of the barangay road. There was no reason that it would be otherwise. The people of Malegkong maintain communal pastures and irrigation canals through *ub-ubfu* (bayanihan) spirit. This could be done with the barangay road, for in a sense it is their road.

### *Road Maintenance*

Maintenance is a principal activity of the MPWH, following the activities of construction, reconstruction and improvements. It is the constant making of needed repairs to preserve a smooth-surfaced highway and operation of existing ferries, but does not include extraordinary repairs nor reconstruction.

The *Operations Manual* of the Barangay Roads Development Program (BRDP) describes a good barangay road with the following characteristics:

- (1) It has an efficient drainage system to prevent stagnant water on road surface and to regulate fast flowing water in ditches, for both are hazardous to a good road.
- (2) It follows the prescribed road width. In flat and rolling terrain the minimum roadway width is five (5) meters and in mountainous or rocky terrain four (4) meters. Road shoulders 0.50 meters should be provided on each side of the roadway in flat and rolling terrain. The prescribed road right of way is 10.0 meters.<sup>37</sup>
- (3) Side slopes in fill or embankment should be at least 1:1½ (vertical to horizontal), for fill consisting of various materials, to prevent slippage.<sup>38</sup>
- (4) Road surface should be well compacted and smooth with no potholes, ruts or depression.<sup>39</sup>

The Bilibid-Malegkong road lacks the qualities enumerated above. It is narrow and not suitable for a two-way traffic. It is just an earth road, without gravel surface, which turns into mud during the rainy season. Villanueva mentioned in her study that when the wet months came, a number of barangay

roads either turned into pools of water or washed out, thus rendered useless to vehicular traffic.<sup>40</sup> In fact, the Makunig-Favuyan portion of the road has not been used since last year as it degenerated into a muddy trail. It has not been repaired due to lack of funds for maintenance. This problem of lack or inadequacy of funds for road maintenance seems to be a perennial problem.

Under the BRDP, the Bilibid-Malegkong barangay road should have received ₱4,536 per kilometer per year for maintenance. This meant that Malegkong was entitled to the total amount of ₱20,680 annually. However, through some internal arrangement, the maintenance of the Bilibid-Malegkong barangay road was transferred to the office of the Provincial Governor. This meant that it would receive more than ₱11,000 per kilometer per year, totalling ₱132,000 for annual maintenance. The barangay council officials disclosed that no funds were released in 1981 for road repair and their frequent representations to the Provincial Engineer's office were met with the oft-repeated refrain, "no funds available yet." This raises the question as to where the money went for that year.

The people of Malegkong could not care less if the road was maintained or in a continued state of disrepair. They said they would work only if they got paid for their labor. They reasoned that the government must undertake its maintenance because it initiated its construction. This attitude may change if the BRDP succeeds in promoting its innovative program among the Bontoc people.

In June 1981, the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development (MLGCD) launched the BRDP with the thrust of gradually transferring the responsibilities of barangay road maintenance from the national government to the local units.<sup>41</sup> This has two serious implications for rural development: one, BRDP has taken a new orientation of development which is focused on people, putting infrastructure in its proper place as a support system; second, BRDP is giving importance to community participation, knowing that "no endeavor can succeed without the conscious participation of the target beneficiaries."<sup>42</sup> To operationalize its program, BRDP circularized an *Operations Manual* which provides a working knowledge to its end users about road maintenance. This new approach to the maintenance of barangay roads is already being fully implemented in the National Capital Region, but is only being introduced to the other regions including the Mountain Province.

#### *The Road's Impact on Malegkong*

After about three years of existence and only-on-dry-season usefulness, the road has brought changes in the life of the people of Malegkong. It should be noted at the outset that it would be inadvertent to claim that the changes seen in Malegkong were brought about solely by the coming of the road. In initiating or triggering development changes, a road is usually only a part of "a complex of factors."<sup>43</sup>

One obvious effect is on the mode of transport. More people are now using the road. The people of Malegkong now would rather transport sacks of rice on vehicle than on foot, and the farmers from the Poblacion and Ili now prefer to take the 15-minute ride to their rice fields, which before could only be reached after two hours of hiking two mountain peaks. It also excited local people to go and see for themselves the Malegkong rice terraces, which they would boast to foreigners as better than the Ifugao-built rice terraces. One local resident in the Poblacion said that she encouraged tourists to go to Malegkong but she herself never saw the rice terraces. On that weekend, however, she took her family up to Malegkong. Roads do excite local people to travel.<sup>44</sup>

The impact of the road on employment is, however, uncertain. Long before the road was built, several men already left Malegkong to find employment in the mines operating in Benguet and Zambales.

Nevertheless, the road had led to the opening of a sari-sari store and rice mill, and to the proliferation of small buy-and-sell businesses. The sari-sari store was put up by a local resident of Malegkong who later sold it to the owner-operator of the jeepney transportation that plied the Bilibid-Malegkong road. The original owner moved to the Poblacion to pursue college education. The rice mill is owned by a family whose head is employed in one of the mines near Baguio City. The people were glad about this business because the rice mill comes handy during special occasions like the wedding feast (tsono) when bundles of palay are threshed to feed multitudes of people. However, on ordinary days, the villagers husk the palay with the traditional mortar and pestle.

The road actually benefitted a few individuals or families. As mentioned above, the owner-operator of the jeepney transportation and the sari-sari store in Makunig is a resident of the Poblacion. He was able to borrow money from the bank to start his business. The families who run the rice mill and buy-and-sell businesses have relatives working in the mines, who were able to earn and save enough cash for capital.

The proper maintenance of the Bilibid-Malegkong road would probably, in the next five years, have an impact on the areas of transportation, education, local migration, tourism and electrification.

The four-kilometer road is a 15-minute ride. If it is covered with good asphalt surface so that it could be used the whole year round, even during rainy season, it would become possible for those working in the Poblacion to commute daily from Malegkong and back. Students in high school and college would also commute and need not incur expenses for board and lodging in the Poblacion. Access to outside medical facilities would also be facilitated.

Because of the road, it is more likely that more Poblacion residents would soon migrate and form a community, complete with an ator. In fact, a family moved up to the mountain, towards the Malegkong border, to live closer to their rice terraces. At the time of the survey trip, another family from the Poblacion was building a house in the same area. At present the proposed

Chico dam, which would affect the Poblacion and Ili, is tentatively shelved; but when its construction begins, the area would be a relocation place for some families.

Tourism would increase with a properly maintained road. According to the respondents, one or two American or European tourists would hike to Malegkong in a month before the road was built. But now the estimated average number of visitors daily is five, including both expatriates and Filipinos. They come in the morning and leave in the afternoon of the same day. At times, one or two American(s) or European(s) with anthropological interests would stay overnight and make observations on the folkways of the people. It is certain that it would not take long for the Ministry of Tourism (MOT) to put up a lodge in Makunig. This would mean extending the electrification program as well, initially for the use of MOT and later for the consumption of a few local residents who could afford to pay the bill.

However, the negative effects of the road, plus other factors like education, would be strongly felt in the preservation of rice terraces. As aforementioned, there are more rice terraces than people in Malegkong. Right now, with several families out in Benguet and Zambales and young people in Baguio, there is a shortage of manpower. Families who are able to hire workers pay P20 per person for one day's work, from sunrise to sunset; the pay is given right after the day's work is done. Not many families could afford to hire extra hands, and the *ub-ubfo* (the Bontoc version of *bayanihan*) seems to be a vanishing art. In this situation some rice terraces would not be properly maintained and a few are indeed about to be abandoned. It would not be a surprise if many rice terraces would be neglected in the next five years. That would mean that the values of the people would have changed in terms of material wealth, the preference of cash income to the produce of their ancient heritage.

The *ator* would be affected but not in the next five or ten years. It would perhaps take two or more generations, for the *ator* is in the realm of beliefs which are most difficult to change, replace or eliminate.

### Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

It was evident that there was no meaningful citizen participation in the planning phase of the Bilibid-Malegkong barangay road. The attempts to involve the people were plain tokenism. The attempt to inform the people of Malegkong was actually non-participation; it was a therapy to "educate" the people. The consultations which the local government officials set up were actually meetings wherein the elders were taught the benefits of the barangay road and pressured to stop their protest and opposition. Involving the owners of rice fields to determine the road's right of way during the road construction was a concession to the people. It was placation, the highest form of tokenism.

In short, these forms of participation were all sham. Meaningful citizen participation is one which would give the elders equal authority to negotiate with the local government officials and to share the managerial power to supervise the implementation of the plan.

There was no conscious effort to mobilize the people to participate because the local government officials themselves lacked the proper understanding of rural development, the role of the citizens in rural development, and their own role in rural development. It was their thinking that government projects must be implemented because they are presidential mandates. Such mentality neither values nor tolerates true and meaningful citizen participation. Their lack of understanding of rural development aggravated the situation. Most of the local government officials saw the barangay road project as a source of additional income. It is really doubtful if there was one official who considered the project in terms of rural development. The barangay council officials of Malegkong had practically no grasp of their duties and responsibilities as spelled out in the Barangay Charter. This seems true with other barangay council officials outside Mountain Province. In his paper, "The Role of the Barangay in the National Socio-economic Development," Col. Levi L. Basilla, after interviewing 44 barangay captains in Quezon City, made the conclusion that "most barangay officials have much to learn about their role . . . in the total effort for the national socio-economic development."<sup>45</sup> It seems that barangay council officials in both urban centers and rural areas urgently need training on becoming effective agents of development.

The barangay council was inadequate as a vehicle for rural development in Malegkong. In paper it possesses the powers and authority "... as an agent for community action of national government programs, and as a medium of the national government through which proclamations and regulations are coursed to the members of the community."<sup>46</sup> In reality, it is the ator to which the people of Malegkong look up for decrees and guidelines on their welfare. The barangay council was meant to promote rural development and to strengthen citizen participation,<sup>47</sup> but it does not seem to be workable in a Bontoc village where the people do not take its presence seriously. This leads inevitably to leadership rivalry between the council of elders and the barangay council officials. Where there is conflict of interest, the barangay council officials would promote and protect the interest of the national government against the village people's interest. This was clearly seen in the Bilibid-Malegkong barangay road project, where the barangay council officials pushed the construction of the road despite the villagers' protest and opposition. Furthermore, the barangay council officials were not effective because they did not know their jobs, and were unfamiliar with their roles and functions in the village. It is just natural that the people go to the elders for solutions to their problems.

With regard to the training of local government officials, especially the barangay council officials, this study agrees with the recommendation Basilla

made in his paper to "... Improve the administrative capability of the barangay (council) leaders by requiring them to undergo seminars, training programs or workshops sponsored by the national government. Such training should cover all aspects of their respective duties. Development of moral and political attitudes should be given stress."<sup>48</sup> But these are not enough. To enhance their effectiveness as leaders and agents of rural development, it is important and necessary that they be trained in the basic teachings of anthropology and communications. Anthropology would give them insights on cultural change and perspective and orientation which are people-centered, so that they would see development in terms of people rather than projects. Communication principles would enable them to teach the village people with new ideas and technologies.

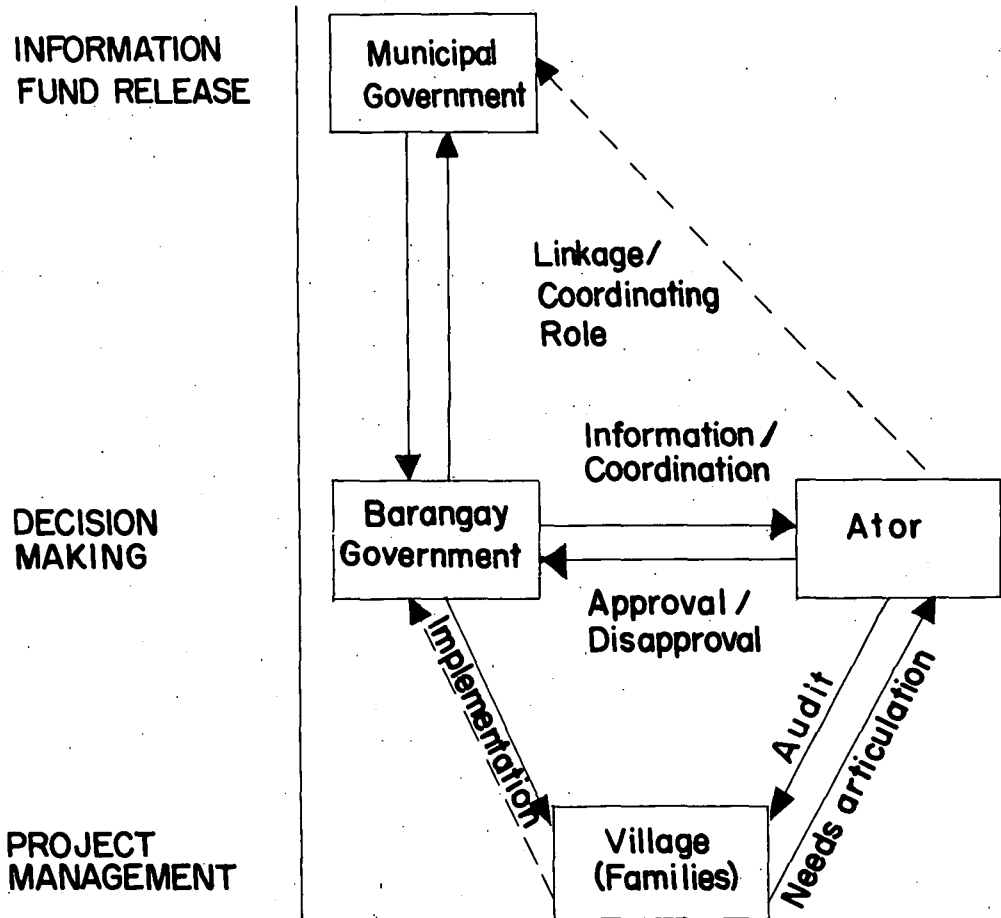
The national government should use the *ator*, not the barangay government, as the instrument of rural development in Malegkong and in the other barangays of the Bontoc municipality. This would ensure citizen participation and strengthen its rural development thrust in Bontoc. It is long overdue that the national government recognize heterogeneity in the cultural identity and practices among the ethnic groups in the country. As it has recognized and given legitimacy to the fundamental laws of Islam in the administration of Muslim affairs, it should do the same with the other cultural minorities. This is what Pawid was trying to communicate to the national government when she said,

It is this factor that the planning authorities and decision-makers have perhaps overlooked or deliberately chosen not to see... The world view of the Igorot (referring to the Bontoc, Ifugao, Benguet, Apayao and Kalinga) is based on a reality he knows, circumscribed by his total experience... Within his own cosmic reality he has grappled with his unique situation and has built up a network of structures and institution that allow him meaningful existence and relationships with whatever he considers significant in his existence.<sup>49</sup>

This new working relationship between the municipal government and the *ator* is shown in Figure 3. In this relationship the barangay council assumes the role of a coordinating office and implementing body, while the council of elders assumes the authority to approve or disapprove projects and conduct audit on the management of projects.

The lessons learned from the Bilibid-Malegkong road are similar to those from the Chico dam project, only on a smaller scale. One important lesson was that the Bontoc people were willing to talk about the projects with the national government and its agencies in the municipality. On the Chico dam project, the Bontoc as well as the Kalinga sought audience with the President to explain their side on the matter. It was the government people who refused to talk to the Bontoc and Kalinga representatives. In a lecture, "To Know the Meaning

Figure 3. Proposed Working Relationship Between the Municipal Government and the Ator.



of the Chico Project," De Raedt of University of the Philippines at Baguio made this observation:

It is most significant . . . to keep in mind that the Kalinga and Bontoc, when they first found out that dams were to be built, expressed both verbally and in action their desire to discuss the matter with the government, with the NPC, and the PANAMIN. . . . The record of attempts to communicate with the agencies involved in the dam project is marked by . . . the refusal . . . of the agencies to explain their positions, to hear out the position of the inhabitants, or to in any way seek full information on all aspects of the proposed project and the larger context of the project.

Finally, this study recommends that the office of the mayor of Bontoc start an efficient record keeping on the barangay roads in the municipality. The purpose of these data gathering activities is to have a basis for an evaluative study on the impact of barangay roads on the local culture and socio-economic progress. The follow-up research study should deal with the gaps identified in the study.

---

**Endnotes**

<sup>1</sup> Angelito G. Manalili, "The Role of Local Government in National Policy-Program Formulation: The Bataan Experience," *Local Government Bulletin*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (July-December 1976), pp. 3-6, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Max Garming, "Rural Development Planning in Southeast Asia," (manuscript, 1982).

<sup>3</sup> Manalili, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Reynaldo Kintanar, "The Rural Barangay: Reality and Projects," *Local Government Bulletin*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (July-December, 1976), pp. 15-18, 27.

<sup>5</sup> Pawid, 1979, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Patrocinio S. Villanueva, *The Value of Rural Roads* (Quezon City: UP Community Development Research Council, 1959), p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> National Census and Statistics Office, *1975 Census of Population and Housing*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Kate Chollipas Botengan, *Bontoc Life Ways* (Manila: CEU Research and Development Center, 1976), p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>13</sup> Tongko, 1975, p. 259.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 263-265.

<sup>15</sup> Felipe V. Oamar, "The Role of the Barangay in Rural Development," *Local Government Bulletin*, Vol. X, No. 2 (July-December 1975), p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> Tongko, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.

<sup>18</sup> Oamar, *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> June Prill Brett, "The Bontoc Model of Village Participatory Decision-Making," paper presented at the De La Salle University series of discussions on Participatory Approaches to Development sponsored by the Integrated Research Center, January 30, 1982, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Botengan, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>22</sup> Brett, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Botengan, *op. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> Brett, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Kintanar, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>28</sup> Sherry R. Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," *American Institute of Planners Journal* (July 1969), pp. 216-224.

<sup>29</sup> Barangay Roads Development Program (BRDP). *Operations Manual*, 1981, p. 3.



- 
- <sup>30</sup> Pedro Bundok, *Democracy Among the Mountaineers* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1973), pp. 3-6.
- <sup>31</sup> Patricio Guyguyon, 1979, p. 3.
- <sup>32</sup> Villanueva, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- <sup>33</sup> Oamar, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
- <sup>34</sup> Arnstein, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
- <sup>35</sup> Villanueva, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- <sup>37</sup> BRDP, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- <sup>40</sup> Villanueva, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- <sup>41</sup> BRDP, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- <sup>43</sup> Ledivina V. Cariño, *The Impact of Feeder Roads: A Review of the Literature* (Manila: Local Government Center, 1978), p. 13.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- <sup>45</sup> Levi L. Basilla, "The Role of the Barangay in the National Socio-Economic Development," *Local Government Bulletin*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (July-December 1976), pp. 7-14.
- <sup>46</sup> Oamar, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
- <sup>47</sup> Kintanar, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
- <sup>48</sup> Basilla, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- <sup>49</sup> Pawid. *op. cit.*