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**Stakeholder dialogue as a forum for community
engagement in the upland forestry projects in the
Philippines**

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submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the
Degree of
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Abstract

A key attribute of an integrated approach to forestry management is one which accords adequate consideration to bio-economic and social imperatives. The recent literature, dealing with such complex and multi-faceted resource management and development problems, calls for an approach that puts emphasis on community engagement. The government of the Philippines has adopted the Community-Based Forest Management (CBFM) programme as an innovative national forestry management strategy based on community engagement. It is believed that sustainable upland development can be more effectively achieved when the diverse voices of local communities are heard.

While there has been widespread research on different aspects of forestry management in the Philippines, there is a notable absence of theoretically informed analysis of the role of stakeholder dialogue as a forum for community engagement. The aim of this research was to critically evaluate this identified gap using two upland communities in Cagayan Valley in the Philippines as case studies. In addition, the institutional and related socio-political factors that have facilitated or acted as barriers to stakeholder dialogue were examined.

Qualitative research techniques were used to examine the role of stakeholder dialogue in the Villa Ventura and Sangbay CBFM projects. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 85 respondents including: the local inhabitants (direct and indirect CBFM participants), the key central government agency, the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), the Local Government Units (LGUs), and the non-government organisations (NGOs).

A multi-theoretic, two-pronged analytical framework was developed for this study. The first leg of the analytical framework focussed on examining the attributes of successful stakeholder dialogue in terms of the five key framework elements: actors, methods, structures, processes, and outcomes. The second leg of the framework focussed on examining the contextual institutional and related socio-political factors which could explain the underlying reasons that enabled or hindered stakeholder dialogue.

The research findings were that there were significant shortcomings in the process of stakeholder dialogue in relation to the five key elements in both projects. Stakeholder dialogue overall has been more relatively more effective in the Villa Ventura CBFM project compared with the Sangbay CBFM project.

The contextual institutional arrangements and related socio-political factors found to have facilitated stakeholder dialogue in the two CBFM projects were: land tenure security, the perceived benefits of the project, strong People Organisation (PO) leadership, trust and confidence in the Project Management Officer (PMO), recognising the importance of informal and continuous dialogue, cooperative endeavour, the provision of extension education, and behaviour and attitude change. The barriers identified as hindering the achievement of effective community engagement included: the devolution of authority from DENR to the LGUs, the limited nature of land tenure, the participants' high dependency on DENR; the hierarchical top-down structure of stakeholder dialogue; political patronage and favouritism; and the limited involvement of women in stakeholder dialogue.

This study has made an important theoretically informed contribution to understanding the factors for effectively making the transition to participatory forestry governance in the Philippines. The findings suggest that properly executed stakeholder dialogue can bring about greater community participation in the management of forests, which in turn can improve support and commitment from the participants. Incorporating the enabling institutional and related contextual socio-political factors in examining stakeholder dialogue complement the insights garnered through the lenses of the five key elements.

Keywords: *community-based forest management, stakeholder dialogue, community engagement, Cagayan Valley, Philippines*

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
CARP	Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Programme
CBFM	Community-based Forest Management
CBFMA	Community-based Forest Management Agreement
CBFMP	Community-based Forest Management Programme
CDA	Cooperative Development Authority
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSCs	Certificate of Stewardship Contracts
CF	Community Forestry
CFP	Community Forestry Programme
CTF	Communal Tree Farming Programme
CENRO	Community Environment and Natural Resource Office/Officer
CPEU	Centre for People Empowerment in the Uplands
CRMF	Community Resources Management Framework
DA	Department of Agriculture
DAO	Department Administrative Order
DENR	Department of Environment and Natural Resources
DILG	Department of the Interior and Local Government
ENROs	Environment and Natural Resources Officers
EO	Executive Order
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FAR	Family Approach to Reforestation
FMA	Forest Management Agreement
FMB	Forest Management Bureau
FOM	Forest Occupancy Management Programme
GEF	Global Environment Facility
HEC	Human Ethics Committee
IEC	Information Education Campaign
ISF	Integrated Social Forestry
ISFP	Integrated Social Forestry Programme
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency

LGC	Local Government Code
LGUs	Local Government Units
MENRO	Municipal Environment and Natural Resources Office/Officer
MMPCI	Magalsing Multi-purpose Cooperative Incorporated
NGOs	Non-government organisations
NSO	National Statistics Office
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PA	Philippine Agenda
PAGASA	Philippine Atmospheric, Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration
PENRO	Provincial Environment and Natural Resources Office/Officer
PMO	Project Management Officer
PNREO	Provincial Natural Resources & Environment Office/Officer
POs	Peoples' Organisations
POF	People-oriented Forestry Programme
RENRO	Regional Environment and Natural Resources Office
RMTA	Ramay-Manok Tribal Association
SAIFAI	Sangbay-Anak Integrated Farmers Association, Inc.
SALT	Sloping Agricultural Land Technology
SD	Sustainable Development
SEC	Security and Exchange Commission
SISFFA	Sangbay Integrated Social Forestry Farmers Association
TLAs	Timber Logging Agreements
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VV	Villa Ventura
WB	World Bank
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview of the research

Environmental degradation has become one of the most serious threats to biodiversity conservation, ecosystem functions and socio-economic well-being in Asia (Myers, 1988). In the upland regions of Asia, rainforest degradation has long been recognised as a serious ecological and rural development problem and has become a worldwide concern (Cramb et al., 2000).

In the upland communities of the Philippines, rainforest degradation is a significant contributor to poverty, inequality, and dwindling human livelihood options. These social problems are heightened by the pressures of a large and indigent population. About 18 million poor upland households in the Philippines depend on natural resources for their livelihoods (ADB, 2008; Campbell & Sayer, 2001; Gibson & Becker, 2000). These problems are also a result of past forestry policies that were dominated by commercial logging during the colonial period from 1863 to 1945 (Broad & Cavanagh, 1993; DENR, 2009; Kummer, 1992). These effects have been worsened since then by uncontrolled access to forestland, contested tenure over occupied lands, illegal logging and lack of local authority over forestlands (Cruz & Acay, 2004; Emtage, 2004; Guiang, 2001).

The recent environmental planning and management literature, dealing with such multi-faceted and complex resource management and development problems, calls for an approach that puts emphasis on community engagement in the form of stakeholder dialogues (Chikozho, 2008; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Pretty, 1995; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). Stakeholder dialogue is a concept used to describe the process of collaborative decision-making embracing participation by all stakeholders (Oels, 2006; Pedersen, 2006). Since 1982, participatory community-based approaches to environmental management and rural development have come to dominate government forestry policies and programmes in the Philippines, as in many other developing countries. This thesis interrogates the effectiveness of this shift in focus to participatory forest governance in the Philippines by critically examining the role of stakeholder dialogue as a forum for community engagement.

1.2 Recent turn to participatory forestry governance in the Philippines

Prior to the 1980s, forest policies and programmes in the Philippines were dominated by centrally determined and non-participatory approaches to forest management. Forests were managed primarily for their timber value and local forest dwellers were seen as slash and burn cultivators and were punished and evicted from forest areas (Aquino et al., 1987). Despite this, migrants continued to settle illegally in the upland forest areas. The scarcity of land to farm and lack of alternative livelihood opportunities in the lowlands forced these indigent groups to migrate to upland areas and illegally harvest forest resources (Pulhin, 2005). Due to pressure from donor countries and domestic sources, the government has gradually realised the need to adapt existing policies, dominated by bio-economic considerations, to include the social needs of upland communities reliant on forests for their livelihoods (Lindayati, 2000). Since 1982, a number of reforestation programmes, designed to be participatory in nature, have been developed and implemented (Table 1.1). Over the years, the sequential evolution of these so called ‘people-oriented programmes’ reflects a growing recognition, achieved through adaptive learning by stakeholders, of the need for active engagement by upland communities in order to achieve the twin goals of community well-being and forest protection.

Table 1.1 Participatory forestry programmes in the Philippines

Programme	Commencement year	Programme focus
Integrated Social Forestry (ISF) Programme	1982	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • participants are granted the right to occupy and develop forest areas • stewardship contract (25 years) issued to participants
Community Forestry (CF) Programme	1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • promote community participation in the rehabilitation, protection, & improvement of degraded & productive residual forests, & marginal lands • forest utilisation privileges are given to participants • participants are expected to prepare development plan and adhere to sustained yield management • Community forestry management agreement (25 years) awarded to peoples’ organisations
Community-based Forest Management (CBFM) Programme	1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The strategy to engage local communities is anchored in the principles of: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) social equity b) livelihood and local forest management of natural resources, c) community participation, sustainable forest management and biodiversity conservation; d) creation of enabling environment by the government to empower forest occupants and communities and institute sustainable forest management systems; and, e) partnerships with local government units, other local groups and the private sector in pursuing sustainable livelihoods and ecosystems.

Sources: based on DENR (1996); Pulhin, (1997); Rebugio & Chiong-Javier (1995)

The ISF and CF programmes were primarily designed to promote reforestation and halt slash and burn cultivation (Lindayati, 2000). However, according to a number of observers, consultation and dialogue with potential beneficiaries of the projects did not take place (Lindayati, 2000; Pulhin, 2005; Rebugio & Chiong-Javier, 1995). Land occupancy of participants was short term (Lindayati, 2000).

The forestry governance situation changed after the mid-1990s in three important respects. The first major policy reform was greater emphasis on devolution of the central government's forestry functions to local government through Republic Act 7169, otherwise known as the Local Government Code (LGC). The Code devolved certain environmental functions of DENR to the LGUs including the implementation CBFM, particularly the ISF projects. The Code has been described as a concrete effort to realise the ideals of democracy and social justice in the Philippines (Brillantes, 2000). The Code stipulated that the provincial government is considered the manager of the entire provincial territory and is required to provide basic services as well as maintain the ecological balance within the province (Dizon, 2004). The Code decentralised authority, responsibility and financial resources for a wide range of government interventions, including forestry functions, to the Local Government Units (LGUs). The Code requires the LGUs to enforce forestry laws, but at the same time to encourage public engagement. This enactment also widened the forestry management focus of the government from forest resources utilisation *per se* to a broader perspective embracing environmental and social outcomes (Pulhin & Inoue, 2008).

The second major policy change was a more explicit official recognition of the role of community engagement in forestry management. In 1995, the different people-oriented forestry programmes were 'integrated and unified' into one umbrella programme, known as Community-Based Forest Management (CBFM). CBFM was launched through Executive Order (EO) No. 263, issued in July 1995 (DENR, 1997; 1998; Pulhin, 1997). CBFM has become the national policy for forest management in the Philippines with a strong emphasis on community participation. The adoption of CBFM was seen as the main government strategy for developing livelihood alternatives for the poor forest occupants by providing land tenure security enabling the establishment of agroforestry farms and at the same time assisting with the prevention of illegal logging and providing forest protection. CBFM was seen as a solution to a complex problem about how humans interact with their natural surroundings (Fisher et al., 2005; Wells et al., 1992). This strategy is based on community engagement involving local inhabitants, key central and local government agencies, non-government

organisations (NGOs) concerned with rural upland development and the private sector (Borlagdan, 1996; DENR, 1996; 1998, 2000; Pulhin, 1998).

DENR continues to be the primary central government policy agency overseeing the management, development and administration of the country's forestry and other natural resources in collaboration with other stakeholders (Pulhin, 2005; Pulhin et al.; 2007; Rebugio & Chiong-Javier, 1995). Local government entities are tasked with providing an enabling environment to support and strengthen local communities in managing forest resources by providing technical training, community organising, and an Information and Education Campaign (IEC) (Borlagdan, 1996; Pulhin, 1997; 2005).

The government views the communities as the major CBFM stakeholders giving the community residents the right to occupy, possess, utilise and develop the forest resources, and claim ownership of introduced improvements (DENR, 1996). The Peoples Organisations (POs)¹ are also entitled to the right to be properly informed and consulted on all government projects implemented in the area (DENR, 1996).

Finally, community engagement in the CBFM programme was further strengthened through the promulgation of the Philippine Agenda (PA) 21 for Sustainable Development (SD). The PA 21 envisions a better quality of life and aims at introducing an ecosystem-based and people-centred approach, emphasising broad public participation in decision making as a fundamental prerequisite for achieving sustainable development (Pulhin, 1997; 2005).

1.3 Research problem

A dominant theme, in the large body of Third World environmental management and planning literature, is that dealing with pressing natural resource management problems and which calls for an approach that involves community engagement in general, and more specifically, stakeholder dialogue (Chikozho, 2008; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). Although there is no universally effective way to integrate community stakeholders in project planning and implementation, researchers and practitioners generally agree that stakeholder engagement is important and has many benefits. Stakeholder engagement produces better outcomes or decisions; garners public support for agencies and their decisions; brings to light important local knowledge about environmental resources; increases public understanding of environmental resource issues; reduces or resolves conflicts between stakeholders; ensures implementation of new programmes or policies; increases

¹ POs are the upland farmers' organisations. The POs represents the community.

compliance with environmental resource laws and regulations; helps agencies understand flaws in existing management strategies; and creates new relationships among stakeholders (Creighton, 2005; Chess, 2000; Dalton, 2005; Hemmati, 2002; Mitchell, 2001; Oels, 2003, 2006; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006; Wilson & Bryant, 1997).

Thus, it is argued by several authors that sustainable development can be more effectively achieved when local communities' voices are being heard (Chikozho, 2008; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). However, in the context of the upland regions of the Philippines, although the poor have become increasingly involved in various stages of CBFM planning and implementation, questions remain as to whether their inclusion constitutes genuine participation and whether peoples' capabilities have been increased enabling them to chart the course of their future in collaboration with the government, non-government organisations and the international donor community (Duraiappah et al., 2005). Despite the Philippine government's demonstrated commitment to community based environmental protection and natural resource management, these closely related social and ecological well-being concerns remain unrealised with increasing poverty and worsening environmental degradation in the uplands (Pulhin, 2005).

A related theme in the current literature on environmental management in the Third World is the significance of designing institutions that are appropriate to facilitate community engagement. A poor understanding of the dynamics of participatory institutional arrangements has impeded practical efforts in community based forestry management programmes in the upland regions of the Philippines (Pulhin et al., 2007). Some have implied that environmental resource management problems are not being adequately addressed by the existing institutional arrangements, including governance processes and mechanisms in the Philippines (Emtage, 2004; Pulhin, 2005). Limited capacity of local government authorities for stakeholder consultation and integrated planning, monitoring and evaluation are common problems in community forest management in the Philippines (Pulhin & Dressler, 2009; Pulhin, 2005; Rebugio et al., 2010).

While there has been research on different facets of CBFM, there is a notable absence of theoretically informed analysis of the role of stakeholder dialogue as a forum for community engagement in CBFM projects. In light of this concern, my research is designed to critically examine, from a theoretically informed perspective, the effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue as a forum for community engagement in upland forest communities in the Cagayan Valley, Philippines. In addition to studying the process of stakeholder dialogue, it is also important to

understand the institutional and related political factors that have facilitated stakeholder dialogue or acted as barriers. Empirically, this research is based on qualitative in-depth empirical case studies of two community based forestry projects in the Cagayan Valley in the upland rainforest region, against the broader policy backdrop of the design and implementation of the CBFM programme and of the case study projects. Methodologically, the study was designed to elicit the understandings of local community members and of the key organisational stakeholder groups relating to effectiveness of different aspects of stakeholder dialogue and contextual institutional arrangements in CBFM that have facilitated or hindered stakeholder dialogue.

1.4 Research objectives and research questions

The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To understand reasons for the recent turn to participatory forestry governance in the Philippines.
2. To examine the effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue as a forum for community engagement in two CBFM projects in the Cagayan Valley against the wider backdrop of recent shifts in forestry policies in the Philippines;
3. To determine the factors that have facilitated or hindered stakeholder dialogue in the two CBFM projects in the Cagayan Valley.
4. To determine if there are improvements that would enhance the role of stakeholder dialogue to better achieve the objectives of CBFM.

The following research questions were addressed in order to achieve the above objectives:

1. What factors have prompted the recent turn to participatory forest governance in the Philippines?
2. What role has stakeholder dialogue played, in the two CBFM upland forestry projects in the Cagayan Valley, against the wider backdrop of recent shifts in forestry governance policies in the Philippines?
3. What are the institutional and related socio-political factors that have enabled or posed barriers to stakeholder dialogue in the two CBFM projects in the upland areas of the Cagayan Valley of the Philippines?
4. How can these barriers be overcome in the context of the CBFM programme?
5. What are the wider implications of the research findings for the theory and practice of community forestry governance?

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured as nine chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 examines the relevant literature encompassing three related thematic concepts which underpin this study: community forestry; community engagement; and stakeholder dialogue.

Chapter 3 explains the research methodology for undertaking this study.

Chapter 4 addresses the broader historical policy context for the CBFM policy, by discussing the contributing factors that have shaped the adoption of a community based forestry governance approach in the upland regions of the country. This provides an understanding of the extent to which social considerations were significant in shaping the CBFM policy.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 provide an in-depth examination of role of stakeholder dialogue in two case studies: the Sangbay and Villa Ventura CBFM projects. As a context for examining the experiences and perceptions of the key stakeholder respondents relating to the role of stakeholder dialogue as a forum for community engagement, the relevant attributes of the two case study projects are reviewed in Chapter 5. Chapters 6 and 7 present the results on the comparative understandings and perceptions of different stakeholder respondents on the role of stakeholder dialogue in each project. Chapter 8 then examines to what extent institutional arrangements and related socio-political factors have encouraged or acted as barriers to the role of stakeholder dialogue in forestry management in the Philippines.

Chapter 9 revisits the research objectives and research questions, informed by the empirical research findings presented in the preceding chapters, summarises the research results, draws theoretical and policy conclusions and makes recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2

Review of literature: conceptualising community engagement as stakeholder dialogue

2.1 Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1, CBFM is the Philippine government's overarching policy for developing livelihood alternatives for the rural poor and for the protection of forest biodiversity as an integrated approach based on community engagement. A government strategy to engage local communities was formulated and implemented to realise the CBFM objectives. The strategy was anchored in community participation and community empowerment including: 1) the promotion of continuous sharing of the situation, issues and experiences of the communities and stakeholders; 2) capacity building of stakeholders in undertaking various participatory and interactive communication processes; and, 3) the promotion of strong partnerships with the various stakeholders and help in advocating for plans, programmes and policies, at the local, regional and national level, in order to respond to the needs and aspirations of the community stakeholders (DENR, 2008; Pulhin et al., 2007; Rebugio & Chong-Javier, 1995).

However, in the upland rainforest regions, although the poor have become increasingly involved in the various stages of CBFM planning and development, questions remain as to whether their inclusion constitutes genuine participation and whether people's capabilities have been increased to enable them to chart the course of their future in collaboration with the government, non-government organisations and the international donor community (Duraiappah et al., 2005). There is a lack of systematic empirical knowledge available on what role community engagement has played in the CBFM projects in the Philippines. In light of these concerns, my research was designed to critically examine, from a theoretically informed perspective, to what extent stakeholder dialogue has been successful in fostering community engagement in CBFM in the Philippines, as discussed in this chapter.

A critical review of literature, on the analysis of community engagement in forest management and rural development, was an essential first step to inform the development of the analytical framework for the study. A scoping review of the literature identified three pertinent and related conceptual themes: community forestry, community engagement, and

stakeholder dialogue. Based on a review of the appropriate literature, it is argued that there is considerable commonality between the latter two concepts. However, for the purposes of developing an analytical research framework for this study, the concept of stakeholder dialogue was deemed more appropriate. Arguably, while the concept of community engagement is encompassing, it was deemed too broad as the basis for an analytical framework appropriate for this study.

This chapter lays the conceptual basis for the proposed analytical framework for the two case studies. The research analytical framework designed for this study is presented at the end of this chapter.

2.2 Concept of community forestry

Problems such as upland degradation and deforestation have long been recognised as serious environmental and rural development problems in the Third World (Forsyth et al., 1998). Until recently, the ‘slash and burn’ practices of people occupying the forests and forestlands were blamed as the primary cause of environmental degradation (McCormick, 1995). Thus, the punitive measures of previous forest management sought to exclude people from the forests unaware of the strong place-based bonds forest dwellers had with forests, their dependence on forests for sustenance and the fact that slash and burn practices were based on local knowledge gathered over generations. In a number of Asian countries, slash and burn cultivators were prosecuted and expelled from the upland forest areas if caught red-handed (USAID, 1995).

It was only in the late 1970s that policy makers came to realise that the punitive measures, previously included in forest management and development, were ineffective (Aguilar, 2008; Kirchoffer & Mercer, 1984). This realisation may have been brought about by two factors: the disastrous flooding in the plains of Southeast Asia in 1977 which highlighted the impacts of deforestation; and the influence of international donor agencies and domestic political pressures to address poverty (Arnold, 1991). This led to growing interest amongst academics and professionals in the importance of the integration of local people in forest management and rural development in order to address the continuing degradation of the rural uplands (Arnold, 1991; Pulhin, 1996).

This shift in emphasis was also a reflection of new thinking embedded in the Brundtland Report about the relationship between the environment and development (Brundtland, 1987). The United Nations (UN) established the World Commission on Environment and

Development (WCED) to re-examine the environment and development problems (Grubb et al., 1993). In response, the concept of sustainable development was proposed to address these problems. Hence, economic and ecological concerns were considered to be equally important and needed to be integrated for improving the lot of humankind (WCED, 1987).

In hindsight, the factors underlying widespread deforestation have been instrumental globally in the adoption of alternative forestry policies and programmes in many developing countries including the Philippines (Aguilar, 2008; Arnold, 1991). The new approach to forest management has come to be characterised as ‘community forestry’ or ‘social forestry’. Both terms are used synonymously². Community forestry is defined broadly as any forestry activity which involves local people dwelling in forest communities (FAO, 1978; Hyde, 1992). Social forestry is described in a similar vein as the involvement of local people in forest management as a means of improving their livelihood (Aguilar, 2008; Fisher, 1995; Fortmann, 1988; Rebugio, 1983; Wiersum, 2004). The form and extent of participation depends on varying situations: establishing woodlots in areas short of wood and other forest products for local needs; growing trees at the farm level to provide cash crops; and the processing of forest products at the household level to generate income (FAO, 1978). Community forestry has emerged as a forestry development and management approach emphasising three major roles of forestry in rural development: social equity, poverty alleviation, and resource sustainability (Cernea, 1992; Eckholm, 1975; Fisher, 1991; Gilmour & Fisher, 1991). Furthermore, community forestry is seen as a bottom-up approach to forest management (Berkes, 1999).

The significant potential of community forestry has resulted in considerable effort and resources from the government, the NGOs and international donors involved in rural upland development to support its implementation. Through the years, community forestry has expanded, adapting to local socio-economic and cultural contexts, political characteristics, and forestry conditions (Balooni & Inoue, 2009). The differences identified, between community forestry programmes in different countries, relate to the role of the key stakeholders, legal land status, property rights regimes, and institutional arrangements (Balooni & Inoue, 2009).

There have been several investigations of the potential of community forestry to achieve its desired outcomes (Balooni & Inoue, 2009; Fortmann, 1988; Ohja et al., 2009; Pulhin, 1996). Balooni & Inoue (2007) and Fortmann (1988) found that social forestry and community

² The term community forestry is used in this study

forestry has succeeded in helping the rural poor. However, the inclusion of social concerns has been criticised as being subservient to the biological objectives of forestry management by a number of other authors (Adams, 1990; Fisher et al., 2005). It also remains debatable whether community involvement has achieved the intended improvements in livelihood and good governance (Shackleton et al., 2002).

Over the past few decades, community forestry has been implemented in many developing countries such as: the village woodlots in Korea; the *panchayat* woodlots in India; village forestry in Indonesia; joint forest management in Pakistan; forest villages in Thailand; and the village afforestation in Tanzania. The twin common goal of all these community forestry programmes is the alleviation of poverty amongst local forest communities and forest conservation (Lindayati, 2000; Ohja et al., 2009). These community forestry programmes recognise that local forest management requires collaboration among different groups to exchange views and information in order to adapt to changing conditions (Wollenberg et al.; 2001).

Several studies in different countries show that community forestry programmes have the potential to address the twin goals of forest conservation and poverty reduction. Balooni & Inoue (2007) state that social forestry programmes implemented in 1980s have provided opportunities for forestry government agencies to enter into dialogue with local communities. For example, community forestry was implemented in China and Korea largely because the government perceived that environmental damage was due to removal of tree cover by the local people who depended on it. They further considered that people will change their behaviours if they were provided with alternative sources of fuel wood supply (Balooni & Inoue, 2007).

In Nepal, community forestry evolved from a protection-oriented and conservation-focused approach to a broader strategy for forest use, enterprise development and livelihood improvement. Further, the livelihood benefits derived by local communities strengthened collective action in managing forest resources in a more sustainable manner. Through the medium of community forestry programmes, a strong legal and regulatory framework and civil society institutions and networks have emerged (Shrestha & MacManus (2008). Asanga (2001) argues that conventional forest management in Cameroon had little success due to lack of community involvement. For this reason, a community-based approach to project management was introduced in 1987 and facilitated community participation through a series of consultative meetings and informal dialogues with the local community (Asanga, 2001).

The findings of Fortmann (1988) about the social forestry projects in South Africa implied that the process of people involvement had positive social effects because it has succeeded in helping the rural poor. Social forestry programmes were initiated in India during the mid-1980s to involve those people who depended on fuel wood and other forest products to produce their own supplies. It was intended to improve the productivity and use of communal lands. There were dialogues conducted between the forest departments and the *panchayat* (village council) to tackle the planning of woodlots, but not with the forest user groups. The decisions over the woodlots were made by the *panchayat* representing the local elites (Arnold, 1990).

More recently, community forestry has been implemented in developed countries and it has been successful in its aims of sustainable forest management and securing socio-economic benefits for local communities. For example, in the United States there has been considerable recognition of community-based approaches to management of forests. The drivers of this shift to participatory governance have been environmental movements and frustration by communities over their 'lack of voice' in local forest management issues (Kusel & Adler 2001).

Evans et al. (2008) argued that community forest programmes implemented in the northern Bolivian Amazon and the central provinces of Vietnam were more effective than situations where management was restricted to central government. Under the devolution and self-governance schemes, forest communities assume greater responsibility when given control over their forests. In addition, community leaders were more vocal and assertive in meetings with local government and the marginalised groups within communities, such as women and the poorest sectors, made their voices heard.

However, the experience with community forestry in developing and developed countries has not been always favourable. For example, in Sri Lanka, most of the implemented community forestry management initiatives are seen as a means of obtaining local labour rather than facilitating true community participation in forest governance (De Zoysa & Inoue, 2008). This was also experienced in Ethiopia where the community forestry plantations belonged to the government and the contribution of the local communities in the establishment of plantation was paid labour (Mekonnen, 2000).

While community forest governance may be improved by the participation of elite members of a community, this may exclude marginalised groups (Ojha et al., 2009). For example, in Nepal, Shrestha & MacManus (2008) demonstrate that forest conditions in the country have

improved since the adoption of community forestry programmes. However, they found that the poorer groups in the local communities gain little benefit due to the persistent emphasis on protection-oriented forest management dominated by powerful stakeholders. In Java, social forestry programmes are influenced by political, economic and cultural factors related to power structures at national and local levels. Powerful social forces can distort social forestry ideals (Peluso, 1993). Nightingale (2002) argues that the reason for the uneven success of community forestry in Nepal is the power relations within user-groups. The marginalised user-groups, which include women, do not have equitable access to the management process. Likewise, in Central Sudan, women who possessed a positive attitude towards community forestry were not fully involved in community forestry practices (Kobbail, 2012).

Some of the disadvantages of community forestry applied by First Nations people in Canada include inequality of the partners in co-management arrangements and a lack of public involvement in decision-making. The community forest approach can be hindered by a lack of profit, absence of alternative tenure arrangements, and difficult access to financial resources and adequate land bases (Treseder and Krogman, 1999).

A top down approach to community forestry projects has contributed to the failure of most of these projects. Devolution was introduced to foster partnership between the government and the local communities. However, devolution policies have not always had the intended effect (Evans et al., 2008). Menzies (2002) emphasises that involving the forest-dependent communities has created space for them to engage in the planning and implementation of community forest management programmes, but there is a limited degree of community empowerment. Rosenbarger (2009) found that the Indonesian central government failed to devolve the majority of their authority over state lands and policies still lacked provision for secure access to, and control of, resources by local communities. Likewise, the partnerships between local communities and forest companies based on a community forestry approach were implemented in Indonesia and South Africa, but have yet to prove effective in improving the socio-economic condition of the local people. The local community remains supplementary to the management process rather than being the focus of income improvement. There is also little evidence of substantial increases in community bargaining power (Vermeulen et al., 2003).

Some of the pitfalls identified in the community forestry programmes in Tanzania concern local expectations, the lack of sustainability and integration within local institutions and systems (Blomley & Ramadhani, 2006). Community forestry in Cameroon was designed and

implemented to meet the objectives of community forest management and governance, but the spread of management conflicts all over the country has shown that these expectations have not been realised and have instead fostered bad governance and a loss of confidence (De Blas et al., (2011).

The success of community forestry in Laos is constrained by the limited capacity of field staff as a result of poor information dissemination and sharing. In spite of community forestry efforts in Laos, proper institutional arrangements have not been developed and the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders are not clear (Manivong and Sopathilath, 2007).

Based on a review of Fortmann (1988), the three goals of social forestry in theory are ideal. However, in practice, the multiplicity of social forestry goals are often neglected. Social forestry projects may not fulfill these goals because priority is accorded to a single goal. The structure and norms of implementing institutions and the distribution of local power may dominate equity intentions (Agarwal, 2001). The gap in the literature concerning the role of community engagement and stakeholder dialogue in achieving the objectives of CBFM prompted me to focus my study on this aspect.

2.3 Concept of community engagement

In the social science literature, the concept community engagement underpins related concepts such as community governance, sustainable development, public participation, stakeholder dialogue, rural development and co-management, and its significance is often discussed within those conceptual contexts (Dare et.al., 2008; Head, 2007).

Arguably, the concept of community engagement is very broad and can be defined in different ways. A number of authors have defined the concept in Third World settings in order to highlight its particular attributes. According to Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, community engagement is described as mutual communication and negotiation that occurs between the government and the people for policy formulation and provision of government services (OECD, 2001). The World Bank (1997) used a similar definition for public participation as a process whereby beneficiaries influence the direction and execution of development projects rather than merely receiving a share of project benefits. The four main objectives of participation highlighted by many authors are: governance; social cohesion and social justice; improved quality of services; and capacity building and learning (Dare et al., 2008; Eben, 2006; Involve, 2005; Menzies, 2004; Pretty, 1995).

There are a number of typologies of community engagement which potentially can be used as a basis for an evaluative analytical framework. One of the oldest is Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation that illustrates the different levels of citizen participation: manipulation, therapy; informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, and citizen control (Figure 2.1).

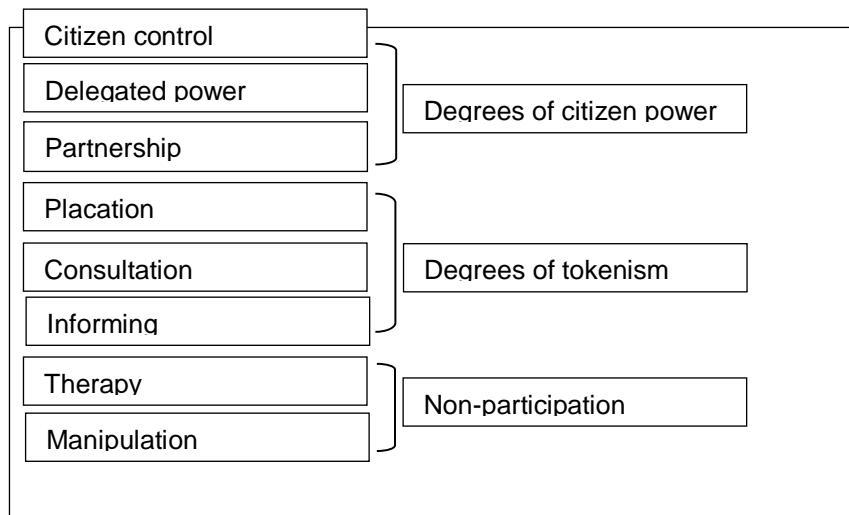


Figure 2.1 Eight rungs on a ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969)

On the manipulation and therapy levels, the authorities only inform and educate the participants (Arnstein, 1969). This is the lowest level of participation and is effectively non-participation because there is neither negotiation nor an exchange of information. The informing, consultation, and placation levels allow the public to be heard and have a voice. However, there is no guarantee that their views and suggestions will be considered. According to Arnstein (1969), public participation will have no effect at these levels because the participants are not sure if their views are considered and they cannot monitor the effect of their opinion on the decision. Placation may include sole representatives on boards and committees. However, their decisions are easily outvoted which still leaves the final decision with the authorities. These can be categorised as tokenism on Arnstein's ladder.

At the partnership level, power is redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power holders (Arnstein, 1969). Planning and decision making responsibilities are shared by both parties through structures, such as joint policy boards, and mechanisms for resolving conflicts and issues. The level of delegated power implies that the community members either hold the majority of the seats in decision making bodies or may have veto powers. This can be categorised as citizen power or people power. The highest level in the ladder is citizen control. In this case, the citizens have the majority of the decision making seats with full control (Arnstein, 1969).

A comparable schema for participation are the four levels of involvement of beneficiaries in the participatory processes proposed by Carter (1996) which include: 1) limited representation; 2) cooperation and consultation; 3) greater decision-making and collaboration; and 4) collective participation. Carter (1996) defines collective participation as the type of participation when local people set and implement their own agendas.

Castillo (1983) and Umali (1989) argue that participation is beneficial as both an instrument for self-reliant action and the fulfilment of basic needs. It is common knowledge that people know best what is good for them and the rural poor represent a human resource for labour, practical knowledge, experiences and ideas (Castillo, 1983). Community engagement in community based projects would be better maintained if local communities participated in their planning and implementation (Hollnsteiner, 1976). Community engagement may lead to a sense of ownership over the process and outcomes if this is shared by a broad partnership of stakeholders. In this case, long-term support and active implementation of decisions may be enhanced (Richards et al., 2004). Participatory approaches have grown because more and more organisations are finding that they can get significantly better results using participatory approaches, through community engagement and stakeholder dialogue rather than top-down approaches, to project development and environmental resource management (Oels, 2006). Top-down systems of governance and decision-making tend to repeat the pattern of domination that has characterised most societies throughout history (Hemmati, 2002). They are not designed to cope well with the complexity of sustainability issues since they tend to exclude, rather than include, diverse interests and the multitude of views (Tannen, 1998).

To recapitulate, participatory or community-based approaches to environmental management and rural development are now widely recognised as essential components of sustainable development (Cramb et al., 2000; Flora et al., 2000; Macnaghten & Jacobs, 1997). Community-based approaches are promoted on the basis that they support effective project implementation and enhance the well-being of the poor (Duraiappah et al., 2005). They can improve the use and condition of environmental resources (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999; Benn et al., 2008; Harrison et al., 2001; McCarthy et al., 2004; Ostrom, 1990), and can lead to improved performance and outcomes (Mitchell, 1997; Pretty, 1995). The benefits of participatory approaches in the sustainable development context include enhanced social, human and natural capital (Pretty, 1995).

2.4 Concept of stakeholder dialogue

There is commonality between the literature on community engagement and that on stakeholder dialogue. However, from a theoretical stance, as demonstrated in the previous section, the community engagement literature tends to be relatively eclectic compared to the literature on stakeholder dialogue discussed below. For this reason, I chose to focus my study on examining the role of stakeholder dialogue in CBFM.

Stakeholder dialogue may be conceptualised as a means to enhance community engagement. Stakeholder dialogue is a concept used to describe the process of collaborative decision-making embracing participation by all stakeholders (Oels, 2006; Pedersen, 2006). Ideally, 'reflexive' stakeholder dialogue is a process of open interaction through which people listen and learn from each other in an enabling environment (Hemmati, 2002). Stakeholder dialogue enhances the potential for individuals and groups since they are given space to articulate their interests and have their voices heard in environmental management and decision-making processes (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). From this perspective, stakeholder dialogue can be seen as a governance arrangement embracing all sections of the local community, to democratise access to and use of resources, to manage conflict, and to make resource management more effective and efficient (Warner, 2007).

The theoretical underpinnings of reflexive stakeholder dialogue are social psychology and organisational and social learning theories (Stoll-Keemann & Welp, 2006).

Social psychological theory refers to how people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviours are influenced by the actual or implied presence of others (Allport, 1985; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). The theory explains human behaviour which includes attitudes, persuasion, self-concept, cultural differences, group dynamics, and relations with others (Allport, 1985; Enayati, 2002). Social and psychological approaches foster a better understanding of what shapes the dynamics of stakeholder dialogue in so far as they explain and clarify issues of communication, social identity and perception barriers, and how attitude, outlook, and behaviour are shaped in group processes (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). Significant drivers that influence stakeholder dialogues are group diversity and the group processes encouraging social identity (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). Organisational theory is also useful for understanding and fostering dialogue in teams and groups (Senge, 1998). Organisational theory refers to the study of organisations for the benefit of identifying common themes for the purpose of solving problems, maximising efficiency and productivity, and meeting the needs of stakeholders (Daft & Armstrong, 2009). The theory of organisational learning

explains how representatives from many different organisational backgrounds and cultures can work together effectively, and how they can team up in small groups, providing opportunities for learning and joint problem-solving (Burchell & Cook, 2006; Senge, 1998). Finally, the organisational theory of reflexive dialogue helps to identify factors that influence the behaviour of the system and potential changes (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). Along with this, Enayati (2002) concludes that sensitivity to cultural differences is essential in stakeholder dialogues and involves awareness of norms, and the beliefs and values on which the cultural norms are based. Through dialogue, diverse groups offer immense potential for increased quality of group performance, knowledge creation and innovative decision-making (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006).

Several authors in the environmental management literature also emphasise the need for social learning (Oels, 2003; Senge, 1998; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). Social learning is where stakeholders learn from each other through the development of new relationships or building on existing ones. In this way, individuals learn about each other's trustworthiness and learn to appreciate and respect the views of each other even if they disagree with them (Blackstock et al., 2007; Forester, 1999; Stringer et al., 2006). A primary challenge in social learning is to find out how people can work together effectively (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). The success of a community based project is more likely if the social learning process occurs among the different stakeholders involved (Pinkerton, 1994; Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2000). A key step in collaborative initiatives is committing to a process of mutual learning in which participants agree that they individually do not have all the answers (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000).

Eight process attributes that foster social learning include: open communication, diverse participation, unrestrained thinking, constructive conflict, democratic structure, multiple sources of knowledge, extended engagement, and facilitation (Schusler et al., 2003). Incorporating these attributes into stakeholder dialogue processes can create opportunities for people to engage with one another, sharing diverse perspectives and experiences to develop a common understanding and basis for collective action (Schusler et al., 2003). Problems can be shared openly in a dialogue, and in this way stimulate a mutual learning process that spurs creativity and innovation (Flick, 1998; Isaacs, 1993). Multi-stakeholder collaboration often promotes dialogue as a way to find solutions for complex sustainability problems (Hemmati, 2002; Kell & Levin, 2003; Waddel, 2002; Waddock, 2004). Also, Chikozho (2008) argues that if properly crafted, dialogue can create the appropriate conditions for better stakeholder

engagement and decision-making that enables the harmonisation of different and conflicting interests.

The key elements from the theoretical underpinnings of stakeholder dialogue, derived from social, psychological and organisational learning theories, have been integrated into a theory of reflexive dialogue by Stoll-Kleemann & Welp (2006). Figure 2.2 depicts the theory of reflexive dialogue. The key elements of reflexive dialogue processes, identified in the diagramme, are actors, methods, structures, processes, and outcomes. The theory is based on the assumption that social learning during the course of a stakeholder dialogue is collectively a function of these key elements. Social learning is a concept that deals with the cycle of discovering problems or issues, debating possible solutions, and creating management structures and arrangements to cope with problems (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006).

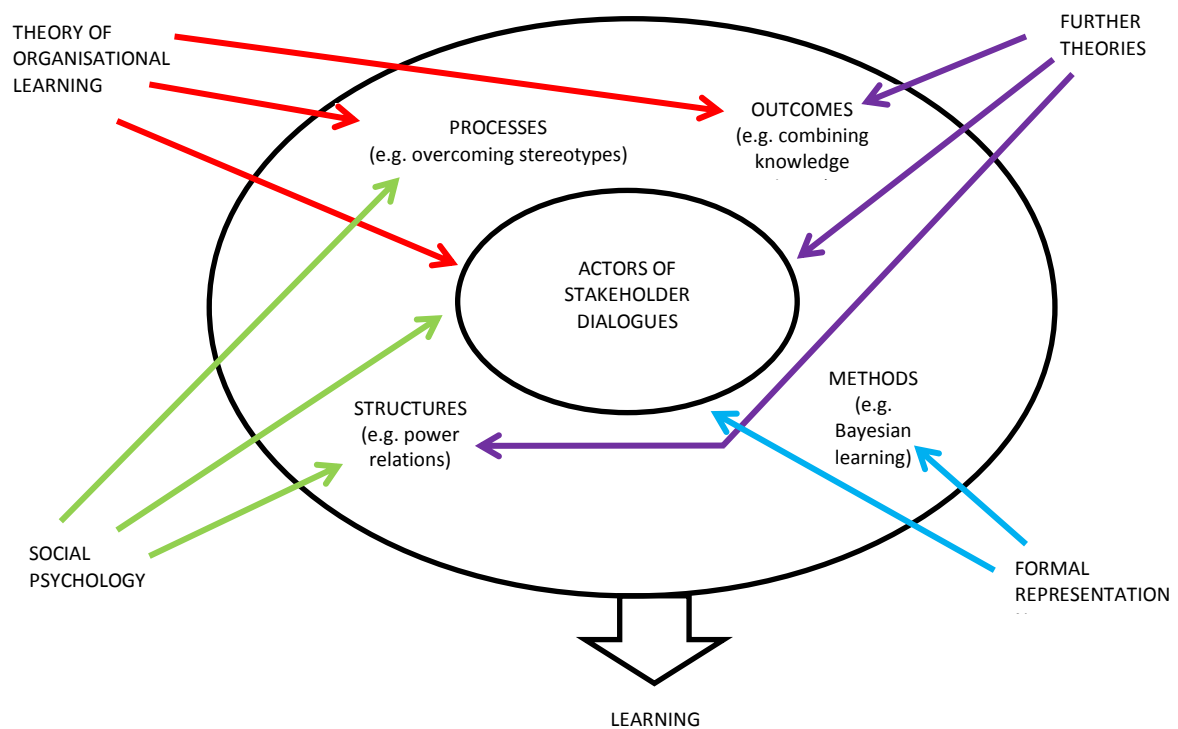


Figure 2.2 Elements of the integrative theory of reflexive dialogue
 (Source: Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006)

From the perspective of the objectives of this study, a significant strength of the Stoll-Kleemann & Welp’s (2006) integrative theory of reflexive dialogue is that it is theoretically grounded in the recent social learning literature. However, as discussed below, from the perspective of this study, the Stoll-Kleemann & Welp (2006) framework does not accord adequate recognition to the significance of contextual institutional factors that facilitate or impede stakeholder dialogue. For this reason, the Stoll-Kleemann & Welp (2006) framework was extended to analyse the effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue processes in CBFM.

2.4.1 The significance of institutional arrangements

In order to critically enhance the insights garnered from investigating the significance of the elements of stakeholder dialogue processes, a further important question that is considered in this study is the significance of designing appropriate institutional arrangements for stakeholder dialogue processes. Arguably, the significance of the broader institutional context is not adequately recognised in the Stoll-Kleemann & Welp's (2006) integrative theory of reflexive dialogue portrayed in Figure 2.2.

The term institution is defined in the social science literature as the formal and informal 'rules of the game' (North, 2004; Ostrom, 2005; Uphoff, 1986). Institutional arrangements can be designed to provide both incentives and disincentives for actors to behave in particular ways (Agrawal, 2001; Ostrom, 2008). The recent environmental management literature highlights the role of broader contextual factors focussed on institutional arrangements in contributing to the success of community engagement and stakeholder dialogue processes. Such a 'big picture' institutional perspective on analysis of stakeholder dialogue processes complements insights that can be gathered from the Stoll-Kleemann & Welp's (2006) focus on the elements of the stakeholder dialogue process.

There are a number of accounts in the literature reporting the significance of contextual factors in enabling or posing barriers to stakeholder dialogue including institutional arrangements and related political, economic, and socio-cultural factors such as land tenure arrangements (Agrawal, 2001; Memon & Weber, 2010; Ostrom, 1999). The institutional conditions for the success of stakeholder dialogues were elaborated by Innes (1996) as follows: a) a high incentive to participate; b) a deliberative process that must lead to a clearly defined product; and c) substantial elements of the product must be formally adopted by the relevant formal political authority (Renn et al., 1999). Given that the intent of integrated environmental management is that it is largely a participatory effort of the various stakeholder groups, another concern pertains to the reasons for engagement and participation. Stakeholder dialogue only makes sense and can only be successful if there is an underlying common motive for action that can help to overcome the often severe differences between the stakeholders. The local community participate in the project if they are convinced that the benefits derived from the group or participatory efforts will be greater than those from individual ones (Pahlevi, 2005).

Sensitivity to gender norms, cultural differences and cultural norms should be also considered to understand the contextual factors that enable or hinders stakeholder dialogue (Enayati,

2002). Social and cultural awareness helps to clarify issues related to communication, social identity, perception barriers, and how attitudes, outlooks, and behaviour are shaped in group processes. Group processes offer immense potential for increased quality of group performance, knowledge creation (empowerment), and innovative decision-making and networking (Oels, 2003; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). These factors are important in understanding the structure, processes, and outcome of stakeholder dialogue.

2.5 Proposed analytical research framework

The proposed framework to critically examine the role of stakeholder dialogue in the two case study projects is multi-theoretic because it draws on all three bodies of literature (community forestry, community engagement, and stakeholder dialogue) reviewed above in this chapter. As shown in Table 2.1, the framework is two pronged and comprises key ‘elements’ of stakeholder dialogue processes and contextual institutional and related socio-political factors that help or hinder stakeholder dialogue (see column 1 in Table 2.1). For each of the elements and contextual factors, evaluative criteria or indicators are listed (see column 2 in Table 2.1).

2.5.1 Elements

As discussed above, the first component of the analytical framework designed for this study was adapted from Stoll-Kleemann & Welp’s (2006) theory of reflexive dialogue. As shown in Table 2.1, its focus is on the five elements of successful reflexive stakeholder dialogue: actors, methods, structures, processes, and outcomes (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006).

Table 2.1 Analytical framework for analysis of stakeholder dialogue in the CBFM project areas of the Cagayan Valley

Elements	Criteria/Indicators
Actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key actors were identified • All stakeholders' roles in the project were clear to all stakeholders • All participants actively involved in the dialogue process • Representativeness among all stakeholders involved in the project
Methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identified importance of, and used formal modes of, undertaking stakeholder dialogue • Identified importance of, and used informal modes of, stakeholder dialogue
Structures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear and transparent structures (how stakeholder inputs will be used) • Power sharing is observed (absence of domination, voices and interests of all stakeholders were heard, local issues were dealt with)
Processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants treated each other with respect • Fair process (all interested parties were represented in the dialogue) • Limited influence of DENR and other government agencies involved in the project
Outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning (participants learned from and with each other and improved understanding of others' viewpoints, issues and interests) • Developed trust and confidence in any transaction with the government agencies • Improved working relationships, trust, community spirit, and solidarity generated • Social well-being and capabilities improved • Reached an agreement or resolution to solving specific issues about the project
Contextual Factors	Criteria/Indicators
Institutional arrangements and related socio-political factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional design rules facilitated stakeholder dialogue • Institutional design rules acted as barriers to stakeholder dialogue

2.5.1.1 Actors

The literature on stakeholder dialogue puts emphasis on the potential role of 'actors' as they are critical to the success of every dialogue (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). Successful dialogue is produced by clearly identifying all of the stakeholders affected or interested in a project, getting representatives of those groups to participate, and hearing their concerns to help ensure that their interests are not overlooked (Evans, 2003). It has been argued that it is important to conduct proper stakeholder identification at the beginning of dialogue activities to ensure that the most relevant stakeholder groups are included and to predict their likely attitude toward the dialogue and the issues at hand, and to gauge the kinds of power they possess (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). These stakeholder groups constitute the actors in

the stakeholder dialogue. Accordingly, the different roles of actors in a stakeholder dialogue, their level of involvement, influence, and interest should be taken into account at the onset of the project. It is also essential to include other factors such as actors' characteristics, experiences, and individual differences since these are all likely to influence their involvement and role in the project (Evans, 2003; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006).

2.5.1.2 Methods

Dialogue 'methods' refer to the different modes of interaction used in the stakeholder dialogue. Methods used for stakeholder dialogue include conferences, workshops, working groups with stakeholders from different backgrounds and with varying interests, public meetings and the dissemination of relevant printed information, meetings, seminars, consultation, focus groups, participatory rural appraisal, planning workshops, collecting stories, and role play, among others determines the extent of engagement that motivates the interaction between stakeholder groups (Averbeck, 2006; Eben, 2006; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp). The combinations of these stakeholder dialogue methods provide a setting in which participants interact and learn to feel comfortable expressing their views, and can contribute to the positive impacts on a project since it lays the foundation for joint planning and implementation (Averbeck, 2006; Welp & Stoll-Kleemann, 2006).

A distinction is made between formal and informal modes of dialogue. Formal dialogue is generally in the form of public meetings that are at times tightly structured, conventional, and predetermined (Forester, 1999). Formal stakeholder dialogue can be defined as a process in which a structured exchange of views and a reflection on the values of stakeholders can take place (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). The exchange of arguments is done formally and based on mutual respect and trust. Informal dialogue is defined as a casual and relaxed conversation, not being in accord with the regulations or forms (Dictionary of the English language, 2000). Informal conversation is more appropriate for use in everyday life. The purpose of informal dialogue is to empower local people with the skills and abilities to address the larger structural issues through addressing local concerns. Farmers collaborate informally to teach each other techniques of sustainable agricultural technologies (Kroma 1999). This is an example of informal dialogue. Informal dialogue also takes place when a family interacts every day, anywhere, and at any time. Dialogue between parents and children is often ignored as source of information in upland development programmes. This type of dialogue normally influences the child in his perception of community engagement.

Chikozho (2008) notes the foundations of any dialogue are knowledge and information as this empowers actors in the dialogue process. He argues that well-informed stakeholders can make meaningful contributions to the dialogue process. Also, the methods of dialogue used in any community based programme determine the extent to which stakeholders gain knowledge and information (Chikozho, 2008). Therefore, the method of dialogue has a direct bearing on the significance of the dialogue process.

2.5.1.3 Structures

‘Structures’ refer to the patterns of relationships of stakeholders in the dialogue which according to Stoll-Kleemann and Welp (2006), is the general conditions under which dialogue takes place, affected by power relations, and rules and principles related to fairness.

In stakeholder dialogue, power relations among the involved actors are believed to be unequally distributed. The people may act as individuals interacting with other individuals or as representatives of a group. In a dialogue, the representatives would speak according to the interests of the group (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006).

The actors involved in a dialogue need to define and specify the rules and principles related to fairness. The key findings in the literature which lead to an effective dialogue structure are the following: a) the idea of the project originated from the region; b) in the planning workshops, the voices and interests of different stakeholders were heard; and c) at all levels and times, the activities and outcomes of the projects were transparent (Averbeck, 2006; Eben, 2006; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006).

Another important component of stakeholder dialogue is public understanding. Understanding local people’s knowledge is essential because they have lay knowledge of the area, hence, can deliver information relevant for natural resources management (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006).

2.5.1.4 Processes

The ‘process’ of stakeholder dialogue refers to how a stakeholder dialogue is carried out (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). There are three kinds of stakeholder processes: 1) decisional, in which stakeholders directly participate in making final decisions and helping to implement them afterwards; 2) consultative, in which stakeholders’ comments and inputs are asked for on policy options that others will decide; 3) informational, in which stakeholders are asked to provide data, general perspectives, and input on a specific issue or problem (Yosie &

Herbst, 1998). The stakeholders should have a role in defining the ground rules of the process. The processes of stakeholder dialogue, which focus on bringing together the actors, can produce effective communication processes and successful learning (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). Learning occurs when stakeholders learn from their role in a community engagement initiative and see themselves as responsible for finding a solution that is best suited to all stakeholders.

2.5.1.5 Outcomes

‘Outcome’ refers to the short and long-term results of the stakeholder dialogue. Established networks are an outcome of dialogue most valued by participants of a project. According to Messner & Meyer-Stamer (2000), individuals need to work together to pool resources when they lack the resources necessary to achieve an output of their own. Network formation requires the building of trust between the actors in stakeholder dialogue to deal better with intricate problems.

Stakeholder dialogue may contribute to attitude and behaviour change such as better understanding of other members of the community and more environment friendly behaviour. In a stakeholder dialogue, differences in views can be discussed in a more constructive ways that may lead to a consensus view Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006).

The outcomes of stakeholder dialogue identified in the literature are: efficient communication, increased trust and respect, better relations, common knowledge, commitment, joint problem-solving, gaining confidence, establishment or strengthening of networks, project acceptability, transparency, attitude change, and a sustained process of dialogue and learning (Averbeck, 2006; Burchell & Cook, 2006; Evans, 2003; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006; Yosie & Herbst, 1998).

The corresponding criteria for each of the elements (as shown in column 2 in Table 2.1) are based on the literature reviewed in this chapter.

2.5.2 Contextual factors

As discussed earlier in this chapter, broader contextual factors also play a significant role in shaping stakeholder dialogue outcomes and this is the second prong of the analytical framework for this study. The focus here is on the extent to which the institutional design and related socio-political factors have facilitated or acted as barriers to stakeholder dialogue (column 2 in Table 2.1).

2.6 Concluding comments

Informed by the multi-disciplinary literature review and the research framework presented in this chapter, the next chapter will discuss how the research framework shaped the design of the research methodology employed to answer the research questions posed in Chapter 1.

Chapter 3

Research methodology

3.1 Introduction

There are many methodological approaches a researcher can follow when conducting research. A research approach is influenced by a number of factors including: the nature of the research questions; the characteristics of the phenomena being studied; and the values, perceptions, and experiences of the researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). This chapter will review the methodological procedures adopted to design and undertake this study. It is structured around 8 sections. Section 3.2 recapitulates the purpose of this study. Section 3.3 explains the reasons for choosing a case study research approach to achieve this purpose and Section 3.4 describes the tools employed for generating data and the data collection instruments. This is followed by sections discussing the basis for case study site selection (3.5), personal position (3.6), gaining access and building rapport (3.7), selection of respondents (3.8), and data analysis procedures (3.9).

3.2 The research purpose

The objective of this thesis is to critically examine the understandings of local community members and of the key organisational stakeholder groups relating to aspects of stakeholder dialogue in CBFM. It is imperative to understand the perspectives and experiences of the local inhabitants relating to different facets of stakeholder dialogue because their economic and social well-being is directly affected by the consequence of forest and rural upland degradation and they are the primary beneficiaries of the CBFM projects. It is likewise equally important to understand the perspectives of the key organisational stakeholders groups in the public and NGO sectors relating to stakeholder dialogue because they are collectively and individually responsible for developing participatory policies and programmes to prevent or minimise forest and environmental degradation and to enhance community well-being.

Conceptually, the study is grounded in the recent social science literature relating to environmental governance. Based on a review of the literature in Chapter 2, a modified reflexive dialogue model has been proposed as the analytical framework to guide this study. The proposed hybrid framework is two pronged, comprising five elements of stakeholder dialogue and the contextual institutional arrangements, respectively.

The above considerations relating to the definition of the research problem were instrumental in the choice of the case study method as the preferred research approach and for using qualitative methods for data collection and analysis in order to achieve the study objectives, as discussed below.

3.3 Case study as the preferred research approach

In order to gain an understanding of the role of stakeholder dialogue in CBFM projects, a qualitative case study approach was adopted. Case study is a research strategy used to investigate phenomena within a real-life context (Hartley, 1994; Yin, 1994). Case studies have been a common research strategy across social science disciplines to understand and generate knowledge of individual, group, organisational, social, political and related phenomena, and the context within which they are embedded (Yin, 2003). It is suitable for exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory reasons (Yin, 1981). A case study approach can gain access, insights and information that may not be otherwise available through other research strategies (Hartley, 1994; Yin, 1994). Also, the case study offers a method of learning about a complex instance through deep description and contextual analysis (Yin, 2003). It is a valuable method for identifying, linking and comparing issues related to environmental resource management (Howitt, 2001). Case studies often start with a preliminary theory, extracted from existing literature related to the topic of study, which is then linked to available data (Yin, 2003).

According to Yin (1994) the case study method has been criticised in the literature for its lack of rigor and their limited basis for scientific generalisation. But the worth of case study research lies not in its potential for statistical generalisation, but for its potential for analytic generalisation. The aim of a case study is to compare the empirical results to previously developed theory (Yin, 1994). The strength of case studies is their ability to extend or refine theory (Hartley, 1994).

Case studies can be based on primarily qualitative or primarily quantitative research or both (Yin, 2005). Qualitative research strives to examine participants' opinions about a phenomenon of interest to a researcher. The qualitative research approach is largely an investigative process where the researcher gradually builds understanding of phenomena by compiling and comparing participants' opinions (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Loftland & Loftland (1995) argue that participants' opinions and perspectives can only be gained and understood through a researcher's direct interaction with them. Furthermore, a

qualitative approach emphasises words rather than quantification and has a preference for an emphasis on the way in which individuals interpret their social world (Bryman, 2004). Qualitative research involves closer attention to the interpretive nature of inquiry and situating the study within the political, social and cultural context of the researchers, the participants and the readers of the study (Creswell, 2007). The strengths of a qualitative approach include data richness and a more holistic representation of social reality, while its limitations involve validity, generalisability, reliability, and objectivity (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative research is specific to a time and place where findings cannot be exactly replicated and uses data collection methods that elicit the individuals' perspectives (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This study generated rich data since the research participants were free to express their perspectives and opinions on the different elements of stakeholder dialogue, and the related factors, that enabled or posed barriers to stakeholder dialogue in CBFM. Their perspectives were treated and interpreted as social realities.

Since the aim of this research was to examine the role of stakeholder dialogue in two CBFM projects in the Cagayan Valley, from the perspectives of the local inhabitants and the key organisational stakeholder groups, a primarily qualitative case study research method was deemed to be the most appropriate.

3.4 Data collection

The use of multiple-method data collection techniques is to minimise biases and maximise the representation of various sets of contextual factors (Shrestha & McManus, 2007). For example, primary data collection techniques such as semi-structured, in-depth interviews provide the opportunity to determine stakeholder perceptions, interests, and their current and historical views. Participant observation as a form of primary data collection provides the opportunity to identify how these perceptions are expressed within stakeholders' actions and reactions and compare this with the data obtained through the interviews (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Patton, 2002; Murray, 2006).

A semi-structured interview is a qualitative method of inquiry with a set of open questions that provides a framework for the interview. A semi-structured interview is a type of qualitative research method that elicits more detail as well as gaining insight into the real life situation (Dunn, 2000; Loftland & Loftland, 1995). Semi-structured interviews have limitations. It can be considered a highly demanding and laborious method of data collection (Loftland & Loftland, 1995). Data collected using this method may contain many perceptions and beliefs or irrelevant points making data analysis time consuming. However, semi-

structured interview was still preferred since they allow the researcher to direct the flow of interview, listen to their voices, and control the depth and focus of the interview. Semi-structured interviews were used in this study to elicit multiple understandings about aspects of stakeholder dialogues.

Secondary data collection techniques include the analysis of documents and reports produced and maintained by the project participants, peoples' organisations, different stakeholder groups, publications of the government and non-government organisations, and a review of the relevant theoretical and empirical literature. The analysis of departmental policy documents and reports provides an opportunity to compare the rhetoric of the stakeholder groups with the perspective and behaviour of the different actors that represent them (Murray, 2006; Yin, 2003).

As mentioned earlier, one of the study aims is to understand how local community and key organisational stakeholder groups perceive the importance of stakeholder dialogue in the CBFM areas. In order to find out their perceptions and experiences, the primary tool for generating data was semi-structured interviews using types of open-ended questions. This was to ensure that relatively free expressions of opinions could be solicited from the interview respondents and at the same time steer the conversations to focus on this study's objectives.

The semi-structured interview questionnaires were translated into Ilocano, the dialect spoken in the area. Being familiar with the area and most of the local community residents, coupled with my ability to speak the Ilocano dialect, facilitated the interview process. The respondents responded without inhibitions.

Secondary sources of data collection comprise the analysis of policy documents and reports produced and maintained by the participants of the livelihood project of DENR, documents and records kept by DENR, the LGUs, the NGOs and other supporting organisations involved in the project.

Informed by the research problem, research questions, research objectives, the literature review, and based on the analytical research framework developed, three semi-structured interview questionnaires were designed to elicit responses from four groups of respondents: direct CBFM participants, indirect CBFM participants, government agencies (DENR and LGUs), and NGOs. For each questionnaire, a set of questions was framed to gauge the respondents' perspectives relating to each of the five elements of reflexive stakeholder dialogue (actors, methods, structures, processes, and outcomes) and the extent to which

institutional arrangements and related contextual factors facilitated or acted as barriers to stakeholder dialogue. The specific questions relating to the elements were based on the specified criteria or indicators for each element of stakeholder dialogue. Questions relating to institutional arrangements and related contextual factors were framed in terms of adequacy of these arrangements. This is explained below.

3.4.1 Actors in a stakeholder dialogue

The questions that were asked of the four respondent groups included, but were not limited to: which actors were involved in the stakeholder dialogues; what were their roles and involvement in the project; and to what degree did the actors represent various target groups.

The criteria/indicators for successful stakeholder dialogue under the element actor include: key actors were identified; all stakeholders' roles in the project were clear to all stakeholders; all participants actively involved in the dialogue process; and representativeness among all stakeholders involved in the project. The specific questions asked of the local community respondents (direct and indirect CBFM participants) for each of the criteria/indicators of successful stakeholder dialogue were as follows:

- What people were important for you in learning about the project?
- What was their role in the project?
- What was your role in the project?
- Were the people identified actively involved in the project and how?
- Which institutions were the people identified attached to?
- How and where did you learn about the project?
- How did you raise your concerns about the project?

The following specific questions were asked of respondents from the government agencies and NGO groups:

- What was your role in the project?
- What were the main tasks and duties that you undertook in this role?
- Were all stakeholders represented in the dialogue?
- Were there questions raised by stakeholders?

Follow-up questions were asked of the respondents from government agencies and NGO groups regarding the role and involvement of the CBFM participants in the stakeholder dialogue. The question asked was, what was the role of the CBFM participants in the project?

3.4.2 Methods of stakeholder dialogue

Semi-structured interviews coupled with casual conversations with the different respondents were used to elicit their perceptions on the methods of stakeholder dialogue used in CBFM projects. Interview questions focussed on which methods were used in the stakeholder dialogue and whether they matched with the objectives of the dialogue, and if the experiences with the use of different methods were seen as successful or not.

The specific questions posed to the local community respondents (direct and indirect CBFM participants) were:

- Tell me what you know about the project and how you acquired this information?
- How, when, and where did you first learn about the project?
- What different methods did the government agencies and NGOs use to help you learn about the project?
- Was this information useful to you? How and why?
- Could the different methods have been more effective in this regard? How and why?
- Did you decide to participate in the project, and if yes, what made you come to your decision about participation in the project?

The specific questions posed to the government agencies and NGOs were:

- How, when, where, how often, and who conducted/initiated dialogues undertaken in CBFM project areas?

3.4.3 Structures of stakeholder dialogue

The structure of the dialogue was evaluated based on the perception of the different stakeholders and was uncovered using in-depth semi-structured interviews and open conversations. Follow-up questions were asked during casual conversations with the different stakeholder groups to get a clearer understanding of their views and opinions. The questions asked were whether an unequal distribution of the power relations among the actors involved was visible in the stakeholder dialogue, and whether the rules and principles related to the fairness of the processes were defined and specified by the people involved in the dialogue.

To elicit the local community respondents' perspectives on the structure of the dialogue, the specific questions asked were the following:

- What issues or concerns did you have, and what was the most important issue for you? Why?

- How did you raise your concerns?
- Did you get answers to the questions and concerns raised, and if so, how?
- Were you satisfied with the responses?
- Did you have some suggestions about how to carry out the project?
- Were your suggestions considered? Did they get used (why/why not)?

The question asked of the government agencies and NGO respondents was:

- Were all stakeholders represented in the dialogue?

3.4.4 Processes of stakeholder dialogue

To have a greater understanding of the different perspectives and interests, and the different voices of the different stakeholder groups engaged in the dialogue process, a series of semi-structured questions were asked and follow-up conversations were held. This was to develop a clearer picture of what aspects of the project were perceived of as constituting dialogue and which of these processes were seen by the different participants as having the most significant effect in their lives.

The local community respondents (direct and indirect CBFM participants) were asked of the following questions:

- How did the different organisations receive your concerns?
- How were your concerns addressed or dealt with?
- Were there important events/things that changed your perceptions about the project?
- In what way did the important events/things change your perceptions about the project (positive or negative) and why?
- Has your understanding of other participants' views increased?
- Has your participation changed the way you relate to other community members?

The government agencies and NGOs were asked:

- Were there questions raised during the dialogue process?
- How did you address the questions raised?

3.4.5 Outcomes of stakeholder dialogue

The outcomes of stakeholder dialogue was investigated using open conversations, semi-structured interviews and direct observation to draw out factors/attributes such as attitudes, behaviour changes, knowledge and skills, and other related outputs resulting from the stakeholder dialogues. The questions asked of the respondents were focused on how the

outcomes of the stakeholder dialogue were described and whether they could be deemed a success, whether stakeholder dialogue has contributed to attitude and behaviour change, whether constructive conflict management took place, and if a consensus view emerged in the process of stakeholder dialogue.

To elicit the local community (direct and indirect CBFM participants) respondents' perspectives on the outcome of the dialogue, the specific questions asked were the following:

- What was your reaction when you first learned about the project?
- Did you decide to participate in the project, and what made you come to your decision about participation in the project?
- Has your understanding about the project changed over the years? Why and how?
- Do you think your participation has any impact in the community?
- Did you notice any changes in the community as a result of personal input (dialogue generally)? What are these, if any?
- What improvements in the project do you suggest?

The government agencies and NGOs were asked:

- What are the objectives of using stakeholder dialogue in the project?
- Were there changes (bio-physical, socio-economic) in the community? Do you think these changes can be directly attributed to stakeholder dialogue?

Follow-up question regarding the effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue were also asked of the government agencies and the NGOs. The conversation revolved around the question, what do you think were the significant impacts of stakeholder dialogue on the local community?

Finally, the local community respondents, the government agencies and NGOs were asked, if a similar project was to be introduced in the community, what would you suggest the process should be? This question was posed to each of the respondents to gain a better understanding of their perceptions on the importance of stakeholder dialogue in the project.

3.4.6 The contextual factors

As discussed earlier in chapter 2, broader contextual factors play a significant role in shaping the effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue and this is the second prong of the analytical framework for this study. The focus of the open ended questions was on the extent to which the institutional arrangements have facilitated or acted as barriers to stakeholder dialogue.

Based on their experience, all respondents were asked to reflect on the case study projects from this perspective.

The semi-structured interviews for each of the study respondent groups are attached as Appendices 1, 2, and 3.

3.4.7 Non-survey data

To supplement and validate insights gathered from face to face interviews with individual study respondents; I also undertook other forms of qualitative data gathering such as direct observation and open and informal discussion. The differences between reported and real conditions in the field can be noted during observation and it allows the researcher to become familiar with important aspects in the field (Yin, 1994). As discussed below, having used these other forms of data gathering allowed me to have a greater understanding of the different perspectives and interests, and the different voices of the different stakeholder groups engaged in the dialogue:

- a. Direct observation such as attendance at meetings and casual talks during tea breaks techniques enabled me to draw out the attitudes, behavioural changes, knowledge and skills resulting from stakeholder dialogue.
- b. I also engaged in casual/informal discussion with the respondents after the formal interview process to inquire further about important issues that emerged during the interview. This enabled me to elicit further information about new or interesting issues.

Information gathered was compared with that in secondary data sources such as the documents, publications and reports produced and maintained by the CBFM project stakeholder groups.

3.5 Site selection

The adoption of CBFM is seen as the main government strategy towards exploring livelihood alternatives through community engagement. With this premise, and to facilitate a valid comparison of research findings, this study used two CBFM case studies to investigate the perceived adequacy of stakeholder dialogue from the perspective of shaping and furthering the collective well-being of the poor upland communities in the Cagayan Valley and improve the ecological sustainability of rain forests.

There are five provinces in the Cagayan Valley. Each of the provinces is divided into municipalities. In each municipality, a CBFM project was implemented. In the province of

Quirino, there were five municipalities and therefore five CBFM projects were implemented. This study made use of two CBFM project areas as case studies: the Villa Ventura project area in the municipality of Aglipay, province of Quirino; and the Sangbay project in the municipality of Nagitpunan, province of Quirino. These areas were selected because stakeholder dialogue has been incorporated in the design and implementation of these CBFM projects. The two study areas are relatively similar in terms of their socio-economic and biophysical attributes. The big difference is in relation to institutional arrangements. The Villa Ventura area is retained under the management of DENR while management for the Sangbay area was devolved to the LGU.

The choice of a case study as a research strategy depends on the purpose of the research, as noted earlier. Also, a researcher is faced with the decision whether to use a single case study or multiple case studies. According to Yin (1994), a single case study has limited opportunity for external validation restricting the opportunity to make generalisations, the advantage of using multiple case studies being that they provide the researcher the opportunity to compare findings and increase the opportunity for generalisation. This study made use of two CBFM project areas as case studies. These areas were selected because stakeholder dialogue has been incorporated in the design and implementation of CBFM projects. Both of these areas are practicing agroforestry, an income generating project under the CBFM programme. Agroforestry projects are envisioned to uplift the standard of living of the forest occupants and at the same time contribute to the stability of the upland ecosystem. The Sangbay and Villa Ventura upland areas in the Cagayan Valley, under the CBFM livelihood support scheme projects, were used to measure the relative successes or failures of employing stakeholder dialogue from planning, development and management perspectives.

3.6 Personal position

A study of the role of the CBFM programme in fostering community engagement and stakeholder dialogue in community forest management is a broad research topic. It requires a clear, focused and in-depth empirical inquiry. This study has been shaped by a number of factors including: the nature of the research; the characteristics of the phenomena being studied; and the values, perceptions, and experiences of the researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

As an academic staff member of the Isabela State University, located in the Cagayan Valley, Philippines, I used to bring my Social Forestry undergraduate class to the CBFM areas as an immersion experience. The purpose was to expose the students and give them hands-on

experience in an upland situation, learning the culture and learning to deal with the upland communities. My work also enabled me to be involved as a researcher and extension worker in a number of the CBFM projects in the region. My extensive experience motivated my evaluation of the role of stakeholder dialogue in integrated environmental management.

To gain an understanding of the perspective of the different stakeholder groups as to what extent stakeholder dialogue has been successful, this study employs qualitative research techniques (as discussed in Chapter 3). The main tool for generating primary data was in-depth, semi-structured interviews supported by document analysis and field observations. My previous fieldwork experience evaluating and assessing several Philippine government programmes assisted this research. In addition, the CBFM study areas that were chosen are located in my hometown. Being a local enabled me to confidently access the study areas.

3.7 Gaining access and building rapport

Prior to the commencement of the field work, the ethical aspects were deliberated in detail with the research supervisors to ensure that the work was ethically executed. The principles of ethical research involving human subjects were followed using the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee (HEC) process as a guide. The guide included applying the principles of anonymity and confidentiality for the sources of information, and providing for the security of data during and after the interviews. HEC formal approval was obtained before conducting the interviews in the field.

Prior to the interviews, the study respondents were fully informed as to the purpose of this research. The participants were first requested to provide their written consent to be interviewed on the understanding that no one would be identified personally in the discussion of research findings in my thesis and academic publications. The consent form was signed and dated by each participant. Their anonymity was assured through the use of alpha-numeric coding of any attributed comments or findings. The ethical issues such as the taping of the interviews, anonymity and confidentiality, and who would have access to the data were outlined in an information sheet presented to the participants, along with the consent form. The consent form and research information sheet for the study participants are attached in Appendices 4 and 5.

I visited the DENR regional office and sought permission to undertake the research in their two CBFM project areas. The Regional CBFM coordinator provided initial contacts from the DENR field units. I also visited the LGU offices in the province of Quirino and carried out

the same protocol. The NGO research participants were contacted based on the recommendations of the CBFM coordinator and the LGU officer. The respondent selection process will be discussed in Section 3.8. The consent form also provided for confidentiality. The consent form containing a brief explanation of the purpose of the study was presented to the CBFM coordinator and the LGU officer to ensure that any potential harm to the research participants was minimised. The consent form stipulated that research participants should understand they had the right to withdraw from giving information and participating in the research despite consenting to the interviews.

Introductory visits were made to the two CBFM areas. The potential local community participants were contacted and appointments were scheduled. There were a few research participants who agreed to be interviewed on the spot.

The CBFM study areas are located near my hometown. Being a local in the area enabled me to confidently access the study areas.

There were a number of situations I experienced during my field work which might have affected gathered data. My data gathering coincided with the height of political campaigns for the national elections. I was worried that my intentions for gathering data might be misconstrued for some purpose other than doing my research. The local community members were also busy attending political rallies in their *barangays*³ (local councils) hence, they were not available for interviews. The use of a motorbike as my mode of transportation impeded my data gathering during rainy days. It also hindered access to hard-to-reach respondents living in more remote locations.

3.8 Selection of respondents

The key aspect of a qualitative approach is the identification of research participants. One of the strategies for selecting research participants is to initially target those that are most likely to yield the richest data (Neuman, 2000). The respondents in each case study area were selected on the basis of their involvement in the CBFM project and their capability to offer insightful contributions based on their experience.

Purposive sampling is preferred by researchers in selecting participants as it can add richness to the data (Neuman, 2000). Purposive sampling focuses on a small sample that can provide or deepen the understanding sought in the study. In this selection technique, individuals are

³ Barangay is the smallest administrative and political unit in the Philippines

chosen on the basis of their relevance to the research topic rather than their representativeness (Mason, 1996).

The community interview respondents in each of the two case study sites were selected using convenience or purposive sampling from the list of local households held by the *barangay* and the list of households under CBFM jurisdiction from the DENR office. The sample of community respondents in each of the two case study sites were stratified into two groups, namely direct CBFM participants and indirect CBFM participants. The direct CBFM participants are those qualified participants of the programme who were physically occupying or tilling a portion of forest lands in the area prior to programme approval in 1982. Indirect CBFM participants are those non-qualified participants who were local community residents which includes those recently migrated to the area and children of the direct CBFM participants. I used the snow-ball technique to determine the sample size (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984; Patton, 2002). After interviewing a respondent, I asked for recommendations regarding who should be interviewed whom they considered to be able to provide insights into my queries. The number of interviews depends on the point at which no new information is gained (Neuman, 2000).

The key organisational stakeholder groups of respondents were chosen by visiting the offices of DENR, the LGU, and the NGOs obtaining a list of employees or persons that were directly involved in each CBFM project, and asking who they considered to be most relevant in terms of their role and experiences in each CBFM project.

The total number of households in the Sangbay site is 469, while the total number of households in the Villa Ventura site is 151. Information on the distribution and total number of local community, government agencies (DENR and LGU) and NGO interview respondents in each of the two case study sites is presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Number of interview respondents

Category	Sangbay	Villa Ventura
Direct participants of CBFM project	31	29
Indirect participants of CBFM project	6	8
Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR)		5
Non-government organization (NGO)		4
Local Government Unit (LGU)		2
Total Interviews		85

In addition to individual interviews, I also attended the scheduled *barangay* assembly meetings for both of the study sites, and the Sangbay site Peoples' Organisation's session or meeting. Personnel from DENR also attended the assembly meetings that were presided over by the *barangay* captains. I was given the opportunity to talk to community members at each meeting about my research. Each *barangay* assembly meeting, for both of the study sites, lasted for more than two hours.

3.8.1 The study respondents

The respondents in this study were the local community members (direct and indirect CBFM participants) and key organisational stakeholder groups (DENR, the LGUs, and the NGOs).

As discussed, the government agencies (DENR and the LGUs) and NGO respondents were interviewed in their offices whereas the local community respondents were interviewed in their homes and after my attendance at meetings (Figure 3.1 and 3.2).



Figure 3.1 Examples of interviews with local community respondents (May, 2010)



Figure 3.2 Examples of interviews with key organisational stakeholder group respondents (May and June 2010).

The Integrated Social Forestry Programme (ISFP) provided security of land tenure to forest occupants, who met the qualification criteria, through the issuance of Certificate of Stewardship Contracts (CSC). The criteria for qualification were physical occupation or the cultivation of a portion of the forest lands in the area prior to programme approval in 1982. The non-qualified participants were those local community residents who had recently migrated to the area and were not cultivating a portion of the forest lands within the ISFP jurisdiction. The certificates were awarded to the qualified participants' family head. The ISF programme land allocation process followed traditional and cultural norms in the Philippines, reflecting a male-oriented social system.

Based on the Integrated Social Forestry (ISF) guidelines⁴, Certificate of Stewardship Contracts (CSCs) were only awarded to heads of the family or household and could be transferred to the next-of-kin. Because of this, I sought to interview the father/husband who is usually the head of the family. However, there were cases when the husbands were not available so I interviewed the wives. All interviews began with an introduction setting out the purpose of the research and the presentation of the consent form. The research participants were assured of the confidentiality of the information they provided and of their right to withdraw or even refuse to give information at any stage before or during the interview. After assuring confidentiality, I asked permission from each participant to record the interviews. All the interviews were video and audio tape recorded. These techniques were very useful because some interviews were long and the additional difficulty of note taking could interrupt the flow of conversation.

The local community respondents were classified into two groups: direct CBFM participants with CSCs and indirect CBFM participants, members of the local community who were not

⁴ Refer to Chapter 5, Section 5.3

able to participate in the programme. Generally, the reasons for non-participation were twofold: they were not qualified forest occupants prior to the CBFM project approval; or they had only recently migrated to the area. The ISF guidelines stipulated that qualified forest occupants were those actually tilling a portion of land prior to project implementation.

The DENR respondents were the community environment and natural resources officers in the municipality of Nagtipunan and the project management officers in the two CBFM project areas. The LGU respondents were the provincial and municipal natural resources and environment officers of both study areas. The NGO respondents were the technical and regional advisers of CBFM, a vicar, and executive officer of an NGO in the province. These NGO respondents were involved in CBFM activities in both CBFM study areas. Table 3.2 summarises their position, length of service with the programme, and their profession.

Most of the respondents from DENR are PMOs and were directly involved in the project. They have been in their positions for 10 to 15 years, dating back to when the CBFM was devolved to the LGUs. The CBFM coordinator interviewed was formerly an ISF technician for 10 years and was recently promoted to the post. He has been assisting with the project and is knowledgeable about its activities. The DENR respondents were all foresters.

The LGU respondent was the designated PENREO of the province and has been in that position for 18 years. He served DENR for 25 years and was involved in ISF projects. The MENRO was the Reforestation Project coordinator of DENR before he assumed the MENRO position. These two respondents were also foresters.

The NGO respondents were active advocates for participatory governance, initiating projects involving the local community. Amongst the NGO respondents, two were foresters and have postgraduate degrees in environmental management. Although they have only held their position for 2 and 5 years respectively, they are familiar with the CBFM project as they have been involved in other CBFM projects in various parts of the country. One NGO respondent was a civil engineer who has been with the NGO for 5 years. He was a former *Sangguniang Panlalawigan*⁵ (Municipal Council representative) of Maddela, Quirino advocating self-governance.

⁵ Filipino term for municipal council representative

Table 3.2 Government agencies and NGO respondents' position, length of service, and profession

Stakeholder	Respondent	Role/position with CBFM	Length of service (years) with CBFM	Profession
DENR	D1	CBFM Coordinator	2	Forester (BSF) ⁶
	D2	Community Environment and Natural Resources Officer (CENRO)	10	Forester (BSF)
	D3	Project Management Officer (PMO)	10	Forester (BSF)
	D4	Project Management Officer (PMO)	15	Forester (BSF)
	D5	Project Management Officer (PMO)	15	Forester (BSF)
NGO	N1	Vicar of Anglican Church	2	
	N2	Executive Director of NGO and political official	5	Civil Engineer (BSCE) ⁷
	N3	Technical adviser of CBFM project	2	Forester (BSF)
	N4	Regional adviser of CBFM project	5	Forester (BSF)
LGU	L1	Provincial Natural Resources & Environment Officer (PNREO)	18	Forester (BSF)
	L2	Municipal Environment and Natural Resources Officer (MENRO)	5	Forester (BSF)

3.9 Data analysis procedure

According to Yin (2003), there is no consensus that informs the analysis of the various forms of qualitative data. Narrative analysis is an approach to the analysis of qualitative data that emphasises the stories that people employ to account for events (Riessman, 2003). Narrative analysis can be applied to data that has been generated through semi-structured and unstructured interviewing and participant observation (Bryman, 2004). Interviews are considered conversational acts. The focus of attention in narrative analysis is what actually happened and how do people make sense of what happened (Bryman, 2004). Further, in narrative analysis, there is no absolute truth in the world since people are individuals and narratives are always produced in relation to a social context (Abell, 2004). In this study, listening to the stories that were told during the interviews enabled me to gauge understandings of the role of stakeholder dialogues in CBFM projects by the respondents.

The purpose of narrative data analysis is to reduce the large amount of material collected during the field work into a coherent story, constructed on the basis of emergent themes. One

⁶ Bachelor of Science in Forestry (BSF)

⁷ Bachelor of Science in Civil Engineering (BSCE)

method of doing narrative analysis is through thematic analysis. Thematic analysis categorises a story into different themes. The emphasis in thematic analysis is on what is said rather than on how it is said (Bryman, 2004). These themes and the meaning given to them, within the context of the research, allow the researcher to answer the research questions. In this study, each interview transcript was reviewed and similar ideas or thoughts were coded and labelled as themes and then developed into categories. The initial set of themes included the four objectives of this research since the semi-structured interview questions were based on these objectives.

3.9.1 Reliability and validity

The reliability and validity of the research are central concerns of a case study approach. Neuman (2000) states that qualitative researchers depend on what respondents tell them. Thus, the credibility of respondents and their statements become validity considerations. Neuman (2000) defines reliability as dependability or consistency, and validity as truthfulness. Validity in qualitative research is parallel to verification (Creswell, 1998). Given the inherent limitations of qualitative research and the use of transcripts as the main source of data (Mason, 1996), strategies to ensure the reliability and credibility were applied in this study. In this research, reliability of the data was sought by: conducting preliminary visits and consultation with the government agencies; reading appropriate project documents; respondent sampling techniques; observation, examination of related research findings; and use of follow-up questions to elicit detailed data.

3.9.2 Transcribing

All the interviews and assembly meetings that I attended were tape-recorded and transcribed in local dialect and later translated in English. Being a local in the area, transcribing in the local dialect is straightforward. Transcribing is time consuming. It can take between four to five hours to transcribe an hour of interview. However, I found it useful as I could always go back and refer to the raw data while analysing. Relevant documents were also made available to me during my field work. These documents were produced by the government agencies involved in the CBFM projects. These documents were used to verify and validate events and experiences of the different stakeholder groups engaged in the dialogue.

3.9.3 Managing the collected information

The transcripts were printed and further analysed using codes. The codes serve as the basis for developing the themes for analysis. Coding was used based on the questions and topics from the semi-structured interviews. Coding is a systematic process of data sorting and analysis (Patton, 2002). The codes were created based on the literal words or phrases appearing in the interviews and some themes in the relevant literature. The themes identified from the responses of the participants and the meaning given to them, within the context of this study, allowed me to address my research questions.

In qualitative research, the codes generally originate from other research, generated from the review of literature, and from the research participants. According to Patton (2002), the codes are created based on the combination of the literal words or phrases appearing in the interviews, issues referred to by the research participants, and some themes in the relevant literature. Narratives may be coded according to categories deemed theoretically important by the researcher (Abell, 2004). Open coding involves reviewing the raw data, locating themes and labelling themes into categories and thus into manageable pieces (Neuman, 2003). In this study, the responses to particular questions were grouped together and major themes were considered across the different interviews.

There are two ways to analyse data generated from interviews, using computer programs or manual analysis (Murray, 2006). This analysis was carried out with the help of the *Nvivo9* qualitative research software. In the case of *Nvivo9*, the categories are called 'nodes'. *Nvivo9* brought the data, ideas, and concepts together, but it is not analysis software. It is a software tool to ease the retrieval of data relevant to codes, themes and categories (Rehman, 2006). Once the transcripts had been coded and sorted into free nodes, the coded text was analysed. The most relevant data, that represented a variety of respondents' answers to the research questions, was chosen for further analysis. Descriptive statistics provides an easy to understand form or simple summaries about the data and the examinations that have been made (Trochim, 2006). This research employed frequencies and percentages as a means of analysing and interpreting the data.

3.10 Chapter summary

The nature of the research questions for this study required the adoption of a qualitative case study approach as a research strategy.

The effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue was analysed using the evaluative framework developed, focusing on the key elements of reflexive dialogue namely: actors; methods structures; processes; and, outcomes and the contextual institutional arrangements. The data was collected during fieldwork in two case study areas, namely Sangbay and Villa Ventura.

The community interview respondents were selected using convenience or purposive and snowball sampling from the list of local households and the list of CBFM participants from the DENR office. The community interview respondents in each of the two case study sites were further stratified into two groups, direct and indirect CBFM participants. The total number of respondents interviewed was 85.

Chapter 4 will review the contributing factors that have shaped the evolution of forestry policies and programmes in the Philippines leading to the development and adoption of the CBFM approach. Chapters 5 will provide an overview of the planning and implementation of the Sangbay and Villa Ventura CBFM projects. The following three chapters (6, 7 and 8) present the empirical research findings about understandings of local communities, key government agencies and the NGOs relating to aspects of stakeholder dialogue based on the modified reflexive stakeholder dialogue model. Chapter nine will synthesise the research findings and elucidate their theoretical significance and policy implications.

Chapter 4

The genesis and evolution of the CBFM programme in the Philippines

4.1 Introduction

The emergence of a community based forestry policy approach in the Philippines since 1982, as in many developing countries, signified an important shift towards community based management of forests and other natural resources by those communities occupying public forest lands. The adoption of a community based forestry approach was based on the assumption that community engagement should be integrated with the biological and economic imperatives for forestry management.

The aim of this study, as explained in Chapter 1, is to examine the success of stakeholder dialogue as a forum for community engagement in the Philippines. In order to achieve this aim, it is necessary to understand the broader context underpinning the CBFM programme. With this premise in mind, the objective of this chapter is to examine the factors that have shaped the genesis and development of this CBFM programme. Likewise, the following chapter (5) will focus on understanding the two case study CBFM project contexts. These chapters, 4 and 5, will collectively help better inform the examination of the role of stakeholder dialogue as a forum for community engagement in chapters 6 to 9.

This chapter is organised as follows. Section 4.2 situates the CBFM programme within the longer term political historical context of forestry management in the Philippines. It is argued here that adoption of a participatory approach to forestry governance during the 1980s, via successive community based forestry programmes, was embedded in nationally wide ranging social and political democratisation reforms following the collapse of the Marcos dictatorship.

In Section 4.3, recognition of the adverse biophysical and social impacts of deforestation and the urgent need to address these long standing concerns as major drivers shaping the adoption of the CBFM programme is discussed. The wider democratic political reforms provided an enabling environment for radically shifting the direction of forestry policy in the country in order to address ecological and social concerns. The CBFM policy framework is described in Section 4.4 followed by the role of key stakeholder groups in the CBFM programme in Section 4.5.

4.2 Brief history of forestry policy and programmes in the Philippines

This section will briefly explain the recent history of forest policies and programmes in the Philippines, in the wider context of the process of political democratisation, which led to the recent major policy shift based on a participatory approach towards forestry governance.

The history of Philippine forestry can be divided into four stages: colonial (1863-1971); post-colonial (1971-1981); the transition phase (1982-1994) and the integration and consolidation phase (1995-to present) (Guiang et al., 2001; Pulhin et al., 2005; Rebugio & Chiong-Javier, 1995).

4.2.1 Colonial period

The Philippines was a colony of the Spain until 1898 and was transferred to the United States after the Spanish American war.

The Spanish Royal Decree institutionalised state ownership of forestland and forest resources and proprietary rights were granted to the elite few. This led to the conversion of lowland forest into agricultural crop plantations (Guiang et al., 2001; Sajise, 1998). Despite this, deforestation in the country was not extensive as the Spanish colonisers did not have control over the whole archipelago. Even the existence of illegal loggers and the conversion of forests to agricultural land did not exact much pressure on forests because of the small population (Boado, 1988; Guiang et al., 2001).

The American colonisers continued state ownership of forestlands and its resources, and brought logging companies into the country; thus mechanised logging began (Boado, 1988). Forest industries in the country flourished, but it caused a subsequent steady loss of forests throughout the archipelago. Due to this negative impact, laws were passed banning slash and burn cultivation and illegal logging. Reforestation was initiated and the Forest Law of 1917 was enacted establishing communal forests and pastures for the use of communities, but still under state control (Boado, 1988). These laws however, were hard to implement due to population size, lack of forest rangers and the vastness of forest lands, thus rendering the laws ineffective (Sajise, 1998).

During the Japanese occupation in 1942, much of the forest resources were exploited to provide for their war efforts causing severe deforestation and devastation of the forest industries (Boado, 1988). During this period, the slash and burn cultivation practice of the

upland dwellers was prohibited with heavy penalties, such as eviction from the upland areas. The emphasis of forest management was towards forest utilisation.

Table 4.1 presents the policies and programmes in the Philippines (colonial period) as well as its description.

Table 4.1 History of policies and programmes in the Philippines (colonial period)

Year	Policy/Programme	Descriptions
COLONIAL PERIOD		
1863	Establishment of the Inspeccion General de Montes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The state's forest agency declares the right to control forest access and utilisation
1889	Definitive Forest Laws and Regulations (Royal Decree of the King of Spain)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Slash-and-burn cultivation in the upland areas was prohibited with heavy penalties awaiting violators
1901	Kaingin ⁸ Law (Act No. 274)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Slash and burn cultivators (<i>kaingineros</i>⁹) and other forest occupants were to be punished and evicted from forest areas
1917	Forest Law of 1917 or Act. 2711	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Established communal forests and pastures for the use of communities, but still under state control
1941	Revised Communal Forest Regulation (Forestry Administrative Order No. 14-1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Secretary of Agriculture and Commerce set aside communal forests, upon the endorsement of the Director of Forestry and the request of municipal councils. The residents of the municipality were granted the privilege to cut, collect and remove free of charge the forest products for their personal use

Sources: DENR, 1996; Guiang, et al., (2001); Pulhin, et al., (2005); Rebugio & Chiong-Javier (1995)

4.2.2 Post-colonial period

After the Second World War and the subsequent Philippine independence, forest policies remained relatively the same. Large-scale logging escalated to supply timber exports to Japan and the United States which generated revenue for the government's rehabilitation and development programme (Boado, 1988; Borlagdan, Guiang & Pulhin, 2001). However, this also resulted in increased deforestation.

When Marcos became President in 1965, massive deforestation took place. The number of logging concessionaires grew and Timber Logging Agreements (TLAs) were dispensed to political allies and used as a tool to strengthen his political network (Vitug, 2000). Eventually, the effects of long years of deforestation were experienced as increasing poverty and continuing migration into the uplands. The increasing poverty is attributed to limited livelihood opportunities in the lowlands due to high population growth (Borlagdan, 1997; Kummer, 1992; Porter & Ganapin, 1988; Guiang, et al., 2001). The absence of farm lots and

⁸ Filipino term that refers to slash and burn cultivation

⁹ Filipino term referring to slash and burn cultivators in the uplands

scarce livelihood opportunities in the lowlands forced these indigent groups to migrate to the upland areas, making their situation poorer. The Marcos government realised the need to promulgate programmes and forest policies involving individuals and upland communities in forest management. As can be seen in Table 4.2, these are the Kaingin Management and Land Settlement Regulations 1971, the Forestry Reform Code 1975, the Forest Occupancy Management Program (FOM) 1976, the Family Approach to Reforestation (FAR) 1979 and the Communal Tree Farming Program (CTF) 1979.

Table 4.2 History of forestry policies and programmes in the Philippines (post-colonial period)

Year	Policy/Programme	Descriptions
POST-COLONIAL PERIOD		
1971	Kaingin Management and Land Settlement Regulations (Forestry Administrative Order No. 62)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focused on the containment rather than punishment of forest occupants. Slash and burn cultivators were allowed to remain in the public forestland provided they undertook soil conservation and tree farming activities in fixed sites
1975	Forestry Reform Code (Presidential Decree No. 705)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slash and burn cultivators and other occupants who entered forest zones before May 1975 not to be prosecuted provided that they do not expand their clearings and that they undertake forest protection activities
1976	Forest Occupancy Management Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allowed bona fide forest occupants to develop the lands they were occupying or cultivating, but with specific provision that the subject land should not exceed 7 hectares per occupant • Renewable two years forest occupancy permit issued to participating slash and burn cultivators
1979	Family Approach to Reforestation (BFD Circular No. 45, Series of 1973)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Bureau of Forest Development entered into short-term contracts with families to set up tree plantations on public land
1979	Communal Tree Farming Program (Ministry Administrative Order No. 11, Series of 1979)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Every city and municipality in the country was expected to establish tree farms. Reforestation in open and denuded forestlands was to be undertaken through the involvement of forest occupants, civic organisations, and municipal government units.

Sources: DENR, 1996; Guiang et al., (2001); Pulhin et al., (2005); Rebugio & Chiong-Javier (1995)

However, even though the programmes outlined in Table 4.2 were meant to be participatory, they did not really entail community engagement and stakeholder dialogue. The involvement of the local community was limited and confined to the prescribed activities such as tree planting and improvement of land allotted to them (Rebugio, 2001). The FOM, FAR, and CTF programs were designed and implemented to rehabilitate open and cultivated areas and contain occupancy in forest lands (Bacalla, 2006). These programmes were unable to give security of land tenure or devolve authority to the local upland communities since the lands

allocated to them to develop were only short-term. Also, these programmes lacked a participatory approach as they were designed according to the government's structured policy which addressed reforestation and halting slash and burn cultivation (Lindayati, 2000).

4.2.3 The transition period

In the 1980s there was a major shift in reforestation strategies to include a more participatory approach. During the transition period (outlined in Table 4.3), the Philippine government mandated DENR to launch the Integrated Social Forestry Programme (ISFP) in 1982. The two-pronged objectives of ISF programme were to promote the socio-economic well-being of forest occupants and communities dependent on forest land for their livelihood, by providing land tenure security and at the same time promoting and improving the quality of the environment (Guiang, et al., 2001; Pulhin et al., 2005; Rebugio & Chiong-Javier, 1995).

The ISFP was launched to combine all previous people oriented programmes and was to be the major enabling programme for people-oriented forestry (Pulhin, 1996). It covered communities in open and denuded upland areas, including mangrove areas. ISFP offered a form of stewardship arrangement to upland communities, the Certificate of Stewardship Contract (CSC). The stewardship contract was issued for a 25- year term, renewable for another 25 years. The program required the retention or establishment of 20 per cent of the contract area as permanent forest cover, the remaining 80 per cent could include plantings of fruit trees and crops and installing soil and water conservation measures (Guiang et al., 2001; Pulhin et al., 2005; Rebugio & Chiong-Javier, 1995). From 1983 to 1996, 442,124 CSC tenurial instruments over 815 hectares were issued. The major support for the ISFP came from the Ford Foundation, USAID (RRDP)¹⁰, ADB (Forestry Loan 1)¹¹, UNDP¹², CARP¹³, and GOP¹⁴ funds (DENR, 1996; Pulhin, 2005).

¹⁰ United States Agency for International Development fund through Rainfed Resources Development Project

¹¹ Asian Development Bank funded Forestry Loan 1

¹² United Nations Development Programme

¹³ Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Programme

¹⁴ Government of the Philippines

Table 4.3 History of policies and programmes in the Philippines (transition period)

Year	Policy/Programme	Descriptions
TRANSITION PERIOD		
1982	Integrated Social Forestry Program (Letter of Instruction No. 1260)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants in the programme granted the right to occupy and develop forest areas for a period of 25 years, renewable for another 25 years, through the issuance of stewardship contract
1987	Amendment of Constitution and EO 192	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enjoins the state to enter into co-production, joint venture, or production agreements vis-à-vis natural resource management with empowered communities • Reorganises the environment and the natural resource sector, and mandates the DENR to conserve, manage, develop, properly use, license, and regulate the use of natural resources
1989	General Rules and Regulations on the Participation of NGOs in the DENR programs (DENR Administrative Order No. 120)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The DENR shall encourage and promote the participation of NGOs in natural resources development, management, and protection. A National NGO Desk is tasked to accredit NGOs qualified to participate in the DENR programmes
1989	Community Forestry Program (DENR Administrative Order No. 123)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Community Forestry Management Agreement (CFMA) is awarded to organised upland communities for a period of 25 years, renewable for another 25 years. Forest utilisation privileges are given to the communities which are expected to prepare a development plan and adhere to the principles of sustained yield management • Promotes community participation in the rehabilitation, protection, improvement, & management of degraded & productive residual forests, virgin forests, & marginal lands
1991	Local Government Code (Republic Act No. 1760)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Devolves central government functions, such as the natural resource management functions of the DENR, to LGUs • The implementation of social forestry and reforestation initiatives, the management of communal forests not exceeding 5,000 hectares, the protection of small watershed areas, and the enforcement of forest laws devolved to local government units

Sources: DENR, 1996; Guiang et al., (2001); Pulhin et al., (2005); Rebugio & Chiong-Javier (1995)

However, the ISF programme was reportedly unsuccessful due to lack of participation among potential upland community beneficiaries (Mathiason, 2007). Consultation and dialogue with potential beneficiaries of the project did not take place.

In 1986, widespread Filipino protest against the government led to the EDSA¹⁵ Revolution known as the ‘Peoples’ Power’. This event marked the downfall of the Marcos era. The change of government saw the intensification of effort to adopt a more responsive and

¹⁵ Stands for Epifanio Delos Santos Avenue

participatory approach to programme development and implementation. This was manifested in the new constitution that was promulgated emphasising local autonomy (Brillantes, 2000).

In 1989, the Community Forestry Programme (CFP) was launched, funded by the ADB and the USAID. It aimed to provide upland residents with an alternative source of livelihood from that of shifting cultivation. The CFP encouraged community participation in the rehabilitation, protection, improvement, and management of degraded residual forests, virgin forests as well as marginal lands. The locals responded to this by forming a People Organisation (PO). The government issued the local community, through the PO, a Forest Management Agreement (FMA) for a 25-year term, renewable for another 25 years (Guiang et al., 2001; Pulhin et al., 2005; Rebugio & Chiong-Javier, 1995).

In 1991, the Philippine Congress enacted a reform package, the Republic Act 7160, otherwise known as the Local Government Code (LGC) of the Philippines. The code was viewed as a concrete effort to realise the ideals of democracy and social justice in the Philippines (Brillantes, 2000). The code stipulated that the provincial government was considered the manager of the entire provincial territory and was required to provide basic services as well as maintain the ecological balance within the province (Dizon, 2004). The code decentralised authority, responsibility, and financial resources for a wide range of government interventions, to Local Government Units (LGUs). The LGU was then authorised to enforce forestry laws within the ISFP, subject to the supervision of DENR. With this devolution, responsibility for the ISFP was transferred from DENR to the LGUs, except for one model demonstration site¹⁶ in each province. In the province of Quirino, the Villa Ventura site was retained under DENR to serve as the Centre for People Empowerment in the Uplands (CPEU).

4.2.4 The consolidation period

The consolidation period unified all the different programmes and projects that emerged in the last two periods into one umbrella programme, otherwise known as the CBFM Program through Executive Order (EO) No. 263, issued on July 1995. CBFM emerged as an approach to the allocation of forests and forestlands to upland communities with the issuance of EO 263. CBFM provided the guiding principles and framework for forest management in the Philippines with a strong emphasis on community participation (Guiang et al., 2001; Pulhin et al., 2005; Rebugio & Chiong-Javier, 1995).

¹⁶ ISFP model site are areas in which DENR implemented various activities including soil and conservation techniques and agroforestry. It was later called CPEU.

In 1997, community participation and stakeholder dialogue was further strengthened through the promulgation of Memorandum Order 399, otherwise known as the Philippine Agenda (PA) 21 for Sustainable Development. The PA 21 envisions a better quality of life and aims at introducing an ecosystem-based and people-centred approach, emphasising broad public participation in decision making as a fundamental prerequisite for achieving sustainable development (Guiang et al., 2001; Pulhin et al., 2005; Rebugio & Chiong-Javier, 1995).

Collectively, the post 1980s policies outlined in this section have provided a relatively strong framework to guide the implementation of the CBFM programme. The question is to what extent have these aspirations have been realised on the ground?

Table 4.4 presents the policies and programmes in the Philippines (consolidation period) as well as its description.

Table 4.4 History of policies and programmes in the Philippines (consolidation period)

Year	Policy/Programme	Descriptions
CONSOLIDATION PERIOD		
1995	Adoption of CBFM as the National Strategy for the Sustainable Development of Forestlands (Executive Order No. 263)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CBFM is the national strategy to achieve sustainable forestry and social justice. Organised communities may be granted access to forest resources under long-term tenure provided they employ environment friendly, ecologically sustainable, and labour intensive harvesting methods. CBFM integrates all people-oriented forestry programmes and projects of the government
1996	Rules and Regulations for the Implementation of EO 263, otherwise known as the CBFM Strategy (DENR Administrative Order No. 96)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides the implementing rules and regulations of EO 263; paved the way for the granting of resource use rights to communities; and allows the transfer of tenure as well as their limited division through such mechanisms as joint ventures • Local communities to prepare their respective Community Resource Management Frameworks with the assistance of the DENR, LGUs, NGOs, and other government agencies. The CBFM programme to apply to all areas classified as forestlands including allowable zones within protected areas. It integrates all people-oriented forestry programmes of the government
1997	DENR Strategic Action Plan (DENR Memorandum Circular 91-12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adopts the DENR Strategic Action Plan for CBFM
1998	Manual of Procedures on Devolved and other Forest Management Functions (DENR-Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) Joint Memorandum Circular No. 98-01)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This manual operationalizes, and makes effective, the devolution of forest management functions from the DENR to the LGU. It also seeks to strengthen and institutionalise the DENR-DILG-LGU partnership and cooperation on the devolved and other forest management functions

Sources: DENR 2003; Guiang et al., (2001); Pulhin et al., (2005); Rebugio & Chiong-Javier (1995)

4.3 Considerations underpinning the adoption of a community based approach

The Philippines has a total land area of 30 million hectares, 90 percent of which was forested when colonised by the Spaniards in 1521 (Boado, 1988). By the early 1900s, the forest cover had declined to 70 percent and to 49 percent by 1950. The average rate of forest loss was estimated at 200,000 hectares per year (Guiang et al., 2001; Sajise, 1998). After the Second World War, forest denudation continued at the rate of 172,000 hectares per annum from the 1950's to 1973 (Boado, 1988). During the Marcos regime (1965 to 1986), deforestation hit an all-time high, making the Philippines the top country in the Asia-Pacific region for the rate of deforestation (Vitug, 2000). By the 1980s, much of the forest was gone in many places and the remaining forests were concentrated in only a few regions. The adoption of a community based approach to forestry management since the 1980s was designed to stop and reverse this situation.

The widespread deforestation had major ramifications for the livelihoods and well-being of the Filipinos, given their dependence on forests and forestlands. Since the 1960s, some political leaders, NGOs and forestry professionals had called for a political commitment and budgetary support from the government for programmes that recognised the plight of the upland dwellers dependent on the diminishing forests and forestlands (Vitug, 2000). They were not successful until changes in the national political climate in the Philippines made this possible (Guiang et al., 2001).

4.4 CBFM policy framework

The initial policy objectives of the CBFM programme were as follows: a) to protect and advance the right of the Filipino people to a healthy environment; b) to improve the socio-economic conditions and welfare of the participating upland communities; c) to promote social justice and equitable access to, and benefits from, forest resources; and d) to promote a strong partnership between local communities and DENR (Borlagdan, 1996; DENR, 1996; 1998; 2000; Pulhin, 1998). The objective also envisioned that the NGOs and POs would work closely with the government to realise the government's goals and aspirations of CBFM programme. These objectives highlighted the important role for local communities in promoting the socio-economic development of the Philippine uplands.

In order to attain the CBFM programme objectives, DENR developed and adopted its strategic action plan that was anchored on the principles of: a) social equity; b) livelihood and

local forest management of natural resources, c) community participation, sustainable forest management and biodiversity conservation; d) the creation of an enabling environment by the government to empower forest occupants and communities and institute sustainable forest management systems; and, e) partnerships with local government units, other local groups and the private sector in pursuing sustainable livelihoods and ecosystems (DENR, 2004; 2008; Pulhin, 1998).

Following a major review of the CBFM programme in 2008, the objectives of the programme were revised as follows: 1) to ensure sustainable forest and biodiversity management, conservation and protection; 2) to provide security of tenure to peoples' organisations representing communities/individuals in forestlands; 3) to contribute to poverty reduction; 4) to empower CBFM tenure holders to effectively manage their areas; and, 5) to promote and strengthen effective partnerships among CBFM stakeholders (Bacalla, 2006; DENR, 2008; Dizon, 2004; Pulhin et al., 2005).

The attainment of these objectives was anticipated through the following strategies: 1) security of land tenure; 2) empowering the POs towards self-governance; 3) realising forest development, conservation, protection, and sustainable use of forestlands; and, 4) developing livelihoods and enterprises to reduce poverty in forestlands communities (Bacalla, 2006; DENR, 2008; Dizon, 2004; Pulhin et al., 2005). The overriding factor underpinning these strategies was community participation. A key question is how well the institutional arrangements were designed for the project implementation to achieve these outcomes in a participatory way. This question will be explored in chapters 6, 7 and 8 which present the empirical research findings.

4.5 The role of key stakeholders in developing and implementing the CBFM policy

This section will focus on the role of the key actors in developing and implementing the CBFM policy. A number of stakeholders are involved including the DENR, the LGUs, the NGOs, and CBFM participants represented by their POs. The government agencies (DENR and the LGUs) and NGOs have an important role in developing and implementing the CBFM policy. The CBFM participants, represented by their POs, are also a key stakeholder by virtue of their position and role as programme participants and as project beneficiaries.

4.5.1 Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR)

By virtue of Executive Order 192 in 1987, the Philippine government consolidated several government agencies dealing with environmental concerns under DENR. DENR is the executive department of the Philippine government responsible for governing and supervising the exploration, development, utilisation, and conservation of the country's natural resources through its Forest Management Bureau.

Figure 4.1 shows the organisational structure of the Forest Management Bureau (FMB) of the DENR.

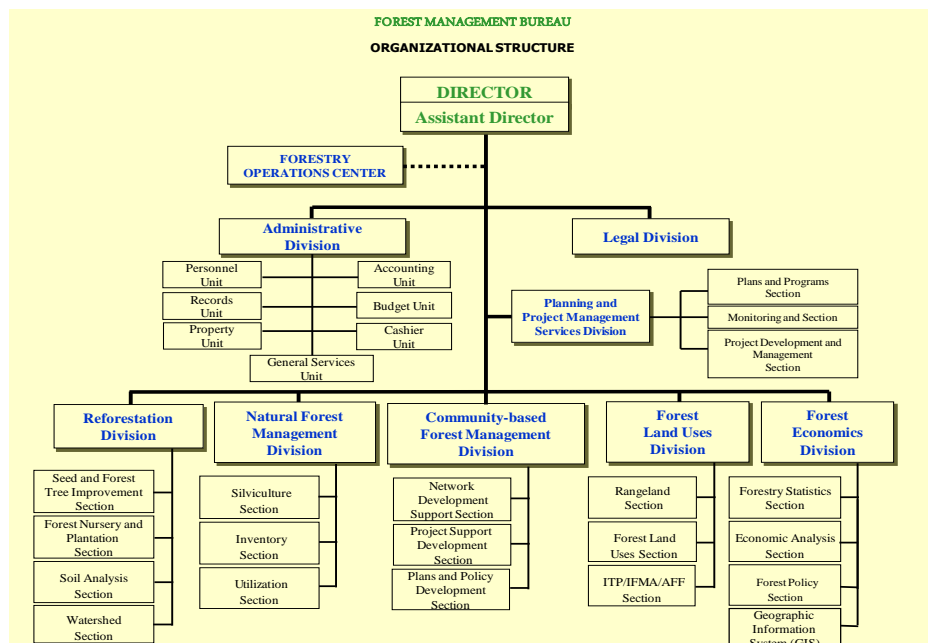


Figure 4.1 Organisational structure of the Forest Management Bureau (FMB) of DENR (Source: DENR-FMB Organisational Chart (Wikipedia, 2012))

The CBFM division was designed to be responsible for the review of all CBFM and related people-oriented forestry (POF) programmes and projects: to identify issues and lessons learned; draft policies, guidelines and procedures on CBFM and POF; prepare and monitor implementation of national CBFM and POF programmes and actions; serve as the repository of data/information on CBFM and POF; assist in packaging and monitoring projects supporting CBFM and POF; and serve as the secretariat to the inter-agency CBFM steering committee (DENR, 2003; 2008).

The role of the DENR officials assigned to the CBFM division was to take the lead in organising a steering committee or strengthening existing ones. The committee role was to develop policy guideline that would create incentives and conditions necessary to effectively carry out the CBFM strategy. The steering policy committee was represented by the CBFM field

offices (regional, provincial, municipal), the LGUs, NGOs, and POs. At the community level, the *barangay* captains in CBFM areas were invited to join the steering committee working groups, but their presence in meetings depended on whether their *barangays* were impacted by any of the meeting agenda items.

The important DENR field units for CBFM were the Regional Environment and Natural Resources Office (RENRO), the Provincial Environment and Natural Resources Office (PENRO), and the Community Environment and Natural Resources Office (CENRO). Figure 4.2 shows the DENR organisational chart in the Cagayan Valley.

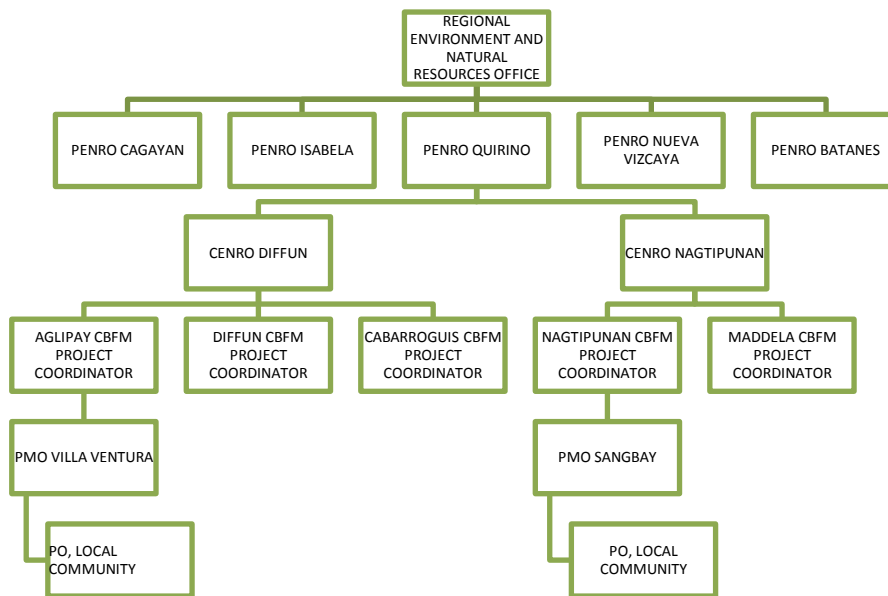


Figure 4.2 Organisational chart of DENR-CBFM in Cagayan Valley (Source: Based on DENR-CBFM organisational structure)

Each municipality has its CBFM Project Management Officer (PMO). The PMOs were in charge of the over-all management of CBFM project in the area and are in direct contact with the POs and the local community in the CBFM areas. The success of project in the context of participation and dialogue lay in the hands of the PMOs because they were the communication front line between DENR and the CBFM participants.

4.5.2 The Local Government Units (LGUs)

The Philippines' administrative system is comprised of a central government and its territorial political subdivisions: the provinces, cities, municipalities, *barangays*, and the autonomous governments in Muslim Mindanao and the Cordilleras. All territorial political subdivisions below the provincial level are called LGUs. The officials of the LGUs are politically elected by the people. Figure 4.3 shows the LGU institutional framework.

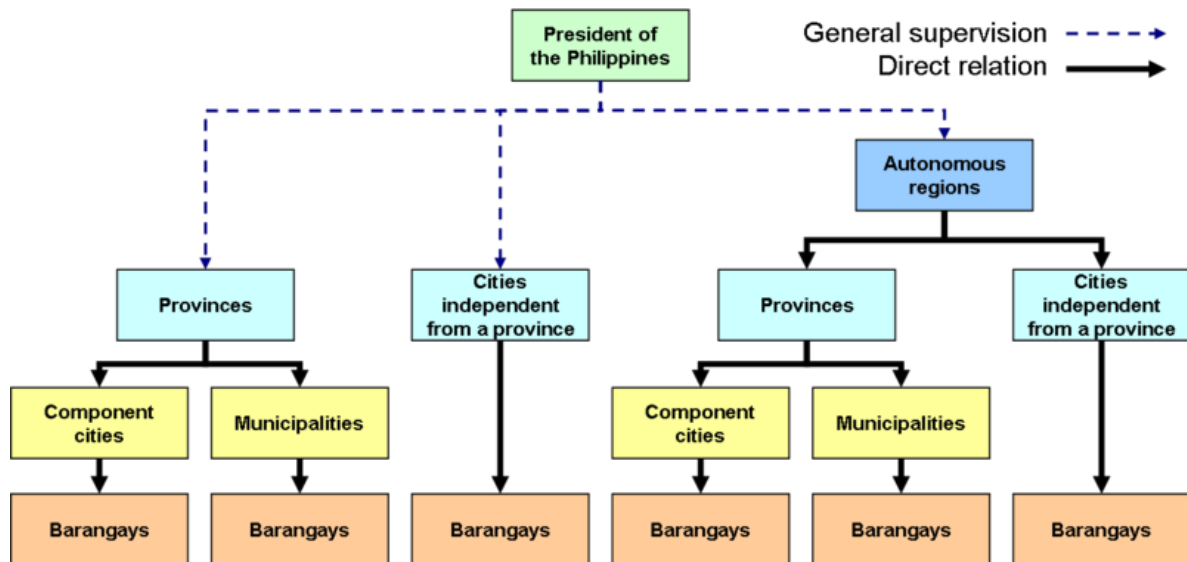


Figure 4.3 Organisational structure of LGUs (Source: DILG Organisational Structure (Wikipedia, 2012))

The central government is headed by the President of the Philippines with secretaries who exercise general supervision over local governments. The central government administration operates on the principle of decentralisation, from national, to regional, and then to provincial level.

With the enactment of Local Government Code, RA 7160 in 1991, certain functions previously carried out by DENR were devolved to the LGUs. The code requires the LGUs to enforce forestry laws and to engage in the government’s people-oriented programmes. This enactment also widened the focus of the government from the traditional forest resources utilisation model to a broader perspective including the environment and other services. Further, the passage of the code resulted in a greater involvement by more stakeholders in managing forest resources (Brillantes, 2000).

The devolution regulated the role of the LGUs to include the management of communal forests and community watersheds, the management of all locally funded social forestry and CBFM projects, and the enforcement of forestry laws limited to community-based forestry projects and the protection of the environment. The LGUs through their Environment and Natural Resources Officers (ENROs) helped with the strengthening of local communities in managing forest resources by providing technical training, community organisation, and an Information and Education Campaign (IEC) (Pulhin, 2005).

The implementation of CBFM has resulted in substantial LGU financial support for forestland use planning and other CBFM related activities. This funding comes from various local and

international and bilateral donors such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Japan International Cooperation (JICA), the Global Environment Facility (GEF), the World Bank (WB), and the European Union (EU) (Brillantes et al., 2009; Pulhin, 2005).

In the province of Quirino, a provincial PNREO was created. The PNRE office is located in Cabarroguis, the capital of Quirino province. For the purposes of this study, I have illustrated the organisational structure of the Natural Resources and Environmental Offices in the province (Figure 4.4.). This would enable the reader to have a good grasp of the hierarchical structure of CBFM projects in the Philippines.

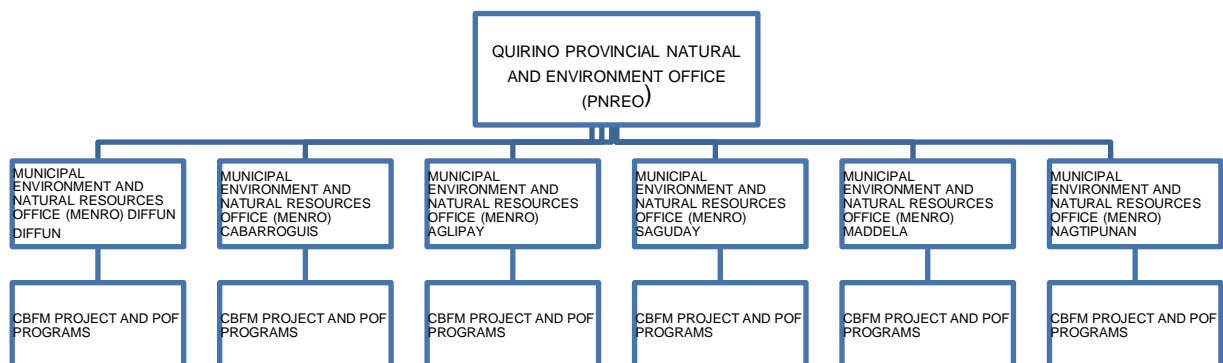


Figure 4.4 The LGU structure of ENRO in Quirino province (Source: Based on DENR-CBFM organisational structure)

In the context of CBFM, the role of the PNREO, under the supervision and control of DENR, is to identify potential CBFM sites, plan forest land uses with communities, endorse and issue CBFMAs, organise and prepare CBFM communities for a CBFMA, provide technical assistance and skills training for CBFM communities, and, monitor the progress and environmental impact of the CBFM activities (Guiang et al., 2001).

As a result of the devolution in 1991, some of the DENR staff, who had training in social forestry and community development, were reassigned to the LGUs. In Quirino province, the current PNRE officer was a former DENR staff member who previously had been involved in the integrated social forestry programme. Some of the former DENR staff were assigned by

the LGU to generate income, such as market tax collection, instead of the social forestry activities for which they had been trained. DENR however, failed to provide the technical assistance needed by the LGUs on how to properly organise and supervise these staff (Brillantes, 2000).

The devolved forestry powers and functions created some issues and difficulties for DENR and the LGUs. Some DENR officials were not comfortable in dealing with the LGU officials who were perceived to be arrogant and corrupt. On the other hand, the LGU officials were perceived to be resentful of DENR officials who had been given considerable power and authority for the management of the country's natural resources when they had not been elected by the people (De Rueda, 2007). These issues hindered effective communication and the ability to derive satisfactory results from the devolution of authority.

However, some LGUs were empowered by the restructuring, for example the province of Quirino, which demonstrated and made major contributions to the sustainable management of forest resources through cooperation with DENR. The empowered LGUs can also sometimes provide funding for the rehabilitation, development, and protection of forest resources. Participation of the LGU in this context could make DENR's mandate easier to achieve.

4.5.3 Non-government organisations (NGOs)

The government policies and laws enable DENR to collaborate or seek assistance from other government agencies, funding agencies, donor countries, and NGOs to help pursue its mandate. The assistance from the NGOs in managing and protecting the country's natural resources has become important over time.

CBFM and other people-oriented upland development projects were implemented by DENR with funding support from various agencies such as USAID, CIDA, and AusAID, ADB, and the WB. Using this funding support, DENR contracted the NGOs to organise the local communities into POs to participate in the CBFM programmes (DENR, 1996; Pulhin, 2005). As community organisers, the NGOs were responsible for preparing the communities as the local managers of the forest and other natural resources in the area.

The NGOs played important roles in providing various forms of assistance to the CBFM participants. During the preparatory stage of the CBFM project implementation, the NGOs typically facilitated the formation of a community organisation, and conducted training on forestry management relevant to the adoption of the principles of CBFM. They organised local communities into POs. When local communities became organised as POs, they took on

a commitment to protect, rehabilitate, manage and wisely utilise the resources in the area by entering into a contract with DENR.

NGOs also facilitated dialogue between the community, other organisations, financial institutions and the LGUs in order to ensure their support and involvement in the implementation of CBFM. As such, the NGOs were responsible for creating improved community awareness of the CBFM approach. The NGOs typically started with awareness campaign activities in CBFM project communities. Subsequent activities focussed on participatory planning at the *barangay* level. Meetings and consultations with the individual participants and *barangay* officials were conducted for this purpose.

The other roles performed by NGOs included livelihood development, resolving community conflicts and fostering harmonious relationships among the community members, conduct of reforestation activities, monitoring and evaluation, and the provision of other support services to communities.

4.5.4 The People's Organisations (POs)

The POs are major participants in the CBFM programme. The members of the POs are upland farmers who farm portions of the area to be awarded and are also using forest resources for their livelihood, as well as residing in, or adjacent to, these areas.

Based on the CBFM guidelines, the role of the POs were: 1) to join with DENR and the LGU in making a forest land use plan to be used in the preparation of a Community Resources Management Framework (CRMF), and including the PO's mission and objectives; 2) to represent the interests of their forest communities; and, 3) to protect and maintain forest land entrusted to their stewardship. In accordance with the CRMF and the work plan, the major responsibilities of POs included the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all the CBFM activities (Emtage, 2004; Pulhin, 2005).

Under the CBFMA, the POs were expected to protect, rehabilitate and conserve the natural resources in the CBFM area and assist the government in the protection of adjacent lands. The POs were also expected to develop, assist, and implement, equitable benefit sharing among PO members, and to promote participatory management and consensus building in all CBFM activities. In all the financial¹⁷ transactions of the POs, transparency among the

¹⁷ The membership fee of the members of POs' is their source of funds which they call 'revolving fund' or 'seed money'

members was required. Further, the POs have the right to be properly informed and consulted on all government projects implemented in the area.

It can be argued that effective stakeholder dialogue is imperative for the roles expected from the different stakeholders involved in CBFM projects to be fully executed. Partnership among these groups is essential in the attainment of integrated environmental management. The findings on the role of the different stakeholder in dialogue will be the substance of Chapter 6.

4.6 Chapter summary

The widespread deforestation had major ramifications for the livelihoods and well-being of the Filipinos, given their dependence on the forests and forest lands. The adoption of a community based approach to forestry management since the 1980s was designed to stop and reverse this situation. The adoption of CBFM was seen as the main government strategy, incorporating community engagement and stakeholder dialogue, and involving the different sectors concerned with rural upland development.

The factors that have shaped the formulation of the CBFM policy in the Philippines were: the change of the Philippine government administration from a dictatorial regime to a more responsive and participatory approach to programme development and implementation; a devolution policy that widened the focus of the government from the traditional forest resources utilisation approach to a broader perspective including the environment and other services; and the institutionalisation and unification of all the different programmes and projects that were merged into one umbrella programme, known as the CBFM programme, with its strong emphasis on community participation.

The overview of evolution of CBFM in this chapter has discussed the broad national policy context for the examination of the role of stakeholder dialogue in the two case study projects. To build on this discussion, Chapter 5 will focus on the planning and implementation of the two CBFM projects in Sangbay and Villa Ventura. This will provide a more locally grounded understanding for examining the experiences and perceptions of the key stakeholder respondents relating to the role of stakeholder dialogue.

Chapter 5

The Sangbay and Villa Ventura CBFM projects: planning and implementation context

5.1 Introduction

Two case studies were chosen to assess the extent of community engagement, through stakeholder dialogue, during the planning and implementation of CBFM projects. As stated in Chapter 3, project participants in both of these areas practice agroforestry, an income generating project under the CBFM programme. The aims of the agroforestry projects are to uplift the conditions of the rural poor, to create environmental awareness within the community, to enhance their self-reliance and self-esteem in developing and tending the project as a sustainable initiative, both socio-economically and ecologically, within the context of CBFM (Lasco, 1990; Lasco & Pulhin, 2000; Lasco et al., 2010).

In order to inform the examination of the role of stakeholder dialogue, this chapter provides an overview of the planning and implementation context for the two projects. The chapter is structured as follows: Section 5.2 provides an introductory overview of the two CBFM study areas; and Sections 5.3 and 5.4 discuss how the CBFM projects were planned and implemented to highlight the significance of contextual factors such as the intervention activities, the effect of devolution, the effect of forming various groups in the community, and the role of ethnicity, in terms of their relevance for stakeholder dialogue.

5.2 Introductory overview of the study areas

The Cagayan Valley, known as Region 02, is located at the north western tip of the Philippines and is surrounded by the mountain ranges of Cordillera to the west, Caraballo to the south, and Sierra Madre to the east (Figure 5.1). Its boundaries are the Bashi Channel to the north and the Pacific Ocean on the east. The Cagayan Valley is composed of five provinces: the island group of Batanes, the valley provinces of Cagayan and Isabela, and the mountainous provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Quirino (Figure 5.2).



Figure 5.1 Map of the Philippines



Figure 5.2 Map of Cagayan Valley, Philippines

5.2.1 Geographical profile

More than half of the country's total land area of 30 million hectares has slopes steeper than 18 percent (Carandang, 2008), collectively called the uplands. In the Cagayan Valley, the uplands occupy about 1.9 million ha, equivalent to about 72.7 percent of the total land area in the region. Largely rural, the Cagayan Valley has a relatively small population and its growth rate of 2.3 percent per year is average when compared with the other regions (Population Reference Bureau, 2006). The total population of the Cagayan Valley is small (3.1 million) compared with most other regions in the Philippines (NSO, 2007). Despite some environmental degradation in the region, the Cagayan Valley has one of the largest areas (1,149,845 hectares) of intact forest cover. Furthermore, the region has some of the few remaining virgin forests in the country (DENR, 2009). The land use system in the Cagayan Valley includes indigenous forest, secondary growth forest, agriculture, and residential areas. Figure 5.3 illustrates the gradation of land uses in a typical CBFM project area.

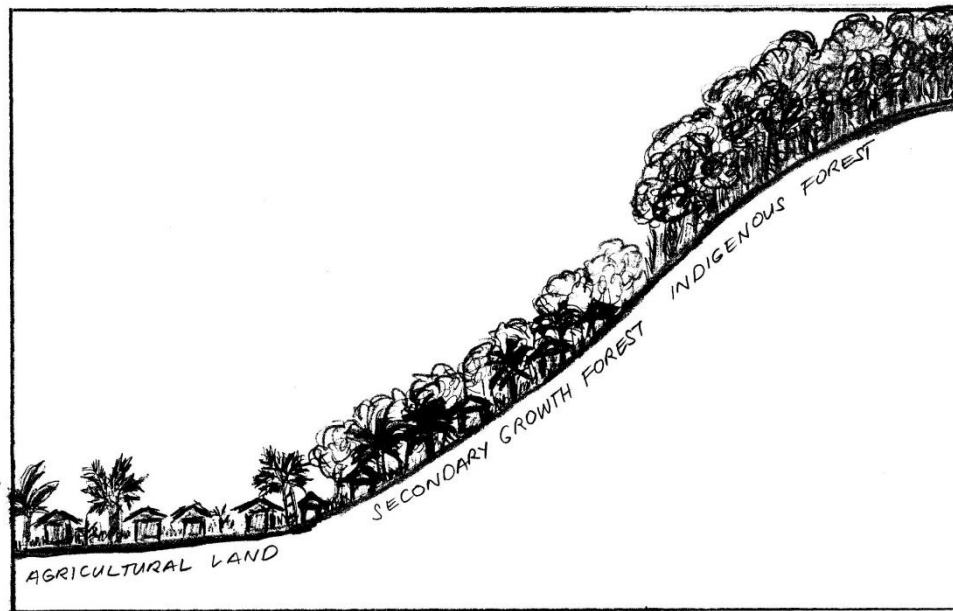


Figure 5.3 Transect of land use in CBFM areas in Region 2

Indigenous forests are fully protected by DENR. Secondary growth forests are the areas of the CBFM project where the local community residents have their agroforestry farms and undertake tree plantation activities. Agricultural areas and residential areas are situated on the lower slopes where the local residents plant agricultural crops.

The two study areas are located in the province of Quirino which lies in the south eastern portion of the Cagayan Valley. It is situated within the upper portion of the Cagayan River basin and bounded by the provinces of Isabela to the north, Aurora to the east and southeast, and Nueva Vizcaya on the west and southwest.

The province of Quirino has six municipalities namely: Diffun, Cabarroguis, Saguday Aglipay, Maddela, and Nagtipunan. Its capital is Cabarroguis. The Ilocano dialect is used widely in the lowlands of the province's various municipalities while Ifugao is predominant in the uplands.

5.2.1.1 Sangbay study area

Nagtipunan is a municipality in the province of Quirino. Nagtipunan has a total population of 20,443 people in 3,484 households and is the largest municipality in the province (NSO, 2010). It occupies a land area of 1588.92 square kilometres, nearly half of the province. Nagtipunan is politically subdivided into 16 *barangays*. Sangbay is one of the *barangays* in the municipality of Nagtipunan, province of Quirino in Region 02. Sangbay is about 16 km

from the town proper of Nagtipunan. This area is undulating to rolling (8-18% slope) in topography, has a mean annual rainfall of 1,500 mm, with elevations ranging from 100-300 metres above sea level (PAGASA, 2010). The land use of the area is divided into old-growth and residual forest, *kaingin* farms, grassland, residential and other uses. The *kaingin* farms, mostly planted with banana, are located in the middle slopes while the forest areas are located on the highest slopes (Figure 5.4).



Figure 5.4 Sangbay, Nagtipunan, Quirino

Sangbay settlement occupies a total area of 1,843 hectares. Its population is 1,151, consisting of 220 households, and averaging 5.23 persons per household. The present residents of Sangbay are composed of five ethnic groups namely: Ilocanos, Igorots, Bicolanos, Tagalogs and Ifugaos (NSO, 2010). Ethnicity is an important factor to consider when reaching out for community engagement projects.

5.2.1.2 Villa Ventura study area

Aglipay is a municipality in the province of Quirino, Philippines. According to the 2010 census, it has a population of 25,069 people in 4,450 households (NSO, 2010). Aglipay has 25 *barangays*. Villa Ventura is one of the *barangays* in the municipality of Aglipay, province of Quirino, Philippines. Villa Ventura was formerly known as Magalsing. This is the reason why the former name of the PO in this area is the Magalsing Multi-purpose Cooperative Incorporated (MMPCI). Villa Ventura is approximately 4.5 kilometres away from the Cordon-Maddela National Highway and can be reached by any form of vehicle. This area is

undulating to rolling (8-18 % slope) in topography, and with an elevation of 100-250 metres above sea level, and is moderately eroded (PAGASA, 2010). The soil type is clay and residual forest abounds at slopes greater than 18 percent (Figure 5.5).



Figure 5.5 Villa Ventura, Aglipay, Quirino

5.2.2 Socio-demographic profile

As explained in Chapter 4, the CBFM programme has integrated all the people-oriented forestry programmes of the Philippine government. This includes the two case study projects that were chosen for in-depth examination: the Sangbay and Villa Ventura CBFM project sites in the Cagayan Valley. Table 5.1 shows the summary of information about the two CBFM study areas.

Table 5.1 Summary of information about the two CBFM study areas

CBFM Sites	Sangbay	Villa Ventura
Date of ISF establishment	1984	1987
People Organisation (PO)	Sangbay Integrated Social Forestry Farmers Association (SISFFA) Sangbay-Anak Integrated Farmers Association, Inc. (SAIFAI) RMTA (Ramay-Manok Tribal Association)	Magalsing Upland Farmers Multi-purpose Cooperative, Inc. (MPCI)
Main ethnic groups	Ilocano, Bicolano, Ifugao, Igorot, Tagalog	Ilocano
Main source of income	Upland farming (agroforestry products, banana, corn)	Upland farming (agroforestry products, corn, banana, rice, fruit trees)
Other sources of income	Contracted labour, small shops (<i>sari-sari store</i> ¹⁸), furniture shops	Small shops (<i>sari-sari store</i>), carpentry, backyard livestock raising

¹⁸ Sari-sari store is a small shops or convenience store

A community demographic and socio-economic profile of community respondents in the two CBFM study areas, including the respondents' gender, period of residence in the area, local community respondents' position in the CBFM program, and educational attainment of local community respondents, will be discussed below.

5.2.2.1 Respondents' gender

A total of 85 respondents were interviewed through a semi-structured interview questionnaire. Table 5.2 summarises the gender of the respondents.

Table 5.2 Respondents' gender in the two CBFM study areas

Gender	Sangbay		Villa Ventura		DENR (n=5)	LGU (n=2)	NGO (n=4)
	Direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Indirect CBFM participants (n=8)	Direct CBFM participants (n=29)	Indirect CBFM participants (n=6)			
Male	24	4	23	3	4	2	4
Female	7	4	6	3	1	0	0

As expected, the majority of the respondents were male, 64, and only 21 were female. The male respondents were distributed as follows: 24 and 23 direct CBFM participants from Sangbay and Villa Ventura, respectively; 4 and 3 indirect CBFM participants from Sangbay and Villa Ventura respectively; 4 from DENR, 2 from a LGU; and 4 from the NGOs.

The female respondents were distributed as follows: 7 and 6 direct CBFM participants from Sangbay and Villa Ventura respectively; 4 and 3 indirect CBFM participants from Sangbay and Villa Ventura respectively; and 1 from DENR. Among the direct CBFM female respondents in Sangbay, 3 were the widows of the holders of a CSC. The 3 indirect CBFM female respondents in Villa Ventura had recently migrated to the area due to marriage.

Only one female was interviewed amongst other stakeholder groups. In the Philippines, more men hold a position in public organisations than women. Generally, men relegate household chores, such as washing clothes and taking care of children, to women (depicted in Figure 5.6). This practice reflects an established tradition of subordinating women which is also manifested in Filipino women's subservient attitudes.



Figure 5.6 Female respondents in the two CBFM study areas, May 2010

The design of the ISF programme land tenure instruments was in accordance with traditional and cultural norms. The CSCs were issued to the heads of the family thereby mainly confining participation and dialogue to the male members of the household. The exclusion of women from ISF project participation denied them the opportunity to represent their interests and articulate their views. Perhaps, this is one of the reasons why the participatory objectives of CBFM have not been fully realised.

5.2.2.2 Period of residence in the area

In Sangbay, most of the local community respondents have resided in the area for more than 20 years except for one respondent who has lived in the area for 5 years (Table 5.3). This respondent migrated to the area and bought the right of one CSC holder who moved to another place.

In Villa Ventura, majority of the local community respondents have also been resident in the area for more than 20 years. Thus, both communities were relatively stable, a factor that is important to the success of community engagement and dialogue.

The local community respondents, who have been residing in both of the study areas for more than 30 years, were those who actually occupied and tilled portions of the forest areas prior to the ISF programme establishment.

For the indirect CBFM participants, all the respondents from both sites have been living in the area for less than 20 years. These indirect CBFM respondents were either the children of the CBFM participants who have created their own family, or those who migrated to the Sangbay and Villa Ventura CBFM project areas due to family affiliation, but were not originally

residents in the area. The summary of respondents' period of residence in the areas is presented in Table 5.3. The local community respondents residing in the area longest have participated in the project longer than those who have just moved to the area recently.

Table 5.3 Local community respondents' period of residence in the two CBFM study areas

Years in residence	Number of respondents (n=60)							
	Sangbay				Villa Ventura			
	Direct participants (n=31)	CBFM	Indirect participants (n=8)	CBFM	Direct participants (n=29)	CBFM	Indirect participants (n=6)	CBFM
≤ 5	1		0		0		0	
6-10	0		0		0		0	
11-15	0		0		0		0	
16-20	4		8		3		6	
21-25	7		0		2		0	
26-30	4		0		2		0	
31-35	5		0		1		0	
36-40	3		0		7		0	
41-45	4		0		6		0	
46-50	3		0		5		0	
51-55	0		0		3		0	

5.2.2.3 Local community respondents' position in CBFM programme

The major source of income in both of the study sites is upland farming. All of the 60 direct CBFM respondents, from both of the CBFM study areas, were farmers engaged in upland farming activities within the CBFM project area. Table 5.4 shows the local community respondents' position in each of the CBFM project study areas.

Table 5.4 Local community respondents' position in CBFM program

Areas	Position	Number
Sangbay		
Direct CBFM respondents	Upland farmers not having any position in the community and PO	24
	Upland farmers having a position in the community	4
	Ex-chairman of PO	1
	Current Chairman of PO	1
	<i>Barangay</i> captain	1
Indirect CBFM respondents	Upland farmers not having any position in the community	8
Villa Ventura		
Direct CBFM respondents	Upland farmers having no position in the community and PO	23
	Upland farmers having a position in the community	2
	PO ex-chairman	2
	Current PO chairman	1
	<i>Barangay</i> captain	1
Indirect CBFM respondents	Upland farmers not having any position in the community	6

In Sangbay, I interviewed the *barangay* captain and four local officials, the PO ex-chairman and the current chairman. These respondents held positions both in the CBFM programme and in the local community and were also upland farmers. The indirect CBFM respondents are upland farmers who lived in the area due to marriage and kinship affiliation. These indirect CBFM respondents did not participate in the CBFM project, mainly because they were not awarded CSCs. Further, these indirect CBFM local community respondents were not members of the PO in either of the study areas. The participation of these indirect CBFM respondents in meetings was limited to local community meetings. The government assistance was not reaching out to the indirect CBFM participants.

5.2.2.4 Educational attainment of local community respondents

According to earlier studies conducted in the two sites (Dizon & Servitillo, 2003, Servitillo, 2004), the majority of CBFM respondents in both areas have relatively low literacy levels having only gained an elementary education or no education at all.

The indirect CBFM participants in both projects also had a low educational attainment. Both participants and non-participants, who held positions like the chairman of the association and the elected *barangay* officials, had achieved a high school education.

Educational attainment was an important factor for facilitating effective dialogue. The local community members, who have attended school, better understand the information relayed to them by the government officials. It was observed during both *barangay* meetings I attended, that those who have formal positions in the *barangay* and in the CBFM programme tended to ask more questions and sought clarification on particular issues. I also noted that the rest of the local community members who attended the meetings in both projects were passively listening or talking to each other in their seats. Some local community members also preferred to stay at the back as depicted in Figure 5.7.



Figure 5.7 Villa Ventura *barangay* meeting, June 2010

5.3 Planning and implementation of the CBFM project in Sangbay study area

Sangbay was approved by the DENR as an ISF programme site in 1984 and has a total area of 242.40 hectares (Figure 5.8). DENR parcelled out the area to ‘qualified forest occupants’ and each was issued a CSC. Under the CBFM concept, qualified forest occupants were those physically occupying or tilling a portion of forest lands in the area prior to programme approval. The CSC legitimised the individual’s *de facto* claim over their farms. The CSC guidelines state that the use of timber within the forest zone is limited to participants’ household use particularly for house construction. The guidelines strictly prohibited the cutting of trees for commercial purposes. A portion of the area allotted to an individual can be developed as an agroforestry farm where they can plant agricultural and fruit trees, and tree species such as *Gmelina arborea*.

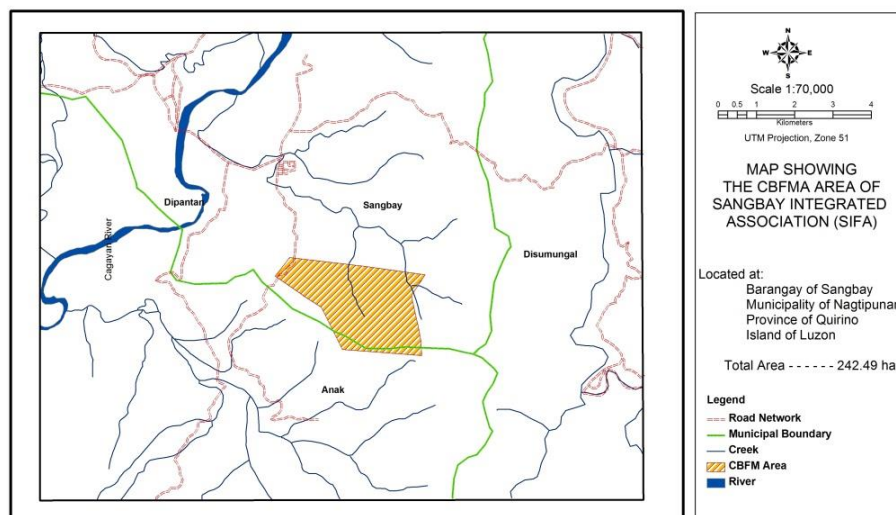


Figure 5.8 Map showing the CBFM area of Sangbay, Quirino, Cagayan Valley, Philippines (Source: Project documents of DENR)

The documentary records and interviews, for the Sangbay study site, indicate limited participation by the local community members from the inception to the implementation stages of the project. The ISF participants were directed by DENR what to do. The nature of participation appears to be *ad hoc*. For example, they were told during meetings to plant trees in the area allotted to them, which they did. The identification and approval of the area as the Sangbay project site demonstrated a top-down approach to forest management. The ISF programme was handed down to the local community as a package from the DENR central office via the field units. Prior to programme implementation, DENR initiated meetings with the local community in collaboration with the *barangay* officials in the community. Based on the ISF guidelines, the qualified participants of the projects were those actually tilling a portion of land prior to project implementation. This was the basis for awarding the CSCs. However, CSCs were only awarded to male heads of the family or household and could be transferred to the male next-of-kin. The local community members who were tilling a portion of land within the ISF jurisdiction were convened to attend a meeting. There were series of meetings conducted in the community. During these meetings, local community members were informed about the project and were asked to signify their intentions of joining the project. DENR obtained their signature as a basis for the awarding a CSC.

Other community members, who were not occupying or tilling a portion within the ISF project jurisdiction, were not entitled to participate.

5.3.1 Community engagement and stakeholder dialogue in project intervention activities

At the commencement of the ISF programme, the local community were summoned to attend a meeting where they were instructed to restrict their clearings in the forestlands and to concentrate on improving their farms through agroforestry (Figure 5.9).



Figure 5.9 Sangbay site agroforestry farms

The following activities were undertaken by DENR under the ISF project in Sangbay to achieve its key objectives.

- a. DENR provided technical assistance to project participants by conducting training and seminars on the proper handling of seedlings prior to planting. DENR also provided seedlings to programme participants for their agroforestry farms. It seems that the decision about species came from the top without adequate consultation with the local community about the choice of species for their farms. They would have wanted to plant fruit trees in their farms, but DENR instructed them to plant *Gmelina arborea*.¹⁹

The training and seminars conducted in the community raised environmental awareness among the project participants. There were sign boards seen during the field visit manifesting the sensitivity of the project participants and the whole community on the protection and rehabilitation of the environment (Figure 5.10).



Figure 5.10 Sign boards made by the local community members

- b. In 1984, an upland farmers association was formed and served as the PO. This PO was called the Sangbay Integrated Social Forestry Farmers Association (SISFFA). With the assistance of the PMO, the PO was registered with the Security and Exchange Commission (SEC) to legalise their association and to have more opportunity to participate in other projects. The PO benefitted from the members joining the organisation. For example, this PO was able to negotiate reforestation projects with DENR and generated income for members. The PO was also able to negotiate the price of their farm produce sold to marketplaces. As a result, the members gained higher incomes selling their produce at a reasonable price. The middlemen, who used to

¹⁹ This is a fast growing deciduous tree species commonly used for reforestation in the degraded uplands. Its timber is used for construction and furniture

bargain down the price of their produce, were regulated. This initiative fostered unity among the members.

- c. The CBFM project participants have been taught how to deal and negotiate with the government and other supporting agencies for the development of their community. The different dialogue activities such as seminars and training on capacity building empower the local community members to establish networks and lobby the government and other supporting agencies.
- d. Visits to other ISFP areas, and the seminars and training conducted by government agencies and NGOs, developed the PO members' technical capacity in forest resource management. Some programme participants have adopted what they have learned from the training on their farm lots, establishing Sangbay as an ISF programme model site in Quirino province in 1989.
- e. The establishment of a small water impounding dam along a creek traversing the area, for irrigation purposes, was another example of an intervention activity under CBFM. During the early stage of the project, the CBFM participants were taught by DENR how to protect and conserve water in the impounding dam. However, this impounding dam did not last long. The CBFM participants' long standing request for the reconstruction of the dam was not heeded or acted upon by the government agencies. Perhaps this created disappointment among the CBFM participants.

As described above, these activities resulted in a mix of apparently relative success and failure in terms of stakeholder dialogue.

5.3.2 Effect of devolution in 1991

Since the 1970s, the Sangbay area was the focus of government development projects and the subject of a number of research studies. Subsequently, Sangbay seems to have lost its advantageous status in the eyes of government bureaucrats. The devolution policy in 1991 transferred certain functions, previously undertaken by DENR, to provincial and municipal local government units. The authority over the Sangbay area was thereby also devolved from central government to provincial and municipal LGUs. However, the PNREO, which took over the implementation of the project, had identified other priority areas, and consequently Sangbay became a lesser priority. This situation created a feeling of abandonment in the local community. Further, devolution required the participants to pay tax that added to their distress and their relationship with the LGU became very strained. This event changed the

CBFM participants' perception of the project. The CBFM participants thought that they should not be paying tax since they did not own the land.

The devolution in 1991 did not seem to create space for the CBFM participants in the Sangbay CBFM project area to play a greater role in managing the forestry resources in collaboration with the government. Instead, this situation has created more confusion and disappointment for the participants. The devolution policy emanated from, and was implemented by, the national government without proper consultation with the different stakeholder groups directly involved in the project. The lack of consultation emerged as a major barrier for stakeholder dialogue. The LGU staff were not ready to effectively assist with the CBFM project, although they were trained by DENR in the past to do so.

5.3.3 Effect of forming multiple organisations in the community

Different community organisations pursue different objectives and interests. This was the case with the POs in Sangbay. There were three different organisations in the area and each had their own interests and goals. Sangbay-Anak Integrated Farmers Association, Inc. (SAIFAI) was formed to help the government in its reforestation activities, Ramay-Manok Tribal Association (RMTA) was formed for the purpose of availing water supply in the area, and SISSFA was formed as the official organisation representing the CBFM participants. The presence of the three POs has created misunderstanding, competition and conflict among local community members. Perhaps the different objectives being pursued by each of the POs created misunderstanding in the local community.

SISSFA was the first PO organised in Sangbay. However, in 1996, community members who had been granted CSCs formed the Sangbay-Anak Integrated Farmers Association Inc. (SAIFAI). The SISSFA members were also encouraged to join SAIFAI. With the assistance of an NGO called Ozone Savers, SAIFAI was contracted by DENR to develop a reforestation project. SAIFAI undertook a 180 hectare forest plantation project within the public forest land with agroforestry as a component. Training sessions and seminars, on soil and water conservation techniques and agroforestry technology, were conducted for the SAIFAI members.

Primarily, SAIFAI was formed to help the government in its reforestation activities and to provide income for its members. Forest protection was implemented by regulating forest use and banning *kaingin* making and tree cutting in the project area. However, SAIFAI was unable to stop *kaingin* and tree cutting. In addition, SAIFAI had no influence over land use

and the choice of species planted in the area since these decisions had been already been made by DENR (Dizon, 2004; Dizon & Servitillo, 2003).

In 1998, Ozone Saver ended their services to the community because their funding ran out. SAIFAI was left to continue the project under the supervision of DENR. In 1999, DENR turned the project over to SAIFAI. From that time, the maintenance and harvesting activities of the project have been managed by SAIFAI. DENR have only conducted meetings to discuss and settle issues and concerns reported by the organisation. However, it appeared that SAIFAI was not ready to effectively manage the project. The members of SAIFAI were in conflict with the adjacent *barangay* who they blamed for the illegal cutting of trees within the project plantation.

Recently, another group was formed called the Ramay-Manok Tribal Association (RMTA). The leader of the association was the former chairman of SISFFA. The majority of the members of this group are Ifugaos. The leader, who has undergone training and attended seminars, may have developed skills and competencies to deal with the government agencies. This leader has initiated activities for the association and requested the provincial government allocate funds for the construction of a water reservoir in the area. This request was made through the submission of a resolution letter prepared by the organisation as an outcome of their groups' sessions and discussions. It was claimed by their leader, during my informal conversation with him, that their request had been granted due to his efforts and follow-ups. He also claims credit for the donation from the Anglican Church of Australia to fund the construction of water pipes from the water source to the households' pipelines.

Sangbay inhabitants now have water pipes and a continuous supply of water. However, only the members of the association can benefit. The members pay a minimal amount for the maintenance of the water pipes. The question as to why other community members were not allowed to benefit from the water supply project was an issue that remains incomprehensible to the local community members. In part, there was a breakdown in dialogue between and among the members of the association and the local community. The water supply was only extended to RMTA members, despite the fact that the source of water was the reservoir within the public domain. The issue of water supply has created conflict among the local community members.

5.3.4 Ethnicity

Cultural understanding is important to effectively reach out to the community through dialogue. This can help implementers of the programme address the range of interests and needs of the community.

The Ifugaos migrated to the area between 1960 and 1990. These were migrant landless farmers whose main reason for settling in the area was to obtain land to farm to provide a livelihood. Sangbay is administratively divided into *purok*²⁰ or zones. The Ifugaos settled in one *purok* while other ethnic groups were scattered in different *puroks*. The Ifugaos in the Philippines are known as hard workers and as knowledgeable about upland farming practices such as terracing and constructing rock walls in rugged and marginal upland areas. The Ifugao groups have constructed rock walls on their agroforestry farms. These groups have a distinctive culture from the rest of the ethnic groups in the area. This group was more united and their participation in the ISF project was more active compared to other ethnic groups residing in Sangbay. Possibly, their ethnic affiliations have contributed to meaningful participation and better dialogue.

5.4 Planning and implementation of the CBFM project in Villa Ventura study area

In 1987, Villa Ventura was identified and approved by DENR as an ISF project site. The project now covers a total area of 348.65 hectares, and is the largest among the CPEU in the region (Figure 5.11).

As in the case of Sangbay, the criteria for selecting the qualified participants for the project were based on the ISF guidelines. The qualified participants were those actually tilling a portion of land prior to project implementation. This was the basis for awarding the CSCs. However, CSCs were only awarded to male heads of the family or household and could be transferred to the male next-of-kin. Other community members who were not occupying or tilling a portion within the ISF project jurisdiction were not qualified to participate.

²⁰ *Purok* is a Filipino term for local zones within the *barangay*

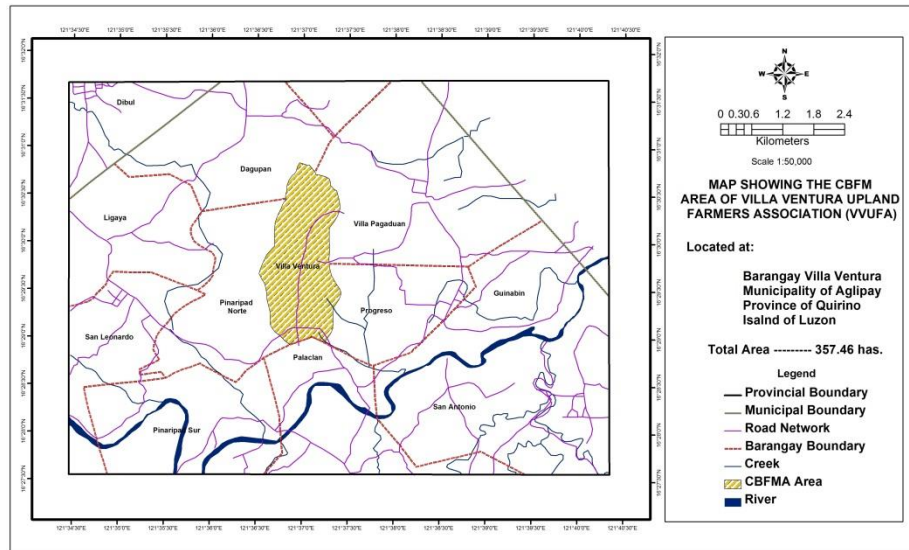


Figure 5.11 Map showing the CBFM area of Villa Ventura, Aglipay, Quirino, Cagayan Valley, Philippines (Source: Project documents of DENR)

The award of a CSC thus legitimised the individual's de facto claim over their farms. The participants were instructed to develop their farms into agroforestry since most of the farm lots allotted to project participants in Villa Ventura were marginal and hilly. This prompted DENR to provide training in agricultural land technology and soil and water conservation for sloping lands so the participants could make improvements and maximise utilisation of the lands.

As discussed below, documentary records for the Villa Ventura study site indicate active participation by the local community members from the inception to the implementation stages of the project.

5.4.1 Community engagement and stakeholder dialogue in project intervention activities

All activities in the area related to environmental resource protection and management were initiated through the collective efforts of the local community in collaboration with the DENR, LGUs, and other stakeholder groups. These are as follows:

- a. The participants of the programme formed themselves into an association called the Magalsing Multi-purpose Cooperative, Inc. (MMPCI) which was registered by the Cooperative Development Authority (CDA). Each member had to pay 500 Php as a membership fee. Through the cooperative, the members were able to reach out to other institutions for assistance. For instance, through resolutions, the LGU in Quirino

funded road improvement, *barangay* hall renovation, multi-purpose pavements, pump well installations, school buildings, and electricity supplies. The association was also able to link with the Department of Agriculture (DA) to acquire certified corn seeds for their farms. In addition, the members of the cooperative could apply for loans/credit for farm inputs, which were managed by their association. Income generating projects such as forestry plantations were all initiated and managed by their association. They also entered into a contract with DENR to buy and sell farm products in the area. Most of their produce was sold individually to traders and nearby buying stations except for bananas which were sold through middlemen. The proceeds were used as capital for an income generating project initiated by the cooperative. Most of the members of the association were elected *barangay* officials. This established and strengthened the members' working relationship with the LGU, at both the municipal and provincial levels.

- b. The participants were actively involved in the activities of the project. Every first Monday of the month, the participants collectively work as a group for the day and every last Saturday a regular meeting was convened. Over time, these activities have created a bond of friendship between the participants which has made it easier for socio-economic initiatives to be started.
- c. During the project inception stage the participants, with the assistance of the PMO, prepared their farm plans which were made more realistic through their exposure to various cross farm visits to other areas. They were likewise trained on various agroforestry technologies and soil and water conservation measures and applied these skills to their farms. As a result, all of the 170 participants were able to carry out permanent cultivation. More than 32 percent of the whole project was planted with cash crops. Existing crops in the area were corn, bananas, peanuts, beans, and rice. Trees such as *gmelina* (*Gmelina arborea*) were mostly planted along farm lot boundaries, while fruit trees like avocado, mango, jackfruit, and papaya were common in the area. Other soil and water conservation measures evident in the area were bench terracing, mixed planting, multi-storey, intercropping and sequential planting. Likewise, two small impounding dams were constructed by the farmers to serve as both an irrigation dam and a fishpond.
- d. Villa Ventura is a rugged and hilly area. The ISF project taught the farmers to use the rocks, which are abundant in the area, to stabilise the slopes of their farm lots. They

were taught to use an A-frame in locating the contours of the slopes where the rock walls would be placed. The farmers were also taught hedgerow planting as a soil and water conservation measure through field visits exposing them to Sloping Agricultural Land Technology (SALT) which they have adopted in their farm lots. The participants were actively involved in the activities of the project. At the time of my field work, the SALT farms were still being maintained by the farmers (Figure 5.12). The area was selected as one of the ISF model sites in Quirino in 1989.



Figure 5.12 Sample of SALT farm at Villa Ventura site

5.4.2 Effect of devolution in 1991

With the devolution, responsibility for ISFP was transferred from DENR to the LGUs, except for one model site in each province. Villa Ventura was one of the ISF projects which were retained by DENR to serve as a Centre for People's Empowerment in the Uplands (CPEU) through the Department Administrative Order (DAO), No. 5 series, 1993. However, this area was not exempted from paying taxes since the municipal government required all CSC holders to pay tax. This caused resistance among the CSC holders in Villa Ventura. Through time this issue confronting the local community in Villa Ventura has been resolved and the policy of tax payment was now supported. The CBFM participants have learned to abide by the policy since the project area has received continuous support from DENR and the LGUs.

5.4.3 Effect of forming multiple organisations in the community

Villa Ventura has only one PO, the MMPCI. The community participation in this study site was not fragmented as compared to Sangbay where there were three POs pursuing different objectives. This solidarity was perhaps an indication that community participation and

stakeholder dialogue has contributed to the rapid physical and socio-economic development in the study area.

5.4.4 Ethnicity

Almost all of the residents of Villa Ventura are Ilocano, who migrated to the area from nearby communities. Ethnicity was a factor considered by the local authorities and government agencies in the Philippines in planning, implementing, and evaluating services and programmes. The Villa Ventura community was a relatively homogenous group, sharing the Ilocano culture. This single ethnicity has made participation and dialogue easier for the government to initiate and facilitate the implementation of development projects in the area. For example, the area has benefitted from government infrastructure projects such as the construction of a water system, multi-purpose pavements, and road improvements. In 2001, I brought my undergraduate rural immersion class forestry students to the area. Accessibility was so difficult we ended up walking to reach the area. When I conducted this field work in 2010, transportation was no longer a problem. Also, I have seen a lot of additional changes during this period including the construction of concrete houses, concrete roads and a *barangay* hall.

Based on the document review, it appeared that the CBFM project has enhanced and strengthened communication and interpersonal relationship among the PO leaders and members through participation in the training workshops and seminars.

5.5 Chapter summary

Two case studies were chosen for in-depth examination: the Sangbay and Villa Ventura CBFM project sites. The CBFM project was developed and approved by DENR in both study areas. A number of factors that might have influenced the extent of community engagement and stakeholder dialogue in achieving the goals of CBFM programme have been identified in this chapter, including the government intervention activities, the effect of devolution, the effect of forming various groups in the community, and ethnicity. Their significance will be further discussed in each of the study areas in the following chapters.

The government intervention activities in the Sangbay site reflect a mix of apparent relative success and failure of stakeholder dialogue in the area. By comparison, in the Villa Ventura site, all activities in the area related to environmental resource protection and management were initiated through the collective efforts of the local community in collaboration with DENR, the LGUs, and other stakeholder groups.

The effect of devolution has been more severe in the Sangbay site compared to Villa Ventura. The fact that the Villa Ventura site was retained under DENR to serve as a CPEU, enabled the project participants to successfully lobby central government directly for more project assistance.

There were three POs in Sangbay pursuing different interests and goals. This multiplicity created social conflict between the participating members of each organisation. The Villa Ventura site has fared better in this regard through having a single organisation and has developed greater social capital for community engagement and stakeholder dialogue.

Ethnicity was a factor taken into account by the local authorities and government agencies in the Philippines to plan, implement, and evaluate services and programmes. As in the case of Villa Ventura, the local community was a relatively homogenous group, all belonging to the Ilocano culture. This single ethnic group made participation and dialogue easier for the government to initiate and implement development projects in the area compared with the Sangbay site with five different ethnic groups.

The above discussion will help to inform the findings on the significance of stakeholder dialogue that has taken place in the two CBFM projects. This will be discussed in the next three chapters which examine the study respondents' understandings and narratives relating to the significance of stakeholder dialogue.

Chapter 6

Findings on effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue: actors, methods, and structures

6.1 Introduction

In all the CBFM projects, the key stakeholders were the local community residents, the government agencies (DENR and LGUs) and the NGOs. They were collectively responsible for the utilisation and management of the forests and related environmental resources, including soil and water conservation, within the administrative jurisdiction of each CBFM project area. Local community residents comprised upland farmers who were direct CBFM participants (and thus were also PO members) and upland farmers who were indirect CBFM participants. Indirect CBFM participants were farmers who were permitted to till a portion of public land within the CBFM jurisdiction, but who had not been awarded CSCs.

Having developed the argument in previous chapters that community engagement should be integrated with the biological and economic imperatives for forestry management, this chapter presents the understandings and narratives of the different stakeholders relating to the key attributes of the dialogue processes in the two CBFM project areas in the Cagayan Valley of the Philippines.

Qualitative data was collected in each case study area from the respondents. The composition and total number of respondents interviewed was presented in Table 3.1 of Chapter 3. The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured questionnaire explained in Chapter 3. Most of the community respondents were interviewed in their homes, while most of the NGO, DENR and the LGU respondents were interviewed in their offices.

In addition to the interview data, notes from field observations, informal interactions, and attendance at *barangay* meetings were used as supplementary data to support the analysis. I attended scheduled *barangay* assembly meetings for the Villa Ventura and Sangbay CBFM areas. I also attended the Sangbay Ramay-Manok Tribal Association (RMTA) meeting. The assembly meetings for the Villa Ventura area were conducted every first Saturday of the month. I made an appointment with the *barangay* captain to attend a meeting and explained my research to the community members. Likewise, I obtained permission from the *barangay*

captain and the chairman of the PO in the Sangbay area to attend their meeting. I was given the opportunity to talk to community members about my research. Personnel from DENR attended both the assembly meetings that were presided over by the *barangay* captains. The *barangay* assembly meetings for both of the study sites lasted for more than two hours.

Against the background of the discussion in Chapters 4 and 5, the significance of the stakeholder dialogue that took place in the two CBFM project sites was analysed in terms of the five key elements of reflexive dialogue. Indicators/criteria were set for each of these elements (see Table 2.1 in Chapter 2). Dialogue is considered to be effective if a majority of the criteria, specified for a particular element, are met. Data relating to the five criteria was gathered during field work by asking respondents a set of questions using a semi-structured interview format. The responses were entered into NVivo9, a qualitative data management software programme. The results are presented using basic descriptive statistics such as frequency counts and percentages, and extracts from transcribed oral narratives.

Sections 6.2 to 6.4 present the perceptions of the respondents on the effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue relating to the role of actors, methods of dialogue, and dialogue structures, respectively. The results relating to the processes and outcomes of dialogues will be discussed in Chapter 7.

6.2 'Actors' as an element of stakeholder dialogue in CBFM projects

Successful dialogue involves clearly identifying all stakeholders affected or interested in a project, getting representatives of those groups to participate, and hearing their concerns to help ensure that their interests are not overlooked (Evans, 2002; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006).

In this study, community engagement through stakeholder dialogue was considered successful if: a) all key actors were identified by all stakeholders; b) all stakeholders' roles in the project were clear to all stakeholders; c) all participants were actively involved in the dialogue process; and, d) representativeness (representation of interests) among all stakeholders involved in the project was ensured.

As discussed in Chapter 5, during the formulation of the CBFM policy, key actors for a CBFM project were expected to be the local inhabitants, and not government agencies (DENR and LGUs), or NGOs. To determine what roles local inhabitants had played in the CBFM projects in the two study areas, I purposively interviewed local community members

(both direct and indirect CBFM participants), central government department staff (DENR), local government department staff (LGUs), and staff of the NGOs, with respect to each project site.

6.2.1 Actors identified by each stakeholder

During the course of developing the CBFM policy framework, there was strong emphasis on community engagement and local communities were expected to be the primary stakeholders in CBFM projects. Therefore, I started the interviews for each of the two projects by asking all respondents who they perceived of as the actors in the respective CBFM projects. Identification of actors in the project was based on conversations relating to the questions: *What people were important for you in learning about the project*, followed by, *which institutions these important people were attached to?* I expected that the respondents would know the important stakeholders involved in the respective CBFM projects. Based on the responses, I have aggregated the names identified with the institutions with which these names were associated.

Table 6.1 shows the results for all five groups of respondents relating to perceived actors in the CBFM projects.

Table 6.1 Responses to the question, what people were important to you in learning about the project?

Actors identified	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)	Sangbay indirect CBFM participants (n=8)	Villa Ventura indirect CBFM participants (n=6)	DENR (n=5)	LGU (n=2)	NGO (n=4)
CBFM participants	0	0	0	0	5	2	4
DENR	26	26	8	4	5	2	4
PO officials	3	1	0	1	5	2	4
LGUs	2	2	0	1	5	2	4
NGOs	0	0	0	0	5	2	4

6.2.1.1 Perceptions of Sangbay local community respondents

The result showed that out of 31 direct CBFM participants interviewed in the Sangbay CBFM study area, 26 (84%) mentioned the names of DENR staff as important actors for learning about the project. Only 6 per cent of the respondents mentioned the LGU and only 10 per cent mentioned PO officers as key actors. In part, their responses demonstrated that the

CBFM community participants see only DENR as the main actor for learning about the project.

The indirect CBFM participants were also asked about who they perceived was important for learning about CBFM project. Again, all of them identified DENR as the key actor for learning about the project. No one identified LGU, NGO and PO officials as important in learning about the CBFM project.

The importance of DENR to the direct and indirect CBFM participants could be due to a number of reasons. The DENR-CENRO office was located just across from the Sangbay project site so DENR personnel were always visible to the local community. Secondly, the Sangbay area was a recipient of various upland development programmes in the past and was the favourite study area for scholars evaluating CBFM performance. DENR personnel served as contact persons for these scholars who endorsed DENR to the local community. By association, any activity related to the CBFM programme was perceived to be an activity originating from DENR. Thirdly, the devolution policy transferred certain functions of DENR to the LGUs (as discussed in the previous two chapters). In the Sangbay area, the DENR personnel in charge of the CBFM project were transferred to the LGU. The new LGU officer was formerly a PMO for several years and the community may have still regarded him as a DENR official. Fourthly, the title of the DENR provincial officer was 'PENRO' while the LGU provincial officer was called the 'PNREO'. This may have caused confusion for some local community members and they may have regarded both as DENR positions.

6.2.1.2 Perceptions of Villa Ventura local community respondents

In Villa Ventura, out of 29 direct CBFM participant respondents, 26 (90%) identified DENR as the key actor for learning about the project. However, some of the respondents also named the LGU (7%) and chair of the POs (3%) as actors for learning about the CBFM project.

Again, there are a number of possible reasons for these perceptions. The recognition of DENR as the key actor may have been influenced by the PMO who facilitated the implementation of the project by assisting the local community to set up the organisation and who provided them with the necessary technical support. The visibility and constant interaction of the PMO with the local community, encouraging them to engage in different project related activities, may have left an imprint in their minds about his key role. Secondly, as was discussed in Chapter 5, DENR retained the Villa Ventura site as its CPEU and hence the local community respondents have had continuous interaction with DENR.

Thirdly, the LGUs were perceived of as actors because of the allied government funded project investment and services, e.g., farm to market roads, which the community associated with the CBFM project. Fourthly, the chair of the PO acted as a trusted mediator between the local community and DENR. Finally, the Villa Ventura site, being a CPEU, hosted various farmers' field visits and seminars about soil and water conservation measures. Exposure to these activities enhanced the PO and the local community members' ability to deal with a wider range of officials. Hence, their perception about key actors involved in the CBFM project was not just confined to DENR.

Indirect CBFM participants were also asked who they perceived of as the main actors for learning about the CBFM project. Out of the six respondents, four perceived DENR as the main actors for learning about the CBFM project. One respondent identified the LGUs and one mentioned the name of the PO chairman as important in learning about CBFM project.

The local community respondents in the two study areas did not mention the NGOs as key actors for learning about the CBFM project. This may be because they thought that the NGOs were connected to DENR and by the time of the interviews were conducted, the NGOs had completed their contracted roles as community organisers. The NGOs were no longer involved in CBFM community engagement activities.

6.2.1.3 Perceptions of government agency (DENR and LGU) and NGO respondents

All the respondents from DENR, the LGUs, and NGOs recognised themselves as important actors for learning about the CBFM project. They also recognised the local community residents as important actors in the CBFM project. This was not a surprising response given that they were the ones who were responsible for implementing the project.

6.2.2 Extent to which each stakeholder group was clear about their own role

The study respondents were asked in-depth, follow-up questions relating to their particular roles and the roles of other actors. In order to gauge how each stakeholder understood their role in the project conversations were initiated around the question, *what was your role in the project?*

The perceptions of the different actors of their own role in the CBFM projects are presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Responses to the question, what was your role in the project?

Own role	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)	Sangbay indirect CBFM participants (n=8)	Villa Ventura indirect CBFM participants (n=6)	DENR (n=5)	LGU (n=2)	NGO (n=4)
Recipient, participant, follower, or beneficiary of the project	24	23	0	0	-	-	-
Co-manager of the project	7	6	0	0	5	2	4
No role	-	-	8	6	-	-	-

Each of the different stakeholder groups involved in the community-based forestry programme have a different role to play. Ideally, each participant should know and understand their role and responsibility in the project. For stakeholder dialogue to be successful, the role of the different stakeholders involved should be clear to all. Effective communication between these stakeholder groups is vital for the success of CBFM, yet it is clear from the results presented in Table 6.2 that many CBFM participants were not clear about their intended role as co-managers of the project.

The direct CBFM participants considered their role primarily as followers, recipients, beneficiaries, and participants in the project. In contrast, the direct CBFM participants holding a formal position in the PO perceived their role as *de facto* managers of the forest. The indirect CBFM participants did not have any role identified.

All of the DENR, LGU, and NGO respondents were unanimous in their opinion that they were co-managers of the project.

6.2.2.1 Sangbay local community perceptions of their own role

There were 31 CBFM member respondents in the Sangbay CBFM project. Twenty four (77%) indicated that their role was to participate in the project. They considered their role as a recipient or beneficiary in the project, but not as co-managers of the forest and forestland. These CBFM respondents have no formal position in the PO. This finding is consistent with a legacy of the top-down approach of the past. This top-down approach applies both to the lines of communication and the functional structure of DENR. In the first place, the CBFM project was handed down as a package. Whatever stakeholder dialogue that took place prior to implementation was focussed on project orientation, primarily designed to familiarise

project participants about project governance and the day-to-day management of the project. Stakeholder dialogue during subsequent years became pre-occupied with emergent issues and problems, such as boundary delineation issues, and tax payment. The process of information dissemination campaigns and the meetings conducted during the inception stage did not make CBFM participants feel they were co-managers of the project. The rest of the CBFM respondents (23%) held key positions both in the community and the PO. They had a clearer understanding of their roles as co-managers of the project.

All indirect CBFM respondents stated that they did not have any role in the project. They were totally unaware about their role in CBFM project. These respondents were indirect CBFM participants and therefore not really aware of the project's objectives even though they lived in the forest and cultivated land.

6.2.2.2 Villa Ventura local community perceptions of their own role

Out of the 29 CBFM respondents, 23 (79%) stated that they were just participants in the project. As in the case of the Sangbay area, these respondents in the Villa Ventura area participated in the project in compliance with the government programme. Also, none held positions of authority in the community or the PO.

The other six CBFM respondents (21%), held positions of authority including the two chairmen of the POs. They indicated that they were the direct contact for the PMOs in the area. They were aware of the stipulated role of a CBFM participant within the CBFM framework. They further stated that they were responsible in initiating dialogue or discussion with the members of the organisation prior to holding the scheduled PO meetings. This was embedded in a respondent's statement,

I talk to the DENR PMO personally and relate the problems and issues of the CBFM participants. Sometimes, I also make resolution letter for our issues or request letter for our needs and issues and bring this to their attention. I will again relay the result of my discussions with the DENR to the CBFM participants (VV14).

This statement describes that leaders of the PO participated more in the dialogue activities of the CBFM project.

The indirect CBFM participants answered that they have no role in the project. As noted, they just cultivated portions of land in the CBFM area and were not conscious of the relevance of the project.

6.2.2.3 Perceptions of DENR, LGU, and NGO respondents of their own role

All DENR, LGU, and NGO respondents understood their role as co-manager of the CBFM project. They knew that they were expected to assist the government in the protection of adjacent lands. They also understood that they were expected to develop, assist, and implement equitable benefit sharing among PO members, and promote participatory management and consensus building in all CBFM activities. These understandings and beliefs were consistent with the intent of the CBFM programme.

6.2.3 Extent to which each stakeholder respondent was clear about the tasks and duties undertaken in their role

Table 6.2 shows how the respondents stated their role in CBFM project. In order to understand the tasks that they perform in their stated role, the respondents were asked, *what were the main tasks and duties that you undertake in this role?* The perceived role of the direct CBFM respondents was as participants and beneficiaries of the project. As beneficiaries, it was their duty to follow or comply with the activities of the project (e.g., tree planting).

Their responses about the tasks and duties performed in their perceived role are shown Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Responses to the question, what were the main tasks and duties that you undertake in this role?

Tasks and duties in this role	Sangbay direct CBFM respondents (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM respondents (n=29)	DENR (n=5)	LGU (n=2)	NGO (n=4)
Compliance to project activities	24	23	-	-	-
Assist in the rehabilitation, protection, and conservation of natural resources	7	6	-	-	-
Implement rehabilitation, protection, and conservation activities	-	-	5	-	-
Strengthened POs, provided technical assistance to POs	-	-	-	2	-
Technical advisers and organised POs	-	-	-	-	4

6.2.3.1 Sangbay local community respondents' perception of tasks and duties

Based on the findings, many CBFM respondents (77%) answered that their main duty was compliance with the activities of the project as prescribed in the CBFM project guidelines because they regard themselves as project beneficiaries. Some CBFM respondents (23%) holding key positions both in the community and PO understood that their role entailed the protection, rehabilitation and conservation of the natural resources in the CBFM area in collaboration with DENR and the LGUs. Their opinions were consistent with the goals of CBFM programme. This statement supported the insights drawn from the conversations I had with these community and PO officials. This led me to conclude that they had clearer understanding of their tasks and duties in CBFM project. They had more opportunity to remain informed and were consulted on all government projects implemented in the area.

6.2.3.2 Villa Ventura local community respondents' perception of tasks and duties

Majority of Villa Ventura CBFM respondents (79%) believed that their main role was to follow and perform the activities of the project, e.g., planting trees in their agroforestry farms. Twenty-one percent believed that their duties were to assist DENR and the LGU in the protection and conservation of forest resources within the CBFM area.

6.2.3.3 Government agency (DENR and LGU) and NGO respondents' perception of tasks and duties

All the DENR, LGU, and NGO respondents believed that they clearly understood their roles and tasks in the CBFM project. These perceived roles matched those stated in the CBFM project strategic plans (DENR 1998; 2008; Pulhin, 1998). However, I observed that their duties were not effectively implemented on the ground. The DENR respondents saw themselves as responsible for the planning and implementation of the CBFM projects, including supervising and providing technical assistance to the project participants within their communities. These respondents claimed that they had carried out community organisation and information education campaigns (IEC) in the CBFM areas. DENR have been trained to practise forest production, protection and conservation. Having little knowledge or skills relevant to upland community development involving local inhabitants, assistance from social scientists was required (Rebugio et al., 2010). The shift from a technical to a more participatory forest development and management paradigm compelled DENR to seek assistance from the NGOs. The community organisation and IEC aspects of the CBFM project were actually undertaken by a NGO then under contract to DENR.

The LGU respondents indicated that they had: assisted and strengthened the POs; provided extension services; conducted IECs; and helped to resolve conflicts amongst project allottees. The LGU respondents emphasised their role in promoting community participation and facilitating dialogue in the two CBFM projects. My observation was that the LGU's presence in dialogue was perceived of by some CBFM respondents as an obstacle and not as facilitating dialogue. It is worth mentioning here that LGU1 was a former community organiser for the DENR ISF project, but he was transferred to the LGU in 1991, serving as the PNREO officer of the LGU at the provincial level. The role of the LGUs in the CBFM, as described by LGU respondents, contradicts the perception of local community respondents, who saw DENR as the agency who performed all these roles.

The NGO respondents explained that they had acted as technical advisers, had organised the POs during the project inception stage, and had continued to provide technical assistance that the project allottees needed. There was no doubt that the roles performed by the NGOs in the two CBFM projects were instrumental in strengthening the POs during the earlier phases of project implementation. However, upon completion of the contracted support and assistance from the NGOs, the LGUs took over the management of the CBFM project under the supervision of DENR.

The role of NGOs in the CBFM projects was never mentioned by local community respondents. I interpreted that this can likely be attributed to their perception that DENR was the major actor involved in the project. The local community seems to have forgotten the community organisation and encouragement that the NGOs provided. As previously mentioned, the NGOs role in the project was terminated after organising the community.

6.2.4 Extent to which each stakeholder group was clear about the roles of other stakeholders

The direct and indirect CBFM participants were asked about their perception of the role of DENR, the LGUs, and NGOs in the CBFM projects. In both CBFM study areas, the respondents had a relatively clear understanding about the role of DENR. This may have been due to the high visibility or presence of DENR personnel during project implementation. The role of the LGUs and NGOs was not clear to the CBFM respondents. The DENR respondents were also asked about their perceptions of the role of local community respondents in CBFM projects. LGU and NGO respondents were also asked the same question. Table 6.4 summarises their perceptions.

Table 6.4 Responses to the question, what was the role of the different actors involved in the project?

Actor	Other's role	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)	Sangbay indirect CBFM participants (n=8)	Villa Ventura indirect CBFM participants (n=6)	DENR (n=5)	LGU (n=2)	NGO (n=4)
DENR	In-charge	23	19	4	4	-	-	-
DENR	Helping/ assisting the project	18	2	3	0	-	-	-
DENR	Implementer	12	5	8	0	-	-	-
LGU	Tax collector	6	2	0	2	-	-	-
DENR	Initiator	6	0	0	0	-	-	-
DENR	Surveyor	0	1	0	0	-	-	-
PO	Leaders	2	1	0	2	5	2	4
CBFM participants	Participants	-	-	-	-	5	2	4
DENR	Consistent with CBFM intent	-	-	-	-	-	2	4
LGU	Consistent with CBFM intent	-	-	-	-	5	-	4
NGO	Consistent with CBFM intent	-	-	-	-	5	2	-

NB Respondents could give more than one answer

6.2.4.1 Perceptions of the Sangbay local community respondents

A majority of the direct CBFM participants and indirect participants perceived the role of DENR as being in-charge of the project (74% and 50% respectively), as providing assistance (58%, 38%), as an implementer (39%, 100%), and as an initiator (19%, 0%). These were the roles stipulated in the CBFM implementation guidelines. In this respect, the perception of the local community concurs with the prescribed roles of DENR.

Only 19% of direct CBFM respondents indicated the role of the LGU as that of a tax collector. This was the only perceived role of the LGU. This was contrary to the expected role identification of the LGU in strengthening local community management of forest resources by providing technical training, community organisation, and IEC. Only a handful (6%) perceived the role of the PO chairman as leadership. The majority of the respondents still recognised DENR as their project leader.

6.2.4.2 Perceptions of the Villa Ventura local community respondents

The direct CBFM participant and indirect participant respondents perceived the role of DENR as being in charge of the project (66% and 66% respectively). However, only direct CBFM participants perceived of DENR as providing assistance (7%), and as having had a role in implementation (17%). The high level of perception that DENR was in charge may have been due to the continuous presence and interaction of the PMO with the local community. In addition, the area was retained as the CPEU and was maintained by DENR.

The LGUs were perceived of as tax collectors by only a handful of direct CBFM respondents (7 %.). Several indirect CBFM respondents (25%) perceived of LGUs as tax collectors rather than as partners in forest and environmental management.

More indirect CBFM participants (25%) perceived of the PO chairmen as leaders compared to direct CBFM participants (3%). This may have been because they have had more interaction with the chairmen personally, as a source of information rather than as someone from a key organisation.

6.2.4.3 Perceptions of government agencies (DENR and the LGU) and NGO respondents

The role of DENR as perceived of by LGU and NGO respondents was consistent with the prescribed roles in the CBFM framework. Likewise, the role of DENR and LGU perceived of by NGO respondents matched the roles stipulated in the guidelines. This was also true regarding the perception of DENR respondents on the role of the LGUs and NGOs in the project. Furthermore, all the DENR, LGU, and NGO respondents were clear about the role of the CBFM participants and the PO in the projects. It was evident that government agency and NGOs respondents understood their role in CBFM as well as that of the other stakeholders involved. However it was not apparent that these roles were undertaken to achieve the goals of CBFM. The LGU and NGO respondents were clear about the roles of other stakeholders involved in the stakeholder dialogue.

6.2.5 Active involvement of different stakeholder groups in the dialogue

Stakeholder involvement in dialogue is believed to have an influential role to play in strengthening community engagement. It does this by developing relationships between the community and the key organisations involved in the project. It was argued that before a decision is made in relation to a project, the involvement of local people in dialogue allows

them to offer their views (Chikozho, 2008; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). This study used the active involvement of the stakeholders in dialogue as a criterion for evaluating the success of stakeholder dialogue.

Determining the involvement of each of the key actors was based on responses on a question, *were you actively involved in the project and if so, how?*

The summary of responses is presented in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 Responses to the question, were you actively involved in the project and if so, how?

Involvement	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)	Sangbay indirect CBFM participants (n=8)	Villa Ventura indirect CBFM participants (n=6)	DENR (n=5)	LGU (n=2)	NGO (n=4)
Attendance at dialogue/meeting	31	29	8	6	5	2	4
Participation in tree planting activity	22	19	-	-	-	-	-
Participation in soil and water conservation activities	5	24	-	-	-	-	-
Conduct and facilitate meetings	-	-	-	-	5	2	4

NB Respondents could give more than one answer

6.2.5.1 Perceptions of Sangbay local community respondents own involvement

All direct CBFM respondents (100%) positively answered that they were very active because they always attend meetings. They believed that their active involvement was shown through their attendance at meetings. The majority of them also stated that they participated in the tree planting activity that DENR asked them to do during the early stages of project. Few have mentioned that they actively participated in the soil and water conservation activities of the project, e.g., the construction of a small water impounding dam.

The attendance at meetings was the involvement mentioned by all of the indirect CBFM respondents.

6.2.5.2 Perceptions of Villa Ventura local community respondents own involvement

All direct CBFM respondents (100%) perceived that they were actively involved from the project start. The measure of their active involvement was their attendance at meetings and participation in dialogue. Many of the respondents (66%) participated in the project tree planting while majority of them (83%) participated in all the activities of the project including constructing contours as an activity promoting soil and water conservation.

All indirect CBFM respondents have attended meetings as members of the community.

The perception of local community respondents on their own involvement in the project can be interpreted based on Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of citizen involvement'. The extent of their involvement in dialogue activities was limited to attendance and compliance as beneficiaries of the projects. In Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of participation', this does not entail meaningful participation because there was neither negotiation nor an exchange of information.

6.2.5.3 Perceptions of the DENR, LGU and NGO respondents of their own involvement

All DENR, LGU, and NGO participants believed that they were actively involved because they were the facilitator of dialogue and meetings conducted in the CBFM projects. It was also their responsibility to implement the different activities of the project.

6.2.6 Other groups' involvement in the project

After asking about their own involvement in the project, I asked each of the respondents:

- *Were the DENR, LGUs, and NGOs actively involved in the project and if so, how?*
This question was asked of both the direct and indirect CBFM participants.
- *Were the CBFM participants actively involved in the project and if so, how?*
This question was asked of DENR, the LGUs, and the NGOs.

The responses of each of the respondents about the other groups' involvement were analysed and interpreted either as continuous (C) and/or diminishing (D) involvement in the project.

Examples of the CBFM respondents' responses were: *the DENR used to conduct meetings here. They were active before. But when the project was devolved, we seldom see them here. The DENR only come here once in a while (S4); The DENR was active. The PMO constantly visited the area and kept on informing us the activities that we should do (VV18)*. These statements were interpreted as both diminishing and continuous involvement.

The perceptions of DENR, the LGUs, and the NGOs about the involvement of CBFM participants in Sangbay were considered diminishing. This was elaborated by DENR respondents: *The CBFM participants' attendance at meetings declined after the area was turned over to the LGU (D1); the participants were not planting trees anymore (D5)*. These statements indicate that the involvement of the CBFM participants in Sangbay was diminishing.

The perceptions of DENR, the LGUs and the NGOs of the involvement of CBFM participants in the Villa Ventura project activities were sustained or continuous. This was elaborated in a DENR respondent's statement: *the participants always attend meetings and dialogue related to the project. They also maintained their agroforestry farms wherein they practised the skills gained from the training they have participated in (D2)*. I considered this statement as continuous involvement.

The interpretation of the responses is shown in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6 Responses to the question, were they actively involved in the project and if so, how?

Stakeholders/ Actors	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)			Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)			DENR (n=5)			LGU (n=2)			NGO (n=4)		
	C	D	NA	C	D	NA	C	D	NA	C	D	NA	C	D	NA
DENR	10	18	3	29	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
LGU	0	0	31	0	0	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NGO	0	0	31	0	0	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sangbay CBFM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	2	-	-	4	-
Villa Ventura CBFM	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	2	-	-	4	-	-

C= Continuous; D= Diminishing; NoA= No answer

6.2.6.1 Perceptions of Sangbay local community respondents

The CBFM participants were asked about the extent of active involvement of stakeholders involved in the project. Ten respondents indicated that DENR was actively involved in the project during its implementation stage. According to them, DENR field personnel continuously visited the area and conducted meetings to resolve issues that had arisen. Eighteen local community respondents said that they seldom saw people from DENR after the devolution of the project to the LGU. As time had progressed, they considered the CBFM project has deteriorated, maybe because they saw the LGUs not as active partners in the

management of forest resources, but as tax collectors. This sentiment is embedded in the statement of one respondent:

Paying taxes to the municipal government is a great burden. The assessor collects taxes and told us that it is for the improvement of the community. In the meeting last Saturday, the people asked the assessor if what we are paying is for the improvement of the land or the tax for the land itself (real property tax). But CENRO Almueda told us that CSCs are not taxable and assured us that the government will not get back the land awarded to us. He also said that paying taxes for the improvement of the land is not permissible. But PNREO Binag insisted that we should pay taxes. As a result, the people were reluctant to plant more trees (S19).

I asked the CBFM respondents if the issue of tax payment had been explained to them by DENR or the LGUs. I learned during conversations that the explanation of DENR to the CBFM participants on the issue of tax payment contradicted that of the LGU's explanation, creating confusion and ambiguity in the local community. In effect, the CBFM respondents did not want to attend meetings to avoid payment of tax. According to the CBFM respondents, this had caused frustration among them. I inferred that this may have thwarted their active involvement in the project. Not a single respondent mentioned that the LGU or NGO were actively involved in the CBFM project because the majority of them have never considered the LGU and the NGO as important people for learning about the project. All the indirect CBFM participants responded that they attended meetings as members of the community.

6.2.6.2 Perceptions of Villa Ventura local community respondents

All CBFM respondents considered that DENR was continuously and still actively involved in the project. The Villa Ventura CBFM participants had sustained their active involvement in the project even after the devolution. They were disappointed however with the imposition of taxes in the first few years. According to the respondents, there were dialogues conducted by DENR and the LGU to discuss the issue of taxation and eventually the CBFM participants acquiesced. The sustained active involvement of the CBFM participants could be attributed to the active involvement of the PMO in the area. In part, the PMO emerged as a major achievement of stakeholder dialogue in fostering community.

6.2.6.3 Perceptions of government agencies (DENR and the LGU) and NGO respondents

The government agencies and NGO respondents stated that the CBFM community participants in the Sangbay area were actively involved in all the activities from inception to implementation. However, when this project area was devolved to the LGU, the community participants became passive due to the imposed taxation by the municipal government. Their

attendance at meetings also diminished. The DENR, LGU, and NGO respondents have a different perception of the involvement of Villa Ventura CBFM participants. They believed that CBFM participants have sustained their active engagement in the project. Their attendances at meetings were very good. Also, their sustained involvement could be manifested in the CBFM participants well-developed and maintained agroforestry farms. As mentioned earlier, the PMO in the area was accessible if there were issues related to the project that needed to be discussed. I observed that the immediate response of the PMO to their issues could also be a reason for the direct CBFM participants' sustained involvement in the project.

6.2.7 Representativeness among all stakeholders involved in the dialogue

The interests and voices of the different actors involved in the project should be represented and heard continuously to achieve the goals of CBFM. The local community respondents were asked if all stakeholder groups were represented in the dialogue. The questions I asked to determine their perceptions of representativeness were as follows:

- *How did you raise your concerns about the project?*
- *How were your questions addressed or dealt with?*
- *Were all stakeholders represented in dialogue about the project?*
- *Were there questions raised by the participants? How did other participants raise their concerns?*

The responses to the question, *how did you raise your concerns about the project* were analysed and are presented in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 Responses to the question, how did you raise your concerns about the project?

Manner of raising concerns about the project	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura indirect CBFM participants (n=29)	Sangbay indirect CBFM participants (n=8)	Villa Ventura indirect CBFM participants (n=6)
Raise/recite concerns during dialogue/meeting	14	13	4	4
Relay concerns to PO chairman and local officials	6	10	2	2
Discuss informally with DENR and LGU	7	6	0	0
No answer	4	0	2	0

6.2.7.1 Perceptions of Sangbay local community respondents

Some direct CBFM respondents (45%) indicated that they raised or recited their concerns about the project during their attendance at formal meetings/dialogue in the community. They believed that talking in front of other stakeholders present at meetings was a way of conveying their needs and raising their issues and problems about the project. Other respondents (19%) chose to relay their issues and concerns to PO chairman. The chairman in return drafted a resolution as a way of conveying the PO members' concerns about the project to DENR and the LGU. *I relayed and discussed my concerns to chairman Poling. In return, he discussed my concerns to DENR, sometimes he makes resolution letter and submits to government agency concerned about my concern (S25).* Twenty-two percent of respondents discussed their concerns directly with DENR if they saw them visiting the CBFM area. Few respondents (13%) have not given any answer about raising their concerns about the project.

The indirect CBFM respondents (50%) have attended meetings and raised their concerns about the project, 25 percent discussed their concerns with PO chairman, and 25 percent have no answer.

6.2.7.2 Perceptions of Villa Ventura local community respondents

Many direct CBFM respondents (45%) stated that they attended meetings held at the *barangay* hall and were given the opportunity to raise their concerns about the project. They believe that during their attendance at meetings and dialogue their voices and interests were heard. There were 10 (35%) respondents who indicated that they relayed their concerns first to the chairman of the PO, and 6 (20%) respondents have approached DENR and the LGU and discussed with them the concerns they have about the project.

The majority of indirect CBFM respondents (67%) attended meetings held in the community as constituents of the community. They were concerned about the effect of the project in the community. Thirty-three percent discussed their concerns about the project with the chairman of the PO.

6.2.8 All stakeholders represented in the dialogue

The representation of all stakeholders' interests and concerns was gauged through attendance at meetings/dialogue sessions conducted in the *barangay* hall. The local community respondents participated in the dialogue through discussions and making suggestions about their interests and issues. All the government agencies (DENR and LGU) and the three NGO

respondents indicated that the local community attended meetings and participated in the dialogue by raising their concerns. The question asked was, *were all stakeholders represented in dialogue about the project?*

The responses were analysed and are presented in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Responses to the question, were all stakeholders represented in the dialogue?

Response	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)	Sangbay indirect CBFM participants (n=8)	Villa Ventura indirect CBFM participants (n=6)	DENR (n=5)	LGU (n=2)	NGO (n=4)
Yes, through meeting attendance	31	29	8	6	5	2	4
Yes, through participation at dialogue/meeting – participated in discussions	20	25	0	0	5	2	3
– made suggestions	18	16	0	0	5	2	3
Yes, but interest and concerns were represented by leaders /officials	6	10	0	0	0	0	1

NB Respondents could give more than one answer

6.2.8.1 Perceptions of Sangbay local community respondents

All the local community respondents indicated that they attended formal meetings/dialogue. They also indicated that their attendance was in compliance with the by-laws. Their attendance at meetings was seen as an opportunity for them to convey their needs and to raise their issues and problems about the project. Sixty five percent of the respondents stated that they participated in discussions during meetings and about 58% said they made suggestions for the improvement of the project.

I asked a follow-up question of the respondents about the representativeness of DENR, the LGU, and the NGOs in dialogue about the project. A few respondents stated: DENR was always present at every meeting/dialogue to discuss issues related to the CBFM project and they further mentioned the presence of the LGU in order to collect taxes from them. The

representation or attendance of the LGU during meetings was a factor inhibiting the participation of community respondents in dialogue activities.

6.2.8.2 Perceptions of Villa Ventura local community respondents

All the local community respondents stated that they attended all the meetings held in the *barangay* hall. This statement was verified when I attended the meetings in both study areas. However, their attendance at meetings and dialogue was not a guarantee that their voices and interests were represented. The local community members' attendance could also be viewed as an act of compliance and obligation to the project. There were 25 (86%) respondents who indicated that they participated in the discussions and 16 (55%) respondents have made suggestions for improving the project.

6.2.8.3 Perceptions of government agency (DENR and LGU) and NGO respondents

All the government agencies (DENR and the LGUs) and the three NGO respondents stated that direct and indirect CBFM participants attended meetings related to the project and raised their questions. These respondents also indicated that CBFM participants participated in the discussions and made suggestions on the improvement of the project such as planting fruit tree species in their farm lots.

Further, the respondents stated that they were present and other stakeholders were represented in all the dialogue activities of the CBFM project. However, one NGO respondent stated that there was no representativeness in the formal dialogue that had been conducted in the CBFM projects. This statement contradicts the belief of the other DENR, the LGUs, and the three NGO respondents that dialogue was represented. He said:

There was no representativeness. In my research I stated that local community members were not aware of the project concept because they were not directly involved in the formal dialogue or meetings. Most dialogues conducted were attended by only few chosen people that are supposedly representative of the group. Whatever decisions that transpired in these dialogues are just relayed to the other members of the project (N1).

This NGO had stated that most often the PO leaders spoke on behalf of the members and they felt that not all interests were represented. His perception reinforced my own impression that the interests of the CBFM participants were relatively unrepresented. During casual conversations, the community respondents explained that they talked about their issues and concerns directly with the PO chairman prior to scheduled meetings/dialogue so that he could communicate these to DENR. It appears that local community members were more relaxed talking in informal situations than during formal meetings. This particular NGO respondent

was also a researcher and he argued that dialogue was not integral to the various CBFM projects in the Philippines.

6.2.9 Concluding remarks on role of ‘actor’ as a key element of stakeholder dialogue

A key finding relating to the criteria or indicators of the element ‘actor’ was that direct CBFM participants in both study areas were not able to recognise themselves as key actors due to the inadequate clarification of their role in the CBFM project. DENR was strongly identified as the key actor in both CBFM projects. This may be due to previous CBFM events and activities where DENR had always served as the lead or contact agency.

In the Sangbay area, the direct CBFM respondents were actively involved in the dialogue during its implementation stage, but this diminished after the transfer of certain responsibilities from DENR to the LGU and the community. The imposition of taxation by the LGU created a negative impression among the direct CBFM participants, obstructing their full participation in stakeholder dialogue. In the Villa Ventura area, they had sustained their active involvement. This could be attributed to the accessibility of the PMO and the continuous support of the government agencies in the area.

All stakeholders were physically represented during meetings and dialogue in both of the study areas. However, I observed that their attendance did not guarantee that their voices and interests were well-represented and heard.

It is argued that the potential role of actors involved in a project is important to the success of every dialogue. For example, the different roles of actors in a stakeholder dialogue, their level of involvement, influence, and interest should be taken into account at the beginning of the project for a dialogue to succeed. In this respect, the findings suggest that the CBFM respondents did understand their role as beneficiaries or recipients of the project, but not their role as *de facto* managers of the forestland. Also, the CBFM respondents were able to identify the role of DENR. The level of involvement in the project diminished, as measured by meeting attendance, in Sangbay and was sustained in Villa Ventura. I found the reasons for this dissimilarity related to the change of the CBFM management after devolution. DENR still manages the Villa Ventura area while responsibility for the Sangbay area was transferred to the LGU. The influence of DENR in the community was apparent. In these cases the extent of stakeholder dialogue was only partially satisfied since some of the criteria indicated were not met. Across both the CBFM study areas, Villa Ventura was relatively more successful in relation to the element ‘actor’.

6.3 'Methods' as an element of stakeholder dialogue in the CBFM projects

The method of dialogue determines the extent of engagement, and in turn motivates the interaction between stakeholder groups and provides the setting in which participants interact and feel comfortable expressing their views (Ramsey, 1998; Welp & Stoll-Kleemann, 2006). In this study, the criteria/indicators for successful stakeholder dialogue methods were: a) sources of information were identified; b) method(s) of sharing information were identified; c) the importance of, and formal modes of undertaking stakeholder dialogue were identified; and, d) the importance of and informal modes of stakeholder dialogue were identified.

6.3.1 Knowledge learned and sources of information about the CBFM project

The respondents indicated that they learned about the project through different sources of information other than DENR. The sources of information identified were based on conversations relating to the questions, *tell me what you know about the project*, and, *how have you acquired this information?*

In general, the information was acquired from DENR, their parents, and other community members. Section 6.3.1.1 covers the knowledge/information learned about the project, followed by the perceptions of Sangbay and Villa Ventura local community respondents in Sections 6.3.1.2 and 6.3.1.3, respectively.

6.3.1.1 Knowledge/information learned about the project

The respondents identified the information learned about the project including soil and water conservation, forest protection, project awareness and the livelihood or benefits of the project. Table 6.9 summarises their responses.

Table 6.9 Responses to the question, tell me what you know about the purpose of the project?

Information learned	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Sangbay indirect CBFM participants (n=8)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)	Villa Ventura indirect CBFM participants (n=6)
Soil and water conservation	12	2	21	4
Forest Protection	19	4	20	2
Project Awareness	18	0	5	0
Livelihood opportunity	10	2	5	0

NB Respondents could give more than one answer

6.3.1.2 Perceptions of Sangbay local community respondents

Some of the respondents (38%) identified soil and water conservation techniques as the information they had learned from the project. A respondent stated that, *the DENR informed us that we should employ soil and water conservation techniques such as planting agroforestry crops in our farm. Accordingly, this practise will reduce soil erosion (S4)*. The majority of the respondents (61%) identified forest protection as the information they had learned from the project. They were advised by DENR to plant and not to cut the trees on their farm. *The project is all about the protection and improvements in our farms. We were told to plant trees and fruit trees in rugged portions of the land awarded to us (S2, S5, S9, S18, and S19)*.

6.3.1.3 Perceptions of Villa Ventura local community respondents

Soil and water conservation technology was the information most identified by the CBFM respondents (72%) followed by forest protection (69%). A respondent's statement validates this finding: *what I know about ISF was about the making of contour lines in my farm lot. The DNR taught and told me to plant trees to preserve the soil. With the contour lines, they told me to plant trees as a protection for soil erosion (VV17)*.

Project awareness gained through IEC, conducted by DENR, was identified by some direct CBFM respondents (17%). Seventeen percent identified the livelihood component of the project.

Most of the indirect CBFM respondents (67%) stated that they knew about the soil and water conservation activity of DENR. Thirty-three percent of respondents knew about the forest protection activity.

6.3.2 Information acquisition methods

The acquisition methods of information identified by the respondents about the project are summarised in Table 6.10.

6.3.2.1 DENR

The majority (87%, 90%) of the direct CBFM respondents in Sangbay and Villa Ventura respectively, acquired the information about the project from DENR by attending meetings held in the *barangay* hall. A respondent stated that: *The DENR conducted meetings in the barangay and explained the benefits of the project (VV1)*. Some indirect CBFM respondents (38%, 50%) in Sangbay and Villa Ventura respectively, also acquired the information about the CBFM project through the DENR meetings attended in the *barangay* hall. The respondents mentioned the names of several people who had initiated the meetings and from whom they had acquired information about the project. The people they mentioned were employees holding positions in the CBFM division of DENR. This finding supported my initial understanding of DENR-CBFM structure derived from my research field observations and notes. It was evident that DENR was recognised as the main source of information about the CBFM project.

Table 6.10 Responses to the question, how did you acquire the information?

Information acquisition methods	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)	Sangbay indirect CBFM participants (n=8)	Villa Ventura indirect CBFM participants (n=6)
By attending meeting conducted by DENR in the <i>barangay</i> hall	27	26	3	3
Interaction with parents	5	3	3	2
Interaction with other community members	3	3	2	1

NB Respondents could give more than one answer

6.3.2.2 Parents

The direct CBFM respondents' parents were identified as another source of information about the project. In a family, dialogue takes place as part of everyday interaction. Casual conversation between parents and children normally influences the latter in their perceptions and decisions, and in this instance about community engagement.

Respondents learning the information about the project through their parents indicated that the dialogue was informal. Five community respondents explained that their parents were the original beneficiaries of the CBFM project and that they have learned about the project from them. *My father was one of the original petitioners (original settlers) who encouraged other people to engage in CBFM project. The petitioners became the leaders (S7).* In the Philippines, where poverty is widespread, children are used to helping parents from a young age in their upland farming activities. For this reason, these respondents have inherited the parcel of land allotted to their parents within the CBFM jurisdiction.

6.3.2.3 Other community members

Some of the respondents said they had learned about the CBFM project from other community members including local officials, other CBFM beneficiaries and community elders. As one indirect CBFM respondent said, *I just heard from the people in the community about the project implemented by the DENR (NVV2).* The indirect CBFM respondents were migrants and learned about the project when they settled in the project area. They participated in the project because they had bought the CSC right of the original participant.

Another respondent shared his thoughts:

I have learned about the project from my interaction with the people here. There is community learning if there is always interaction. Interaction means, even just by the casual talk, like while fetching water, while roaming around, while buying in a store, all has interaction. Meaning that at any point in time, the topic will come to that stage that the people will talk about the issues in the community and about the project (NS26).

This respondent made use of these interactions to discuss project issues with other community members. Although only a handful direct and indirect CBFM participant respondents identified other community members as a method or source of acquiring information about the project, this source was significant. This was an indication that there was potential for informal conversations and interactions among the community members. Careful consideration of this method of informing the local residents about the project could contribute to significant stakeholder dialogue.

6.3.3 Methods of dialogue used by DENR in CBFM project

In order to gauge the understanding and perception of the local community respondents about the methods of stakeholder dialogue used by DENR, the LGUs, and NGOs that had been used during the implementation of CBFM projects, the following questions were asked of the local community respondents:

- *How, when, and where did you first learn about the project?*

- *What different methods did the government agencies and NGOs use to help you learn about the project?*

6.3.3.1 Methods of dialogue used by local community respondents

The methods identified by the local community respondents included meetings, demonstrations, seminars, field trips, verbal relay of information, resolution or request letters, community visits, and conversation/discussion (Table 6.11). The significance of each of these methods in community engagement and stakeholder dialogue will be discussed in this section.

Table 6.11 Responses to the question, what different methods helped you learn about the project?

Identified methods	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)	Sangbay indirect CBFM (n=8)	Villa Ventura indirect CBFM (n=6)
Meetings	27	23	5	3
Demonstrations	3	19	0	0
Seminars/training	8	6	0	0
Field trips	3	4	0	0
Verbal relay of information	3	1	0	0
Resolution/request letters	3	2	0	0
Community visits	2	0	0	0
Conversation/discussion	5	2	3	2

Respondents could indicate more than one method

Meetings: In both of the CBFM study areas, meetings were the most commonly mentioned method used for learning about the project. During meetings, the local community members were able to ask questions, communicate their views and suggestions and have the advantages of the project clarified.

The DENR conducted meetings and informed us that we should make improvement on the land awarded to us, for our own good (S10); ... explained the objectives and guidelines of the project (VV16) and I participated in the discussions every time there is a meeting held in the barangay hall. I believe that if I have concerns, I should let the officials know so they can deal with it. How will they know my concerns if I will not voice it out? (VV19).

As discussed in Chapter 5, the local community have a scheduled *barangay* meeting attended by DENR and the LGU. Also, the PO has a scheduled meeting which was attended by DENR. In this study, meetings were seen as a method to help the majority of local community members learn about the project. The meeting, as a commonly mentioned form of stakeholder dialogue, can be considered a major strength in fostering community engagement in the CBFM projects. Attendance at meetings was an indication that the local community members wanted to engage in dialogue to learn more information about the project and air their interests, issues, and concerns.

Demonstrations: One of the key strategies of the CBFM project was to promote upland farming practices for both immediate and long-term benefits. Nineteen (66%) direct CBFM participant respondents in Villa Ventura site pointed out that DENR have demonstrated and taught them how to construct contour lines on their farm lot. In Sangbay, there were only 3 respondents who identified demonstrations as a method for dialogue. According to the direct CBFM respondents in Villa Ventura, during demonstrations ideas were exchanged between DENR and the CBFM participants. A respondent from Villa Ventura claimed: *The PMO demonstrated to us how to make the contour lines. He taught us how and what to plant in the hedgerows. In turn, we suggested that we use rocks to stabilise the contour lines. Rocks are abundant in our area* (VV19). The direct CBFM respondents in Villa Ventura have learned to utilise the natural resources (e.g., rocks) abundant in the area. They used these rocks as walls their contour lines.

There were only 3 (10%) direct CBFM respondents in Sangbay who mentioned that demonstration was the method of dialogue that helped them learn about the project. Based on the data, these respondents were officials of the PO, thus had more access to information about the project.

Seminars: Seminars were conducted by DENR, the LGUs, and NGOs to inform and educate the CBFM participants about soil and water conservation measures. Seminars and training on leadership and enhancing capacity were also conducted to prepare the CBFM participants in managing the forest. There were eight Sangbay and six Villa Ventura direct CBFM respondents who pointed out that they had attended seminars organised and conducted by DENR, the LGUs, and NGOs. Seminars and training were an avenue to gain new ideas, discuss and exchange information among and between the participants. In one direct CBFM respondent's words: *They also invited me to attend a seminar outside the community. I acquired new ideas when I attended seminar conducted by DENR held at different places* (VV18).

As presented in Table 6.10, LGUs and NGOs were not mentioned by the local community respondents as information sources about the project. However, from my field notes and observations, those who attended seminars conducted by DENR, the LGUs, and NGOs were the local *barangay* officials and those holding positions in the PO. It seems that the local officials were given more chances to access training and seminars than the ordinary members of the PO. It would be expected therefore, that the extent of their engagement in the project would be greater than that of the other members.

Field trips: The purpose of the field trips was to provide the participants with experiences outside their normal environment and everyday activities. There were three respondents in Sangbay and four in Villa Ventura who indicated that DENR encouraged them to join the field trips so that they would experience areas where contour farming was being practised. The LGUs and NGOs were not mentioned by the direct CBFM participants as part of the field trip activity. To quote one participant: *I also joined a field trip where DENR showed us a model Integrated Social Forestry (ISF) area. The experience made me really interested to join the project (VV18).* Two of these respondents were the chairmen of a PO and three were local officials. It appears that the PO leaders and local officials were getting more opportunities to participate in the project activities. This placed other community members at a disadvantage in respect of engagement and dialogue.

Verbal relay of information: There were occasions that information about the project was conveyed by ‘word of mouth’, to local community members from the chairman of the organisation. Direct CBFM respondents in Sangbay (3) and Villa Ventura (1) mentioned that DENR just passed information about the project to the chairmen of the POs. One respondent stated: *Sometimes DENR just relay the information to the chairman of the organisation, and the chairman will then relay the information to us (S5).* It appears that this particular method of dialogue was not giving the local community members the chance to participate directly and gain information first-hand.

Resolution or request letters: The participants of the project were trained to draft *resolution or request letters*²¹. This method was used if they had claimed or needed something related to the project from DENR or the other government agencies. Three respondents in Sangbay and two in Villa Ventura indicated that a resolution letter was their favoured approach to make their voice heard by the government. The purpose and content of the resolution letter was a product of discussions between the members of the PO and the chairman. One respondent described this: *Resolutions and requests are made based on the members’ concerns and will pass through the chairmen of the POs. This letter will be the agency’s basis for their action (S25).* For example, their request for a boundary relocation or resurvey was endorsed through a resolution letter. Through this method, CBFM participants could represent a united front to a particular issue or concern about the project.

²¹ Resolution letter is the term used by CBFM participants referring to letters written by a PO which maybe a request letter or a proposal letter. It is identified in this study as a form of informal dialogue.

Community visits: DENR, the LGUs, and NGOs routinely visited the CBFM project areas and the community to monitor the project. During a visit, the local community respondents can discuss issues about the project with them. This was mentioned as a method of dialogue by two CBFM respondents in Sangbay. A participant from the Sangbay site stated: *The DENR sometimes visits us here informing and discussing issues about the project (S9).*

Conversation/discussion: Casual conversation between parents and offspring and between community members involved discussion about things that affected their daily lives. The parents who were members of a CBFM project can influence their offspring's perceptions of community engagement. One respondent mentioned that he had joined the CBFM project because he and his father had discussed the project and he realised its advantages. Likewise, some of the respondents said that they had learned about the project through casual conversations with CBFM members. Others sought the advice of the elders knowledgeable about the project. The perceived methods of stakeholder dialogue by the local community respondents were consistent with some of the communication plan of the CBFM framework. Meetings received the highest frequency of responses. Discussion with respondents revealed that meetings were the only method of dialogue accessible to the majority of the respondents. The other methods of dialogue had been available to only a few of the participants, in particular the officers of the PO and the local officials.

6.3.3.2 Methods of dialogue used by government agencies (DENR and LGUs), and NGOs

The responses from DENR, the LGUs, and NGOs indicated the following methods were used: meetings, information and education campaigns (IEC), community visits, community invitations, resolution or request letters, conversations or discussions, text messages, training, field trips, and planning workshops (Table 6.12). Demonstrations, as a method of dialogue identified by CBFM participants, were not mentioned by any of the DENR, LGU, and NGO respondents.

Table 6.12 Responses to the question, what method did you use for dialogue in the CBFM projects?

Identified method	DENR (n=5)	LGU (n=2)	NGO (n=4)
Meetings	5	2	4
IEC	0	4	2
Community visits	0	0	3
Community invitations	2	1	0
Resolution or request letters	1	0	1
Conversation/discussion	1	1	1
Text messages	1	1	0
Training	0	1	0
Field trips	0	1	0
Planning workshops	0	1	0

Meetings: All respondents from the different organisational stakeholder groups responded that meetings were the usual method used to inform community members about the project, for promoting participation, and for communicating with the local people. One respondent indicated that:

We always continue the dialogue in the project areas through meetings. It is not on a regular basis, but we see to it that from time to time the PO members meet with us especially when the need arises ... as standard operating procedure, every time that they have concerns, they will report to the office to update us, then we will go to them to conduct a meeting (N3).

Embedded in this statement was the perception that some of the meeting content emanates from the local community, a good indication that community engagement was enhanced through stakeholder dialogue between the local community members and DENR, the LGUs, and NGOs.

Information and Education Campaigns (IEC): A LGU respondent claimed Information and Education Campaigns (IEC) were one of the methods used to educate and foster discussion with the local community on matters about environmental management. A respondent stated: *We usually conduct IECs during barangay and PO meetings and assemblies ... making them aware of the prevailing environmental issues (L2).* The DENR respondent also claimed that: *IEC activities were a great help in creating awareness among the participants especially on the activities related to capacity building that we have conducted (D2).*

The CBFM participants did not identify IEC as a method of learning about the project. It appears that the IEC conducted was considered as, or mistaken for, part of the meetings.

Community invitation: DENR usually initiated the meetings, but there were times that the CBFM participants also initiated dialogue by inviting the DENR to conduct meetings in the community. The CBFM participants, through the chairman send an invitation to DENR to attend a meeting to settle issues arising. An interview with a DENR official indicated that the community was also initiating dialogue. *The CBFM participants give us notice of invitation if they have issues to be discussed. Aside from that, we also have our time table or scheduled meetings in the community (D2).* This method of dialogue was seen by local community members as an occasion where they can convey their issues and concerns about the project. I believe that the local community members will feel important having had their invitation accepted by DENR, thereby, enhancing community engagement.

Informal conversation or discussion: Conversation or discussion was a spontaneous exchange of ideas and viewpoints between the stakeholder groups. This was embodied in one respondent's statement:

I usually go to the community, especially if there are important matters that I want to discuss with them or they need assistance related to the CBFM project. Sometimes, the people also ask if there are new projects that we could give them. If they know that there are projects coming, they would ask questions and raise their concerns about it (D3).

This statement signifies that this informant believed that the local community felt that dialogue between them and the other stakeholders could resolve their issues and concerns.

A NGO respondent claimed that informal conversations occurred between CBFM participants, DENR, the LGUs, and NGOs. He stressed: *Sometimes we communicate through letters, but I found that people are more at ease during causal conversations ... whatever issues they have in mind, they casually discuss with us (N3).*

Text messages: With the advances in technology, text messaging had become an indispensable and acceptable channel of communication in the Philippines. Text messages were now used as a way of communicating with the different stakeholders in the project. An interview with a DENR respondent indicated that they found text messaging a very effective and fast way of relaying information about the project. *Now, we use the text messaging system. I just send text message to CBFM coordinator about the problem of the community members and then the coordinator will relay the message during their meeting (D2).* The local government unit kept a logbook about the verbal reports and text messages.

I am keeping the logbook so I will have a basis to act. I am forwarding the reports written on my logbook to the CENRO and PENREO. This is the process that we are actually doing now. And actually, we already confiscated illegally cut trees through messages sent by local community members (L2).

This was effective in reducing travelling to and from the project site to resolve issues and problems.

Although text messages were identified by DENR and the LGU respondents as a mode of interaction and information, this method was not identified by the local community respondents. It could be inferred that text messages were not commonly used by the local people as their meagre incomes were not enough to afford electronic gadgets such as cellular phones.

Training: Capacity building was one of the objectives of the CBFM project. To achieve this, training CBFM participants was an essential activity. The LGUs claimed they had conducted on- and off-site training to educate the CBFM participants: *We conducted leadership training and soil and water conservation measures for the CBFM participants to prepare and hone them as managers of the forest and forestland. This is to ensure the sustainability of the project* (L1). This respondent also believed that the local community members who had participated in this training had practised what they had learned in their farms. This finding was contrary to the perceptions of CBFM respondents who identified DENR as administering the training.

Field Trips: The participants were encouraged to join field trips so that they would be exposed to areas where contour farming and agroforestry had been practised. The purpose of these field trips was to provide the participants with experiences outside their normal environment and everyday activities. This was to serve as an ‘eye-opener’ for the local community members in order to appreciate the advantage and benefits of agroforestry practices. One example was where some CBFM participants from both projects were brought to a model ISF so that they could see what could be achieved on their farm lots. A LGU respondent claimed that: *they have conducted the field trip, joined by some ISF participants from the Sangbay site* (L2). The CBFM respondents did not identify the LGU as the agency who conducted field trips. As a context, this LGU respondent was a former DENR staff involved in ISF project, but was devolved to LGU.

Planning workshops: Planning workshop provided opportunities for the PO officials to add their inputs in the planning and implementation of project activities. Planning workshops were identified as a method of stakeholder dialogue. A LGU officer mentioned in his statement that: *The POs will have their own meeting to discuss their concerns and issues, like projects to be implemented, funding, and boundary conflicts ... the stakeholders will also be conducting an annual work plan* (L1).

6.3.4 Formal and informal dialogue identified by respondents

The dialogue methods identified by respondents were categorised into formal and informal types of dialogue. In the literature, formal and informal types of dialogue are equally important since their combination contributes positively to project impacts as this lays the foundation for joint planning and implementation (Averbeck, 2006). In this research, the formal modes of stakeholder dialogue refers to the dialogue initiated by the government agencies and other stakeholder groups following, or being in accord with, accepted forms, conventions or regulations. The informal modes of dialogue were either spoken or unspoken that emerged from the local community.

Formal and informal dialogue was equally important in promoting and maintaining community participation. The methods of stakeholder dialogue identified by local community respondents (Table 6.11) and DENR, LGU, and NGO respondents (Table 6.12) were classified as formal and informal (Table 6.13).

The results showed that the formal types of dialogue were: meetings, demonstrations, seminars, field trips, IEC, training, and planning workshops.

The findings were that the following informal modes of dialogue were carried out in the CBFM study areas: community visits, verbal relay of information, community invitations, resolution or request letters, conversation or discussion, and text messages.

Table 6.13 Formal and informal modes of stakeholder dialogue in CBFM projects

Method	Type		Actors who initiated				
	Formal	Informal	Direct CBFM	Indirect CBFM	DENR	LGU	NGO
Meetings	X	-	X	-	X	X	X
Actual demonstrations	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
Seminars	X	-	-	-	X	-	-
Field trips	X	-	X	-	-	X	-
IEC	X	-	-	-	-	X	X
Training	X	-	-	-	-	X	-
Planning workshops	X	-	-	-	-	X	-
Verbal relay of Information	-	X	X	-	-	-	-
Community visits	-	X	X	-	-	-	X
Community invitations	-	X	-	-	X	X	-
Resolution/request letters	-	X	X	-	X	-	X
Conversation/discussions	-	X	X	-	X	X	X
Text messages	-	X	-	-	X	X	-

Table 6.13 also summarises the methods and who generally initiated these methods of dialogue. Most of the formal types of dialogue were initiated by the external stakeholder groups and most of the informal types of dialogue were initiated by the local community respondents.

6.3.5 Importance and effectiveness of the formal and informal methods used for stakeholder dialogue in CBFM projects

To determine the local respondents' perception of the importance and effectiveness of the formal and informal methods of dialogue used in Table 6.11, they were asked of the following questions:

- *What information did you learn from the project?*
- *Was this information useful to you? How and why?*
- *Could the methods of relaying information have been more effective in this regard? How and why?*

Results from the local community respondents concerning the types of information learned from the project was presented in Table 14.

Table 6.14 Responses to the question, what information did you learn from the project?

Information learned	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)
Raising issues and concerns	20	29
Soil and water conservation (contour line construction)	1	24
Tree planting	22	19
Agroforestry	7	1
Settling disputes	5	3
Writing of resolutions/request letters	3	3
Forest protection	1	0
Awareness of global warming	1	0

NB Respondents could give more than one answer

6.3.5.1 Perceptions of Sangbay local community respondents

The respondents identified the following information learned from the project: contour line construction on their farms as a measure for soil and water conservation; planting trees on their farms; awareness of global warming; agroforestry; raising issues and concerns; settling disputes; forest protection; and, making/writing of resolution letters. This information was

acquired by the respondents through their participation in the different methods of dialogue that had taken place (see Table 6.11).

6.3.5.2 Perceptions of Villa Ventura local community respondents

The respondents identified the following information learned from the project: contour line construction on their farms as a measure for soil and water conservation; planting trees in their farms; agroforestry; raising issues and concerns; settling disputes; and, making/writing of resolution letters. This information was learned through participation in the different methods of CBFM project dialogue (see Table 6.11).

The government agency (DENR and the LGUs) and the NGOs imparted technical know-how to local community residents through the different methods of dialogue that they have identified (see Table 6.12). As I have observed, the CBFM participants have put into practise what they have learned from the project and by doing so have improved their farms.

The findings show that through their participation in the dialogue, discussing and resolving issues and concerns related to the project have been facilitated. It could be inferred that CBFM participants' attendance and participation at meetings/dialogue have increased their knowledge about the project, thus, creating interest to engage in stakeholder dialogue.

In Table 6.13, the methods used in the CBFM projects has been categorised as formal and informal. Based on the perceptions of the CBFM respondents, both formal and informal methods of dialogue enabled them to articulate their concerns as well as their needs. For example, I have noted in a conversation with a respondent that he reported to DENR the illegal cutting of trees within the CBFM area. His concern could be regarded as learning acquired from the project dialogue. I believe that the ability of the CBFM respondents to raise issues and concerns through conversations/discussion and getting approval or positive responses from the government agency made them feel important, thus resulting in a deeper commitment to, and support for, project activities.

The CBFM respondents were also asked a question *was the information useful to you, how and why?* All CBFM respondents from both projects answered that the information was useful because they have applied and practised the learning gained from their participation in the dialogue activities.

As discussed earlier, meetings were perceived of as the most commonly used method of stakeholder dialogue used in the CBFM projects. In order to gain a better understanding

about the effectiveness of the other methods used, the respondents were asked if the methods used could have been more effective. One respondent in Sangbay study area stated: *I think meeting is the best method. During meetings ... problems are arrested, questions can be asked directly. ... for the uninformed people to know and understand* (S20). However, another respondent stated: *but it would be more useful if there is a better method wherein the information could be demonstrated and clearly explained* (S11).

Almost all respondents in Villa Ventura study area perceived of meetings as the most commonly used method of stakeholder dialogue (Table 6.11). Meetings can be regarded as an effective method because of the attendance and participation by the majority of the CBFM participants. I correlate the popularity of this method, demonstrated by having been remembered by the majority of CBFM respondents, with effectiveness. Participants also appreciated the demonstrations conducted by DENR as an effective method, because they were able to practice what they had learned in this activity on their farm lots. As stated by one respondent: *I understand how they taught me to construct contour lines and hedgerows so I think the method that they used is effective* (VV21). There was only one respondent who mentioned that the methods used to inform the local community about the long term benefits of the project was comparatively ineffective. He stated that: *There should be more encouragement to people. I think encouragement is not sufficient. The DENR should prolong the campaign and explanation so that people will truly understand the information relayed* (VV3).

The government agencies and NGO respondents explained that they believe that both the formal and informal methods of dialogue were important and effective means to encourage the local inhabitants to participate and engage in the CBFM project. One respondent stated:

There are informal dialogues that we have conducted outside from the formal one like a lecture type (seminar) or inter-active type (actual demonstration). In informal dialogue, the facilitators go to the community and talk with the elders. The trick is to go to target community informants one at a time, trying to get and build up support from each of them before going to the group otherwise it will be a disaster. Because the elders have the tendency to have the final say. Even if all community members say yes, but one elder says no, then it will be a 'no' for the project. It's like a courtship dance; there should be support from key informants first. Dialogue operates on trust; we should first win their trust. We also have to adjust to their culture (N1).

This statement affirmed that both types of dialogue were equally important to gain community support for engagement with the CBFM project.

6.3.6 Concluding remarks on ‘method’ as a key element of stakeholder dialogue

There were three other sources of information that were identified by local respondents aside from DENR. The parents of the CBFM participants, other community members, and elders in the community, have transmitted the information about the project to the local community through casual conversations and interactions. For respondents, meetings were the most commonly identified method of stakeholder dialogue used in CBFM projects. The CBFM respondents saw their attendance and the dialogue at meetings as an opportunity to articulate their interest and concerns.

Both formal and informal methods of stakeholder dialogue were identified by the respondents. I found both formal and informal modes of interaction useful in fostering community engagement in both study areas. The respondents were also able to identify the importance and usage of the formal and informal methods used in stakeholder dialogue because they were able to apply and practice what they had learned from their participation in the project dialogue activities. The methods of dialogue used in CBFM projects determined the extent to which stakeholders gained knowledge and information, which in turn enabled them to understand the relevance of the project for their lives.

Based on the findings, meetings were the only method where both attendance and participation were relatively high in both projects. Meetings appeared to be an activity imposed by DENR and the LGUs. The CBFM participants felt the need to attend and participate because they had to comply with this activity to avoid violation of the CBFM guidelines. The other methods of dialogue were only participated in by a chosen few – the officers of PO and local officials. This emerged as a flaw in stakeholder dialogue because the majority of the respondents were not given an equal opportunity to participate and gain information as the other members who held positions in the PO and the community. Overall, the findings suggest that the criteria or indicators for the element method were partially met and satisfied.

6.4 ‘Structures’ as an element of stakeholder dialogue in CBFM projects

The structure of dialogue is affected by principles related to clarity, transparency, and power relations (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). In this study, the structural criteria for successful stakeholder dialogue under the element structure are: a) clear and transparent structures (how

stakeholder inputs will be used); and, b) that power sharing is observed (absence of domination, voices and interests of all stakeholders were heard, local issues were dealt with).

I observed that the structure of a stakeholder dialogue in CBFM projects was connected to the structure of the CBFM organisational framework where the flow of communication was from the central government down to the local community. As discussed in Chapter 4, the hierarchical structure of CBFM reflects the manner in which projects were implemented. The idea of the CBFM project did not originate from the local community residents: It was handed down as a packaged programme designed by DENR and implemented through its regional (RENRO), provincial (PENRO) and community (CENRO) offices. The local inhabitants were the beneficiaries or passive receivers of the programme. One respondent commented:

From the beginning of the project, there should be checking of what's right and wrong like for example in the assessment of the project site and the identification and selection of participants. In the first place the criteria for the selection of participants were unclear. CBFM areas should be on the forest land, not on the Alienable and Disposable land (D5).

During the early stages of the CBFM project, meetings were conducted to inform, but not consult with, the project participants about the implementation of the project. This structure placed the CBFM participants at a disadvantage as there was no opportunity for them to voice their opinions and make suggestions. The only option left for them was to participate, or not, and to follow the CBFM guidelines. As discussed in Chapter 4, the CBFM programme was implemented and handed down as a package. This was a manifestation that the CBFM project did not emanate from the local community. This might be the reason why there were unending stories about the issues and concerns about the project narrated by the local community members.

The issues and problems faced by the local community respondents were elicited by asking the question, *what issues or concerns did you have about the project and what was the most important issue for you and why?* Local respondents indicated that the issues and concerns were related to land title; tax payment; lot boundaries; illegal cutting of trees; lack of a water system; and, PO membership (Table 6.15).

Table 6.15 Responses to the question, what issues and concerns did you have about the project?

Issues and concerns raised	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)	Sangbay indirect CBFM participants (n=8)	Villa Ventura indirect CBFM participants (n=6)
Land titles	11	8	-	-
Tax payments	8	0	-	-
Lot boundaries	6	5	-	-
Illegal cutting of trees	3	2	-	-
Water systems	1	2	-	-
PO membership	0	5	8	6
No issue	2	7	0	0

Table 6.15 indicates that the most common issue faced was the issuance of land title. This issue relates to the portion of occupied and cultivated land. The respondents indicated land title as an issue and said it was a long time since they had submitted a resolution letter to DENR asking that they be awarded title to these parcels of land. Hence, their first suggestion for improving the project was the issuing of their land titles: *We are hoping that the land allotted to us will be transferred to our name* (S3, S27, S30, S31, and VV9). As discussed earlier, forest lands elsewhere in the Philippines were publicly owned. The issuance of CSCs to direct CBFM participants was a land tenure instrument designed to legalise the occupancy of the CBFM participants on these public lands. This land tenure instrument was part of the CBFM structure. However, the direct CBFM participants believed and were confident that eventually they would gain title over the land allotted to them. I learned during casual conversations with the community officials that some DENR employees had assured them of land ownership. This finding indicates that there was no clear and transparent structure in CBFM with regards to public land allocation. This issue could have been clarified in the dialogue to better win the trust and confidence of the participating local community members.

Another problem raised by some respondents in the Sangbay area was the tax they paid to the municipal government. This tax payment was linked to the devolution of DENR functions to the LGUs. The execution of tax collection created issues and problems for the CBFM participants. Either this issue was not properly explained by the different organisations directly involved in the project, or their explanation was not clear enough for the respondents to be able to internalise and understand the situation. I believe that clarity and transparency of any activity in the project is essential to foster community engagement in order to eliminate doubt for local community members and remove barriers to their participation in dialogue.

Based on the project documents kept by DENR and the chairman of the PO, the portion of land allocated to direct CBFM participants has been surveyed and delineated. The CBFM participants were not involved in this process. This could be the reason why the CBFM respondents' raised boundary delineation as an issue. I gathered the information that the boundaries were not accurate because the DENR staff did not actually survey the area. There were reports to DENR of the encroachment on to their farm lots by other members of the community, causing conflict between and among the CBFM participants in both projects. To avoid further conflict, the respondents suggested that: *boundary survey and relocation should be conducted so we will be certain and assured of our boundaries* (S1, S16, and VV29).

6.4.1 Clear and transparent structure

In order to gauge the successes of stakeholder dialogue in the three decades of the CBFM project operation, the local community respondents were asked of the following questions:

- *Did you get answers to the questions and concerns raised, and if so, how?*
- *Were you satisfied with the responses?*
- *Did you have some suggestions about how to carry out the project?*
- *Were your suggestions considered? Did they get used (why/why not)?*

6.4.1.1 Getting answers to questions

The local community respondents were asked if the questions and issues they have raised were answered. The summary of their responses are presented in Table 6.16.

Table 6.16 Responses to the question, did you get answers to the questions raised, and if so, how?

Answer	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)
Yes	12	29
No	9	0
No answer	10	0
How		
Explained and treated well	12	29
No clear answer to issues raised	9	0
No answer	10	0

A follow-up question on, *were you satisfied with responses* was asked of the respondents.

There were 12 respondents from Sangbay who believed that their questions were answered and who were satisfied with responses to their queries. These respondents clarified that DENR explained and treated their queries very well. There were nine respondents who stated that they did not get answers to their questions and there was no clear explanation provided on the questions and issues raised. The rest of respondents (10) did not give answer to this question.

All respondents from Villa Ventura stated that their queries had been answered and they were satisfied with responses because DENR and the LGU made their explanation clear and easy to understand and they were satisfied with DENR’s approach to running the project

6.4.1.2 Suggestions made

The respondents explained that they suggested and recommended measures to resolve the problems encountered in the project (Table 6.17).

Table 6.17 Responses to the question, what suggestions did you have about how to carry out the project?

Stakeholder inputs	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants(n=29)
Enforcement of forest protection	7	6
Granting of land title request	25	3
Resurvey of boundaries	2	0
Non-PO members should join the PO	0	3
There should be transparency in PO	1	2
Continuous dialogue w/ DENR	3	0
Improvement of water systems	1	1

NB Respondents could give more than one answer

Forest protection was suggested by some respondents in the two CBFM projects. They hoped that if forest protection measures were enforced, illegal cutting of trees would be minimised or prevented. The respondents also suggested that their allotted portion of land should be awarded to them in perpetuity, enabling them to make further improvements without the current uncertainty.

Direct CBFM participants in Villa Ventura who were PO members expressed concern that not all local community residents were members of the PO. Non-members were the lowest priority for receiving benefits from the project. For this reason, the PO members were encouraging non-members to join the organisation so that everyone could benefit equally.

Some respondents in both projects suggested that there should be transparency among them, especially the officers of the PO. For example, the members of the PO wished that the activities and revolving fund of the project was open to all the members and operated in a transparent way. Informal discussions I had with other community members implied that there was favouritism and misuse of authority in the distribution of animals and seedlings (one of their benefits) to PO members. Continuous dialogue and meetings to resolve issues like these was suggested by a respondent: *I suggest that the DENR should conduct meetings and dialogue to disclose project activities ... so the people will be reminded continuously about the CBFM guidelines* (S28). Another suggestion was that the water system be improved. Some respondents did not have any suggestions which I see as they were satisfied with how DENR ran the project.

6.4.1.3 Suggestions uptake

The respondents were asked if their suggestions were considered and used. The summaries of responses are presented in Table 6.18.

Table 6.18 Responses on a question, were your suggestions considered and get used (why/why not)?

Suggestions get used	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)
Yes	6	25
Sometimes	2	2
Not sure	11	
No answer	12	2

There were six respondents from Sangbay who believed that their suggestions had been used. Based on the respondents' stories, their suggestion has been supported by DENR and the LGUs at the local level, but enforcement has been weak and hindered at the provincial level by political intervention by corrupt leaders in order to increase their personal gain. Two of the respondents perceived that their suggestions were sometimes used. There were eleven respondents who were not sure if their suggestions have been considered and used. Twelve have given no answer.

The uncertainty among the CBFM respondents on their suggestion about land titles may be due to the undelivered promises of DENR. In part, the local DENR agency might have given them false assurances that land titles would be granted provided they met the CBFM implementation guidelines, e.g., improving the allotted land and practising soil and water

conservation measures. There were other suggestions such as constructing a water system for the CBFM projects and the Sangbay community wanted a boundary re-survey, but the respondents were not sure if their suggestions had been considered or would be implemented.

In Villa Ventura, 25 respondents believed that their suggestions had been considered and used while only two believed that their suggestions were only used sometimes.

Villa Ventura respondents stated that most of their suggestions were considered and accepted, for example, planting fruit trees in their backyards and farm lots. A Villa Ventura respondent proudly showed his fruit trees that were the result of his request that fruit trees should also be planted on their farm lots instead of only *Gmelina arborea* (Figure 6.1).



Figure 6.1 A respondent proudly showing his fruit trees in Villa Ventura, May 2010

The dissimilarity of findings in the two areas in terms of their suggestions getting used may be attributed to the devolution status of the two projects, the Sangbay area being administered by the LGU while Villa Ventura remains under DENR administration.

6.4.2 Power sharing

Table 6.19 presents the perceptions of CBFM respondents about the questions asked, *did you get answers to the questions and concerns raised, and if so, how?*

Table 6.19 Responses to the question, did you get answers to the questions and concerns raised, and if so, how?

	Sangbay CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura CBFM participants (n=29)
Participants' manner of getting answers to issues and concerns		
Direct participation during dialogue	18	21
Issues and concerns relayed through the officials	13	8
Issues and concerns resolved		
Yes	0	23
Tentative (waiting for solution)	16	3
No	1	1
Some	14	2

6.4.2.1 Absence of domination

Table 6.19 shows that many CBFM respondents directly participated in dialogue by raising issues and concerns and by making suggestions, thereby getting answers to their issues. However, while attending one of the communities' scheduled meetings, I observed that the elders and the local officials participate more and lead the discussions. They were among the first to speak, raising their points of view while other community members kept silent. Those who hold key positions in the community acted as spokespersons for the rest of the constituents. Culturally, this was not considered an act of domination because in the Philippines, elected officials are expected to represent the community's interests and standpoints on issues and concerns. It was observed that local officials appeared to be smart, especially when in front of the government employees, because they were seen as authoritative and highly erudite people. Most of the time, DENR and local officials served as facilitators and arbitrators, settling disputes among CBFM participants.

6.4.2.2 Voices and interests of all stakeholders were heard

Dialogue is about communicating with stakeholders in a way that considers others' views. Respondents expressed that their understanding of other views had increased due to attendance at meetings and through regular communication with the other participants. *There were petty quarrels; we talked it out until we settled the problems. The barangay captain and the PO chairman were the mediators* (VV10). Likewise, if there were misunderstandings: *I convened my constituents by calling a session; we discussed issues and sorted things out. At the end of the day, everything is okay* (S15). One respondent answered that: *due to my participation in the project and constant communication with other participants, I think I can now relate to them openly. We often discuss issues and problems concerning the project.*

Together, we planned and drafted requests (S20). This statement implies that dialogue can promote understanding among the CBFM participants and within the wider community as well.

6.4.2.3 Local issues were dealt with

Respondents in Villa Ventura explained that they were pleased and satisfied with the verbal explanations of DENR regarding their local issues and concerns. They further explained that DENR had promised to help and to find solutions to the issues and concerns raised. Their suggestions pertaining to the livelihood component of the project resulted in animals being given to the CBFM participants. The proceeds of their pig raising venture partly explained the contentment of these respondents. Furthermore, the respondents' determination to wait for the eventual granting of land title indicates that they trusted and had confidence in DENR.

Some of the direct CBFM respondents were disappointed with DENR's slow progress in addressing their most important issue, boundary delineation. The respondents stated that: *We have requested a re-survey so we will be aware of our farm lot boundaries, they always say that the request is being processed* (S8, S19). The solutions promised had not been delivered on time, making the community doubt the sincerity of DENR's claim to be improving the plight of upland communities. I believe that the local community's trust and confidence in the government agency was important to sustain their engagement in the project.

All indirect CBFM respondents were concerned about the PO membership. They would have liked to have joined the organisation, however they were constrained by the membership fee of Php500 which was sufficient to prevent them joining.

6.4.3 Concluding remarks on 'structures' as a key element of stakeholder dialogue

It is argued that for the structure of dialogue to be successful, it needs to meet these criteria: a) the idea of the project originated from the region; b) in the planning workshops, the voices and interests of the different stakeholders were heard; and c) at all levels and times, the activities and outcomes of the projects were transparent (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006).

The findings in this study suggest that the structure of stakeholder dialogue in these projects was correlated with the structure of the CBFM framework in which the flow of communication was top-to-bottom. The idea of the CBFM project did not originate in the local community, but was handed down as a package ready for implementation. The local

community residents were left with no other options, but to participate in the project as the lands they were farming were under the jurisdiction of the CBFM programme.

The findings show that the CBFM participants communicated their issues and concerns by direct participation through attendance at meetings and representations to PO officials and local leaders. Several respondents preferred to communicate their concerns during informal conversations with PO officials prior to formal dialogue. Although there was on-going dialogue between participants and other community members, they still received orders from DENR making them dependent on these directions.

The criteria for successful stakeholder dialogue concerning structure, such as clear and transparent structures and power sharing, were partially satisfied. The findings suggest that the condition under which the dialogue took place was affected by the hierarchical structure of the Philippine government as well as the CBFM structural framework.

6.5 Chapter summary

The findings presented in this chapter were systematically generated from the narratives of the stakeholders involved in the CBFM projects. Qualitative data was collected in each case study area from the local community (comprising direct and indirect CBFM participants) and from the government agencies (DENR and the LGUs) and the NGOs.

The role of stakeholder dialogue in the implementation of CBFM for fostering community engagement was analysed using an analytical framework focusing on the five key attributes of reflexive stakeholder dialogue: actors, methods, structure, process, and outcomes. As summed up below, the research findings reveal that there were significant shortcomings in the process of stakeholder dialogue in relation to the first three attributes in both projects. However, having said that, the process of stakeholder dialogue overall has been relatively more effective in the Villa Ventura CBFM project compared with the Sangbay CBFM project.

Actors

The findings suggest that in both study areas not all actors were clearly identified nor were the different roles of each actor in stakeholder dialogue. Paradoxically, the CBFM participants were not able to recognise themselves as key actors in the project and in their role as *de facto* co-managers of the forest. Only DENR was strongly identified by the local community as a prominent actor involved in the project. The fact that DENR has served as the dominant

implementing authority for all the previous forestry projects and related activities in both of the study areas possibly created their prominence among the local community.

The active involvement of the Sangbay respondents dwindled when the project area was devolved to the LGU. From the perspective of the local inhabitants, the tax collection role of the LGU conflicted with its project management role. This was one of the reasons for avoiding meetings especially when the LGU was present. The Villa Ventura area was retained under DENR administration and served as the provincial CPEU. It appears this was a key reason the Villa Ventura CBFM participants had sustained their active involvement in the project.

The local inhabitants were physically present during meetings and related project activities, but this was not a guarantee that their interests and concerns were always heard and dealt with. The PO members tended to advocate their concerns to the PO leaders and local officials via formal and informal networks. The CBFM respondents had to accept that final decisions had to be made by the government agencies.

Comparatively, the Villa Ventura project area was relatively more successful. I found the reasons for this difference related to the devolution of CBFM management from DENR to the LGUs.

To sum up, the results under the element actor relating to the criteria of successful dialogue in both CBFM project areas was only partially satisfied since some of the criteria indicated were not met.

Methods

Credible sources of information can contribute to the success of every dialogue. Aside from DENR, the *barangay* officials, other CBFM beneficiaries, parents, and elders in the community were the channels of dialogue found to be significant for the local community residents. Meetings appeared to be effective and were the most accessible tool for promoting participation and as a method of communicating with the local community. The formal and informal methods of dialogue, used in both CBFM projects, have significantly affected the CBFM participants' way of living. The changes brought about by their participation in the project were manifested in the improvement of their socio-economic conditions. In this regard, the method of stakeholder dialogue dictated the success of the dialogue process because it determined the extent to which stakeholders gained knowledge and information that they could use for their personal development.

Both project areas have identified formal and informal dialogue as a form of interaction between and among the CBFM participants, and in their interaction with government agencies. This study established that informal methods of interaction convey the CBFM participants' needs and problems to the government agencies.

Overall, the criteria and indicators of successful stakeholder dialogue, in both of the CBFM projects, were met and achieved.

Structure

The successful factors relating to the structure of successful dialogue included: the idea of the project originated from the community; the voices and interests of different stakeholders were heard in the meetings; and the activities and outcomes of the projects were transparent. The findings showed that the CBFM project did not originate in the local community, creating limited options for residents to be heard and to suggest inputs. In the Sangbay area, the CBFM respondents explained that there was no assurance that their suggestions and inputs were considered and used in the project. Some of the Villa Ventura respondents' suggestions made at meetings were used and granted. In both CBFM projects, although power sharing was observed, the CBFM participants still awaited and relied on decisions from local officials and DENR. DENR remained the decision maker in all the project activities. Overall, the criteria, for a successful stakeholder dialogue in terms of structure, were partially satisfied in both CBFM projects. The findings suggest that the structure of stakeholder dialogue in CBFM projects was critical to the success of every dialogue.

Villa Ventura fared better than the Sangbay project area because the voices of the participants were heard and suggestions were incorporated in the plans. However, if we base success on the criteria concerning clear and transparent structures and power sharing, it was only partially satisfied. Overall, the findings suggest that the condition under which the dialogue took place was affected by the hierarchical structure of the Philippine government as well as the CBFM structural framework wherein the channels of communication were from the central government agency down to the local community.

Chapter 7 will discuss the research findings relating to the remaining two key elements of reflexive stakeholder dialogue (processes and outcomes). Following this, Chapter 8 will discuss the findings on the institutional and related contextual factors that facilitate or hinder stakeholder dialogue in CBFM projects.

Chapter 7

Findings on effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue: processes and outcomes

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 presented the narratives of the different stakeholders relating to the first three attributes of stakeholder dialogue (actors, methods, structures) in the two CBFM project areas. The findings relating to the remaining two key elements of stakeholder dialogue, processes and outcomes, will be presented in this chapter.

Sections 7.2 and 7.3 comprise the findings on the narratives of the respondents relating to the dialogue processes and outcomes, respectively.

7.2 'Processes' as an element of stakeholder dialogue in the CBFM projects

In the analytical framework outlined in Chapter 2, a dialogue process was considered successful if the following criteria/indicators were met: a) participants treated each other with respect; b) all interested parties were represented in the dialogue; and, c) the influence of government agencies involved in the dialogue was limited.

7.2.1 Respectful processes

Respect is an essential foundation to realise effective dialogue. According to Rehman (2006), dialogue can become more informative and constructive if it is associated with respect and transparency among stakeholders. In order to gauge the local community respondents' perceptions about respect in the processes of stakeholder dialogue, a series of questions were posed:

- *Has your understanding of other participants' view increased?*
- The CBFM respondents were also asked a follow-up question: *has your understanding of government agencies and the NGOs increased?*

Table 7.1 summarises the aggregated responses of the respondents.

Table 7.1 Responses to the question, has your understanding of other participants' views increased?

Increased Understanding	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)
Between CBFM participants		
Yes	14	16
Maybe	2	1
No	4	8
No Answer	11	4
Between CBFM participants and the government agencies and NGOs		
Yes	17	21
No	0	0
No answer	14	8

Some of the Sangbay respondents (45%) indicated that their understanding of others' view increased while majority of the Villa Ventura respondents (55%) indicated that there was understanding creating a respectful atmosphere between CBFM participants during dialogue.

The CBFM respondents (55% and 72%) in Sangbay and Villa Ventura, respectively, believed that there was an increased understanding of other CBFM participants, the government agencies and the NGOs.

To probe if there were changes on the way the CBFM respondents relate to other community members and if there is respect between and among them, the question asked was:

- *Has your participation changed the way you relate to other community members?*
- A follow-up question, *how did you treat other community members and the government agency (DENR and LGU) and NGO* was asked of the CBFM respondents.

The responses of the CBFM respondents are presented in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Responses to the question, has your participation changed the way you relate to other community members?

Responses	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)
Yes	22	23
No	1	4
Maybe	2	0
No answer	6	2

There were 71 and 79 percent respondents from Sangbay and Villa Ventura, respectively, who believed that their participation in the dialogue activities of the project changed their dealings

with other community members. These respondents (71% and 79%) also indicated that they treated other community members, as well as the government agencies, with respect.

To demonstrate that there was respect in the dialogue between stakeholders even when there were instances of heated discussions or disagreement during dialogue, the following perceptions of the respondents were quoted:

Sometimes we cannot avoid conflicts, maybe because we are tired, but this conflict will not last. We settle our disputes by discussing the issues diplomatically. Sometimes the officers mediate to settle the disputes. Conflicts are resolved because we respect each other (S2).

But due to boundary issues, we cannot avoid having misunderstandings between us. Only the DENR can resolve this issue so we respect whatever decisions they will make. We maintain our respect to each other during meetings to discuss this issue so we could continue to have unity and cooperation (S11).

When I joined the PO I learned to deal with the members by listening and treating them politely (VV3).

These statements were reinforced by my observations and conversations with the respondents.

The perceptions of DENR, the LGUs and NGOs respondents about respect in the dialogue process were examined by asking, *how did you address the questions raised by the local community members?*

All of the government agency (DENR and the LGUs) and NGO respondents specified that they have addressed the issues raised by the CBFM participants during dialogue, i.e., livelihood component of the project. They also believed that they listened and respected the opinions of the CBFM participants. This was elaborated in one respondent's statement:

I listened to their issues and explained to them the situation, for example citing the limitations of the project budget ... the recipients of the livelihood project were the decision of the chairman of the PO. I have nothing to do with it. I don't want to meddle if whoever will be awarded with these projects. It's the chairman's prerogative and I respect his decision (D2).

The findings indicate that CBFM respondents showed respect to other CBFM members and to the government agencies. I believe that CBFM participants must be respectful to everyone in order to maintain solidarity towards achieving their common goals as members of the PO. In return, the government agencies were expected to be respectful of participants in order to create a pleasant working relationship to sustain engagement in stakeholder dialogue and the entire CBFM project.

7.2.2 Fair processes

According to Rehman (2006), dialogue can become more effective if there is representation of all stakeholders. The subject of representation of the different stakeholders during dialogue was addressed to the respondents by asking the question, *were all stakeholders represented in the dialogue?*

The findings showed that all DENR and LGU respondents indicated that all stakeholder parties were represented in the meetings/dialogue. In each of the meetings held at the *barangay* hall, it was found that all stakeholders were represented. The aggregated responses of the CBFM participants were presented in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Responses to the question, were all stakeholders represented in the dialogue?

Interested parties were represented in the dialogue	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)	DENR (n=5)	LGU (n=2)	NGO (n=4)
Yes	20	25	5	2	2
No	0	0	0	0	2
No answer	11	4	0	0	0

Table 7.3 shows that CBFM respondents (65%, 86%) in Sangbay and Villa Ventura, respectively, participated and were represented in the meetings/dialogue. This finding was also supported by the responses of the government agency (DENR and the LGUs) and NGO respondents that in most of the meetings, the CBFM participants were represented.

The CBFM respondents in both areas explained that they participated in the discussions and had made suggestions on how to address issues and concerns on how to carry out the project. Each dialogue they have attended and participated in, they were able to express their interest and concerns in front of other stakeholders. They believed that by expressing their interests and concerns in the dialogue, the government agencies would hear and recognise their plight. It can be deduced from this finding that the CBFM participants felt important if they were able to represent their own interests, which encouraged them to engage more in the project.

A large number of CBFM respondents (35% and 14 % from Sangbay and Villa Ventura respectively) did not give any answer to this particular question. Two NGO respondents stated that not all the stakeholders' interests were represented in the dialogue. These NGO respondents believed that dialogues were participated in and represented by the PO's chosen elite in the community (N1) or, only the heads or local officials represented the community (N2).

I noted that the perceptions of the CBFM respondents, as against the local officials, vary in terms of stakeholders' representation in the dialogue. In discussions with the *barangay* captains and local officials in both study areas, they indicated that their constituents attended most of the meetings or dialogue. According to local officials, the local community members

were raising their issues during meetings. However, I observed that during meetings, not all the voices of the local community were heard. They may have simply attended meetings because it was obligatory. With this observation, I consider that their attendance at meetings was not an assurance that their interests were represented. The local community members may have been physically present, but their interests were not necessarily heard and represented.

Assisting and helping the CBFM participants during the early stage of implementation was the role of DENR, the LGUs, or NGOs. One respondent elaborated on the process of dialogue that they had undertaken in the two CBFM study areas.

What we do usually is first introduce the project, and then we ask for their opinion ... speak and express their ideas without fear. First, we visited the POs and introduce the project, after that we encourage them to participate. The POs inform us to give them time to call for a meeting for them to talk about the project (L2).

This shows that the process of dialogue was considered important to LGUs in engaging the community, and measures were taken to ensure it was properly executed and adapted.

Ideally, the process of dialogue in CBFM is participatory and involves all local community residents covered by the project. However, one respondent stated that:

The group in Sangbay is more or less dominated by the indigenous people, but in Villa Ventura, it is more of Ilocanos. The overall framework process in CBFM is you have to fine tune with the specific groups to gain participation because you will be dealing with more varied actors for each communities with their own agenda, and with their own interest (N1).

One respondent suggested that for a dialogue process to be effective: *There should be coordination first with the Mayor and then with the barangay. There should be political will. If there is support coming from the political leaders, the community people will likely to act and accept the project (L1).*

7.2.3 Influence of DENR, the LGUs, and NGOs

To gauge the influence of DENR, the LGUs, and NGOs on CBFM participants, the question posed to local community respondents was, *who did you approach to clarify questions or raise your concerns about the project?* The answers are summarised in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 Responses to the question, who did you approach to clarify questions or raise your concerns about the project?

People approached for issues/concerns	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)
DENR	14	19
LGU	3	3
NGO	2	0
No one	12	7

The results showed that in both projects, CBFM respondents (45% from Sangbay and 66% from Villa Ventura) approached DENR with their issues and concerns and when seeking assistance and guidance in decision making. This supports the statements of a DENR respondent: *the agency wants to give the CBFM participants the autonomy in decision making regarding issues within the project in their area, but the participants still rely on them to assist and mediate during dialogue.* The CBFM participants' dependence on DENR was suggested by the following quotes:

I just follow and accept whatever project the DENR will implement here, but of course I also want to know the benefits I can get from the project (S20).

I am willing to accept anything and any project ... because any project that the government will bring us is for our own good and benefit. If there are issues arising related to the project, I believe that they are the bodies to approach (S13, S18, S19, VV3, and VV5).

The nature of coordination, such as consultation and joint activities among various stakeholder groups involved in the project, was facilitated by the PMO from the CENRO and was usually on a project needs basis. The POs planned, but the DENR project staff, in both projects, the PMO, implemented the plan. The CBFM participants were contented with the way the project was being run by DENR as exemplified by CBFM respondents' statements: *The present DENR process is good enough and we are contented (S14, S15, S19, VV1, VV6, and VV15).*

The DENR respondents explained that they had told the CBFM participants to manage the project, but it appears that the CBFM participants have not fully understood their role. One DENR respondent's sentiment was elaborated in this statement:

Sometimes people do not believe DENR's explanation. We always clarify that the project is meant to be participatory and community-based and that the people should not rely too much on DENR. We also explained to them that they know their problems much better than us and that they should find ways to solve their problems. They should be the one leading the project, and we assured them that we support them to whatever resolution they would have (D5).

This was reinforced by another DENR respondent's statement:

Because the nature of the project is participatory, meant to be managed by stakeholders in the environmental protection because they live in the area. We are more on the promotion of technology, we teach them and once they learn the technology, the support of DENR will be very minimal. Our role should be just to support and monitor (D3).

These statements indicate that DENR believed they were giving space to CBFM participants to manage the environment and forest resources in their respective areas, but the local community appeared to lack the capacity to take on this responsibility making them reliant on DENR.

Since the participatory nature of dialogue was limited to project participants' attendance at meetings, it can be inferred that they still relied heavily on DENR. This can be attributed to

the reality that the area which they were farming was under the jurisdiction of DENR. I have concluded that local community respondents claimed that they were not in favour of the project because they did not fully understand the reasons for its establishment. They decided to engage in the project because they feared that the government would take back the portion of land awarded to them, or they might be evicted from the areas they currently occupy, if they did not improve it. In hindsight, their engagement in CBFM project was influenced by their fear of losing the land which was under the jurisdiction of the government (DENR). For this reason, the project participants have learned acceptance and have actively participated in the various project activities. This feeling of their land tenure security being vulnerable made the participants more reliant on the decisions of DENR. This could be glimpsed by noting which people were approached by local community respondents' to clarify issues and concerns.

7.2.4 Concluding remarks on 'processes' as a key element of stakeholder dialogue

A process of stakeholder dialogue, which has focused on bringing together the actors, is believed to produce effective communication processes and successful learning (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). This suggests stakeholders learn from their role in a community engagement initiative and see themselves responsible for finding a solution best suited to all stakeholders. Stakeholders should have a role in defining the ground rules of the process.

The process of dialogue in the CBFM projects was observed to be relatively respectful and there was increased respect between the stakeholders involved in the project: CBFM participants; other community members; and the government agencies (DENR and the LGUs) and the NGOs. The result also indicates relative fairness in the process of dialogue because the stakeholders were represented in the dialogue which enabled the CBFM participants to voice their interests and concerns. However, I believe that representativeness was only limited to physical attendance at meetings/dialogue.

Based on the findings, the influence of DENR on CBFM participants in the dialogue process was apparent because they relied on DENR for assistance and guidance for making decisions related to the project. As discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.3, there were instances where local community respondents initiated dialogue. However, the CBFM respondents relied on DENR to decide about their concerns related to the project. This was attributed to the will of the local respondents that DENR should intercede for them. They seemed to acknowledge DENR as the project experts. Added to this was the perception that the area which they were farming

was under the jurisdiction of DENR so they thought that any concerns arising in the area should have been resolved by DENR. The coordination, such as consultations and joint activities among various stakeholder groups, was facilitated by the PMO and was usually on a project needs basis. The POs planned, but the DENR project staff implemented.

This finding suggests that the criteria/indicators set for successful dialogue under the element 'processes' in the CBFM projects were only partially satisfied.

7.3 'Outcomes' as an element of stakeholder dialogue in CBFM projects

The required outcomes of stakeholder dialogue identified in the literature are: efficient communication, increased trust, better relations, common knowledge, commitment, joint problem-solving, gaining confidence, establishment or strengthening of networks, mutual learning; and attitude change (Averbeck, 2006; Burchell & Cook, 2006; Evans, 2003; Welp & Stoll-Kleemann, 2006; Yosie & Herbst, 1998). This study considered the required outcome/criteria that should be met were: a) community learning (participants learned from and with each other and improved their understanding of others' viewpoints, issues and interests); b) developing trust and confidence in any transaction with government agencies; improving social well-being and capabilities; improving working relationships, community spirit and solidarity; and, c) being able to reach agreement or resolution in order to solve specific project issues.

In order to evaluate the outcome of the dialogue in the CBFM projects, I had conversations with DENR, the LGU, and NGO respondents about the objectives of using stakeholder dialogue and the contribution of stakeholder dialogue in community development. These respondents' perceptions served as a context for evaluating the outcome of stakeholder dialogue.

The conversations with DENR, the LGU, NGO respondents centred on the following questions:

- *What are the objectives of using stakeholder dialogue in the project?*
- *Were there changes in the community?*
- *Do you think these changes can be directly attributed to stakeholder dialogue?*

To elicit the local community respondents' perspectives on the outcomes of stakeholder dialogue, they were asked:

- *Do you think your participation has any impact in the community?*
- *Did you notice any changes in the community? What were these, if any?*
- *What improvements in the dialogue do you suggest are needed?*
- *Do you think stakeholder dialogue was effective in achieving the goal of CBFM?*

The final query to all respondent groups was, *if a similar project was to be introduced into the community, what you would suggest the process should be?*

7.3.1 Objectives of using stakeholder dialogue

The objectives of stakeholder dialogue as stated by DENR, the LGU, and NGO respondents can be summarised as follows: a) to engage and involve participants in the project; b) to hasten or mobilise the implementation of the project; c) to ensure the participants understand the project being implemented; d) to prevent misunderstanding between implementers and other stakeholders; and e) to gain funding for the dialogue-based aspects of the project.

Examples of these conclusions can be gleaned from the government agency and NGO research participants' narratives:

The objective of dialogue is the participation and involvement of the different stakeholders in the implementation of the project so we could allocate funds for this purpose. We act as counterparts with the local community (L1).

The objective of the dialogue was to hasten or mobilise the implementation of the project and also for the participants to understand the projects being implemented here (D4).

I observed that there were changes in the attitude of CBFM participants. If there is interaction between the implementer and the stakeholders, they become more cooperative. Also I noticed that they are becoming more active in the project activities if they understand the project more. Unlike in the past that they just listen during the meeting, now they ask questions and actively interact during the meeting. I observe that if the project will be introduced and the objectives will be explained clearly, it is likely that the people will accept and embrace the project (L2).

Stakeholder dialogue is conducted to prevent misunderstanding between the implementer and the stakeholder so we first introduced the project through meetings (L2).

7.3.2 Contribution of stakeholder dialogue to community engagement and development

There were government agency (DENR and LGU) and NGO respondents who claimed that changes in the community can be attributed to stakeholder dialogue. Other respondents believed that the changes in the community were not a result of stakeholder dialogue that took place in the CBFM project.

The different opinions of the DENR, LGU, and NGO respondents on the contribution of stakeholder dialogue in community engagement and development are presented below.

Dialogue is a requirement to get funding allocations for project proposals. The dialogue activities will be documented and submitted. When the project is approved, it does not mean that the project concept is the product of the dialogue. The project is already conceptualised even before the dialogue

took place. It doesn't mean that the participants will follow it 'in toto'. They will respond and act based on their needs (D3).

In the first place, it seems that the direction is pre-determined. The changes are attributed to the benefits brought by the project to the community, but not because of the dialogue. People are concerned about the benefits that they can get from the project. If the result of the dialogue has been incorporated in the plan and was implemented, the outcome of the project is good. And you can attribute that as a result of the dialogue. But in reality, project plan is already done and dialogue activity is for documentation only to legalise their activities. So the result of the dialogue was not effective. It's just legalising the activity because consultation/dialogue is one of the requirements in the documentation of plan (N1).

From these statements, stakeholder dialogue was conducted by DENR, the LGUs, and NGOs for documentation to meet the requirements for budget allocation. Dialogue was not carried out to obtain the views and opinions of local community participants for incorporation in project planning. This suggests that getting support from the funding agency was far more important than seeking involvement of the local community in project planning.

DENR, LGU and NGO respondents explained that some changes in the community can be considered outcomes of stakeholder dialogue.

Yes, there are developments or changes in the community, but largely because of the project, not the dialogue itself. It is the participation in the project itself. However, it may also be attributed to the dialogues conducted because dialogue is very important. Without dialogue, the local community participants' problems and issues would not have been settled (DENR3).

There are changes in the community that can be attributed as result of the dialogue ... On their relationship with other community members, I can see that their interaction with each other has improved (D2).

There were developments in the community. During the initial implementation of the CBFM project, dialogue is very effective because all stakeholders are supporting the project. This maybe because when the project started, the local chief executive (mayor) provided full support in terms of funding and manpower. We were also able to conduct information education campaign (IEC) because there is funding. So it was more successful than what we are experiencing now. Since the devolution, donors have been scarce to fund projects. The implementation is so different from the way it was done when CBFM is under the national government (L1).

An NGO respondent stated that stakeholder dialogue was conducted but:

It was half-baked and hardly done. No, the dialogue has no effect on community development. The dialogue is not right because it is not down to the grassroots. Only selected members of the community were regularly attending the dialogue. The leaders were actually the only ones involved in the dialogue. In my research I stated that local community members were not aware of the project because they were not involved in the dialogue or meeting. There were dialogues conducted, but only the few chosen people attended who are supposedly representative of the community. Dialogue was conducted through a facilitator either from DENR or from NGO. Actually, the dialogue was guided; there is already a predetermined direction or outcome (N2).

It can be deduced from the above statements that stakeholder dialogue was to settle issues among the local participants. Dialogue regarding project planning was limited to chosen members and there was already a predetermined outcome so, it appears that extensive dialogue did not take place because dialogue was confined to few members of the community. The following statements show that stakeholder dialogue was believed important in order to have significant community participation and engagement in CBFM projects.

*There should always be dialogue. There is no substitute for dialogue. The dialogue process should be an unending process. If everybody is involved and if everybody has a stake and benefitted ... and if everybody is happy and satisfied in the accomplishment of the objectives based on the dialogue, then I can say the dialogue is successful and can enable community development (N3).
The local community members were not directly consulted or contacted from the beginning of the project. As I said, dialogue is always a crucial element in the process (N1).*

7.3.3 Outcome of stakeholder dialogue

7.3.3.1 Community learning

Stakeholder dialogue can empower a local community if they are given the capacity to decide and manage their forest-based livelihoods. It is also considered that dialogue may promote social learning when people participate in the dialogue. Through dialogue, knowledge is developed, stakeholders learn from each other, appreciate each other's views and develop new relationships or strengthen existing ones (Forester, 1999; Stringer et al., 2006).

The responses, on the different questions posed about the outcomes of stakeholder dialogue, were analysed and characterised as the criteria/indicators for community learning in which the participants learned from and with each other and improved their understanding of others' viewpoints, issues and interests. The data presented below was based on the perceptions of the CBFM respondents from the question: *was the information learned about the project useful to you, how and why?* The respondents indicated that the information learned was useful because they became aware of the project, gained technical know-how, and improved their people skills. The summary of the findings is presented in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5 Responses to the question, was the information learned about the project was useful to you, how and why?

Community learning	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)
Project awareness	8	5
Technical learning		
Soil and water conservation	12	21
Forest protection	19	20
Livelihoods	10	5
Social learning		
Improved understanding of other's views	14	16
Improved communication skills	28	28

NB Respondents could give more than one answer

Some CBFM respondents (26% from Sangbay and 17% from Villa Ventura) in both projects have gained a better understanding and awareness about the project because they participated in the dialogue through attendance at meetings, seminars, demonstrations and field trips. Those respondents have learned that they can contribute to improving the environment by

planting trees. They have observed the changes brought about by the implementation of the project: ... *areas that were degraded are now covered with vegetation which was reforested by the participants of the project* (S4, S6, S7, S11, S12, and S22). In addition, I have learned from these CBFM respondents that they appreciated the effects of forest protection and the project conservation activities practised through reforestation.

The CBFM respondents in both projects claimed that they have been equipped with technical know-how in water and soil conservation (39% from Sangbay and 72% from Villa Ventura), forest protection (61% from Sangbay and 69% from Villa Ventura) and livelihood activities (32% from Sangbay and 17% from Villa Ventura).

Through the PO, the CBFM participants have learned to plan for their activities. Informal sharing of plans occurred during meetings or seminars. This was explained by CBFM respondents:

You know, we learned to plan for our activities through the initiative of the PO chairman, although we followed the structured guidelines, the POs still find ways to make suggestions for project improvement. We participated more on government project activities, such as agroforestry development and reforestation, we practised these in our farms so we now have more options for our livelihood (S19, VV8).

Aside from learning the rationale of the CBFM project, social learning was also promoted by stakeholder dialogue. The CBFM respondents (45%, 55%) from Sangbay and Villa Ventura, respectively, have improved understanding of each other's' views. This may have fostered a communal relationship among the CBFM participants. As discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.3, the CBFM participants have improved their communication skills by learning how to construct a resolution letter. In both CBFM projects, the majority of the respondents (90% from Sangbay and 97% from Villa Ventura) indicated that their communication skills have improved. This learning enabled the CBFM participants to propose activities and apply the communication skills gained from training, such as writing resolutions and request letters. They made use of resolution letters as their approach to convey to government agencies their issues and concerns about the project.

Dialogue could create learning:

If everybody is happy and satisfied in the accomplishment of the objectives based on the dialogue, then I can say the dialogue is successful. There is community learning if there is interaction. Interaction occurs even just by the casual talk, like while fetching water, while roaming around, or while buying in a store. Meaning that at any point in time, it will come to that stage that the people will talk about the issues in the community. There should be a continuous dialogue between the community members. That is the social structure that I am saying. There should be a common interest within the community, whether directly or indirectly, either positive or negative (N2).

The findings showed that through stakeholder dialogue, many CBFM respondents have increased their project awareness, learned technical know-how, and improved their social well-being. This implied that the methods used were effective for conducting stakeholder dialogue, both formal and informal. Since the participants learned to communicate with all stakeholders in the project, it enhanced their understanding of others' viewpoints and interests. Their ability to understand one another facilitated the settling of disputes and fostering cooperation and unity among the participants. Although the dialogue structure and processes were anchored to the structure and processes of the CBFM framework, improved communication skills through resolution letters enabled them to initiate dialogue and convey their requests and needs to the government agencies.

7.3.3.2 Trust and confidence in interacting with DENR, LGUs, and NGOs

It is argued that participation and dialogue may increase public trust and confidence if participatory processes are perceived to be transparent and consider the interest, claims and views of the participants (Richards, et al., 2004). The question posed to the CBFM respondents to gauge trust and confidence in their interaction with the government agencies (DENR and the LGUs) and the NGOs was, *were there important events that changed your perception about the project and in what way?* The summary of the responses is presented in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6 Responses to the question, were there important events/things that changed your perception about the project and in what way?

Events affecting trust and confidence	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)
Devolution	6	3
Community improvement	2	9
Promise benefit of planted trees	3	0
No answer	20	17

The CBFM respondents (19%, 10% from Sangbay and Villa Ventura respectively), perceived that their participation changed after the project was devolved to the LGUs. The respondents stated that it was during that time that *we started to pay tax* (S1, VV29) and *meetings with DENR became seldom* (S3). This event may have created a negative impression among the CBFM participants against DENR and the LGUs that may have eventually lead to loss of trust and confidence. Six percent of respondents from Sangbay and thirty one percent in Villa Ventura have a positive outlook about the project because they saw improvement in the community brought about by their participation in the project. The CBFM respondents expressed that they have trust and confidence in the government agencies because most of

their requests for community improvement have been granted. Their improved communication skills and capability enabled the CBFM participants to convey community needs to government agencies and to achieve support from other funding agencies/donors.

Another event/thing that negatively changed the perception of the CBFM respondents about the project was the promised benefits of the trees they have planted in their farms. In Sangbay, the CBFM respondents (10%) desire to plant fruit tree species instead of *Gmelina arborea* was not heeded by DENR. They were promised that *Gmelina arborea* would be purchased by paper industries in the Philippines through the facilitation of DENR, but DENR was not able to deliver on this promise creating false hope for the CBFM participants. This may have caused a loss of trust and confidence with DENR. This may be the reason why during the inception stage of the project, the local community in Sangbay participated actively, but became less active after a while. I inferred that their trust and confidence in project facilitators and implementers had come adrift through time. This was supported by the opinion of an NGO participant:

When the project was still new, the participation was really good because the people were very active. This can be considered as a result of the stakeholder dialogue. But today, there are no more expectations from the people. They were not assured of project funding, no more. Dialogue is also conducted rarely. Now, if we call for a meeting, people are not attending. You can count on your fingers the number of attendees. They are very lukewarm because there are no more expectations. We are trying to sustain the initiative they have established, but it was inculcated in their minds that we, as facilitators and managers, cannot also be of help if there are untoward activities like illegal cutting of trees (N3).

However, I also believe that the CBFM participants have trust in the government agency. This belief is supported by an NGO respondent's opinion that the local community members trust DENR in matters of forest protection.

Their concerns about the environment have changed especially in the forest areas. There are also reports now coming from them about their concerns on illegal cutting of trees. Due to the IEC that we have conducted, they became aware of the importance and benefits of the project given to them. The people now become brave and open in reporting the illegal activities in their forest zones (N2).

Although this NGO respondent stated that local stakeholders developed much needed trust and confidence towards the government, he commented that the government's political system has loopholes. The level of full government support expected by the local stakeholders was not achieved. This was elaborated in his statement:

I have a basis when I say whether the organisation have continued to be organised. There were situations that were social interactions in the community, but the organisations were politicised now. There were interruptions in their activities. Like for example their protection activity, the organisation really wanted to implement, but the political leaders stopped them from doing this. Sometimes the barangay captain also has hidden interest. Sometimes the organisation is disorganised because of this problem. The effect is not good since the people were discouraged and the tendency is not to participate in any project anymore (N2).

Majority of the CBFM respondents from both projects did not articulate events affecting trust and confidence in their transactions with government agencies.

It can be deduced from the above findings that the reason for the apparent loss of trust and confidence among the CBFM participants in Sangbay towards the LGUs was due to property taxation which was not the case prior to devolution. This was aggravated by the inability of both DENR and the LGUs to explain the rationale behind the tax which created confusion and disappointment among the participants. The failure of the promised benefit of the trees planted in their farms was another reason for their disappointment with DENR. These factors may have contributed to the diminishing participation of the CBFM participants in project activities as the project has proceeded. This could be a sign that their trust and confidence in DENR and the LGUs has changed as an effect of the above events/things.

The CBFM respondents also held positive perceptions about the project, especially in Villa Ventura. This may be attributed to the numerous benefits that they received from the government agencies (DENR and the LGUs) for the improvement of the community and the project. This may have fostered trust and confidence with DENR and the LGUs.

7.3.3.3 Social well-being and capabilities

The outcome of stakeholder dialogue may be significant if social well-being and the capabilities of the stakeholders are improved. Based on interviews, secondary data and related literature, it was found that DENR has conducted training and seminars on capability building, soil and water conservation measures, livelihood development, and other related knowledge in this area.

To capture the perceptions of the CBFM respondents about the outcome of stakeholder dialogue, they were asked: *did you notice any changes in the community, and what are these, if any?*

Based on the findings, there was an increase in social well-being in the two study areas as manifested by community improvement, cooperation and unity among participants, improvement of the environment, and the CBFM participants' standard of living (Table 7.5). I relate the perceptions of the respondents about the changes in the communities related to the improvement in the social well-being of the CBFM participants (Table 7.5).

Table 7.7 Responses about the question, did you notice changes in the community, what are these, if any?

Social well-being and capabilities	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants (n=29)
Community improvement	6	11
Cooperation and unity	8	7
Environmental improvement	9	5
Standard of living improvement	4	6
No answer	4	0

It can be inferred from the findings that the changes in the community can be considered an outcome of stakeholder dialogue that took place in CBFM project. I have observed that there was improvement in the community which included the construction of multi-purpose buildings and the cementing of roads. Cooperation, unity and improved environmental condition were perceived as changes in the community by some respondents in both projects. There were also some respondents who believed that their standard of living has been improved. Their houses now were built of semi-permanent materials. Some of the local community could now afford to buy luxury items like electronic gadgets. It was observed that the improvement in their living conditions was different for each participant.

The projects given here have limited funding, meaning we have limited beneficiaries. The community members wanted that everybody should benefit from the project, but as I said, the project fund cannot accommodate all of them. On the other hand, I think that the dialogue is effective in terms of improvement of socio-economic status of the community members. The people now understand the importance and benefits derived from forest or from planting trees on their lot and along the contours. They get their income from this endeavour (D4).

Based on the findings, the social well-being and capabilities of the CBFM respondents in both projects were relatively improved. It may be inferred that their participation in the CBFM project and its dialogue activities brought about this relative improvement. The livelihood components of the CBFM project have augmented the participants' source of income improving their community, environment, and their lives. Also, the knowledge gained by the respondents involved in the various stakeholder dialogues may have enriched their outlook and capacities, resulting in a better standard of living.

7.3.3.4 Working relationship and community spirit/solidarity

Most CBFM respondents perceived that the community working relationship had improved and that community spirit had strengthened and fostered solidarity among the participants because of the project. I used the data presented in Table 7.8 to elaborate that there was an improved working relationship and community spirit between and among the CBFM participants and other community members.

Table 7.8 Responses to the question, was there improved working relationships and community spirit/solidarity?

Working relationship and community spirit/solidarity	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura indirect CBFM participants (n=29)
Yes	22	23
No	1	9
Maybe	2	0
No response	14	6

NB Respondents could give more than one answer

Many CBFM respondents recognised the positive impact of their own participation in the project especially in respect of unity. One CBFM participant explained the effect of her participation in the project. *The effect of my participation is big, of course, because I help other members without any compensation. Even if they don't recognise that I helped them, it's fine with me. We have a stronger voice if we have unity* (S3). The sharing of the fruits of their labour with other community members resulted in a more solid relationship (S15), and joining the cooperative resulted in a stronger voice and joint effort (VV15).

A local leader in Villa Ventura believed that that he had promoted unity among the CBFM participants. *Yes, I see to it that everyone is following the objectives of the project. I have sacrificed a lot for the sake of bringing positive change in the barangay. The follow-ups that I am making are, I think, really important to the community* (VV19).

The change brought about as a result of dialogue was also observed by DENR staff.

Before, the people seem to be not cooperative and then throughout the lifespan of the project, they have changed. This may be attributed to the continuous dialogue or IEC activities of DENR that made these people cooperative. The spirit of cooperation, unity and involvement in the project implementation is a result of the dialogue. Through the collaborative effort of the CBFM stakeholders, their socio-economic status was uplifted and community development is more concrete (D1).

On their relationship with other community members, I can see that their interaction with each other is good. Camaraderie and unity is good too, although jealousy cannot be avoided sometimes (D4).

Based on these findings, the CBFM respondents recognised the positive effect of their participation in the project and the dialogue activities, especially the aspect of unity and having a stronger voice. Sharing the fruits of their labour with other community members resulted in a more solid relationship and joining the peoples' organisation/ cooperative resulted in a stronger voice and joint efforts. This finding describes the interdependence among the stakeholders as reflected in the sharing of information and providing help to each other in the spirit of 'bayanihan'²². 'Bayanihan' is inherent to Filipinos, especially in the

²² Bayanihan is a Filipino term referring to a spirit of communal relationship.

rural areas, and promotes cohesiveness among members to proceed as one voice. This has empowered them to assert their objectives during dialogue.

7.3.3.5 Reaching an agreement or resolution to solving specific issues

To gauge the perceptions of the CBFM respondents regarding the outcome of dialogue, I asked a follow-up question: *were you satisfied with the responses and did you reach an agreement to solving specific issues about the project?* Most CBFM respondents indicated that agreements or resolutions on specific issues, such as gaining land titles and boundary delineation, have not yet been reached (Table 7.9).

Table 7.9 Responses to the question, were you satisfied with the responses and reached an agreement or resolution to solving issues about the project?

Responses	Sangbay direct CBFM participants (n=31)	Villa Ventura direct CBFM participants(n=29)
Yes	0	1
No	1	3
Not yet	16	23
No response	14	2

Reaching an agreement or resolution in order to solve a specific project issue through stakeholder dialogue was a desired outcome. This was important for those who were directly affected by the project. DENR staff believed that stakeholder dialogue changed the dependent attitude of the CBFM participants:

We have delegated the bulk of the work and responsibilities to the PO chairman. In every dialogue that we had, we advised them to think and make dispositions and resolve issues arising in the project. The chairman is now convening the members to discuss their issues about the project. They draft resolution letters when needed. We are just here to guide them (D4).

The boundary issues created misunderstanding which was later resolved through dialogue. *I think the boundaries in the lot allotted to us are creating misunderstanding between the participants. But we reached an agreement as a result of the dialogues among us (S12).*

Based on the interviews and casual conversation with the respondents, I noted that any issues, concerns and conflicts among the community members were usually resolved by making and drafting agreements or resolutions during dialogue.

Reaching an agreement or resolution to solve a specific issue through stakeholder dialogue showed that resolutions were formulated, but agreements have not yet been reached. It can be inferred from the findings that the slow government processes for resolving issues such as boundary delineation have caused frustration among the CBFM participants.

7.3.4 Concluding remarks on ‘outcomes’ as a key element of stakeholder dialogue

The outcomes of stakeholder dialogue, based on the criteria/indicators of successful stakeholder dialogue, were partly satisfied. Positive outcomes could be observed in the improvement of the CBFM participants’ socio-economic conditions. Other outcomes for stakeholder dialogue in the CBFM projects included improved social well-being, learning, and strong working relationships. These outcomes were facilitated by stakeholder dialogue. However, it was found that there was a loss of trust in government agencies and specific issues related to the project have not yet been resolved. Despite the shortcomings in stakeholder dialogue, the outcome was still significant as shown in the changes of participants’ lives and perceptions.

7.4 Chapter summary

The findings pertaining to processes and outcomes of stakeholder dialogue were systematically generated from the narratives of the local community (comprising direct and indirect CBFM participants) and from the government agencies (DENR and the LGUs) and the NGOs.

Processes

In both projects, the findings relating to the criteria or indicators for successful stakeholder dialogue under the element ‘process’ demonstrated that there was respect between stakeholder groups. Fairness in respect of the dialogue can also be observed in that stakeholders were represented through their attendance at meetings. Lastly, in both projects, the influence of DENR was apparent in the dialogue. Local community members were still dependent on the decisions of DENR related to the project.

Overall, the findings suggest that the process of stakeholder dialogue in CBFM projects were met in terms of respect and fair process, but the influence of DENR was predominant and therefore distorted the stakeholder dialogue requirement of equivalence.

Outcomes

Based on the criteria for successful stakeholder dialogue, the outcomes (community learning, communication, improved understanding and better working relations, joint problem-solving, social well-being and attitude change) were evident to varying degrees in the results from both CBFM projects.

However, in Sangbay, the respondents were distracted by the loss of trust and confidence in their interactions with the key organisational stakeholder groups. I found that the underpinning reasons for the Sangbay respondents' loss of trust in government agencies were: the payment of taxation administered by LGU; and, the weak support of government for their forest protection arrangements. In contrast, the Villa Ventura respondents had developed trust and confidence in their interactions with the government agencies.

The criteria of reaching agreement for solving specific issues were not achieved in both of the CBFM areas. On a number of occasions the failure by government agencies to respond to resolutions or requests by project participants was observed.

Overall, most of the outcome criteria/indicators of successful dialogue were met in Villa Ventura and less so for the Sangbay project.

The next chapter will discuss contextual factors that have facilitated or constrained stakeholder dialogue in each of the two projects.

Chapter 8

Findings on contextual institutional and related factors that facilitated or hindered stakeholder dialogue

8.1 Introduction

The empirical findings on the effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue in the two CBFM projects based on five key elements were presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

This chapter will present the findings on the significance of contextual factors in enabling or posing barriers to community engagement and stakeholder dialogue. There are many accounts in the literature critically reporting the significance of contextual factors in enabling or posing barriers to stakeholder dialogue, focussing in particular on the significance of institutional arrangements and related contextual political, economic, and socio-cultural considerations (Agrawal, 2001; Memon & Weber, 2010; Ostrom, 1999; Poteete & Ostrom, 2002). An important related issue is the significance of designing appropriate institutional arrangements for stakeholder dialogue. The term institution is defined as the formal and informal rules of interaction that provide incentives and disincentives for individuals and groups when interacting within a wide variety of repetitive situations (North, 2004; Ostrom, 2005; Uphoff, 1986). These rules can be both formal and informal (Ostrom, 2008; Agrawal, 2001). Appropriate institutional arrangements for community based forest management are imperative to shape participants' actions in pursuing their common goal for the improvement of their biophysical and social status.

Institutional arrangements are embedded in socio-economic and cultural contexts. Socio-economic factors relate to the reciprocal relationships between social and economic factors (Lutz, 2009). Socio-economic factors are major determinants of the success of stakeholder dialogue in CBFM. For example, the tangible and intangible services and benefits derived from natural resources in the upland areas are important to local inhabitants and the wider society.

Socio-cultural factors include customs, norms, values and attitudes that guide the behaviour of people in a community (Giddens, 2006). For example, people living in the same social and cultural environment have a tendency to help and trust each other and to form social groups. They may use the natural resources around them to enrich their lives. The programmes that

are developed should consider and respect the socio-cultural values of the community. This is to ensure that community engagement efforts are appropriate and congruent with the goals of the local community. In the community based forest management setting the common goal of participants, to improve their social well-being, is one of the driving forces in community engagement.

In this study, the criteria/indicators for the institutional and related socio-political factors were institutional design rules that have either facilitated or acted as barriers to stakeholder dialogue.

I found that the institutional and other related socio-political factors that facilitated or hindered stakeholder dialogue were interrelated. For this reason, the findings will be discussed collectively. Analysis of these contextual factors was based on stakeholders' narratives, examination of the CBFM framework and policy documents, direct observations through attendance at *barangay* meetings during field work, and casual conversations with local leaders, in addition to the semi-structured interviews.

The focus of the open ended questions was on the extent to which the institutional arrangements and related contextual factors have facilitated or acted as barriers to stakeholder dialogue. Based on their experiences, all respondents were asked to reflect on the case study projects from this perspective.

This chapter is structured as follows: Section 8.2 discusses the factors that have facilitated stakeholder dialogue and section 8.3 discusses the factors that have posed barriers to stakeholder dialogue.

8.2 Factors that have facilitated stakeholder dialogue

This section focuses on the major findings regarding the extent to which the institutional arrangements and related socio-political factors have facilitated stakeholder dialogue. The key findings have been represented by quotes typical of perspectives from a majority of the respondents. The contextual factors that facilitated stakeholder dialogue in order of relative importance were: land tenure security, livelihood benefits from the project, strong leadership in the POs, trust and confidence in the PMO, recognising the importance of informal and continuous dialogue, cooperative endeavour, provision of education extension, and the transformation of the participants' outlook on forest management. These factors are discussed in the rest of this section.

8.2.1 Land tenure security

In a number of Asian countries, until relatively recently, slash and burn cultivators were prosecuted and expelled from the upland forest areas if caught red handed (USAID, 1995). The slash and burn practices of people dwelling in upland areas were blamed as the primary cause of deforestation (McCormick, 1995). In the Philippines, the long practice of punitive forest management has shifted to a more subtle management approach focused on containment rather than punishment of forest occupants (Bacalla, 2006). DENR informed the *kaingineros* that they were allowed to remain in the public forestlands provided they undertook soil conservation measures and tree planting activities and did not expand their clearings beyond 7 hectares. In response to this DENR policy, the *kaingineros* participated, but did not totally follow these directives. The land was cultivated for banana plantations instead of planting forest tree species. The upland communities may have benefitted socio-economically since they were given the opportunity to make a living out of the forestlands, but depletion of the forests continued. DENR kept on incrementally changing policies and programmes to address the degrading forest situation, but without any significant success. DENR later entered into a dialogue with the families occupying the upland areas by having them establish forest plantations under short-term contracts. These programmes were designed according to government policy which addressed slash and burn cultivation and encouraged reforestation (Lindayati, 2000). However, the forest dependent upland communities were not given an assurance of security to occupy the land they were planting as the government could evict them and take the land back at any time (Pulhin & Inoue, 2008).

The major shift from these reforestation strategies to a more participatory approach eventuated in the 1980s. The Philippine government mandated DENR to launch the ISF program in 1982. Sangbay and Villa Ventura were identified and approved by DENR as ISF programme areas. DENR conducted participatory dialogue with the forest occupants within the ISF jurisdiction and identified those who were qualified to participate in the programme. The government finally accepted that local communities, when provided with security of tenure over forest lands, developed a stake in the forest resources and were motivated to protect and manage them. DENR parcelled out the area to qualified forest occupants and each was issued a CSC. The CSC legitimised the individual's *de facto* claim over their farms.

The two-pronged objective of ISF was to promote socio-economic well-being of forest occupants and communities dependent on forest land for their livelihood, primarily by providing land tenure security, and at the same time promoting and improving the quality of the environment. Participants in the ISF project were granted the right to occupy and develop

forest areas for a period of 25 years, renewable for another 25 years, through the issuance of CSCs. The CSC provided security of tenure and assured access to forest resources. In 1995, ISF was integrated into one umbrella program, known as CBFM (see Chapter 4, Section 4.2). Although the land tenure in the CBFM projects does not entail lifetime security, the CBFM participants have been given medium term rights²³ to occupy the portions of forestlands allotted to them.

The perspectives gathered from the local community interviews demonstrated that the main reason for participating in the CBFM project was concern for the security of tenure of the land allotted to them. One respondent shared his thoughts that greater improvement could have been made if this portion of land could be transferred to his name in perpetuity.

Similar views were expressed by other respondents:

We were relocated here and were given a portion of land ... and I thought that eventually the portion of land will be mine (VV25);

I felt that it was my obligation to participate since the parcel of land that I am working at that moment was ... awarded by the DENR. So I had to participate (VV26);

That time I also wanted to acquire a portion of land so I joined in the project. I really like the project and I implemented the activities being taught (VV19; S3);

It was because of the land that was awarded to me, that's why I followed the rules like planting trees in the area (S22);

I participated in the project to have a portion of land where I can plant so I could support the needs of my family. I made a lot of improvement in that land now (S6).

My research findings are consistent with the idea that land tenure security has proved to be a critical enabling factor in facilitating stakeholder dialogue. The lessons learned from the CBFM programmes indicate that the provision of secure land tenure to communities promotes greater engagement. The findings support Vergara (1997) and Pulhin et al., (2005) who argue that local communities will continue to participate in CBFM projects as long as participation motivates them by offering security of tenure.

8.2.2 Livelihood benefits of the project

In the Philippines, the effects of long years of deforestation had contributed to increasing poverty and continuing migration into the upland areas. The increasing poverty is attributed to limited livelihood opportunities in the lowlands combined with high population growth (Borlagdan, 1997; Guiang, et al. 2001; Kummer, 1992, Porter & Ganapin, 1988). Land shortage and scarce alternative livelihood opportunities in the lowlands have forced these indigent groups to migrate to the upland areas.

²³ Rights refer to a guarantee given by the government to those who have a stake in the entity (Pahlevi, 2005).

DENR recognised that in order to address the issue of poverty, the provision of socio-economic benefits was imperative in order to sustain the CBFM participants' commitment and participation in forest development and protection. For this reason, livelihood and income components have been incorporated in the two projects. In both of the CBFM projects, DENR provided technical assistance to project participants by conducting training and seminars on soil and water conservation techniques, seedling propagation, and proper handling of seedlings prior to planting. DENR also provided seedlings to programme participants for their agroforestry farms. The associated benefits of planting trees and at the same time planting agricultural crops on their farm lots provided them with a range of livelihood benefits such as forest resources for house construction. The produce from agricultural crops provided food for the family and any surplus produce afforded them income by sales to the local community or to traders.

In this study, some of the CBFM respondents' decision to join and continue their commitment to the CBFM projects was due to the assurance of income and food security. Most of the local community respondents, in both of the CBFM projects, were motivated to join the project because of the perceived benefits and the livelihood that they could derive from it. *I was convinced to participate due to the benefits derived from the project. I am after the source of income that I could get out of the project (S11).* Another respondent indicated that, *the reason why I participated is because of livelihood and income. I am a Priest and the Church bought the right of this lot. I am now the care taker of this lot and the income from the produce/crops serves as a livelihood for the members of the church (S29).* The respondents believed that the projects could enhance their socio-economic situation. *So I could have something to work on and eke out a living. This farm lot serves as my livelihood (VV14).* *I really liked the project and believe that this project will bring me lots of benefits. I considered that this project can hopefully uplift my socio-economic condition (VV17).*

The findings could be interpreted that in both CBFM projects, the respondents' involvement in the stakeholder dialogue was driven by the desire to earn income and obtain the promised benefits of the CBFM project. Their desire to earn was in some cases driven by their dreams and aspirations of providing an education for their children. Education was seen as a means of getting out of the poverty cycle and of earning respect from the community.

The research found that most recommendations of CBFM participants for future CBFM engagement projects were geared to the livelihood component. This showed that socio-economic motivation was a driver of community engagement in the two CBFM areas.

Through the CBFM programme, particularly in Villa Ventura, innovative income generating activities have been initiated, such as a small scale piggery and a cooperative store. New development projects, e.g., farm-to-market roads, pump wells, a multi-purpose hall, and concreting of roads, requested by the participants through resolution letters were accepted and funded by the LGU in cooperation with DENR. These improvements in the community have increased the potential for the participants to earn more and have improved their quality of life.

8.2.3 Strong leadership in PO

One of the introductory activities of DENR to engage the local community was to facilitate collective community collaboration. DENR contracted the NGOs to help in setting up POs for each project to represent the CBFM participants. The POs formulated their by-laws to guide their activities. The PO chairman acts as communication channel between DENR, the CBFM participants, and other advocacy groups. The chairman of the PO serves as a trusted mediator between DENR and the CBFM participants. All activities of the CBFM project and any other transaction with other organisational stakeholder groups were channelled via the POs. This has ensured the POs have had strong leaders to facilitate negotiations with other stakeholders.

The PO leaders also played crucial roles in initiating new activities. Through the chairman, members were able to negotiate with DENR and the other organisations to promote income generating activities. The chairman also looked for direct buyers to buy their farm produce at higher prices. Prior to the formation of the POs, brokers used to buy their produce at a lower price. The farm gate prices were regulated through the efforts of the PO. These efforts of the community organisation have helped to unify the members and provided an opportunity to earn more.

Based on observations, conversations, and interviews conducted, the POs have also proposed ways to protect the forest through resolution letters addressed to DENR. The chairman drafted the resolution letter for discussion and approval by the members during meetings. The positive response from DENR to some of their resolutions reassured members that they were being heard which fostered further involvement in the dialogue process. For example, in Sangbay, the PO chairman played a lead role in the RMTA initiative for a water supply funded by the Australian Anglican Church. The chairman initiated a resolution letter on the water system funding allocation addressed to the LGU which was favourably endorsed. The other PO, SISFFA, has enforced their rules to discourage the use of middlemen in selling

produce. This arrangement was supported by DENR and the LGUs. SISFFA now controls the price of farm-gate products, which has led to higher income for the members.

Based on the findings, the PO chairman in Villa Ventura was believed to be a strong leader. I have noted that he made considerable efforts lobbying the government agencies for assistance. Through the PO leader, the members were able to reach out to other institutions for assistance. Also, I have learned that through resolution letters initiated by the chairman, the LGU in Quirino has funded road improvements, *barangay* hall renovations, multi-purpose pavements, pump wells, school buildings, and electricity supply. Based on the documents kept by the PO chairman and conversations with the community members, the achievements attributed to the strong leadership of the PO chairman includes: the PO was able to lobby the Department of Agriculture (DA) to acquire certified corn seeds for their farms; the PO chairman could provide informal security to lending agencies to enable the members to obtain a loan for farm inputs from the financial organisations in the municipality; the income generating projects such as forest plantations were all initiated and managed by their PO; and, the PO also negotiated with DENR to look for buyers who would pay better prices for their farm products. As a result, most of their produce was sold to contract buyers at higher prices than if sold individually to middlemen or traders.

The strong and trustworthy leadership of PO could be seen as a mechanism improving the social well-being of the CBFM participants and the wider community as well. The strong leadership of the PO encourages the members to engage in stakeholder dialogue as the participants listen and support the chairmen: *... we understand each other because we always meet and have dialogue about the issues and concerns that we are facing. Our chairman is very active in mobilising us (S25).*

In both CBFM projects the skills of the PO leaders, to convince the members to engage in the dialogue activities and to commit themselves to follow the rules and regulations of the project, has contributed to the success of stakeholder dialogue.

8.2.4 Trust and confidence in PMO

It is believed that effective project facilitators foster dialogue among stakeholders (Currie-Alder, 2007). During the inception stage of CBFM, the assistance and support of the PMOs in each of the CBFM projects was indispensable. The PMO assisted the fledgling PO to obtain their registration from the Security Exchange Commission (SEC), the Philippine government agency responsible for recognition of organisations as legal entities. During this

initial stage, the PMO acted as a catalyst of change serving as the implementation facilitator by assisting the local community to mobilise and providing them with the necessary technical support, i.e., seminars, training, and field demonstrations of soil and water conservation techniques. The presence and constant interaction of the PMO with the local community encouraged the CBFM participants to engage in the different project related activities. The capability and commitment of the PMO educed trust and confidence among the CBFM participants.

Based on the documents and conversations with the CBFM respondents, during the project inception stage the PMO in Villa Ventura assisted the CBFM participants in the preparation of their farm plans, made more realistic through various farm visits to other CBFM areas. They were likewise trained in various agroforestry technologies and soil and water conservation measures. I observed that the PMO in Villa Ventura had good people skills which fostered the transfer of knowledge and extension of services to the CBFM participants. Likewise, the Sangbay CBFM respondents indicated that the PMOs previously assigned to the area were trustworthy but this perception changed when responsibility for the project was transferred to the LGUs.

The findings indicated that the ability of the PMOs, in both projects, to work effectively with the community has been paramount to the success of dialogue.

8.2.5 Recognising the importance of informal and continuous dialogue

Hemmati (2002) argues that stakeholder dialogue should involve open interaction through which people listen and learn from each other. According to Flick (1998), dialogue brings about a snowball effect in which the frequent exchange of ideas increases attachment to evoke emotions and energy which in return creates a positive effect on the behaviour and general performance of an individual. Dialogue enables an individual to learn, and realise willpower, self-confidence and assertiveness.

Some respondents stated that continuous dialogue was important to sustain engagement in the project. In order to generate learning and self-confidence, dialogue must be continuous. Dialogue continues and happens anywhere and anytime in the community, e.g., while walking, buying in a store, eating, and fetching water.

A community is one social distinct group that has interaction among the people. There is community learning if there is always interaction. Interaction means, even just by the casual talk while fetching water, while roaming around, while buying in a store, all has interaction. Meaning that at any point in time, the topic will come to that stage that the people will talk about the issues in the community and about the project (S26, S19).

Continuous dialogue was one way of strengthening and deepening partnership in the CBFM project. A NGO respondent reinforced that strong partnership among the stakeholders involved in CBFM was important.

There should always be dialogue and there is no substitute for dialogue. The dialogue process should be an unending process. If everybody is involved and if everybody has a stake and benefitted ... and if everybody is happy and satisfied in the accomplishment of the objectives based on the dialogue, then I can say the dialogue is successful and can enable community development (N3).

In both CBFM study areas the use of informal methods of dialogue has encouraged the exchange of information and views and promoted understanding between stakeholders. Most often, CBFM members articulated their concerns and issues openly to the PO chairman during casual conversations. The PO chairman in return relayed these concerns to DENR. Local community members were more relaxed talking in informal situations than talking during formal meetings. The narratives of respondents indicated that informal dialogue deepens understanding between and among the members of the PO:

Members are helping each other. We always talk about the improvements in our farm and the community (VV15);
Sometimes we have misunderstandings ... like one day a stray animal destroyed my plants. I talked to the owner of the stray animal and told him to secure his animal. We had a misunderstanding, but in the end, it was fixed. We are all members of the community so we have to immediately resolve whatever issue we may have. And one thing more, through dialogue, I fully understand the plight of other community members (VV19).

Dialogue made the CBFM participants feel important. This two-way communication process encouraged the CBFM participants to express their issues and concerns about the project and settle any dispute among the members. Disputes and misunderstandings were more easily resolved at the local level through deliberation among themselves or sometimes through mediation from the LGU or DENR. Dialogue in this regard could generate confidence among the CBFM participants and helped strengthen their commitment and attachment to the project.

In both sites, the CBFM participants were taught to write resolution letters as a way of communicating their needs and interests to the government agencies. Responses to these resolution letters were perceived of as reflections that they were being recognised, boosting their morale and fostering engagement.

Dialogue should be continuous to sustain engagement. Respondents elaborated on this when they stated that:

They (DENR) should conduct meetings, even once a month, so that we will be updated to what is happening. They should explain and clarify the issues that we have. In that way, those who lack understanding on the issues at hand will be enlightened (S4); and
The best way that I could think of to sustain participation is to have meetings and continuous dialogue among the community members and the people involved in the project (S25).

In this respect, continuous stakeholder dialogue and meetings to clarify issues like these were very important to undertake the project and continuously engage the community in all its activities. Open and honest communication between and among the stakeholders was necessary to build trust and respect, and develop strong relationships in order to work collaboratively.

Although the POs were not formally involved in the planning and design of CBFM, the adequate support by DENR and other government agencies to dialogue initiated by the POs facilitated continuous community engagement. Dialogue was seen as essential in sustaining the interest of all the stakeholders involved in CBFM projects. Good communication and open continuing dialogue created positive behavioural changes within and among the members of the POs. Dialogue became a chance for marginalised voices to make themselves heard (Chikozho, 2008). Also, dialogue was seen as an opportunity for building loyalty, trust, and enhancing experience among the CBFM participants.

8.2.6 Cooperative endeavours

The cooperative endeavour among the CBFM participants, in both project areas, has played a vital role in stakeholder dialogue and in fostering community engagement. The findings of this study matched the arguments in the literature that in order to sustain participation, a strong relationship based on trust and mutual understanding should be developed and maintained (Pomeroy et al., 2001; Evans, 2003; Burchell & Cook, 2006).

The *bayanihan* spirit embedded in Philippine culture was foundational to building cohesiveness among the members of the POs. This spirit bound them together to assert their objectives during dialogue and propose a united standpoint. Also, because of *bayanihan*, the CBFM participants were enjoined to participate in the project. In this study, this socio-cultural factor facilitated stakeholder dialogue in the CBFM projects because it promoted communal relationship and the commitment of the members necessary for achieving their common goals.

The practice of *bayanihan* was still observed in the project areas. *Bayanihan* was strengthened when the local community were organised into POs. *On the social aspect of the project, people here are very cooperative. We still have that 'bayanihan spirit' (S23, VV3).* Through *bayanihan* disagreements and misunderstandings, arising among the members of the organisation, were tackled and discussed during their scheduled sessions. As a result, resolution and agreement was reached. Excerpts from the narratives affirm these statements:

*Of course, I understand other's views. But sometimes, we cannot avoid conflict, maybe because we are tired and tempers are short, but it will not last. If conflicts cannot be resolved immediately, we go to the barangay (community officials) for them to intercede. Issues were explained and clarified to us. Eventually, each and every one understands, and then there is peace again (S2);
Yes ... we come to a decision that is unified. Dialogue and constant communication is very important (S24).*

In this study, cooperative endeavour was a factor fostering stakeholder dialogue because it promoted cooperation and smooth relationships among the CBFM participants and the rest of the community. This brought positive changes in the CBFM participants' lives:

*Before, the people seem to be not cooperative and then throughout the lifespan of the project, they have changed. This may be attributed to the continuous dialogue or IEC activities of DENR that made these people cooperative. The spirit of cooperation, unity and involvement in the project implementation is a result of the dialogue. Through the collaborative effort of the CBFM stakeholders, their socio-economic status was uplifted and community development is more concrete (DENR1), and
On their relationship with other community members, I can see that their interaction with each other is good. Camaraderie and unity is good too, although jealousy cannot be avoided sometimes (DENR4).*

8.2.7 Delivery of extension education

According to Stoll-Kleemann and Welp (2006), the local community inhabitants, when organised and trained, exhibit immense potential for enhanced group performance, knowledge creation (empowerment) and innovative decision-making.

Some respondents indicated that they were motivated to participate in the project because they saw that training would enhance their farming skills. This informal education and training was intended to prepare the CBFM participants to create and to implement their plans for the improvement of their socio-economic well-being (Pulhin & Inoue, 2008). One of the CBFM participants shared his experiences and accomplishment in the development of his farm lot: *the soil and water conservation training conducted by DENR, where I participated, has significantly improved my farming practices. I was able to terrace the rugged slopes on my farm lot and have constructed rice paddies. The rice paddies are now feeding my family (S7).*

Another factor that facilitated dialogue through extension education was the increased capability of the CBFM participants to establish linkages with government agencies and other organisations working on community based forest management. These linkages were able to support the POs achieving the intended project outcomes. I have observed that through stakeholder dialogue, CBFM participants were able to analyse and plan improvements related to their situation. Occasional differences among members arose, but were settled through dialogue. These differences eventually enabled them to come up with better ideas and plans related to the project.

Villa Ventura was retained as the CPEU and serves as the model site for all CBFM projects in the Cagayan Valley in the Philippines. For this reason, the CBFM participants were motivated to excel in their upland farming practices and performance to retain the CBFM area as a model site which in turn prompted the government agencies to invest in the community. The support of the government agencies was a binding force strengthening the trust and loyalty of the CBFM participants. This institutional support could be regarded as a factor in creating more committed and supportive CBFM project participants.

Also, being a CPEU, all CBFM training courses in the province were held in Villa Ventura creating more opportunities for the Villa Ventura CBFM participants to enrich their experiences. The PO in the area had demonstrated considerable effort in building and sustaining support and commitment among the members. The POs have maintained their engagement with the CBFM project and have succeeded initiating income generating activities for the members. As noted earlier, one of their continuing income generating projects was a *sari-sari* store managed by the organisation. These endeavours resulted from the education extension and training they had received.

The research findings suggested that education extension, such as training courses and seminars, enabled CBFM participants in both study areas to bring about change in their community. They were empowered to manage the activities both initiated by themselves and by government agencies. I believe that CBFM participants were inspired to protect and utilise the forest resources when they felt they were part of the whole endeavour.

8.2.8 Transformation of participants' outlooks on forest management

When the ISF project was introduced in the Sangbay area, the local community residents were doubtful about the intentions of the CBFM project. They claimed that they are not doing any harm to the forest and the environment as *kaingineros*. Initially, they pushed for recognition of their *de facto* rights over the land they were tilling. Some respondents claimed that their parents were the petitioners (original settlers) in the area and they should not be regarded as land squatters by DENR. These respondents explained their reasons of participating in the project:

The reason why I participated in that project is because we are the 'founder' here. We fought against the forestry concessionaire. In fact, when we first came here ... we struggled so much that's why we fought for it (S1);

We are one of the pioneer or petitioners here. We requested that the land be awarded to the people living in the Sangbay area (S19).

However, through the information and education campaigns conducted by DENR during the early stage of implementation, the initial doubts of local community residents have changed and they have ended up participating in the CBFM projects. Eventually, the CBFM participants learnt to appreciate the various benefits derived from their engagement in the project. Furthermore, the 'to see is to believe' attitude inherent in upland local community residents was a factor that makes them hard to convince about the merits of development projects. Projects would only be embraced and supported if the defined benefits could be proven. Their negative impressions about the project were transformed, possibly through the information education campaigns and field trips to other ISF areas.

Before, I find it hard to believe that our lives will be improved under the programme. Despite that I still followed what was written in the contract. But, with our trainings and field exposure given by DENR, I was able to plant rice in my land for our personal consumption. Prior to my participation, I only plant trees (S19);

Before I am having second thoughts because the DENR told us to improve the land awarded to me and I doubt that if I will make a lot of improvements they will get the land back. When I attended seminars, I now fully understand the objectives of why I have to improve the land (S25).

The upland community residents of the Villa Ventura area eventually accepted and participated in the CBFM project. They realised the many benefits that they could gain if they were engaged in the project. This realisation was the outcome of their participation in and attendance at meetings/dialogue and other project related activities. They have described that their participation was not only to satisfy their own economic gains, but also for the improvement of the community and for the preservation of the environment.

I had that wait and see attitude because I was not so familiar with this project before. But eventually, I see the advantages of the project for my family and the community as well. I strived hard and became the first chairman of our organisation (VV28);

... I am gaining benefits from this effort now (VV13);

... implemented contour lines in my farm lot. Aside from that, the pay was good when I did the contours (VV21);

It was good because I know this is for my benefit and the community as well (VV15);

... very happy because I thought that this area will be improved (VV11);

In the beginning, I was hesitant, but eventually I realized that what they taught us was beneficial and soil erosion will be minimised (VV19)

... I felt good. They also told us that if we plant trees we can help in the conservation and protection of our environment (VV6);

we practiced the soil and water conservation technique like contouring the farm lot, it was good (VV14).

8.3 Factors that posed barriers to effective stakeholder dialogue

To understand the factors that posed barriers to stakeholder dialogue, the respondents were asked an open-ended question on their perceptions and understanding on the extent that institutional arrangements and related socio-political factors posed barriers to stakeholder dialogue in the CBFM projects. Based on the research findings, the key factors that have posed barriers to stakeholder dialogue in the CBFM projects were: devolution of control to

the LGUs, the limited nature of land tenure, dependency on government agencies; the hierarchical top-down dominance of stakeholder dialogue; poor government processes; political patronage and favouritism; and cultural differences.

8.3.1 Devolution of control to LGUs

In 1991, the Philippine Congress enacted a reform package, the Republic Act 7160, otherwise known as the Local Government Code (LGC) of the Philippines. The code was viewed as a concrete effort to realise the ideals of democracy and social justice in the Philippines (Brillantes, 2000). The code stipulated that the provincial government was considered the manager of the entire provincial territory and was required to provide the basic services as well as maintain the ecological balance within the province (Dizon, 2004). The code decentralised authority, responsibility and financial resources for a wide range of government interventions to the LGUs. With this devolution, responsibility for the ISFP was transferred from DENR to the LGUs, except for one model site in each province. In the province of Quirino, the Villa Ventura site was retained under DENR to serve as a CPEU.

During the early stages of devolution, DENR, the LGUs, the NGOs, and the POs gathered together to explore the opportunities for working collaboratively on a more strategic basis to implement the CBFM projects. This stage involved agreeing on the issues that the stakeholders wanted to solve; agreeing on what was to be achieved; and organising the best mechanisms and implementation strategies (Broad & Cavanagh, 1993). However, this plan was not implemented. There was a weak partnership between and among the POs, DENR, the LGUs, and the NGOs, especially at the field level (Pulhin et al., 2005; Cruz & Acay, 2004; Menzies, 2002; DENR, 2008).

As discussed in Chapter 6, the transfer of the Sangbay CBFM project to the LGU adversely affected the commitment of the CBFM participants to the CBFM project stakeholder dialogue. The LGU became more focussed on the administration and collection of tax than on strengthening partnerships and collaboration with the CBFM participants. In the eyes of the CBFM participants, the LGUs were the tax collection agents and not co-managers of the CBFM project. This unfavourable perception caused a loss of interest among the CBFM participants and made them reluctant to attend the meetings held in the *barangay* hall, especially if the LGU was present. In hindsight, the significance of informal dialogue between CBFM respondents was interpreted as successful. Having said that, the informal discussion about tax payment between and among the CBFM participants have unified them to have a strong voice and unified stance. Added to their disappointment was the seemingly

disputed issue of what is being taxed – the land itself or the improvements done on the land? This ambiguity has created confusion among the CBFM participants creating difficulties for community engagement and stakeholder dialogue.

The LGU (PNREO), which took over the implementation of the project, had identified other priority areas for CBFM projects, and consequently the Sangbay area became a lesser priority. This situation created further feelings of abandonment in the local community. Some personnel from DENR-ISFP were transferred to the LGUs, but they were not assigned to oversee the operation of the CBFM project. Instead, they were directed to perform other LGU functions. In addition, there were LGU executives who were not supportive of CBFM since forest management or environmental concerns were not among their priorities. It appears that there was lack of readiness on the part of the LGU to perform the devolved CBFM tasks. All these reasons contributed to the poor performance of the LGUs in achieving the goals of CBFM.

Thus, devolving forest management responsibility to local government has had its shortcomings. The devolution in 1991 did not create a space for the local community in the Sangbay CBFM project to play a greater role in managing the forestry resources in collaboration with the government. Instead, the situation created misunderstanding, confusion and disappointment in the Sangbay community. The devolution policy emanated from, and was implemented by, the national government without adequate consultation with the different stakeholder groups who were involved directly in the project. This emerged as a major barrier for stakeholder dialogue conducted by government agencies.

8.3.2 Limited nature of land tenure

Although land tenure security was a factor that facilitated the engagement of CBFM participants in the project, it was also found that the design of land tenure in CBFM was limited. In the Philippine context, land tenure security does not follow the provision of user rights security (Pulhin & Inoue, 2008). Granting a CSC was insufficient for the success of CBFM (Pulhin, 2005). The award of a CSC to CBFM participants was no assurance of ownership. Some of the respondents conveyed their fear that the government could take back the land awarded to them at any time. The CBFM participants would have preferred to own the land allotted to them so they could concentrate investment and fully develop the land.

During conversations with the CBFM participants in both study areas, most of them expressed their resentment about the long standing promise of DENR to transfer the title of the piece of land allotted into their names. They expressed concern that some CSC holders had sold their

rights to other 'outside' community members. The selling of rights encouraged the immigration of people from other communities, which the CBFM participants were unhappy about. Apparently, they have reported their concerns during PO meetings. These concerns have also been deliberated during dialogue, but DENR neither took action nor made any clear decisions. This indecisiveness caused discontentment among participants and affected their active involvement in the stakeholder dialogue.

8.3.3 Participants' dependency on DENR

The long term survival of the CBFM project initiatives depends on enabling institutional factors; the commitment of government agencies and the accountability of leaders to their community (Mansuri & Rao, 2004).

However, with the Philippine culture in general, especially in the rural upland areas, people were prone to seek help and advice from people holding positions in the government to solve their issues and problems. Their habit of dependency has developed through time and was reinforced by their relatively poor socio-economic status. I believe that indigent people cannot be empowered through dependence on people of higher socio-economic status. This was supported by the argument of Endriga (1997), that unless people's economic conditions are improved, their habits of dependency will persist.

As discussed in Chapter 6, Section 6.2, the recognition of DENR as the key actor and authority encouraged compliance among the members for mandatory meeting attendance. While this may have facilitated dialogue activities, it prevented local community members developing independence, self-reliance and self-governance, important objectives of CBFM. Success in stakeholder dialogue translates into success of the CBFM project.

Although there were many instances when CBFM participants initiated dialogue, current concerns and issues were commonly decided on by DENR. Some CBFM participants acknowledged DENR as the project authority: *I believe and trust DENR in the administration of CBFM* (VV3, S9). They believed that the government officials were better prepared and organised to lead them and to regulate the CBFM activities. According to Ascher (1995), government officials tend to be better educated, with more knowledge, and have been more exposed to modern ideas than residents in remote areas.

Despite the participatory nature of CBFM, the research findings showed that the participants still relied heavily on the project implementers. *The DENR knows best. They know what project is good for us, so I just have to wait* (VV21). *I am contented with the process of*

DENR madam. I have nothing more to suggest (VV10). Anything coming from them (DENR), it is better if the project will come from them (S6). The CBFM participants were taught to develop community resource management plans, but in the actual preparation of the plan the bulk of thinking was done by the DENR project staff. This method of assistance did not teach and encourage the participants to think independently and to develop their own initiatives.

For example, in both projects, the reliance on DENR was manifest in the operation of some activities such as tree planting and seedling propagation, which was still facilitated and coordinated by the PMO. These activities could have been undertaken by the participants alone having received training and having practised soil and water conservation methods for many years. I support the above statement by proposing that: the CBFM participants were not properly trained; the CBFM participants were not ready for self-governance; the government agencies were not sincere in their project execution; and, the dialogue process was poorly carried out.

Another example, to further elaborate the reliance of CBFM participants on DENR in both projects, was the issue of boundary disputes. This issue created instances of disagreement and misunderstanding among the CBFM members and needed to be settled by DENR or the LGU. This indicated that the participants were not fully self-reliant and self-governing. They considered that DENR was obligated to support and assist them.

On a number of occasions, DENR have reminded the CBFM participants that the project was theirs to manage. This statement was supported by the justifications of the DENR respondents:

Sometimes people do not understand and believe our explanations. We always clarify that the project is meant to be participatory and community-based and that the people should not rely too much on DENR. We also explained to them that they know their problems much better than us and that they should find ways to solve their problems. They should be the one leading the project, and we assured them that we support them to whatever resolution they would have (DENR5); and, Because the nature of the project is participatory, it is meant to be managed by local stakeholders because they live in the area. We are more on the promotion of technology, we teach them and once they learn the technology, the support of DENR will be very minimal. Our role should be just to support and monitor (D3).

It could be inferred from the findings that the CBFM participants' dependency has resulted in low levels of community engagement in the CBFM projects. These findings were in line with the argument of Rara & Nielsen (2003) that greater government involvement leads to the community being dependent on government support.

8.3.4 Hierarchical top-down dominance of stakeholder dialogue

The role of government according to Ascher (1995) is to facilitate communication and cooperation among all the stakeholders involved in CBFM so they can try to work out reasonable agreements, and to provide incentives for local groups to improve forest resources. The bureaucratic structure of the Philippine government is top-down which is reflected in the implementation process of programmes such as CBFM. Due to the top-down approach to management, two-way communication between the project implementers and participants is not happening in the project. In addition, two-way dialogue is also difficult because of the cultural practice whereby poor Filipinos feel too intimidated to talk directly with the project implementers.

For example, the project-related resolutions (resurvey of land boundaries, illegal cutting of trees) made by the PO in Sangbay area were submitted to CENRO to be endorsed to the PENRO then to the RENRO and then to the DENR central office for action. The endorsement process takes time (partly due to government red tape) and in some instances resolutions were not granted which disappointed the CBFM participants. The long wait made the CBFM participants feel hopeless and overwhelmed, making them unlikely to attending subsequent CBFM stakeholder dialogue occasions.

The support of DENR in the POs efforts to protect forests has been observed, but the politicians do otherwise. This created dismay and dissatisfaction for some CBFM participants making them reluctant to initiate other forest protection activity. The illegal cutting of trees within the CBFM project areas has been reported by the PO to the LGU. These reports have been entered in the LGUs logbook. *Illegal cutting of trees here is unstoppable. So we are reporting this to DENR and LGU (S5).* This respondent's concern was supported by the LGU respondent.

The POs now are brave and open in reporting illegal logging activities in the CBFM area. Actually, we already confiscated illegally cut trees from the CBFM area. This is through the effort of the CBFM participants. Unfortunately, this is all we can do. We encounter threats from cronies of those in higher positions (L1).

In Villa Ventura, the local community residents were aware that the CBFM area was under threat of land encroachment and illegal logging. In one of my conversations with the chairman of the PO, he testified that illegal loggers were causing conflict with the local community. The PO chairman also explained they have enforced forest protection within the CBFM area by giving verbal warnings to the illegal loggers and reporting them to DENR. The enforcement efforts of the PO have been fully supported by the local level government

agencies. The CENRO officer that I interviewed mentioned that they confiscated the logs cut by the illegal loggers when they were notified by the PO. However, a threatening call received from the crony of the politician resulted in the release of the confiscated logs. Political meddling is inevitable in the Philippines making the enforcement of POs' forest protection goals immaterial.

Furthermore, the CBFM respondents explained that they were confused and felt misled with the constant government policy changes regarding the utilisation of forest within the CBFM areas. This was supported by an NGO respondent's perception:

The changing policies and guidelines do not encourage favourable response among the stakeholders involved in CBFM. I said this because the POs cannot follow everything that is written in the guidelines. This causes discontentment among the members because different people have different vested interests. They want to pursue whatever interests they may have. The NGOs and LGUs sympathised with the POs because we realise what they need (N3).

Vitug (1993), states that a culture of corruption and political patronage is embedded in the bureaucratic structure of the Philippine government. The research findings inferred that the corruption of government officials has hindered the enforcement of local community arrangements against illegal logging. The non-delivery on promises and delayed actions on the part of DENR and other government agencies created distrust and disinterest among the CBFM participants reducing participation in the dialogue processes.

8.3.5 Political patronage and favouritism

It is believed that few people like to take active involvement during meetings while most are willing to sit back and observe (Diduck & Sinclair, 2002). During the course of this research, I observed that discussions during meetings were often dominated by local council officials and elders. This intimidated ordinary members and prevented them talking and expressing their views. For this reason, they become passive attendees at the meeting. This finding may be due to the innate culture of Filipinos, who do not to open up and express their views in the presence of people of higher status in life (wealth, position, and education). This was in line with the arguments of Shackleton et al., (2002) and Pulhin & Dressler (2009) that powerful actors or elite groups in communities tend to manipulate decisions to suit themselves.

During conversation, the CBFM participants explained that there was favouritism in awarding and distributing livelihood projects to PO members. Some of the PO members were unhappy about this as it had resulted in unequal opportunities among them. One respondent recommended that to sustain participation in the project, *there should be equal treatment*

among the members. Every project and activity that is implemented here should be properly disseminated among the members (VV12).

Results of observations and interviews carried out during this study indicated that political patronage and favouritism generated jealousy and dissatisfaction among participants, hindering participation in stakeholder dialogue and community engagement.

8.3.6 Involvement of women in CBFM

Participation of women in the dialogue is considered vital in ensuring that they have a voice in the management of the forest and forestland (Chikozho, 2008). In the CBFM projects, only men were awarded CSCs. The land tenure instrument placed men in a more advantageous position than women, who were displaced and disadvantaged in their participation and community engagement. As a consequence, the potential contribution of women in the CBFM dialogue processes was not realised. Women were regarded as weak and were thought only capable of performing household chores.

It was emphasised that one of the strategies of CBFM project implementation was empowering the PO towards self-governance which included women. This strategy should have provided opportunities for women to participate in decision-making and managing the forest resources. However, in a culture where women were brought up to not openly voice their opinions and views in front of other people their potential contribution to stakeholder dialogue was limited. Their participation was restricted to listening and agreeing on issues that had already been discussed. Some CBFM observers have commented that inactivity of women and the lack of gender awareness had led to less positive outcomes (WRM Bulletin, 2002).

Most of the donor agencies require the inclusion of women in the CBFM project activities. In order to get the project funded, DENR included women in their CBM community engagement plan. However, it was observed that the participation of women in the CBFM projects was illusory and was only included in documents to attract international donors.

For some women respondents in both CBFM projects the limited participation of women was seen as a factor hindering stakeholder dialogue. According to the wives of the SISFFA members in Sangbay, they initiated a banana chip production livelihood project. However, this project did not prosper because of inadequate support from the government agencies for business and marketing training. The women's project was undermined in the regular Sangbay CBFM project dialogue processes. Eventually, the women's enthusiasm to attend

meetings and propose activities lessened. As a result, there were no longer any initiatives and activities led by the women.

8.4 Chapter summary

Based on the narratives of the respondents, the institutional arrangements and related socio-political factors that have facilitated stakeholder dialogue in the two CBFM projects included: security of land tenure; livelihood benefits from the project; strong leadership from the PO; trust and confidence in the PMO; recognising the importance of informal and continuous dialogue; cooperative endeavours; the delivery of education extension; and the transformation of the participants' outlook on forest management.

The means to legalise the CBFM participants' activities in the upland areas was to ensure land tenure security by awarding them CSCs. Security over the land allotted to them served as a motivation for them to engage in the CBFM project and its dialogue activities. The benefits the CBFM participants gained from engagement in the CBFM project was observed through the improvement of their socio-economic and social well-being. The commitment and dedication of the leaders of the POs and the PMOs played a significant role in fostering community engagement and stakeholder dialogue in CBFM project. The findings showed that the support given by the government agencies (DENR and the LGUs) to CBFM participants resulted in successful stakeholder dialogue in both the CBFM project areas.

The research findings identified institutional arrangements and related socio-political factors that have posed barriers to effective stakeholder dialogue that included: devolution of control to LGUs; the limited nature of land tenure security; the participants' dependency on DENR; the hierarchical bureaucratic structure and process of government; domination and favouritism; and lack of women actively involved in the CBFM projects.

The devolution process has disadvantaged the Sangbay CBFM participants for several reasons including taxation. Security of land tenure was a factor controlling stakeholder dialogue, becoming a barrier where it did not provide security for those with user rights. The CBFM participants wanted ownership of the land allotted to them through their CSC.

The participants' dependency on DENR limited the achievement of self-governance, one of the objectives of CBFM. This was attributed to the hierarchical bureaucratic forms of government that have created a sense of powerlessness and discontent among the CBFM

participants preventing them from fully engaging in, and committing to, community based forest management.

The next chapter will sum up and review the research findings in the context of the definition of the research problem and study objectives as stated in chapter one.

Chapter 9

Discussion and conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This study was designed to examine the role of stakeholder dialogue as a forum for community engagement in collaborative forestry governance in two areas in the upland region of the Philippines. In these upland communities rainforest degradation is a significant contributor to poverty, inequality, and dwindling livelihood options. During the last thirty years the government has adopted and implemented the Community-based Forest Management (CBFM) programme as the national policy strategy to address the inter-related problems of forest degradation and poverty with a strong emphasis on community participation. Adequately incorporating community engagement in the CBFM programme was deemed essential by the Philippine government to achieve the full potential of the policy initiative. However, while there has been considerable research on the different bio-physical aspects of forestry management in the Philippines, the success of the transition to participatory forestry governance is poorly understood. There is a notable absence of theoretically informed analysis. This gap in the critically informed understanding of the role of community engagement in the CBFM programme prompted me to focus my research on this topic.

In defining the scope of this research study, the concept of community engagement was deemed too broad and it was decided that a useful way to investigate the effectiveness of community engagement in forestry governance was through the lens of stakeholder dialogue. ‘Reflexive’ stakeholder dialogue is a process of open interaction through which people listen and learn from each other in an enabling environment (Hemmati, 2002; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). The model, grounded in the theory of social learning, proposes that the effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue is a function of five elements: actors, methods, structures, processes, and outcomes (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). However, the theory of reflexive stakeholder dialogue does not accord adequate recognition to the contextual institutional and related socio-political factors that impinge on the effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue. It was therefore decided to extend the scope of the study by including the role of contextual institutional and related socio-political factors that may have facilitated or acted as barriers to stakeholder dialogue.

A two-pronged analytical framework was developed for this study. The first leg of the analytical framework focussed on examining the attributes of successful stakeholder dialogue in the two projects in terms of the five key elements proposed by Stoll-Kleemann & Welp (2006): actors, methods, structures, processes, and outcomes. The second leg of the analytical framework focussed on examining the institutional and related contextual socio-political factors which could explain the underlying reasons that enabled or hindered stakeholder dialogue. Thus, the hybrid analytical framework outlined in Chapter 2 was designed to address both the ‘how’ questions as well as the ‘why’ questions pertaining to the success of stakeholder dialogue.

This study is based on in-depth case studies investigating the effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue in two community based forestry projects, in the Cagayan Valley in the upland region of the Philippines, against the broader policy backdrop of the design and implementation of the programme. The study made use of qualitative research techniques for data collection and analysis, supplemented by analysis of published and unpublished government documents. The analytical framework described above guided the formulation of the semi-structured interview questions to investigate the effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue from the perspective of different groups of CBFM stakeholders: the local inhabitants comprising project participants and non-participants, the key central government agencies (DENR and the LGUs), and the NGOs.

In order to draw together the main strands of this study, the rest of this chapter will assess the research findings relating to each of the research questions proposed in Chapter 1:

1. What factors have prompted the recent turn to participatory forestry governance in the Philippines?
2. What role has stakeholder dialogue played, in the two CBFM upland forestry projects in the Cagayan Valley, against the wider backdrop of recent shifts in forestry governance policies in the Philippines?
3. What are the institutional and related socio-political factors that have enabled or posed barriers to stakeholder dialogue in the two CBFM projects in the upland areas of the Cagayan Valley of the Philippines?
4. How can these barriers be overcome in the context of the CBFM programme?
5. What are the wider implications of the research findings for the theory and practice of participatory forestry governance?

The chapter is organised as follows. Section 9.2 reflects on the broader historical policy context relating to CBFM and the factors that have shaped the adoption of a community based forestry governance approach in the upland regions of the country (research question 1).

Section 9.3 draws together the empirical findings on the effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue in two CBFM projects (research question 2).

Section 9.4 will draw together the identified findings and discuss the extent to which the institutional arrangements and related socio-political contextual factors have encouraged or acted as barriers to the role of stakeholder dialogue in forest management in each of the two projects (research question 3).

Section 9.5 will synthesise the empirical findings on the role of stakeholder dialogue in the implementation of the two CBFM projects.

Section 9.6 recommends measures to overcome the barriers to stakeholder dialogue and how to improve stakeholder dialogue in this research context (research question 4).

Section 9.7 reflects on the theoretical significance of research findings for community based forestry governance (research question 5).

The chapter ends with recommendations for further research in section 9.8.

9.2 The broader policy context: factors that have shaped the adoption of a community based approach in CBFM

Chapter 4 provided a ‘big picture’ analysis of the broader historical policy context relating to CBFM and the contributing factors that have shaped the adoption of a community based forestry governance approach in the upland regions of the country. This provides an appreciation of the extent to which social considerations, related to participatory governance, were significant in shaping the CBFM policy compared with the traditional dominance of bio-physical science in forestry management.

The CBFM programme was shaped by a vision of collaborative governance. In the latter part of 1970s, policy makers in the Philippines had come to realise that punitive measures to enforce forest management and development were ineffective (Aguilar, 2008; Kirchoffer & Mercer, 1984). This prompted the government, through DENR, to formulate forest management policies incorporating participatory strategies aimed at fostering community engagement in community based forest management programmes. It was envisioned that this

participatory approach would achieve the goals of social equity, poverty alleviation, and resource sustainability in the uplands (Cernea, 1992; Eckholm, 1975; Fisher, 1991; Gilmour & Fisher, 1991). The widespread environmental resource degradation and deforestation had had wide ranging adverse impacts for the livelihoods and well-being of the people living in the upland areas of the Philippines given their dependence on the forests and forestlands. The adoption of a community based approach to forestry management in the 1980s was designed to stop and reverse this situation.

As discussed below, the more specific factors that have shaped the formulation of CBFM policy in the Philippines were: the radical change in the Philippine national government from a dictatorial regime to a more responsive and participatory approach to governance; a devolution policy that widened the focus of the government from punitive forest management to a broader perspective including social concerns; and the unification of the different programmes and projects into one umbrella programme. This CBFM programme had a strong emphasis on community participation.

9.2.1 Effects of changing government regime

The radical change of the Philippine national government from a dictatorial regime to a more responsive and participatory approach began after the downfall of the Marcos regime in 1986. Briefly described below is the transition of past government policies and programmes that led to the incorporation of social concerns to complement the biological imperatives for the management of the country's forest and forest lands.

The state ownership of forest and forest lands in the Philippines commenced during the colonisation period. The emphasis of forest management during this period was on forest utilisation. The eventual loss of forest resources as a result of over logging adversely affected a great number of Filipinos who were dependent on forest resources for their livelihoods. The Philippine government blamed the upland dwellers for causing forest degradation with their slash and burn cultivation practices, and failed to acknowledge the greater adverse impact of commercial logging. For this reason, the upland inhabitants were faced with penalties of imprisonment and eviction.

Subsequently, the Philippines regained its political independence, but the focus of forest policies on commercialised logging remained during the long era of the Marcos regime. The effects of long years of deforestation were experienced all over the Philippine archipelago. Poverty increased and livelihood options in the lowlands were increasingly limited resulting

in continued migration to the uplands (Borlagdan, 1997; Kummer, 1992). The Marcos government realised the necessity of promulgating participatory forest policies and programmes. However, the involvement of the local communities was limited and confined to prescribed activities such as tree planting and improvement of allotted land. Peoples' participation was constrained by the government's objectives for reforestation and halting slash and burn cultivation. The limited community engagement in the past policies and programmes nevertheless provided experience and understanding for improving programme design.

In the 1980s the upland development programmes were integrated and consolidated as one programme, known as Integrated Social Forestry Programme (ISFP). The two-pronged objectives of ISF were to promote the socio-economic well-being of forest occupants and communities dependent on forest land for their livelihood by providing land tenure security and at the same time promoting and improving the quality of the environment. However, the ISF programme was reported as relatively token in terms of the participation and support of upland community beneficiaries (Mathiason, 2007).

9.2.2 Effects of the unification of the upland development programmes

Collectively, the policies and programmes of the Philippine government were meant to stop forest degradation and improve the socio-economic conditions of the indigent upland inhabitants. In 1995, all the government upland development programmes were amalgamated into the CBFM programme which incorporated the guiding principles and framework for participatory forest governance in the Philippines with a strong emphasis on community participation and stakeholder dialogue.

The shift from a top-down to a more interactive participatory approach to forest management was enhanced by a number of factors: the Philippine government's realisation that upland inhabitants were potential partners in upland development and forest management; the community members and POs that were willing and able to perform their tasks as partners in forest management; the capability and commitment of the project advocates; the support and commitment of external funders; the availability of appropriate technology (upland farming techniques); field trips or cross farm visits; linkages with other government organisations for financial support; the establishment of participatory mechanisms at the local level; the conduct of needs-based training; the explicit incorporation of stakeholder dialogue within the participatory processes; and the financial and technical assistance from DENR, the LGUs and the NGOs (Pulhin, et.al., 2007).

However constraints were identified to the achievement of community engagement and commitment to the successful operation of the CBFM programme and its twin goals. One of the main criticisms was the constant changes of policy and programme directives. Other factors noted were: the weak organisational and technical capacity of both the local community members and the CBFM implementers; the lack of interactive participation among the upland community; and the government's failure to accord weight to participatory governance objectives compared with the biological imperatives of forest management.

9.2.3 Effects of devolution policy

The devolution policy that was enacted in 1991 widened the focus of the government from punitive forest management to a broader perspective including social concerns. Devolution was viewed as a concrete effort to realise the ideals of democracy and social justice in the Philippines. However, the policy outcomes have been disappointing. The LGUs were authorised to enforce forestry laws within the ISFP, subject to the supervision of DENR. As described earlier, the Sangbay case study was devolved to the LGU while the Villa Ventura site was retained under DENR to serve as the Centre for People Empowerment in the Uplands (CPEU). The two cases represent a mix of relative success and failure as a result of their participation in the project. The Sangbay project participants felt dissatisfied and disengaged after responsibility for the area was transferred to the LGU. The primary reason for the project participants' progressively diminishing engagement was forced tax payment. In contrast, the Villa Ventura project participants sustained their engagement in the project. The adequate support and investments by the government in the project area enhanced the support and commitment of the project participants. In addition, the project participants were able to lobby central government directly for more project assistance.

9.3 The effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue in CBFM projects

As a context for eliciting the narratives of the stakeholder respondents, relating to the role of stakeholder dialogue as a forum for community engagement, the relevant attributes of the two case study projects were reviewed in Chapter 5.

Informed by this analysis, Chapters 6 and 7 presented the case study findings on the role of stakeholder dialogue in two community based forestry projects in the Cagayan Valley. These two chapters collectively addressed research question 2.

The five key attributes of stakeholder dialogue proposed by Stoll-Kleemann & Welp (2006) have proved helpful in identifying and explaining the extent to which stakeholder dialogue

has contributed to the achievement of the CBFM goals. The findings are summed up in Table 9.1. The research findings reveal that there are significant shortcomings in the process of stakeholder dialogue in relation to the five key attributes in both projects. The process of dialogue overall has been relatively more effective in the Villa Ventura CBFM project compared with the Sangbay CBFM project.

Table 9.1 Summary of findings - project participants and stakeholder dialogue

Elements	Criteria/Indicator	Findings in the two CBFM projects	
		Sangbay	Villa Ventura
Actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key actors identified • All stakeholders' roles in the project were clear to all stakeholders • All participants actively involved in the dialogue process • Representativeness among all stakeholders involved in the project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identified DENR as key actor • lack of clarity over their roles • progressively diminished involvement • all stakeholder groups represented 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identified DENR and LGU as key actors • lack of clarity over their roles • sustained active involvement • all stakeholder groups represented
Methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identified sources of information • Identified methods of sharing of information • Identified importance of and used formal modes of undertaking stakeholder dialogue • Identified importance of and used informal modes of stakeholder dialogue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identified parents, elders, and other community members as sources of information aside from DENR • identified formal and informal methods of interaction • identified meetings, seminars, etc. as formal mode of interaction and applied the knowledge gained in their farming practices • identified resolution letters and conversations as the most used form of interaction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identified parents, elders, and other community members as sources of information aside from DENR • identified formal and informal methods of interaction • identified meetings and demonstration as the formal mode of interaction and applied the knowledge gained in their farming practises • identified resolution letters and conversations as the most used form of interaction
Structures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear and transparent structures (how stakeholder inputs will be used) • Power sharing is observed (absence of domination, voices and interests of all stakeholders were heard, local issues were dealt with) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • were not sure if recommendations were used • discussions at meetings have been dominated by local officials and elders; still dependent on leaders and DENR 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • suggestions used • discussions at meetings have been dominated by local officials and elders; still dependent on leaders and DENR

Table 9.1 Summary of findings - project participants and stakeholder dialogue (continued)

Processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants treated each other with respect • Fair process (all interested parties were represented in the dialogue) • Limited influence of DENR and other government agencies involved in the project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • treated each other with respect • fair representation of all stakeholders in the dialogue process • still dependent on DENR 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • treated each other with respect • fair representation of all stakeholders in the dialogue process • still dependent on DENR
Outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning (participants learned from and with each other and improved understanding of others' viewpoints, issues and interests) • Developed trust and confidence in any transaction with the government agencies • Improved working relationship and trust and community spirit and solidarity generated • Social well-being and capabilities improved • Reached an agreement or resolution to solving specific issue about the project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • some learning occurred • diminished trust and confidence with the government agencies • variable working relationship • improved social well-being • land tenure issue unresolved 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • some learning occurred • developed trust and confidence with the government agencies • improved working relationship • improved social well-being • land tenure issue unresolved

9.3.1 Element 'actors'

The potential role of 'actors' is critical to the success of every dialogue. Successful dialogue is produced by clearly identifying all of the stakeholders affected or interested in a project, getting representatives of those groups to participate, and hearing their concerns to help ensure that their interests are not overlooked (Evans, 2003; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). In terms of the element 'actors', the criteria or indicators of successful dialogue used were: key actors were identified by all stakeholders; all stakeholders' roles in the project were clear to all stakeholders; and, all participants were actively involved in the dialogue process.

The perceptions of most of the local community respondents in both projects demonstrate that they only recognise DENR as the main actor involved in the project and they were relatively oblivious of the role of other stakeholders. More importantly, they did not appreciate that they themselves were key actors in the CBFM projects. The local community respondents saw themselves as the beneficiaries of the project under the management of DENR. This finding indicated that the CBFM participants in both study areas have a relatively narrow understanding of the roles and responsibilities of the other stakeholders involved. This raises questions about the extent to which DENR and the LGUs have adequately explained the

significance of community engagement in forestry governance and how well this has been understood by local inhabitants.

Devolving the Sangbay project from DENR to the LGU, the tax imposition by the LGU and the irregular visible presence of the PMO in the Sangbay CBFM area resulted in a dwindling involvement by participants in the dialogue activities of that project. In contrast, the strong PO leadership and continuous presence of the PMO in Villa Ventura sustained the active involvement of the CBFM participants in the project dialogue activities. The retention of Villa Ventura as a CPEU was another factor that has sustained engagement in all the CBFM activities. The participants felt the need to support the project in order to maintain the area as a CPEU or model site. The recognition they received from being identified as CBFM participants, the benefits they gain from their participation, and the access to support from government agencies explains their willingness to maintain their engagement in the project.

The different stakeholder groups involved were represented in stakeholder dialogue held in the *barangay*. The attendance of all stakeholders was noted in both study areas. However, their presence at meetings was not a guarantee that their interests and voices were heard and represented at all times. This finding supports my observation, depicted in Figure 5.2, that ordinary community members just talk in their seats and listen passively during their attendance at meetings.

To sum up, the findings suggest that the indicators for successful stakeholder dialogue relating to the element 'actor' were only partially met for both projects, albeit more so for the Villa Ventura project and less so for the Sangbay.

9.3.2 Element 'methods'

The method of dialogue determines the extent of engagement in the interaction between stakeholder groups and the extent to which stakeholders gain knowledge and information (Chikozho, 2008). The form of dialogue provides the setting in which participants interact and therefore dictates whether they feel comfortable in expressing their views (Welp & Stoll-Kleemann, 2006). The identified criteria or indicators of successful dialogue for the element 'methods' were: the sources of information; the methods for sharing information; the importance and use of formal modes; and, the importance and use of informal modes.

The study established that meetings were a method commonly used by government agencies in disseminating information about the project and the most accessible way of reaching the local community. Most of the respondents in both projects acquired their information from

DENR through their attendance at formal meetings and dialogue held in the *barangay*. An essential requirement for community engagement is that dialogue should have an information feedback mechanism that shows whether or not the information is reaching the project participants (Chikozho, 2008; Oels, 2006). Some of the formal methods identified were not useful to other members because it did not provide for the majority of CBFM participants' full contribution in the dialogue process. The ordinary members were not well informed compared to the PO officials and local leaders.

Through feedback mechanisms, any concerns and issues related to the project that need clarification can be addressed straightaway. Having said this, it could be inferred from the finding that in meetings, two way communications was limited. The PO and local officials tended to dominate discussions leaving the ordinary members voices unheard.

The other formal methods of dialogue identified, i.e., seminars and field trips, were not necessarily effective because many members did not have access to them. Only the PO officers and local officials were privileged to participate in these dialogues. The rest of the participants would have only heard and learned about the activities second hand.

The findings also indicated that some respondents acquired information through their informal conversations with other community members, parents, and elders. Informal conversations supplemented their awareness of the project and influenced their perception of community engagement. This study established that the informal means of interaction has a direct bearing on the effectiveness of the dialogue process in CBFM projects. As a result of the dialogue carried out in both projects, the participants grasped the importance and usages of both the formal and informal methods of interaction enabling them to apply and practice what they had learned in their farming. For example, the practical demonstrations and field visits provided tangible evidence of output and 'hands-on' experience.

Problem identification and finding solutions involving the CBFM participants is a situation that creates opportunity for them to be heard, making them to engage in dialogue activities of the project (Cernea, 1992).

Despite some criticisms with the methods identified by the respondents, overall, the criteria or indicators for successful stakeholder dialogue relating to the element 'method' were met to a significant extent.

9.3.3 Element 'structures'

The structure of dialogue is affected by clarity, transparency, and power relations (Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006). A stakeholder dialogue is considered successful if the idea of the project originated from the people, the voices and interests of the different stakeholders were heard, and the activities and outcomes of the projects were transparent. The criteria or indicators for the element 'structure' employed were: clear and transparent structures (how stakeholder inputs would be used); and equitable power sharing was observed (absence of domination, voices and interests of all stakeholders heard, local issues dealt with).

Chikozho, (2008) and Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, (2006) believe that participatory processes and dialogue structure should begin at the local level to achieve a meaningful dialogue. In contrast, the findings of this study in both CBFM projects indicate that the structure of dialogue was correlated to the government's hierarchical structure of top-down management. Hence, the dialogue structures lack the appropriate preparation at the local level. Project information was relayed from central to regional government and from there to community offices down to the local community. This structure placed the CBFM participants at a disadvantage as their views and opinions were not sought in the project design or the initial phase of implementation. The Sangbay participants were uncertain if their suggestions for project improvement were heard and considered, because the decisions made by government agencies were not echoed back to them. In contrast, Villa Ventura participants received feedback from their PMO that their suggestions were included in the plans and decisions of the government agencies. Despite the top-down fashion of CBFM project implementation, the findings indicated that Villa Ventura participants had a greater level of engagement in the project. The incorporation of their suggestions could explain this difference based on their belief they were part of the system. Thus, the Sangbay project was found to have not achieved the criteria or indicators of successful dialogue.

The results of the study established that the discussions during stakeholder dialogue were usually dominated by local officials and elders in the community. Despite fostering stakeholder dialogue in both CBFM study areas, participants were still dependent on the directions and leadership of DENR. In this case, the criteria or indicators for effective stakeholder dialogue have remained unsatisfactory. This finding indicates that the CBFM objective of community self-reliance was not achieved.

I believe however, that properly structured dialogue can be instrumental in the achievement of CBFM project's goals. Stakeholder dialogue should be structured in a way that the voices of

the local community inhabitants are heard at all levels and times by the government agencies. Based on the findings of the two cases, the dialogue structure did not reflect this. I found that the CBFM programme was a product of government agencies dictates. The communication and feedback in relation to the implementation of the project was neither smooth nor satisfactory. Stakeholder participation in formal dialogue was only rhetorical and superficial. The idea of the project did not begin at the local level, neither was it sufficiently filtered down to the local community (Chikozho, 2008).

To sum up, the criteria or indicators for successful stakeholder dialogue relating to the element 'structure' were only partially met for Villa Ventura project. Stakeholder dialogue in Sangbay case remained extremely limited based on the criteria. The dialogue structure may not have been sufficiently operative to make a significant difference to Sangbay CBFM participants.

9.3.4 Element 'processes'

Stakeholder dialogue processes determine the extent to which the different parties involved learn from their role in community engagement initiatives and see themselves as responsible for finding a solution that is best suited to all stakeholders. There are three kinds of stakeholder processes: decisional, consultative, and informational (Yosie & Herbst, 1998). The criteria or indicators for the element 'process' employed were: participants treated each other with respect; fair process (all interested parties were represented in the dialogue); and, the influence of DENR and other government agencies involved was limited.

Stakeholder meetings and dialogue held in both projects were mainly initiated by DENR, however there were some instances where dialogue was initiated by the CBFM participants. The process of dialogue was perceived of by the CBFM participants in both projects to be respectful in terms of each other's dealings with the other stakeholders. The dialogue was also perceived of as fair enough in terms of stakeholders' representation during dialogue. However, the CBFM participants in both projects still relied on DENR for assistance and guidance when making decisions about the issues and their concerns. CBFM did not originate locally, but was handed down as a package, creating limited option for the members other than to abide by the rules of the project. For this reason, I believe that the influence of DENR on CBFM participants' decision making capacity was reasonable. However, the dominant influence of DENR may not indicate successful dialogue because this dominance predisposes the CBFM participants to be more helpless and dependent to DENR.

Overall, the criteria or indicators for successful stakeholder dialogue relating to the element 'processes' were met on the aspect of respectful and fair process in both projects. The dominant influence of DENR was still observed in both projects, hence, this criteria was only partially met. In this respect, the stakeholder dialogue processes failed to create space for the local community to realise their full potential as *de facto* managers of the forest and forest land.

9.3.5 Element 'outcomes'

The direct output and long-term outcomes of stakeholder dialogue, such as learning and increased trust and respect, are essential to the success of every dialogue (Averbeck, 2006; Burchell & Cook, 2006; Evans, 2003; Stoll-Kleemann & Welp, 2006; Yosie & Herbst, 1998). The identified criteria or indicators required relating to the element 'outcome' were: learning (participants learned from and with each other and improved their understanding of others' viewpoints, issues and interests); developed trust and confidence in any transaction with the government agencies; improved working relationships, developed trust and community spirit and generated solidarity; improved social well-being and capabilities (farming practices and social relations); and, reached an agreement or resolution for solving project issues.

There were indicators that there was learning, improved social-well-being and constructive working relationships in the lives of the CBFM participants in both projects brought about by stakeholder dialogue. As discussed in Chapter 7, Section 7.3, CBFM participants have increased their project awareness, learned technical know-how, and have improved their social well-being through participation in stakeholder dialogue. The Sangbay CBFM respondents perceived that they were not heard and or given recognition on specific issues related to the project. For this reason, they lost trust and confidence in their transactions with the government agencies. The outcome of stakeholder dialogue in Villa Ventura was manifested as successful having established a greater engagement in the project.

To sum up, examination of stakeholder dialogue, based on the selected criteria or indicators relating to the five key elements, found performance was variable. This study raises a number of issues on CBFM stakeholder dialogue processes that need to be considered and monitored. There is a need for the government agencies to think carefully about whether the kind of dialogue to be implemented is appropriate for the CBFM projects' participants. The findings also inferred that CBFM participants would feel important and empowered when they were able to contribute to both the establishment and the on-going management of the structures, processes, and outcomes of the dialogue.

9.4 The institutional and related contextual socio-political factors

The analysis in Chapter 8 of the institutional and related contextual socio-political factors in the two CBFM projects was useful for understanding the more deep-seated political economic factors which acted as barriers to the achievement of the CBFM participatory governance goals. These research findings addressed the third research objective.

I found that the factors that facilitated or hindered stakeholder dialogue were interrelated. The analysis of findings in Chapter 8 identified the significance of contextual factors in enabling or hindering stakeholder dialogue in CBFM projects by focussing on the institutions and the related socio-political considerations. Table 9.2 summarises the findings.

Table 9.2 Summary of factors that facilitated or hindered stakeholder dialogue

Factors that facilitated stakeholder dialogue	Factors that hindered stakeholder dialogue
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • land tenure security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • devolution processes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • benefits of the project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • limited land tenure security
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strong leadership in PO 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • participants' dependence on DENR;
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • trust and confidence in PMO 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hierarchical top-down dominance of stakeholder dialogue
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • recognising the importance of informal and continuous dialogue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • political patronage and favouritism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cooperative endeavour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • limited involvement of women
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provision of extension education, 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • transformation of participants outlook in forest management 	

9.4.1 Factors that fostered stakeholder dialogue

This study indicates that the contextual factors that facilitated stakeholder dialogue in the two CBFM projects were: land tenure security, the perceived benefits of the project, strong PO leadership, trust and confidence in the PMO, recognising the importance of informal and continuous dialogue, cooperative endeavour, provision of extension education, and behaviour and attitude change.

Land tenure security: There was an indication that land tenure security was a crucial facilitating and motivating factor for CBFM participants to engage in stakeholder dialogue. This result indicates that greater security of land tenure would enhance commitment and participation in the protection and management of the land and forest resources. The instrument of land tenure security has contributed to the creation of a more harmonious atmosphere encompassing dialogue in the CBFM projects.

Benefits of the project: The findings show that CBFM participants' support for, and engagement with, the project activities was strongly linked to the tangible benefits such as the assurance of income and food security. The satisfaction of basic needs was strongly linked with the protection and sustainable use of forest resources (Linke, 2006). In both CBFM projects, the respondents' involvement in stakeholder dialogue was driven by the desire to exit the poverty cycle and earn respect from the community. This socio-economic factor facilitated dialogue because the CBFM participants saw engagement in CBFM as a vehicle that would enable them to fulfil their ambitions.

Strong PO leadership: The PO chairman was an important channel of communication between DENR, CBFM participants, and other organisational groups advocating for CBFM. The strong and trustworthy leadership of a PO encouraged the members to engage in stakeholder dialogue. The findings reveal that strong leadership and commitment of the PO chairmen have contributed to the engagement with, and stakeholder dialogue in, the CBFM projects. This created an atmosphere where the participants were motivated to listen and support the chairmen's decisions relating to the project. In both CBFM projects, the skills of the PO leader to convince the members to engage in the dialogue activities and to commit themselves to follow the rules and regulations of the project have contributed to the success of CBFM.

Trust and confidence in PMO: Trust and confidence in the PMO was an influential factor in stakeholder dialogue because the PMO was on the front line of the CBFM project implementation and in direct contact with the CBFM participants. This study indicates that the ability of the PMO in the Villa Ventura CBFM project to work collaboratively with the community resulted in the relatively successful implementation of the project's dialogue activities.

Recognising the importance of informal and continuous dialogue: Dialogue is said to be an essential communication channel between the local community and government agencies. The empirical findings of this study suggest that continuous dialogue enabled the CBFM participants to learn and gain knowledge on forest conservation, develop self-confidence, and assert their needs to the government agencies. Through continuous dialogue a higher awareness of the importance of proper use of the forest resources has developed which has sustained the interest of all the stakeholders. Constructive dialogue became an opportunity in building loyalty, trust and enhancing experience. When stakeholder dialogue was employed at the beginning of the project it contributed to the attainment of the project goals.

Cooperative endeavour: Stakeholder dialogue in both CBFM study areas promoted communal relationships and the commitment of the PO members necessary to achieving their common goals. The culture of *bayanihan* bonded the CBFM participants together to assert their objectives during dialogue. The spirit of *bayanihan*, combined with stakeholder dialogue, resulted in the collaborative effort of the CBFM participants to improve their socio-economic status and develop their community.

Provision of extension education: Stakeholder dialogue can foster engagement when the community has the technological ability to engage in the decisions made in the project. This study found that extension education, provided through forums such as training and seminars, increased the capacity of participants in both areas to bring about changes in the community and empowered them to manage the activities in the CBFM projects.

Transformation of participants' outlook in forest management: The findings indicate that the initial hesitance to participate in the CBFM project was mitigated by the continuous dissemination of information through dialogue, training, and field trips. The participants had learned to appreciate the benefits derived from their engagement in the project and as a consequence over time had transformed their outlook from doubtful reluctance to committing to join and support the project. Thus, there was a strong indication that stakeholder dialogue was a mechanism that positively changed the attitudes and behaviour of the CBFM participants. The positive behaviour included the shared desire for sustainable forest management and the development of trust and mutual understanding.

9.4.2 Factors that posed barriers to stakeholder dialogue

The factors that posed barriers to stakeholder dialogue in the CBFM projects were: devolution; the limited nature of the land tenure; the participants' dependence on DENR; the hierarchical top-down dominance of stakeholder dialogue; political patronage and favouritism; and the limited involvement of women.

Devolution process: The research results indicate that the transfer of a CBFM project to the LGU was a factor that adversely affected the involvement of local participants in the dialogue activities. The LGU focussed more on the collection of property tax instead of strengthening their partnership with the local community causing a loss of interest in attending meetings, particularly in Sangbay.

Limited nature of the land tenure: Granting security of land tenure facilitated stakeholder dialogue; and conversely where it was of a limited nature with no assurance of lifetime

ownership tenure became a barrier to effective stakeholder dialogue. The management of the CBFM areas and their forests remained centrally controlled creating uncertainty and fear based on the potential for loss of their land. There was a tendency among the CBFM participants to disengage with the project once their security of tenure was threatened. Stakeholder dialogue would not be effective as long as these perceived fears continued.

Participants' dependence on DENR: DENR aimed to establish self-reliance and self-governance among the CBFM participants through their engagement in stakeholder dialogue and other project-related activities. Despite the training and seminars extended by the government agencies, the capacity of the CBFM participants to manage the forest by themselves remained largely unrealised. They continued to believe that the government officials were more capable in terms of leadership and the regulation of the overall operation of the CBFM projects. The relatively poor socio-economic status combined with the cultural traditions of the CBFM participants acted to foster dependence on people of higher socio-economic status such as the government officials. This dependency had an adverse impact on the extent of stakeholder dialogue and level of community engagement in the CBFM projects.

Hierarchical top-down dominance of stakeholder dialogue: The hierarchical top-down dominance of stakeholder dialogue and inadequate government processes was another factor that hindered stakeholder dialogue. Ideally, the role of government agencies was to facilitate communication and cooperation among all the stakeholders involved so they could work out reasonable agreements and motivating local inhabitants to improve their management of the forest resources. However, the dominance of the hierarchical top-down government structure has slowed communication as it has to be channelled through the different levels causing delays in responses and subsequent actions. The government forest management policies were continuously changing and being implemented without engaging in the necessary dialogue with the CBFM participants.

The local arrangements made by the POs, such as forest regulation and protection, were most often violated because of the weak enforcement and lack of support by DENR and the LGUs as a consequence of their centralised management systems. The reported corruption of government officials prevented CBFM participants enforcing their local rules to prevent the illegal cutting of trees in the CBFM areas. Frustration among the CBFM participants in Sangbay was apparent and may have contributed to their diminished involvement in the project dialogue activities.

Political patronage and favouritism: The local council officials and elders tended to dominate the discussion during meetings, intimidating ordinary members of the PO and diminishing their participation in the discussions. Most often, the members' opinions and views were represented by the local officials and elders. This may be attributed to the customary reluctance of Filipinos to express their views in the presence of people holding political positions. This reluctance has prevented the airing and exploration of local views and opinions of relevance to the improvement of the projects. There was also an impression among CBFM participants that those who were close to the political leaders were the first to benefit from the project which caused dissatisfaction among the other members.

Limited involvement of women: Undermining the potential contribution of women and their involvement in the dialogue activities of CBFM served as an additional barrier to stakeholder dialogue. The potential of the women's input to contribute to the fostering of community engagement was untapped and positioned them as even more subservient to the men.

9.5 Synthesis of empirical findings

My thesis has critically examined how the CBFM programme vision has been put into practice. In this section, based on the findings presented above, I will briefly reflect on the extent to which the transition to participatory forestry governance was a realistic policy expectation and how it may be enhanced based on the Philippines experience.

The adoption of a participatory approach in forestry governance in the Philippines was intended to achieve the goals of social and resource sustainability in the uplands. It has been argued by Fawcett et al. (1995) that community engagement should involve strong partnerships with the other stakeholders, change relationships among partners, and serve as catalysts for changing policies, programmes, and practices. However, for the past 30 years, this vision for CBFM has only been partially achieved in the governance of the Philippines' upland forests.

The findings of this research suggests that the experiences of the CBFM project participants in the Philippines, as demonstrated by the Sangbay and Villa Ventura participatory forestry governance case studies, were still dominated by the legacy of the top-down approach to forest management.

Further, based on the reported experiences with stakeholder dialogue in Cagayan Valley, it was clear that the policies supporting CBFM were a necessary, but not sufficient condition for successful dialogue. It was not enough for government simply to implement community

based forest management with the stated intention of involving the local community. The government needed to establish commensurate legal and land tenure rights and authority and devolve the appropriate powers. Community engagement and stakeholder dialogue should involve strong partnerships, change relationships among partners, and serve as catalysts for changing policies, programmes, and practices.

The summary of findings in terms of the strengths and weaknesses of stakeholder dialogue with considerations of the five key attributes and related contextual factors is presented in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3 Strengths and weaknesses of stakeholder dialogue in the two CBFM projects

Sangbay site		Villa Ventura site	
Strengths	Weaknesses	Strengths	Weaknesses
✓ enhancement of engagement and awareness in conservation and management of forest and forest land	× participants failure to understand their primary role as co-managers of the project	✓ enhancement of engagement and awareness of conservation and management of forest and forest land	× participants failure to understand their primary role as co-managers of the project
✓ improvement of project participants technical know-how	× lack of power sharing among the participants resulting in unequal representation of interests	✓ improvement of technical know-how	× lack of power sharing among the participants resulting in unequal representation of interests
✓ developed community spirit and solidarity among the project participants to stand as one voice	× the influence of DENR and other government agencies overpowering	✓ developed community spirit and solidarity among the participants to stand as one voice	× the influence of DENR and other government agencies overpowering
✓ establishment of people's organisation	× distrust of government agencies by participants	✓ establishment of people's organisation	× participants insufficiently self-reliant
✓ improvement in socio-economic status	× insufficient reassurance that suggestions and recommendations are incorporated or used in engagement projects	✓ improvement in socio-economic status	
✓ empowerment of participants in terms of network building	× participants insufficiently self-reliant	✓ empowerment of participants in terms of network building	
		✓ increased awareness of the identity of the actors involved in the dialogue process	
		✓ sustained active participation in the dialogue and community engagement	
		✓ made the participants aware that their suggestions were being used	
		✓ established and maintained trust and confidence in government agencies	

The general feedback from the government agencies and the NGOs was that the success of stakeholder dialogue in the CBFM project was due to the adequate support from the government agencies, coupled with the socio-economic motivation of the CBFM participants, to be involved with the project and was not due to stakeholder dialogue alone. Though it was recognised that stakeholder dialogue was not a guarantee for achieving the CBFM project's goals, this study has demonstrated that dialogue was a key contributing factor.

9.6 Policy recommendations to overcome barriers to stakeholder dialogue

Based on the literature review and empirical findings, I have derived the following strategies to overcome the barriers to stakeholder dialogue encountered by community participants in the two projects in order to respond to research question 4.

9.6.1 Devolution process

According to Agrawal & Gibson (1999), the success or failure of devolution depends on the specific situations of each case based on institutional, socio-economic and socio-cultural factors. The strong support of the government agencies (DENR and the LGUs) for the CBFM participants is imperative to ameliorate the difficulties posed by the devolution policy. It is essential that the LGU personnel in the CBFM projects undergo community development training to enhance their communication and outreach skills. This will enable them to improve their working relationships with the CBFM participants and their capacity as community development officers, enabling them to better carry out their CBFM functions. If the LGU can function as co-managers, the CBFM participants' negative perceptions will be repaired.

For the CBFM participants to be receptive, the LGU should have enabling dialogue mechanisms, linking the local level to the formal dialogue processes in a more informed manner that would create stimulated discussion and deliberation. This would open channels for the upland communities to communicate their concerns and priorities to the government agencies (Shackleton et al., 2002). As discussed in the literature, this can be achieved by improving literacy through extension education and creating stronger property rights at local community levels so that CBFM participants can make informed responses to existing forest policy (CIFOR, 2000).

9.6.2 Limited nature of land tenure security

To overcome the limited security of land tenure, DENR should clarify the situation by articulating the fact to the CBFM participants that the portions of land allotted to them are within the public domain and the granting of land title to enable private ownership is not permitted by law. Given that the CBFM participants have minimal educational standards, the issue of land title should be clearly explained in the simplest possible terms to enhance the opportunity for the CBFM participants to understand.

9.6.3 Participants' dependency on DENR

The sustainability of CBFM project initiatives depends on enabling those institutional and related socio-political factors necessary to achieve successful stakeholder dialogue and requires the commitment of the government agencies and accountability of leaders to minimise the dominance of the state in these developments (Mansuri & Rao, 2004). I recognise that particular support from government agencies is vital for the success of stakeholder dialogue. The CBFM participants should be provided with the necessary training to engender and then assess their management skills. This would enhance their capability and thus the projects stability, through building and strengthening their capability to enhance partnerships and collaboration with other CBFM stakeholders. The formation of peoples' organisations is seen as one way for rural upland communities to achieve self-reliance and to articulate their interests and development priorities (Nyoni, 1987). DENR should allow the local community enough space and autonomy in decision making regarding issues within the project area. DENR, as implementer of the project, needs to tap the creativity of the CBFM participants and to encourage them to discover and define their own role in forest management (Curie-Alder, 2007). This requires clearly stated rights and responsibilities for participants within the CBFM structure.

DENR should maintain a stable organisational and functional structure to avoid confusion and misconception in the local communities. The roles and responsibilities of the POs and LGUs should be clearly articulated within the CBFM structure. Perhaps the most important improvement that could be made is to clearly articulate the present and future roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders involved.

DENR should establish legislation and policies to support local arrangements for forest protection. These policies should be strongly enforced and executed. Lack of adequate support will threaten the involvement of the local community.

9.6.4 Hierarchical top-down dominance of stakeholder dialogue and poor processes of government

Commitment on the part of the government to support the CBFM project implementation is essential to encourage support from the local community (Ascher, 1995). DENR should be straight forward in dealing with CBFM issues to sustain involvement and participation in dialogue activities. It will be important for DENR and other government agencies to listen to and support the field level staff recommendations because they are directly involved in the CBFM project activities. They have to demonstrate commitment to support the POs in their initiatives (Pulhin, 1998).

This research found that the government institutions involved in the planning and implementation of CBFM programmes were not able to employ a participatory approach. For a dialogue process to be effective there needs to be strong commitment and political will from all the stakeholders involved. The political will of the people to elect (and not buy votes) honest officials may counter the difficulties inherent to government's hierarchical structure. If there is support from the political leaders, the community will likely actively support the project. The government agencies must conduct stakeholder dialogue as part of initial consultation and deliberation with the targeted communities. The government must also establish means to recognise the *de facto* rights of the local community and must not assume that these residents know and understand the project intent and proposed modus operandi.

9.6.5 Political patronage and favouritism

The PO should create a system that gives equal opportunity to each member in accessing project opportunities. All members of the PO should be given tasks and responsibilities (not just delegated to the PO officers) in running the CBFM project. If the members were divided into smaller working groups they would feel more at ease to freely express their ideas and opinions.

9.6.6 Limited involvement of women

It was established in this study that all the CSC holders of CBFM projects were men. DENR should look at specifically involving women in dialogue as a means of diagnosing the actual needs of a community and forming the basis for designing and implementing project activities. Women should be recognised and given the capacity to participate as partners in upland development projects and with equal engagement and involvement in the dialogue

activities of the project. This will empower women to play a more dynamic role in forest management.

To sum up, in order to foster or sustain community engagement and stakeholder dialogue in CBFM projects, the implementers and advocates of CBFM should capitalise on the factors that enable effective stakeholder dialogue. The proposed solutions to the identified barriers to stakeholder dialogue should be followed and be applied to realise the objectives of CBFM.

9.7 Theoretical significance

In the literature, there is a gap in the theoretically informed understanding of the role of stakeholder dialogue in achieving the objectives of community based forest management (Averbeck, 2006; Eben, 2006; Hellstrom, 2006; Linke, 2006; Sturm & Rivera, 2006; Welp & Stoll-Kleemann, 2006). This study has made an important theoretically informed contribution to addressing this gap in understanding, particularly in respect of the effectiveness of making the transition to participatory forestry governance in the Philippines.

This research has used an innovative two pronged analytical framework to achieve its objectives. The first leg of the analytical framework was based on the model of stakeholder dialogue proposed by Stoll-Kleemann & Welp (2006). The model incorporated five key elements contributing to effective stakeholder dialogue: actors, methods, structures, processes, and outcomes. The second leg of the analytical framework comprised contextual factors, with emphasis on institutional arrangements, to assess factors that have facilitated or hindered stakeholder dialogue. This combination has proved to be more effective in critically analysing the transition to participatory forestry governance compared with the Stoll-Kleemann & Welp (2006) framework on its own. This study has demonstrated the importance of taking a ‘big picture’ structural approach to examine the effectiveness of stakeholder dialogue. The research findings highlight the significance of analysing the institutional and related socio-political context to explain the reasons for the relative success or failure of stakeholder dialogue. Arguably, the focus of the Stoll-Kleemann & Welp (2006) framework is on relatively narrow procedural considerations.

9.8 Recommendations for further research

This research is based on the assumption that community engagement in general and stakeholder dialogue in particular contributes to the achievement of CBFM goals. The aggregated research findings proved that there were positive changes in the lives of CBFM

participants as a result of stakeholder dialogue. The findings of this study suggest that stakeholder dialogue can bring about greater community participation in the management of forests which in turn can improve support from the participants.

Stakeholder dialogue undertaken in CBFM in the Philippines remains largely undocumented and assessed. In cases where results were documented, the purpose was confined to generating funds and attracting donors for the project. Since CBFM in the Philippines is rooted in traditional management, there is a need for further research examining and documenting the current practices and performance of dialogue all over the Philippines. The objective of doing this is to find out if the inclusion of the five elements of stakeholder dialogue and related contextual factors in CBFM programme produces the desired outcome. Based on this information, it would be possible to generalise the implementation of stakeholder dialogue in conjunction with CBFM to areas where traditional forest management exists. Thus, it is important to conduct further research to assess the role of stakeholder dialogue in CBFM implementation and in achieving its objectives.

The following are the suggested topics for further research:

1. Further develop and test the analytical framework developed for this research by studying participatory forestry governance in different regional settings in the Philippines and in other countries.
2. Assess the recommendations to improve community engagement and stakeholder dialogue proposed in this chapter, in order to achieve the objectives of the CBFM programme in other regions in the Philippines and in other Asian upland forestry regions.

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Appendix 1 Semi-structured interview questions for direct CBFM participants

Lincoln University
Faculty of Environment, Society and Design
Stakeholder dialogue as forum for community engagement in the upland forestry projects in the Philippines

1. Tell me about what you know about the project?
Checklist of follow-up questions:
 - a) When did you learn about the project?
 - b) How and where did you learn about the project?
 - c) What did you learn about the project? (or What information did you get?)
 - d) What was your reaction when you first learned about the project?
 - e) Did you decide to participate in the project, and what made you come to your decision about participation in the project?

2. What people were important for you in learning about the project?
Checklist of follow-up questions:
 - a) Were they involved in the project?
 - b) What was their role in the project?
 - c) Which institutions were they attached to?

3. Who did you approach to clarify questions or raise your concerns about the project?
Checklist of follow-up questions:
 - a) What issues or concerns did you have?
 - b) Who did you first approach with your questions/issues? What did you do next?
 - c) What was the most important issue to you?
 - d) How did you raise your concerns?
 - e) Did you get answers to the questions and concerns raised, and if so, how?
 - f) How did the different organizations receive your concerns?
 - g) How were your concerns addressed or dealt with?
 - h) Did you have some suggestions about how to carry out the project?
 - i) Were your suggestions considered? Did they get used (why/why not)?

4. Were there important events/things that changed your perception about the project?
Checklist of follow-up questions:
 - a) What events/things caused that change?
 - b) In what way did they change your perception about the project (positive or negative) and why?
 - c) Has your understanding of other participants' view increased?
 - d) Has your participation (even if peripheral) changed the way you relate to other community members?

5. Do you think your participation in the project had any impact in the community?
Checklist of follow-up questions:
 - a) Did you notice any changes in the community?
 - b) What are these? If any.
 - c) What are the improvements that you will suggest?

6. If similar project will be introduced in your community, what would you suggest the process should be?

Respondent #: _____ Gender: _____
Location: _____
Organization: _____ Role in the CBFM Project: _____
Main source of income/Occupation: _____
Length of stay in the area: _____

Appendix 2 Semi-structured interview questions for indirect CBFM project participants

Lincoln University Faculty of Environment, Society and Design Stakeholder dialogue as forum for community engagement in the upland forestry projects in the Philippines

1. Tell me about what you know about the project?
Checklist of follow-up questions:
 - f) When did you learn about the project?
 - g) How and where did you learn about the project?
 - h) What did you learn about the project? (or What information did you get?)
 - i) What was your reaction when you first learned about the project?
 - j) Did you decide to participate in the project, and what made you come to your decision about participation in the project?
 - k) Why did you decide not to participate in the project?

2. What people were important for you in learning about the project?
Checklist of follow-up questions:
 - d) Were they involved in the project?
 - e) What was their role in the project?
 - f) Which institutions were they attached to?

3. Who did you approach to clarify questions or raise your concerns about the project?
Checklist of follow-up questions:
 - j) What issues or concerns did you have?
 - k) Who did you first approach with your questions/issues? What did you do next?
 - l) What was the most important issue to you?
 - m) How did you raise your concerns?
 - n) Did you get answers to the questions and concerns raised, and if so, how?
 - o) How did the different organizations receive your concerns?
 - p) How were your concerns addressed or dealt with?
 - q) Did you have some suggestions about how to carry out the project?
 - r) Were your suggestions considered? Did they get used (why/why not)?

4. Were there important events/things that changed your perception about the project?
Checklist of follow-up questions:
 - e) What events/things caused that change?
 - f) In what way did they change your perception about the project (positive or negative) and why?
 - g) Has your understanding of other participants' view increased?
 - h) Has your participation (even if peripheral) changed the way you relate to other community members?

5. Should you have participated in the project, do you think your participation had any impact in the community?

Checklist of follow-up questions:

- d) Did you notice any changes in the community?
 - e) What are these? If any.
 - f) What are the improvements that you will suggest?
6. If similar project will be introduced in your community, what would you suggest the process should be?

Respondent #: _____ Gender: _____
Location: _____
Organization: _____ Role in the CBFM Project: _____
Main source of income/Occupation: _____
Length of stay in the area: _____

Appendix 3 Semi-structured interview questions for DENR, LGUs, and NGOs

Lincoln University
Faculty of Environment, Society and Design
Stakeholder dialogue as forum for community engagement in the upland forestry projects in the Philippines

1. What is your role in the project? What are the main tasks and duties that you undertake in this role?
2. What was the objective of using stakeholder dialogue in the project?
3. How, when, where, how often, and who conducted/initiated dialogues undertaken in CBFM project areas?
4. Were all stakeholders represented in the dialogue?
5. Were there questions raised? How did you address these questions?
6. Were there changes in the community? Do you think these changes can be directly attributed as a result of the stakeholder dialogue?
7. If similar project will be introduced in your community, what would you suggest the process should be?

Respondent #: _____ Gender: _____
Location: _____
Organization: _____ Role in the CBFM Project: _____
Main source of income/Occupation: _____
Length of stay in the area: _____

Appendix 4 Consent Form

**Lincoln University
Faculty of Environment, Society and Design
Consent Form**

Name of Project:

Stakeholder dialogue as forum for community engagement in the upland forestry projects in the Philippines

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project and give my consent freely. I also consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity, if requested, will be preserved. I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided, up until the analysis of the results begins.

In addition, please encircle the options below:

- I agree/do not agree to have the interview audio taped.

Respondent: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix 5 Research Information Sheet

Lincoln University Faculty of Environment, Society and Design

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled: **Stakeholder dialogue as forum for community engagement in the upland forestry projects in the Philippines**

The primary aim of my research is to evaluate the role and effectiveness of community engagement in general and stakeholder dialogue in particular that have and furthered the collective activities of rural upland forest communities in Cagayan valley, Philippines to improve their environment and socio-economic well-being in collaboration with other stakeholders.

This research is part of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy program in which I am currently enrolled at Lincoln University. I am required to undertake the study according to a certain research protocol. I will ask you to sign the consent form attached and ask your permission to give your response during the interview. The interview will consist of a series of open-ended questions and should last no more than one hour. With your permission, I will audio tape our discussion so that I may later transcribe it for analytical purposes. You are under no obligation to participate and you may choose not to answer any questions.

I will hold the results of this interview in strict confidence. No one but my supervisors, Prof. Ali Memon and Hugh Bigsby, and I will have access to the interview tapes and notes that I will be taking. I will retain the tapes and notes until the project is completed. Your identity will not be made public without your consent. Your consent for your identity and/ or organisation will be requested by the researcher on the accompanying consent form. Should you not wish to grant this consent, you may be assured of complete confidentiality of data gathered in this research.

The project is being carried out by myself:

Jovy S. Mendez-Servitillo
Faculty of Environment, Society and Design, Lincoln University
PO Box 83, Lincoln 7647 New Zealand
Email address: servitij@lincoln.ac.nz
Ph: +64 3 3253838 (Ext.8746);
Ph: 021 1648329 (Mobile)

If you have any questions about your participation in the project, she will be pleased to discuss any concerns with you. If there are further questions, please feel free to contact my research supervisor:

Professor Ali Memon
Faculty of Environment, Society and Design, Lincoln University
PO Box 84, Lincoln 7647 New Zealand
Email address: memona@lincoln.ac.nz
Ph: + 64 3 325-2811 (Ext. 7868)

The project has been reviewed and approved by Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.