# Transforming Bureaucracies: Institutionalising participation and people centred processes in natural resource management- an annotated bibliography


This Annotated Bibliography has been prepared as a collaborative effort involving, in alphabetical order, the following authors:

Vanessa Bainbridge
Stephanie Foerster
Katherine Pasteur
Michel Pimbert (Co-ordinator)
Garett Pratt
Iliana Yaschine Arroyo

# Table of contents

# Acknowledgements

We are indebted for the valuable assistance from many individuals in identifying literature to include in this annotated bibliography: Sally Baden, Solon Barraclough, Grazia Borrini Feyerabend, Jutta Blauert, Fred Carden, Robert Chambers, Jenny Chambers, Richard Duncan, Thomas Fisher, Reiner Forster, John Gaventa, Krishna Ghimire, Irene Guijt, Liz Humphrey, Ray Ison, Sally Jeanrenaud, Anuradha Joshi, James Keeley, Ana Llena-Nova, Sharha Razavi, Jeff Readman, Chris Reij, Patta Scott-Villiers, Peter Smith, John Thompson, Peter Utting and Anne Waters-Bayer. Thanks to the entire Environment Group at IDS, who generated many ideas for the review through a brainstorming session. We are grateful to Jaz Vagadhia for her invaluable assistance with administrative matters. Finally, we would like to acknowledge the financial support of the project funders, the Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation, and Bundesministerium fur wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ).

# Introduction

### The purpose of this annotated bibliography

The International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) have initiated an action-oriented research project designed to examine the dynamics of institutionalising people-centred processes and scaling up participatory approaches in large, public bureaucracies for natural resource management in a variety of social and ecological settings. This research has been motivated by the following observations and questions.

For over two decades, participatory methodologies have proved to be effective in enabling local people to take greater control of the development process. They have also enhanced the delivery of services to vulnerable groups by external support agencies and increased the viability of development programmes and projects by using local knowledge, capacities and priorities as the basis for learning and action. With few exceptions these participatory efforts have been limited to the local level, where they have been used for a broad range of activities from village-based planning and catchment management, to action research, farmer-led technology development, and natural resource management (forests, rangelands, protected areas and wildlife, coastal areas and fisheries, agricultural biodiversity, wetlands). Recently, however, the focus on the micro has given way to attempts by large, public and private agencies, including government departments, development agencies, non-governmental organisations, international research agencies and universities, to adopt and apply these approaches on a large scale.

Large-scale participatory natural resource management programmes often include national governments, large NGOs and donor agencies as major stakeholders. The scaling up of participation to include more people and places constantly challenges these large organisations to become flexible, innovative and transparent. More specifically, the emphasis on diversity, decentralisation and devolution of decision making powers in the management of natural resources for complex and dynamic livelihoods implies procedures and organisational cultures which do not impose "participation" from above through bureaucratic and standardised practices. How can bureaucracies facilitate and support the participation of local actors throughout the whole participatory management process - from appraisals and preparing for partnerships, planning and developing co-management agreements, negotiating resource allocation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, to reviewing and revising the means and ends of the participatory process? Under what conditions can bureaucracies be refashioned or transformed to ensure that their outcomes (policies, programmes, resource allocation and projects) actually facilitate, rather than inhibit, participation and the adaptive management of natural resources?

Full involvement of primary stakeholders in this expanded sense involves a shift in the type and quality of participation from tokenism and consultation to real decision making and democratic control. Participatory methodologies and approaches for example need to build on multiple perspectives, systemic group learning processes, conflict resolution, sustained action through the strengthening local institutions and/or building new local institutions in the interest of gender equity and fair representation

of different resource user groups. What kind of training, capacity strengthening and follow up is necessary to create the right 'skills mix' for staff of public agencies to employ participatory approaches effectively on a large scale? What incentives (e.g., economic, professional, social, etc.) act as catalysts for the spread and scaling up of participatory processes in large agencies? How do the attitudes and behaviour of officials and professionals change when they become involved in the use of participatory approaches, and what are the factors that encourage or bring about these changes? What is the impact of institutionalising participatory approaches on the social dynamics, livelihoods and well-being of low-income rural and urban groups and local organisations? And on the status of natural resources and environmental conditions?

To focus on these issues and questions, IIED and IDS initiated a collaborative research programme with national partners in Burkina Faso, India, Indonesia, Mexico and Senegal. Case studies include the scaling up of participatory watershed management (India), the institutionalisation of farmer centred, participatory integrated pest management (Indonesia), *gestion des terroirs* or village resource management (Burkina Faso and Senegal) and sustainable natural resource management (Mexico). This annotated bibliography was developed primarily for the national research teams as a guide to the recent literature on organisational change and the institutionalisation of participation in natural resource management. We hope that the references included in this bibliography will also be useful to a wider group of individuals interested in these themes.

**On institutions, organisations and the institutionalisation of participation**

A clear distinction is made between institutions and organisations in this annotated bibliography. Strictly speaking organisations are not the same as institutions. Institutions are "the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction….they structure incentives in human exchange, whether political, social or economic….Institutions reduce uncertainty by providing a structure to everyday life…Institutions include any form of constraint that human beings devise to shape interaction" (348). Land tenure rules and other rules regulating access, use and control over natural resources are examples of institutions. Although they embrace them, institutions are not organisations; they are best understood as a set of informal and formal rules that are administered by organisations. Organisations are thus "groups of individuals bound by some common purpose to achieve objectives" (348). Organisations operate within the framework - the rules and constraints - set by institutions. Examples include government departments or local beekeeper associations which administer sets of formal and informal "rules of the game".

Historically, the purpose of establishing institutions has been to reduce uncertainty by routinising certain preferred norms and forms of social interaction. Institutions have been structured around the physical and social needs, capabilities and political interests of those who designed them in the first place. Institutions thus tend to reflect and reinforce the interests of more powerful groups within and among societies: men before women, adults before children, rich before poor, strong and healthy before the weak and sick/disabled, urban before rural people, transnational corporations before national interests. Institutionalising participatory processes and approaches to natural resource management is oriented towards reversing these trends to ensure more equitable outcomes. The emphasis is thus on mainstreaming and routinising democratic participation in decision making, and gender-equitable forms of social

interaction. Institutionalising participation in this context also means limiting the possibilities for choosing discriminatory forms of social organisation that undermine local livelihood security and sustainable natural resource management.

## How to use this annotated bibliography

### The selection of references

This annotated bibliography is not intended to be comprehensive. The reference entries represent only a part of the literature collected together for this bibliography. Many other references could have been included. The bibliography includes close to 390 references, most of which are annotated. We decided to include some non-annotated references so as to give as broad and balanced guide as possible to the issues of interest here. The selection (and omission) of references was based on the desire to highlight different strands of the debate on the issues raised by organisational change and the institutionalisation of participation in natural resource management. We have also aimed at an interdisciplinary range of references in order to bring down the barriers between different traditions of knowledge, experience and disciplinary domains.

### Abstracts

There are four kinds of abstracts in this bibliography: those written by the authors of this volume; those written by the authors of the entry concerned, those written by editors of journals or publishers; and abstracts from database services or existing annotated bibliographies. The origin of the abstract is given in full in all but the first instance.

Abstracts are ordered alphabetically by author and are numbered. At the end of the bibliography are three indices. Numbered indexing of abstracts is by themes, subject terms and geographical area.

### Thematic overviews

There are a total of seven overlapping themes that we have decided to highlight in the material included in this annotated bibliography: conceptual issues and theories of organisational change for participation; learning organisations; gender and organisational change; transforming environmental knowledge and organisational change; nurturing enabling attitudes and behaviour; policies for participation; and methods for institutional and impact analysis. Each theme is introduced below by a brief overview that points the reader to major issues in the literature and areas where questions remain unanswered. Extensive referencing refers to numbered entries in the bibliography. Cross-referencing is made between themes where items in the bibliography relate to more than one issue.

# Theories of organisational change for participation

Why do theoretical perspectives on organisations matter? What use are theories to people attempting to change organisations? Whether we realise it or not, we approach organisations with assumptions about what they are, and thus how and why they will change. Clarifying our assumptions about what organisations are can help to clarify our strategies for organisational change (70). Similarly, clarifying what types of change we are pursuing clarifies our strategy. For example, separating the process of institutionalising participation into scaling-up participation, deepening the quality of participation, and making organisational changes, draws our attentions to the different strategies one must simultaneously pursue as well as the interactions between them (112).

This section will not aim to advance one particular theoretical perspective on organisations, but rather to illuminate the vast diversity of approaches used to conceptualise organisations. Choosing different theoretical perspectives, or different "images" of organisations, highlights different aspects of the same structures and processes (240, 386). For example, one might conceive organisations as small cultures of their own (256, 386). Or, one might take the stance that formal organisations are instruments of domination (96, 97, 207). If one were to apply these two perspectives to the same organisation, such as a natural resource management bureaucracy, one would arrive at two very different understandings of what the organisation is, and how and why it might change. Does one begin a 'visioning' programme under strong leadership to change the culture driving the organisation? Or does one start a struggle from within to radically transform the organisation in order to increase the control of its members over their work?

The review articles included in this bibliography are a useful way to gain a sense of the broad spectrum of perspectives available to guide organisational analysis. Reed (288) traces the highly contested evolution of organisational theory, linking changes in thinking about organisations to changes in the socio-economic environment. He breaks theories into six distinct categories, each with its own distinct "meta-narrative interpretative framework" (i.e. rationality, integration, justice), problematic (order, consensus, or participation), its own sub-schools of theorists, and its link to a major historical transition (i.e. modernism to postmodernism; repressive to participatory democracy).

For example, power is the central concern of various schools of theorists including neo-radical Weberians, institutional theorists (83, 233, 275), critical and structural Marxists, and thus the major problematic of these writings is domination. The "emphasis is on wider constraints and the determinants of behaviour - principally the forms of power derived from structures of class and ownership, but also the impact of markets and occupations, and of increasing interest lately the normative structures of gender" (99). This approach may be understood as theorists attempting to cope with the transition from liberal collectivism to bargained corporatism. Compare this to another grouping of theorists, including post-structuralist, post-modern, Foucauldian (97), and actor-network (51, 301) theorists for whom the central meta-narrative interpretative framework is knowledge, and for whom the central problematic is control. Within this framework, organisations "become a portable carrier of the socio-technical knowledge and skills through which particular patterns of social

relationships emerge and reproduce themselves in specific material and social circumstances." (288, page 42) Analysis is of micro-level interactions and reproductions of knowledge and power. Or to take a third grouping of theorists, for writers like Habermas (137, 138), and others writing critical theory, participation theory, and about industrial democracy, the overarching theme is justice, and the problematic is participation. These theorists increasingly express concern for the possibility of meaningful democratic control of bureaucratic organisational forms as they exist at present. Each of these broad theoretical positions has adopted a new combination of positions around a set of constant themes: agency versus structure, constructivism versus positivism, the local versus the global, and the role of the collective versus the individual in living a 'good' life.

Reed's schema is not the only way to categorise organisational theory. Pfeffer (266) sees two important axes of difference in theoretical perspectives. First, theorists vary as to the way they explain action. They fall broadly into three camps, explaining action as: purposive, rational and goal oriented; driven by environmental factors; or as a random, unfolding process. The second axis of difference between theoretical perspectives on organisations is the unit of analysis, whether the organisation is taken as a whole, or the organisation is divided into individuals, coalitions or other sub-units. Thus there are six possible combinations of the three positions on actions, and the two positions on units of analysis. For example, new institutionalists view organisations' actions as responding to their environment, and tend to analyse organisations as whole units, within organisational 'fields' of other organisations performing broadly similar tasks (83, 233, 275). Calas and Smircich present yet another review of different feminist perspectives one can use to analyse organisations (55). Organisational psychologists offer another range of ways of understanding organisations (146). Anthropologists bring their own approaches to understanding organisations, approaches which historically have developed in relation to managerial thinking about organisations (386). They apply the concept of organisational culture to formal organisations in ways informed by their broader theorising about culture in different settings (76). Their analyses tend to emphasise the importance of discourse analysis, social differentiation, and contestation within organisations (169, 386).

Many items in the bibliography are the product of intellectual efforts to *understand* organisations, with implications for strategies for organisational change, but not with directing efforts at organisational change as a central objective. However, other pieces are much more practically oriented towards arguing what sorts of change are desirable, and how one instigates change. Organisational development literature outlines a process of intervening in organisations guided by underlying principles about improving human relations (69, 70, 311). Robert Chambers' work marshals empirical evidence to make his point about the effectiveness of more participatory institutions (63), but also argues at the level of values and personal rewards (60), and provides his personal views about strategies for change (61). Literature on institution building argues about the ways that intervening agencies can act to strengthen other organisations (102, 172, 239, 309).

Another more practically oriented set of literature draws general lessons from specific case studies to guide practitioners embarking on similar projects of organisational change elsewhere. The literature presented in this chapter aims to include insights from a broad range of organisational experience. Literature documenting the experience of bureaucracies that have gone through processes of decentralisation and democratisation, although in sectors other than natural resource management, and

from the North as well as the South, can provide useful insights into change in the more particular type of bureaucracies to be studied here (21, 43, 66, 102, 130, 131, 150, 151, 186, 205, 238, 242, 312, 335, 343, 351, 363, 385).

Closer to the particular types of organisations under study here, the literature review contains lessons from organisational experience in the South, and in rural development sectors more closely related to natural resource management. For example, based on experience from several large rural development programmes, Korten and others developed a way of thinking about the cycle of learning an organisation goes through when designing and implementing large-scale, people-centred development programmes (200, 201, 202, 203). This idea of a learning cycle has been useful in understanding other programmes from Africa and Asia, in the irrigation, soil and water conservation, and integrated rural development sectors (352), as well as in agricultural extension (141).

The bibliography contains case studies of the very particular type of organisational change that is at the centre of this review - institutionalising participatory approaches and processes in natural resource management bureaucracies (5, 135, 205, 312, 352, 363). Case studies deal with integrated pest management (24, 58, 80, 267), irrigation management (76, 324, 362, 364), forestry (85,183, 243, 261, 271, 272, 306, 307, 308 338, 365), land use planning and management (91, 142, 176, 339), watershed development (95, 199, 206, 224, 330, 360, 361), agricultural research and extension (94, 170, 310), integrated rural development projects with natural resource components (178,187,189, 185), community natural resource planning (186, 330), and wildlife management (232).

One strong theme that emerges through this practically oriented literature is the need for more participation within organisations in order to facilitate learning (161), and in order that the democratic relationships within organisations are mirrored in contacts with people outside the organisations (363). Changing the internal workings of development organisations is one of the key challenges facing the scaling-up of participatory approaches and methodologies such as PRA (213). Organisational transformation is unlikely by top-down decree, but is more likely to be successful if the staff is involved in managing change (75, 160, 161, 280). From a management perspective, staff will only be internally motivated if they are included in defining their work (18). Organisational development is one avenue for outside intervention which concentrates on improving human relations within organisations as part of a learning and process oriented approach (311). The role of training in changing management attitudes and approaches is acknowledged (273, 285) and moves towards organisational analysis and systems thinking in training courses reflect a positive trend (224)

Another theme in the literature is the relationship between power and organisational change. Feminist literature (55, 96, 68) and Foucauldian literature (97) draw our attention to power, domination, and subordination within and by organisations. Recent work by environmental historians on colonial bureaucracies also view these organisations as institutionalised forms of oppressive power and knowledge (129, 292). These analyses suggest that radical transformation of bureaucracies is necessary to prevent them continuing to dominate the people within them and served by them (96). They also lead us to be more cautious in our optimism about democratising institutions. These analyses build on Foucauldian theories of power as relational and diffuse. Power as we more conventionally conceive it, that is one's ability to coerce

others into acting as one wishes, is also relevant to understanding organisational change. Although the prescriptive literature on managing organisational change does not tend to valorise such experiences, and we have marshalled arguments against the practice in the previous paragraph, organisational change is often coercive, and shows mixed results (146). Some theorists present power as a variable for leaders to consider when formulating their strategies for organisational change (301). For example, analysis leads one to see that if organisational hierarchies are being flattened, middle managers will both be adversely affected, and will be in a place to block change. Strategies must be found to ease the process for them in order to gain their co-operation (75, 100). Still others recognise the way that people outside organisations may exercise their agency to influence organisations, exercising their power to change development programmes in ways that reflect their interests, values, and priorities (169).

## Towards learning organisations

What is a learning organisation? There are a variety of definitions on offer in the items included here. Learning organisations can be defined as "organisations where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning how to learn together." (322) Alternatively, a learning organisation is "an organisation skilled at creating, acquiring, and transferring knowledge, and at modifying its behaviour to reflect new knowledge and insights" (111). Or, one might define a learning organisations by their shared characteristics:

- leaders model calculated risk taking and experimentation
- decentralised decision making and employee empowerment
- skill inventories and audits of learning capacity
- systems of sharing learning and using it in the business
- rewards and structures for employee initiative
- consideration of long term consequences and impact on the work of others
- frequent use of cross-functional work teams
- opportunities to learn from experience on a daily basis
- a culture of feedback and disclosure
- continual learning and self-transformation (374)

Learning organisations are in a constant process of organising, balancing the tendencies of adhocracies and bureaucracies, allowing irregularities and innovations, then institutionalising them in regular procedures (238, 280, 376). Learning organisations aim to achieve continuous improvement, an "organisation wide process of focused and sustained incremental innovation" (34, 42). Learning organisations also acknowledge the existence of uncertainties and unpredictability associated with the construction of knowledge, policies and plans. Procedures that embrace error are built into organisations so as to take advantage of the opportunities to learn from uncertainties (234). In learning organisations, managers take advantage of their staff's 'hunches,' making the learning from these intuitive leaps available to everyone (65, 248, 249). Harnessing the learning of the front lines as opposed to inhibiting or disregarding it is seen as essential to increase the responsiveness and adaptability of bureaucracies (53, 377). Managers use metaphors to free up the thinking of their staff (248, 234). And the quality of leadership is vitally important in promoting open communication, democratic accountability, trust, gender equity and quality of work life (82, 220).

One might ask why the learning organisation concept, which has been developed from private sector experience in the United States and Japan, is relevant to institutionalising participation in natural resource management bureaucracies? For writers from a private sector background, it is obvious why organisational learning is so important. It is necessary for survival in a situation of economic competition where change is constant, and increasingly rapid and complex (374, 322). Although their survival may not be in question regardless of their performance, natural resource management bureaucracies also must deal with change that is rapid, constant, and

complex. It is imperative for them to learn in order to be cost-effective and relevant in the face of dynamic uncertainty. Bureaucracies responsible for the management of natural resources and ecosystems must be responsive to environmental variations, rhythms and cycles of change in both time and space. They must also learn to respond to the highly differentiated needs of resource using communities and offer services and technologies that support and sustain diverse local livelihoods (135, 63). There are however very few examples of learning organisations in the public sector (82).

There is a tradition of thinking about organisational learning among rural development and natural resource management practitioners and theorists. Perhaps the most influential work done in the development field is the writing by David Korten on the learning process approach (200, 201). The idea of adaptive approaches to planning (135, 153, 279), and the concept of the learning organisation persists in development literature (161, 352). Some development organisations use these concepts explicitly in their work (141, 310, 372). The literature on adaptive resource management also emphasises the importance of learning to sustain linked social and ecological systems (10, 41, 48, 49, 135, 227, 234, 377, 383). Such adaptive management differs from the conventional practice of natural resource management and agricultural R&D by emphasising the importance of feedback from the environment in shaping policies and management interventions, followed by systematic experimentation to design subsequent policies and practice. In this continual learning process functions like "research" and "ongoing regulatory activities" cannot be conveniently separated. The adaptive management process is thus iterative, feedback and learning based. Organisational and institutional learning for adaptive resource management often relies on indigenous knowledge as well as local social, economic and ecological indicators to track and respond to environmental and social changes (Resilience network web site: http://www.resalliance.org/). The more recent literature on the co-management of natural resources builds on notions of adaptive management and "learning by doing" to tailor approaches to specific contexts through a fair sharing of management functions, entitlements and responsibilities (47, 48, 302).

The learning organisation literature tells us about how natural resource management bureaucracies might learn to be more participatory and responsive to the dynamics of highly diverse social and ecological contexts. Changing management to encourage risk taking, giving the skills to employees to make and evaluate experiments, developing staff skills in recording and disseminating lessons, ‘benchmarking’ good practice in other organisations, relationship building, creating mutual respect, fostering a non threatening environment, allowing people to cross normal institutional boundaries within the organisation to learn from one another, giving them the skills to effectively work in groups, investing in training and staff capacity building, minimising learners’ sense of vulnerability, providing short term rewards for innovation and experimentation (111, 234) - all of these steps will assist the institutionalisation of participation in NRM bureaucracies.

Emphasis on the quality of facilitation for participation and adaptive management is also particularly important in this connection. All too often facilitation for participatory learning and action is equated with solving problems at the local level without taking into account the wider scale and questions of governance. Facilitating and encouraging individual and collective learning within the participation paradigm requires attention to the international, national and local institutional contexts that

increasingly set boundaries on the spread, scaling up and mainstreaming of participation (30, 101). This requires constant efforts to ensure that underlying intentions, theoretical, and epistemological assumptions underpinning policies and practices are made more explicit. In practice this means encouraging different types of learning, -both within the organisation and as part of the participatory interventions the organisation and its staff facilitate (128, 286, 315, 345). These different types of learning, or learning loops, have different implications for an organisation's culture and the interventions of professionals engaged in policy or field level activities:

- Single loop learning poses "how" questions. How can we deal with the problem we face? How can we avoid the mistakes we are making? This implies learning about rules and regulations to achieve set goals.

- Double loop learning focuses on "why" questions. The organisational culture and facilitation continuously encourages the questioning of existing practices, rules, procedures and regulations. It seeks to expand collective knowledge and understanding by learning about the assumptions and goals behind existing routines, practices, theories and policies.

- Triple loop learning articulates the deeper "underlying why" questions related to will and being. It focuses on underlying paradigms, norms and values that frame and legitimate the purpose and objectives of knowledge, policies, technologies and practice. As such, it is revolutionary rather than evolutionary or incremental, acknowledging and dealing with conflicts when essential underlying principles come under discussion.

No particular type of learning is more important than another in the dynamics of organisational and institutional change. At times, changes in the rules and procedures (single loop learning) will bring about sufficient learning and adjustment to new circumstances. However, whenever a radical transition or innovation is necessary, double and triple loop learning will often be essential.

Beyond offering organisations ideas about how to learn and why, the learning organisation concept and literature also provide a possible vision of the end-point for the institutionalisation of participation in natural resource management bureaucracies:

- The culture of facilitation in organisations and participatory interventions will purposefully encourage and manage processes in which "what will be learnt", "why", "when" and "how" is increasingly decided by local resource users and other primary actors (128, 286). Process oriented, reflective and integrative facilitation styles will be rewarded, thus helping to mainstream participation and learning within organisations.

- The design of technologies and systems will devolve more of the conceptualisation and adaptive testing of R&D to farmers and other resource users in decentralised contexts (23, 63, 197, 268, 274). This implies a culture of organisational learning that rewards institutions and professionals to become more accountable for the relevance and quality of their contributions to the design of technologies and systems.

- Organisations and their staff will emphasise the ability to develop commitment, focus energies, develop the skills of patience, negotiation and conflict resolution, and take a balanced view of the situation (322). Staff will constantly learn how and be rewarded to work effectively in groups, that cut across institutional boundaries (111, 322, 374). Participation oriented organisations will continuously learn to do things better, drawing on the ideas of the whole staff (42, 315) and local resource users who

are viewed as central actors (60, 61, 62, 63, 268). There will be systems for disseminating the lessons learned by groups and individuals to everyone in the organisation (315, 374).

- The organisation will constantly reach out to connect itself to, and learn about its environment, including the physical environment, its clients, and other organisations (374). The principle of learning will be embedded in new approaches to participatory monitoring and evaluation that involve staff of bureaucracies, local community members and other key stakeholders (27, 40, 78, 90, 105, 132, 241, 303, 320, 325). Participatory monitoring and evaluations on a monthly, quarterly and annual basis will provide bureaucracies with the means for constant feedback, review, adjustment to implementation plans and refinement of the environmental and social knowledge that frames their interventions. The rate of learning, that is the rate at which performance, responsiveness and accountability are improving, will be measured as an indicator of success (111, 340).

- Organisations and their staff are openly aware of their underlying assumptions, and will be open to changing them (82, 322). This process of critical reflection focuses not only on operational procedures and rules but also on more fundamental assumptions about gender (see section on gender & organisational change), the dynamics of organisational change (see theory section), the construction of knowledge about people-environment interactions (see environmental knowledge section), the role of individual attitudes and behaviours in embracing and learning from errors (see changing attitudes and behaviour section), governance (see policy change section) and methodological issues (see methods section).

- Organisational cultures and interventions will be legitimised in terms of a communicative rationality in which people are regarded as sense-making human beings capable of shaping, changing and recreating their life world (137). Dialogue and concerted action based on shared understanding and negotiation are at the heart of this process of transformation (106, 107, 138).

## Gender and organisational change

Inequalities between women and men are primarily caused by structural and institutional discrimination. The same social and cultural processes that work against women and sustain male privilege in wider society are manifest or latent within organisations and their planned development interventions (55, 96, 220, 341). Relationships within bureaucracies and their project interventions parallel the patterns of dominance and subordination between men and women. As an analytical concept, gender emphasises the historically determined and social construction of differences between men and women; it focuses on how social, cultural, economic and political processes affect men and women differentially and shape relationships between women and men. Gender relations are the rules, traditions and social relationships in wider culture and organisations which together determine how power is allocated, and used differently, by women and men.

Whilst gender is inherent in the notion of participatory development it is not automatically addressed. (120, 134, 235, 369). Making women's as well as men's voices heard and counted in organisations and planned interventions implies the active involvement of women and men in making decisions on issues that affect their lives. Mainstreaming such democratic participation calls for gender sensitive policies and practices oriented towards routinising gender equitable forms of social interaction and limiting the possibilities for choosing discriminatory forms of social organisation (22, 118). Participation in decision making and the nature of institutional structures are the stated focus of efforts to change the gendered outcomes of natural resource management and of development processes more generally (120, 235).

However, many constraints undermine the potential for mainstreaming gender equitable participation in organisations and in their development interventions. Women often find that the rules of the game are heavily biased against them in bureaucracies because they have been historically structured around the physical needs, capabilities and the political interests of men who designed them in the first place (68, 96, 118, 119, 120, 235, 300). Units specifically set up to help integrate gender issues within and across the different departments of bureaucracies have been notoriously under resourced in staff and funds and have been marginalised (118, 235, 284, 385). Feminists have argued that the under-representation of women is also an obstacle to the institutionalisation of women and gender concerns in bureaucracies (341, 220). Gender sensitive policy proposals are rarely reflected in budgetary allocations within bureaucracies. This de-linking of progressive policy statements from actual budgetary re-orientations and commitments often occurs in the public expenditure planning process, effectively excluding gender issues in national (or local) development and natural resource management planning (118, 235).

The obstacles to participation and "de-institutionalising male preference" are also embedded in the operational procedures and service delivery of organisations. The interventions of bureaucracies have often actively produced gender differences and impacts that have harmed women and their livelihoods (120, 177, 260, 307, 308). In project design and implementation, relatively little attention has been given to the unequal division of labour, power, and resources between women and men in societies and between different groups of women within communities (class, age, race, ability, sexuality, ethnicity). Programmes and projects have tended to

concentrate primarily on women in the development process as something additional to the main thrust of development. As a result solutions have been ad hoc or "add-ons", often resulting in tokenism and marginalisation of women's long term interests.

The gendered outcomes of natural resource management bureaucracies have also played a part in environmental transformation, with mixed results on the well being and livelihoods of women. As gendered rights, knowledge, responsibilities and institutions have been affected by bureaucratic interventions, the structure of landscapes and environmental processes have been modified in gender differentiated ways (210, 296), directly or indirectly affecting local livelihoods.

In analysing organisations from a gender perspective, several scholars and change agents have drawn the analogy between an organisation and a living organism or a person, highlighting its history, its context, how it relates to others, how it solves problems, its image and self image, and its habits and ways of working (118). An analytical framework has been proposed to undertake "a gendered archaeology of organisations" (120). But there are many other approaches, analytical frameworks and methodologies for the study of organisations from feminist perspectives (55, 214, 282, 356). Despite the diversity of approaches however, all argue that reforming or transforming bureaucracies for gender equitable participation entails both systemic and personal change (55, 134, 220, 282). Analysis and recommendations for reversals to support participation and gender equity in organisations often focus on the following areas:

- Organisational structures: shifts from hierarchical and rigidly bureaucratic to "flat", flexible and responsive
- Organisational value systems: from target oriented and competitive to quality oriented and co-operative
- Organisational culture and cognitive context: reversing gender biases in the ideologies and disciplines animating an organisation; turning bureaucratic cultures to the benefit of women and men
- Management styles: from verticalist and efficiency led to consultative, participatory and "nurturing"
- Incentive and accountability systems: shifts towards more equitable systems for women and men
- Job descriptions: from women's roles that extend their domestic roles in the private sphere to the inclusion of tasks and roles traditionally viewed as male domain ('hard' technical or macroeconomic areas)
- The expression of power: shifts from exploitative relationships between managers and staff, male and female staff at different levels, sexual harassment
- Practical arrangements, space and time: re-designing the workplace, time tables, career paths to meet the diverse needs of women, men, parents, the old and disabled (location and lay out of office, dinning room and lavatories; childcare provisions; working hours; provisions for maternity and paternity leave…)
- Images and symbols: from reproducing to opposing gender divisions and exclusion from participation

In visualising what a gender sensitive learning organisation might look like, many scholars and change agents have emphasised the need to give priority to gender equality not only in the organisation's mission statement and policies but also in its internal regulations. Allocating adequate resources to putting such policies into practice and ensuring that accountability to women is written in the organisation' policies and carried out in practice are also perceived as crucially important. Whilst recognising that every organisation will need to find its own model of gender sensitivity and inclusive forms of participation, there have been some attempts to develop generalised features of women and people-friendly organisations (220).

Practical experience shows that there is not only room for agency in organisations (120) but also at the project level where women and men can manipulate the intent and orientation of bureaucratic interventions to further their own goals and interests (169, 170). Such actor oriented perspectives on institutional change show how space can be claimed at the project interface to refashion goals and activities through mutual interactions, negotiations, compliance and resistance (169, 170, 369). More insights on how to institutionalise gender concerns in a participatory process can also be gained from experiences with natural resource management in the state of Gujarat, India (327), in agricultural research and extension programmes in Zambia (108) and Zimbabwe (140) and development initiatives focusing on the needs of young women and children in Uganda (130, 131).

# Transforming environmental knowledge and organisational cultures

Knowledge about people-environment interactions in natural resource management bureaucracies is a central element of organisational culture, - the combination of the individual opinions, shared knowledge, values and norms of the members of an organisation. Most theorists argue that organisational culture is the most fundamental level at which transformation needs to take place (118, 120, 220, 288). No matter how radically structures and systems are reformed within natural resource management bureaucracies, if environmental knowledge and other aspects of organisational culture are left untouched the changes will remain superficial and ultimately without effect (14, 218, 234, 377).

Knowledge about biological and environmental processes is critical for the management of living systems and natural resources (genetic resources, wetlands, forests, rangelands, fisheries, protected areas…). This knowledge shapes society not only through technology, but also through instilling values and assumptions which motivate human beings and inform national policies. Dominant views on interactions between environment and people and their impacts give rise to, and legitimate, particular organisational procedures and professional practice that either deny or encourage popular participation in natural resource management (94, 135, 149, 174, 209, 268).

The development of scientific ideas about environmental processes and natural resources have had their own complex intellectual history and sociology, in which certain theories were able to rise to the exclusion of others. There is increasing evidence that the types of environmental knowledge that gained ascendancy coincided with the administrative and political concerns and interests of the institutions and organisations that were set up to manage natural resources (89, 94, 129, 167, 174, 197, 330, 347, 348). Ideas about the functioning of relatively stable ecosystems, for example, fed into the formation of policies and scientific practices for conservation which was about external control (38, 93, 174, 268, 316). The bureaucracies and institutions promoting the management of natural resources have benefited from the practical application of this knowledge in gaining resource control from local people. Scientific ideas that justified restrictions on human activities in the management of natural resources or the removal of people from protected areas, forest reserves, groves and wetlands were reflected in policies and laws regulating the access and use of natural resources. Environmental knowledge was selectively incorporated into policy, both shaping and being shaped by policy *and* the operational procedures of natural resource management bureaucracies (129, 174, 197, 209, 269, 347).

Natural resource management policies and programmes that succeed in mobilising funds and other support often rest on a set of more or less naïve, unproven, simplifying, optimistic assumptions about the problem to be addressed. These assumptions have been called “development narratives” (297, 298) or “cultural policy paradigms” (149). These policy narratives are usually robust, hard to challenge and slow to change. They play a key role in policy and project level decision making. They structure options, define relevant data and exclude other views within bureaucracies and professional circles.

Misleading, simplified and ahistorical perspectives perpetuated by powerful bureaucracies and institutions have been a persistent feature of environmental policy making and interventions. Neo malthusian environmental policy narratives have been used by external bureaucracies to blame people for environmental degradation and justify imposing on them massive and widespread use of standard environmental management packages (149, 184, 211, 331). Public policy and interventions in rangeland and livestock management in southern Africa are based on dominant views of equilibrium ecology that stress the damaging potential of livestock grazing, the threats of degradation and desertification and the need to control the livestock numbers and the grazing movements (316). Notions of climax ecology together with malthusian views have sustained a vision of degraded and degrading relic forest on the northern margins of Guinée's forest zone in West Africa (93). In protected area and wildlife management too, professional beliefs have generally held that there is an inverse relationship between human actions and the well-being of the environment, ecosystems, wildlife and biological diversity. To prevent further deterioration, official policies and bureaucracies have consistently defined local misuse of resources as the principal cause of destruction and excluded people from the management of biological diversity (268).

However, recent research has fundamentally questioned many of the crisis narratives and received wisdoms that currently drive environmental policy debates and the centrally planned natural resource management interventions of bureaucracies (93, 117, 129, 211, 316, 347). A combination of historical analysis, social anthropology and participatory methods to understand resource users' knowledge and perspectives, and insigths from non-equilibrium ecology (38, 135, 153, 316, 388) has challenged some of the environmental knowledge taken for granted by government bureaucracies and donors:

- Contrary to neo-malthusian assumptions population increase may not necessarily mean more environmental degradation and less biological diversity. More people can mean more care for the environment as shown by research in Sierra Leone (184) and Kenya (354).
- Historical research in West Africa has shown dominant deforestation estimates to be vastly exaggerated. Many of the vegetation forms that ecologists and policy makers have used to indicate forest loss, such as forest patches in savanna are, according to the knowledge of local resource users and historical evidence, the results of landscape enrichment by people (93, 184).
- Many assumed « pristine » forest areas, wetlands, grasslands and other areas rich in biological diversity prove to be new forests and human-modified landscapes in Latin America, Africa, the Pacific islands, Australia and Asia (103, 244, 268, 274, 304).
- New perspectives in ecology have challenged conventional views of drylands in Africa as stable ecosystems subject to decline and desertification once carrying capacity is exceeded. Rangelands are resilient and less prone to degradation and desertification than once thought. The new findings concord with the knowledge of many local herders and emphasise how rangelands are subject to high degrees of uncertainty, with high levels of spatial and temporal variability, and ecological dynamics characterised by sudden transitions rather slow and predictable change (38, 316).

By revealing how, in many places, rural people are enriching landscapes and adaptively managing natural resources, these findings can challenge the organisational culture and legitimating scientific ideologies of bureaucracies. New ecology (279, 388) and new environmental knowledge support moves towards participatory resource management in at least four ways:

i) The re-framing of ecosystem dynamics questions exclusionary approaches to the protection of forests, wetlands, grasslands and other environments. It calls for far greater appreciation of local farming and land use knowledge and practices in the management of these natural resources. It frequently suggest new practical avenues for technical support in which land users' own priorities, knowledge, perspectives and practices gain validity (209, 269).

ii) The legitimacy of rural peoples' claims to tenure and rights to resources are made more apparent as landscapes are re-interpreted as the product of social and ecological histories. If landscapes and species have been moulded or modified by human presence, local communities may claim special rights of access, decision, control and property over them. The findings thus support a rights based approach to participatory natural resource management (269, 274)

iii) Uncertainty, spatial variability and complex non-equilibrium and non linear ecological dynamics emphasise the need for flexible responses, mobility and local level adaptive resource management in which local users are central actors in analysis, planning, negotiations and action (135, 279, 346).

iv) The intellectual and epistemological assumptions of science based natural resource management bureaucracies are shown to be partial, incomplete and increasingly counterproductive (135). Multiple and separate realities are shown to exist along with differently situated forms of environmental knowledge. The rationale for democratising science in an age of uncertainty by directly involving "extended peer communities" (110, 218) that include farmers, herders, forest dwellers, fisherfolk and other rural people (167, 224,267) open up the possibilities of socially transforming science and environmental knowledge (197) to support diversity, democracy, decentralisation and dynamic local adaptation.

However, there is evidence that organisations and their cultures do not easily re-assess, update and transform the scientific and environmental knowledge which frames and legitimates their operational procedures and policies. The dominant environmental crisis narratives remain resilient and 'stick' despite concerted challenges to basic concepts and practices being made (209, 297, 298, 149). Explanations of why dominant policy, practice and organisational cultures are maintained so concretely even in the face of increasing and apparently contradictory evidence are based on combinations of the following reasons: the political economy of the received narrative, in who gains materially from what is believed (149, 174, 175, 347); how disciplinary oriented professionals reproduce errors and myths through the way they work and exercise power (60, 63) and the convergence of ideas and social commitments on the part of various actors and their networks, including local inhabitants, at particular historical moments (92).

## Nurturing enabling attitudes and behaviour

Changing the attitudes and behaviour of staff is a central challenge for organisations seeking to transform themselves from bureaucratic, top down agencies to more process oriented, enabling and people-centred organisations (60, 63, 109, 160, 161, 195, 351). Research and field observations have highlighted the importance of professional attitudes and behaviour in enabling or inhibiting participatory processes (14, 63, 180). Many features of normal professional attitudes and behaviour are particularly damaging for participatory and genuinely people-centred processes: dominant and superior behaviour, gender and upper to upper bias, taking without giving, failures to honour aroused expectations, rushing, and being extractive (63, 134, 235).

Increasingly, participatory behaviour and attitudes are seen to matter more than methods and procedures in the spread, scaling up and institutionalisation of participatory approaches (62). Changing attitudes and ingrained patterns of behaviour involves learning to abandon behaviour and ways of working that have become routine and habitual (unlearning). As a result, more explicit emphasis is now placed on how to encourage behavioural and attitudinal change as part of a process of professional reorientation and organisational transformation. For example, training programs on participatory methodologies and approaches focus on experiential learning and the importance of values, ways of being and relating with others (63, 151, 173, 180, 286, 294, 342).

The experience and insights of radical humanistic psychology also offer approaches and methods to deal with the difficult -and often taboo - questions of change in individual life orientation, attitudes and behaviour as well as growth in empathic understanding and concern for others (109, 195, 228, 245, 299). These approaches often seek to link attitudinal and behavioural change with ways of devising new forms of non-bureaucratic large-scale administrations that are directed by response to people and diverse situations rather than by the mere application of rules and standard procedures.

Whilst training, counselling and experiential learning are all vital for personal change, they do have limitations in and by themselves. Their focus is primarily on the individual and his/her ability to change and they do not address the bureaucratic structures that encourage and reward particular attitudes and behaviours (151). This is problematic because many professionals revert back to old habits after reintegrating the workplace following training in another context. Initial changes in attitudes and behaviours are often short-lived as professionals feel the pressures to conform in what are fundamentally hierarchical and gender biased organisations (21, 60, 63, 119, 120, 235).

Organisations and institutions shape human interactions and tend to create durable and routinised patterns of behaviour and attitudes. The relationships between bureaucratic structures and staff attitudes and behaviour are mutually constitutive and reinforcing. The attitudes and behaviour of staff shape organisational cultures and influence the way bureaucracies operate, both internally and with their "clients" (109, 63). In turn, bureaucratic structures exert pressures on the people within agencies to act and behave in certain ways (16, 109, 195, 231). For example, there is evidence

that the framework which most corporate organisations are using to re-engineer themselves discourages those attitudes and behaviours actually needed for employees to take more responsibility in their jobs and be more client responsive (18).

More comprehensive approaches to changing attitudes and behaviour therefore seek to combine training for individual change with steps directed at structural transformation within bureaucracies. Training is seen as part of a broader process of institutional transformation in which organisations examine and re-shape all or most aspects of their programmes and procedures (94, 108, 160, 161, 351). Fostering and sustaining gender equitable and people friendly attitudes and behaviour implies fundamental changes in the operational procedures, reward and incentive systems, culture, career patterns, and use of time and space within organisations. Recent feminist literature on organisational change, for example, proposes practical strategies to introduce more gender equity and nurture more participatory and people-friendly attitudes and behaviour in bureaucracies: reorganising working hours to allow workers, including women, parents and care-givers of both sexes, to attend family responsibilities; improving policies on maternity and paternity leave; providing childcare facilities on site (119, 220, 235). Changing attitudes and behaviour is thus simultaneously viewed in personal and systemic terms that imply politically negotiated processes. Emphasis is placed on a process of change that builds on the discovery of new working relations, new ways of thinking and imagining, and new capacities for collective planning and action (75).

Unlearning previous attitudinal norms and beliefs embedded in behaviours and myths that inform action requires a special culture. It is generally acknowledged that there will be psychological resistance to changes in fundamental attitudes and behaviours. This is normal and to be expected. Resistance can arise from fear, anxiety and a general sense of insecurity. There are also several socio-cultural, emotional and cognitive constraints that act as barriers to attitudinal and behavioural change (234). However, bureaucratic structures and organisational cultures do not necessarily influence the attitudes and behaviour of staff in a predictable way (51, 382). Despite organisational constraints, space to act and be different and to deviate from existing norms is continuously being created, through agency (conflict, negotiation, risk taking and other means) and through planned or accidental changes in the structure of organisations (109, 195). This occurs both within bureaucracies *and* in their outside interventions, at the people-project interface (169).

## Policies for participation

If organisational learning and change for participation in natural resource management is to have a wider and lasting impact, then changes in policy and policy-making mechanisms are essential too. Policy contexts and the character structure of organisations (109) are reciprocal. The policy context attracts or pushes an organisation towards a particular style of intervention and culture. Conversely an organisation with its beliefs, ways of working and disciplinary orientations helps shape the policy context, either directly through policy formulation and implementation or indirectly.

Policy is what organisations do. Policy has process, in the form of policy making, - implementing and reviewing - and it has content, - policy statements and policy instruments. Asking "What is Policy?" Norton (251) suggests that it is more than a set of goals and procedures. It encompasses issues such as processes of resource allocation; institutional mechanisms and procedures for public and non-governmental institutions; legal and regulatory frameworks applied by the state; and access, quality, efficiency, and relevance in the delivery of public services.

A review of the extensive literature on environmental policy processes identified three ways of viewing the policy process: (1) in a linear fashion (actions based on rational instrumental behaviours of decision makers); (2) as a process of negotiation and bargaining between multiple actors; and (3) by viewing the relationship between power and policy as central to the analysis (192). Thus policy change can be explained as the reflection of political interests; the reflection of the activities of actor-networks; or the product of a certain type of discourse. This framework is similar to the theoretical alternatives presented by other authors that view the foundations for reform as being state-, society- or elite-led (127, 147). Other approaches taken to the discussion of policy frameworks focus on policy networks and policy communities (291); the exploration of the tension between expert knowledge and analysis for decision making versus citizen control (217); and the use of discourse analysis (143)

Some enabling conditions necessary for the scaling up of participation and organisational change are identified as: decentralisation (policy context); high level government support; in-country critical mass of people with relevant and quality training and experience (44).

A number of authors examine the role and importance of government decentralisation in aiding popular participation (11, 171, 196). However, decentralisation does not always equate with increased participation: it does not necessarily break power structures or lead to a redistribution of resources, but may only transfer power to another level of the bureaucracy (21, 44, 292, 293, 343). Thus democratisation is needed as well as decentralisation (293).

Often decentralisation is linked to the institutionalisation of local level popular participation: they are viewed as complementary processes, one working from the top down and the other from the bottom up (171). Other authors further stress the point that community mobilisation, or strengthening of civil society is a major aspect of municipal decentralisation (11, 64, 171, 207). Education, to unify perceptions of

participation, and to aid reflection and discussion of decentralised activities, can help consolidate decentralisation and participation in government Ministries (57, 273).

A large number of case studies on decentralisation come out of Latin America: e.g. Colombia (73); Ecuador (31); Brazil (277, 273); and Argentina (57). Furthermore, many deal with presentation and discussion of the Law of Popular Participation (Ley de Participación Popular) instituted in Bolivia in 1994 (13, 43, 54, 59, 236, 237). Two case studies refer to participatory budgeting, which, it is suggested, leads to changes in public spending and enhances trust (277, 259).

Limitations to decentralisation are discussed in general terms by several authors (31, 236, 359). Problems related to an institutional built-in resistance to change are analysed in several items presented her (57, 171, 207, 112). The danger that attempts at decentralisation resulting only in deconcentration, with no change to power structures is well highlighted (11, 252, 343). Some authors offer methodological guides to decentralisation ( 73, 237, 305).

Land reforms and equitable rights of access, use and control over natural resources are also seen as key policy pre-requisites for the spread and institutionalisation of participation (29, 30, 33, 84, 113, 116, 158). In turn, effective and socially just reforms in property rights are vitally dependent on the growing and active participation of local resource users, and on support at both national and international levels (33, 84, 116). Evidence from a variety of settings shows that socially redistributive land reforms have not only been contingent on successful peasant mobilisation but have also encouraged the further spread of participation to more people and places (29, 158). The main actors in these processes of change are usually militant rural organisations created by peasants on their own behalf. However, very little development research focuses on these organisations and the roles they play in institutional transformation (158).

Policy advocacy by actors such as NGOs, community based organisations and academics can be influential, but there is a need for them to understand policy processes, and the contexts influencing policy change in order to be able to change them (152, 162). Examples of contexts in which NGOs have influenced policy are given here (255). Blackburn gives an example of independent Working Groups in India comprised of government, NGOs, CBOs and academics. This reduced suspicion of parties as they were in a neutral group, and promoted the triangulation of experience (44).

There are various ways in which policy makers' and people's voices can come together: via intermediaries (NGOs, researchers, etc), face to face or as part of multiple stakeholder learning groups. Most common amongst the literature is discussion around partnerships between NGOs and government (35, 36, 64, 343, 357). Possible ways in which policies can be influenced by those who are poor, marginalised, vulnerable and excluded are described here (152, 343). Such participatory policy analysis and formulation challenges the behaviour and attitudes of policymakers and bureaucrats, influencing the style and substance of policy itself.

Whether a participatory policy process is desirable and possible is touched on briefly by Keeley and Scoones (192). That it is certainly not easy is illustrated by a number of cases studies which highlight problems with participatory forest policy (183, 233, 292, 293, 368), as well as with the range of situations described in the UNRISD Popular Participation Programme (343).

Policy change, however, does not always modify actual outcomes: the difference between rhetoric and practice should be borne in mind (162, 343). Chambers (in 152) identifies two stages in the policy change process, both of which need to be fulfilled: from voice-to-policy and from policy-to-practice. A useful distinction has been proposed between (1) policy failures, when they fail to do what they were expected to do; (2) policy perversities, when they have unintended perverse consequences; (3) policy hypocrisies, when policies ostensibly have one objective but really have a hidden contrary one; and (4) policy absence, when benign neglect in reality results in social and environmental degradation (30).

There are warnings against over-optimism about the feasibility and impacts of large scale popular participation.

- Policies associated with Structural Adjustment – deregulation, privatisation and restrictions in the public sector – have in some areas led to increased social exclusion and poverty and therefore popular distrust of the state and its institutions. Also, as already mentioned, democratisation may change formal structures without changing the balance of power in favour of the excluded. Furthermore, decentralisation often only occurs in certain sectors, 'unthreatening' to local elites, such as health, and environment, and not across the board.

- Current policy trends in globalisation, the privatisation of natural resources and the concentration of economic power in trans-national corporations raise new questions about the feasibility, equity and empowering quality of large scale participation in a variety of settings (30, 101).

- Views on the desirability of participation in natural resource management among voters and the lay public in many urban contexts are influenced by powerful crisis images and policy narratives (297, 298) which blame local resource users for environmental degradation. Many of these influential policy narratives are sustained by international NGOs as part of their fund raising strategies, partnerships with industry and organisational structures that perpetuate particular scientific and social interests (174, see also environmental knowledge and organisational change section).

Regarding questions surrounding participatory policy-focused research, several observers (162) identified conflicts between the requirements of policy makers and those of the participatory process. Policy makers require a policy 'product', whereas the 'process' itself is central for actors engaged in meaningful participatory learning and action. To ensure empowerment through policy research there is also a need for capacity building, improved feedback of results, follow up, building local decision making structures etc. However, the literature review suggests that there are very few examples of organisations supporting, or learning from, processes of participatory policy research and formulation for natural resource management. There is a need for more social experimentation and learning on how innovative participatory approaches can be designed to bring the diversity of local knowledge, priorities, policy analysis and location specific definitions of well being into the policy process.

# Methods for institutional and impact analysis

What difference does it make to institutionalise participatory approaches and methods in natural resource management bureaucracies? The items in this chapter offer a variety of ideas about the methods one might use to study the impacts of the institutionalisation process. The literature is focused on three types of inter-linked changes one would expect to find as a result of transformation for participation and people-centred approaches to natural resource management: changes in livelihoods, accounting for social difference; environmental change; and organisational and institutional change. Some of the writings included here are concerned primarily with methodological issues, while others offer examples of the application of methods in the course of presenting study findings.

One of the key reasons to make natural resource management bureaucracies more participatory is the need to make environmental management more compatible with, and responsive to, local people's use of natural resources for their livelihoods in highly diverse ecological and economic settings (63, 211, 268, 316, 388). The items below offer many ideas and examples of methods used to understand people's livelihoods, and thus to study the impact that changes in natural resource management have had on their lives. The selection of items for the bibliography has been guided by a concern for the way that people's livelihoods, including their access to natural resources, are shaped by social difference (229). Gender is one important axis of difference, which researchers have developed a variety of approaches to understand in relation to livelihoods (215, 381, 79). Gender matters in different ways in various spheres of life, such as access to natural resources (308). Researchers must be alert to the complex ways that gender interacts with other categories of differences (72, 327, 234, 370). These other axes of difference include differences in wealth and well being. The review offers several examples of studies that have used participatory research methods to understand these differences (163, 372) The social differences that matter with regard to natural resources vary from setting to setting, and thus researchers must develop methods to deal with particular types of social difference such as caste (2). Although these categories of social difference are useful, there may be a danger of making inaccurate intra-group generalisations, a danger which may be guarded against by using oral testimony to focus researchers on the specific lives of individuals (336).

Methods must cope not only with social difference and the interaction between different types of social difference, but also with the dynamic changes in people's livelihoods over time. For example, people may change their livelihood strategies to cope in times of stress (372, 314). Crisis situations aside, researchers must find methods to understand how livelihoods gradually change over time, often without the benefit of baseline data (3, 71, 314). Drawing on people's recollections using participatory research methods, such as historical matrices (71) is one way of capturing these dynamics.

A second change one might expect from shifting towards participatory approaches and processes for natural resource management is changes in the environment itself. The selections in this chapter offer many ways of studying environmental change that allow room for diverse perspectives, and which emphasise the knowledge and skill of local people in interpreting what is happening in their environment. As in

understanding livelihoods, the selections have been made with the view that it is important to use methods which allow one to understand the interaction between social difference and interpretations of environmental change (39, 166, 216, 317, 327, 328, 56). The selections have also been made with the assumption that researchers may be interested in past changes that have not been systematically monitored to date. Given a lack of baseline data, methods which draw on local people's understanding of environmental change are extremely useful (3, 139). The PRA toolbox offers a number of techniques for learning about local people's historical knowledge of environmental change (122, 139, 155, 264, 270, 295). Oral histories are also a commonly used way to gather local people's differing views of environmental change 74, 263, 265, 332, 336, 350). Research processes which clarify the different views and interests of social groups may ease conflict resolution by making different views more clear (182). However, researchers must be cautious, as groups are likely to strategically adjust their representation of environmental change in ways that they expect will lead to more favourable results for themselves (380).

There is growing experience at using baskets of tools including participatory methods to evaluate the impact of natural resource management projects, in sectors such as watershed management (2, 52, 132, 148, 198, 278, 329, 353), forestry (295, 264), water management (155, 157), and participatory technology development with farmers (77, 103). Some organisations are shifting completely towards using participatory approaches for monitoring environmental change (1, 19, 132, 190). When this participatory approach is taken from the beginning, local indicators can be constructed to define and measure progress (45, 144, 145). Using methods which build on local people's knowledge allows researchers to reconsider their conceptions of the environment, such as their time horizons (290), their particular ideas about environmental management (25, 92) or the ways that they categorise natural resources and processes (136, 290).

The selections below contain some ideas about how to assess and measure change in institutions, the topic which is the central concern of this review. First, there are a number of methods that may be used to conduct studies of the changes within natural resource management bureaucracies themselves. Analysis may be conducted with the co-operation of staff, (105) in which case the line between monitoring, evaluation, training, and facilitation becomes blurred (294). Process consultancy is a particular approach to facilitating this type of reflection and change within organisation (311). Diagramming techniques can be used to include the views of people within the organisation (124, 156) and served by the organisation (124). As there is little documentation of using PRA in this way, it is an area for methodological innovation. The movement for social auditing in the North, much of which is driven by private sector concerns, provides another distinct approach to institutional assessment (262, 387). Many studies do not involve the staff in assessing their own institutions, and maintain the role of an outside researcher in data gathering and analysis, as is the case in many studies of organisational culture (256) and in stakeholder analysis (125, 126).

One would also expect institutionalising participatory natural resource management to have an impact on institutions at the community level. Venn diagrams are a commonly used PRA tool for studying organisations and their relationships to groups in the community (104, 179, 180). They may be used for people to record their views of institutional change over time (122, 179, 180, 186). Venn diagrams are a rather limited tool for understanding institutions, especially if the researcher lacks sufficient contextual understanding of the context (37, 179, 180). Recent research efforts have

combined many different approaches to studying local institutions, which involve local people in the analysis to varying degrees. These methods include: network diagrams; venn diagrams; decision trees and flow charts; actor-network analysis; organisational analysis; biographies of institutions or organisations (209, 281).

The examples also include research into inter-organisational links, including information flows in systems of organisations (208, 333, 351), and methods to links macro institutional changes with micro institutional change (365). Stakeholder analysis also focuses on the relationship between different social actors, including organisations (125, 126).

The strength of many of the selections in this section is their use of complementary methods. Livelihoods, social difference, environmental change, and institutional change are all highly complex processes that impinge on one another, and will be interpreted in very different ways by the social actors involved. If one is to understand these topics and the inter-relationships between them, the methods used must be varied and eclectic. Researchers might combine economics and participatory research (133, 165), physical and social research methods (32), secondary sources with ethnographic work (93), or other combinations of RRA, PRA, life histories, questionnaire surveys, and ethnographic work (295). Many studies have been included to give examples of the constructive gains that may be made through combining methods in different ways (81, 88, 93, 164, 276, 287, 317, 325, 326). Researchers should challenge themselves to learn from people through forms of expression they might not normally consider, such as poetry (159), songs, stories, and legends (336). They can also create opportunities for interaction between different groups, such as project cross visits and workshops with farmers, enabling people to learn from one another as the researcher learns from everyone (2).

# References

1. Abbot, J. and I. Guijt (1998) *Changing views on change: participatory approaches to monitoring the environment.* IIED - SARL Discussion Paper, 4.
This paper focuses on community monitoring of environmental change and natural resource management interventions. The paper draws on a range of sources, including an extensive review of the literature, interviews with practitioners around the world and the first hand experiences of one of the authors in establishing a participatory approach to monitoring of sustainable agriculture with rural organisations in Brazil.
The basis of Participatory monitoring and evaluation (PM&E) approaches is discussed, particularly their benefits, how they meet the challenges of participation and how indicators are perceived and generated, and the trade-offs in meeting the conflicting needs for scientific rigour and enhanced participation in PM&E are also examined.
The review distinguishes between three categories of participatory monitoring: methods based on visualisation techniques of PRA, those based on oral history and those based on adapting methods of ecological assessment to make them more accessible to local people. The document stresses however, that these approaches are not mutually exclusive and that increasingly, communities and scientists are realising the need for methodological complementarity. Ten case studies of these different approaches to PM of the environment are described and compared and finally, gaps in our understanding of PM&E and challenges for future research and practice are identified.

2. Adolph, B. and M. von Oppen (1997) *Farmer's workshops as a tool to evaluate watershed management projects: an account of experiences and problems in South India*. Presented at the 'International Conference on Creativity and Innovation at Grassroots', Ahmedabad, India.
As part of a research project on the role of farmer's participation in watershed management projects in semi-arid south India farms from a 'participatory' project and a 'top- down' project were invited to critically review their own and another watershed project. Farmers selected to take part in the workshop included landless, small, medium and large farmers and both men and women. Very rich and/or /influential farmers were excluded for fear that they would dominate activities. Terms of reference for the evaluation were developed by the farmers from both watersheds during several planning sessions before visiting each others project sites to critically observe and discuss soil and water conservation measures implemented by the respective projects. Farmers observed differences in the design, coverage and location of soil and water conservation structures and also in the mode of payment for the three main project components of water harvesting structures, soil conservation measures and fodder and tree development. For this research project the farmer's perceptions of changes that they attributed to the project interventions, as well as their own observations of the relevant indicators were used as proxies for project impact. This workshop and cross visit methodology was found to be a rapid means of gathering farmer perception of project impact

3. Ahluwalia, M. (1997) 'Representing communities: the case of a community-based watershed management project in Rajasthan, India'. *IDS Bulletin* 28(4):23-34.

This article focuses on a community-based watershed project facilitated by an NGO, Seva Mandir operating in a highly diverse social and economic project area in Rajasthan in which there are two scheduled tribes, five castes and several class groups, dependent on diverse sources of livelihood

An assessment of three examples of Seva Mandir's interventions is made using the tools of entitlements analysis to explore how people's different endowments and entitlements to natural resources, as influenced by institutions, affect their experience of watershed development interventions. The article also considers whether social actors differential abilities to overcome the transaction costs that they face make it viable for them to invest in institutions and environmental management in the ways expected by the project.

One of the project interventions evaluated is soil and moisture conservation on private lands. Dominant policy narratives about the area state that the deforestation that has occurred is primarily by poor tribal people for subsistence needs and is the result of increasing population. However, life histories and ecological histories used in this research revealed that in fact the majority of the deforestation that has occurred was under the direction of the relatives of the old feudal lord to exploit timber for local industry.

Transect walks with local people suggested that the soil and water conservation measures introduced had been successful as people commented on a reduced number of times needed to irrigate certain fields and increased number of croppings and also a household survey revealed perceived changes in well depth and water table in 47% of cases. However, benefits of the project were found not to have reached the community evenly with the initial distribution of endowments in terms of location of wells and land holdings in relation to micro topography affecting the social distribution of gains from soil and moisture conservation.

The study revealed the difficulties involved in identifying clear groups of social actors as social identities are multiple and overlapping so that, for instance while 'women' can be treated as a single social group in certain resource contexts, in others, cross cutting differences such as marital or caste status are important. However, the author states that, 'having established that it is important to recognise complexity it should be added that if each combination of multiple attributes is treated as a single type of stakeholder, the latter becomes innumerable' and that a balance in such analysis must be struck between generality and complexity according to the needs of each local situation and its power politics.

The paper concludes by stressing the need to recognise that any community is heterogeneous and dynamic, with different social actors having different sets of environmental entitlements and endowments and diverse and sometimes divergent interests in natural resource management projects and that expecting consensus is unfounded. However, an analysis of social differences existing behind any image of community may allow projects to take seriously the claims of the socially excluded and actively negotiate outcomes and alternative livelihood sources for certain social groups.

4. Ahmed, J. and F. Mahmood (1999) *Changing perspectives on forest policy: Pakistan country study*. Policy that Works for Forests and People Series 1, ed. J. Mayers, London: IIED Forestry and Land Use Programme.

This report traces the story of how the policy debate has been opened up in Pakistan, principally through experience with participatory forestry projects and conservation strategies. Legal changes have been made to allow communities to play their part in

joint forest management, reinforcing a trend away from governmental control alone and towards reinstating community mechanisms and rules. Building on an identification of what works well in Pakistan, recommendations are made for further improving the policy process, and for installing key policies which will help the sustainability of forest management and optimise stakeholder benefits.

5. AKRSP (1996) 'Brief up-date on Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) in AKRSP'. AKRSP.
This brief, up-to-date note reviews the experience of AKRSP in using and accepting PRA as a methodology within the organisation. It also discusses the practical constraints faced by AKRSP in adopting PRA and the role of AKRSP in disseminating PRA methodology to other organisations - GO/NGOs through training, the production of a video cassette and the production of literature on PRA. The paper reveals that although PRA has been internalised in some areas of AKRSP work, for example, gender analysis and watershed area planning, the high-profile image of PRA in AKRSP has not been shared by the field staff within the organisation. Moreover, the lack of PRA materials in the local language, Gujarati, when 80% of the staff is unable to understand English, is a major obstacle.

6. Allen, W.J. and O.J.H. Bosch (1996) *Shared experiences: the basis for a co-operative approach to identifying and implementing more sustainable land management practices*. Presented at the 'Symposium on resource management: issues, visions, practice', Lincoln University, New Zealand, 5-8 July, 1996.
Given the complexity and different social perceptions surrounding many resource management issues, the challenge facing science is to develop understanding, knowledge, forums and learning environments to better inform and support more sustainable decision-making. An essential component of any process to achieve these aims will focus on placing contributed information 'in context'. This paper describes the importance of community dialogue processes to support the identification and adoption of more sustainable land management. The benefits of a co-operative approach the planning of different sectors of society towards a more co-ordinated set of environmental goals are outlined.

7. Allen, W.J. (1997) 'Towards improving the role of evaluation within natural resource management R&D programmes: The case for learning by doing'. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 18:629-643.
(Special issue on results-based evaluation) The increasing use of participatory development approaches in recent years pose new challenges for decision-makers and evaluators. Because these programmes are designed to be responsive to changing community needs, one of the most pressing challenges is to develop participatory and systems-based evaluative processes to allow for ongoing learning, correction, and adjustment by all parties concerned. This paper outlines one such evaluation process, and uses a case study in New Zealand to illustrate its benefits in the light of current issues facing both evaluators and natural resource managers.

8. Allen, W.J., O.J. Bosch, R.G. Gibson and A.J. Jopp (1998) 'Co-learning our way to sustainability: An integrated and community-based research approach to support natural resource management decision-making'. In S.A. El-Swaify and D.S. Yakowitz (eds.), *Multiple objective decision making for land, water and environmental management*. Lewis Publishers: Boston.

A brief discussion of sustainability is presented to provide an introduction from which to discuss challenges facing resource managers trying to introduce more sustainable environmental practices. These include the need to address multiple social perspectives, fragmented knowledge and information systems and environmental/social change. An outline is given of how the use of participatory and learning-based approaches such as the Integrated Systems for Knowledge Management (ISKM) can help to more closely linking research with management and policy.

9. Allen, W., K. Brown, T. Gloag, J. Morris, et al. (1998) 'Building partnerships for conservation in the Waitaki/Mackenzie Basins'. Landcare Research Contract Report. Lincoln, New Zealand: Landcare Research.

This report documents an facilitated initiative to improve relationships between the Department of Conservation (DOC) staff and local landholders in the Waitaki/Mackenzie basins, South Island, New Zealand. It reviews the outcomes of the activities undertaken through this exercise and points the way forward. The process involved separate pre-workshop discussions with individual landholders and DOC staff, and two 'looking to the future' workshops involving both local DOC staff and members of the local farming community. The key themes arising from this project were the expressed desire by both parties to develop more collaborative approaches, improve relations, and build up trust over the longer term. In the shorter term both groups identified that they had a lot of common ground to build on, and collectively identified a number of positive steps to improve working relationships at a local level.

10. Allen, W., O. Bosch, M. Kilvington, D. Harley, et al. (submitted) 'Monitoring and adaptive management: resolving social and organisational issues to improve information sharing'. *Rangeland Journal*.

Adaptive, or 'learning by doing', approaches are often advocated as a means of providing increased understanding within natural resource management. However, a number of organisational and social issues need to be resolved if these approaches are to be used successfully. A case study in the South Island high country of New Zealand is used to review what is needed to support an ongoing community-based monitoring and adaptive management programme. First, the case study is described, paying attention to the social context of the resource management problem. The results of a workshop which explored this problem are then outlined, along with a proposed information flow suggested by participants. Requirements for future steps to resolve these problems (such as information protocols and a multi-stakeholder information system) are discussed. Finally, some broad lessons are drawn from this exercise that could help others developing similar approaches.

11. Amtmann, C. (1990) 'La descentralización del Estado y la participación de agricultores y campesinos en el diseño de políticas agrarias específicas'. *Estudios Sociales* 66(trimestre 4):179-195.

The author states that the centralisation that has been characteristic of Latin American public administration has been an important limitation for development efforts. This is why it is positive that decentralisation trends have begun in many Latin American countries. However, the author points out that while the discourse in favour of decentralisation in the region has gained ground, the actual practice is still far behind.

It is relevant to understand how decentralisation efforts are important within the rural development area. Amtmann argues that for successful rural development to take

place, there need to be specific policies and projects which respond to the diversity of natural resources and of the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the rural communities. Decentralisation is seen as a key factor to allow this diversity to be expressed in rural policies. The development of the potentials of rural people and their organisation is seen as a key mechanism which can be used within the framework of decentralisation to influence the decision-making centres.
Amtmann analyses the case of Chilean rural development policies since the 1960s to conclude that their failure is related to a great extent to the fact that the State (and the power groups within it) have had too much control over them and have not taken into account the ecological, social and economic diversity of the rural areas.
The article argues strongly for effective decentralisation which includes the creation of mechanisms for an effective participation of the rural population in the design of rural development policies. This is the only way to design successful rural development policies.
The author suggests 3 mechanisms that may serve to weaken centralism:
1. Social construction of regional and local realities (this mainly refers to the social organisation of the rural population in a way which allows them to participate in the design of rural policies)
2. Creation of decentralised territorial entities at the regional and local level (local and regional government entities which are formed by democratically elected officials independent from central government and with the authority to decide rural policies)
3. 'De-concentration' of services (including agricultural services) from the central government and inter-sectoral co-ordination between them.

12. Anderson, D. and R. Grove (1987) *Conservation in Africa: people, policies, practices*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
This book provides a new interdisciplinary look at the practice and policies of conservation in Africa. Bringing together social scientists, anthropologists and historians with biologists for the first time, the book sheds some light on the previously neglected but critically important social aspects of conservation thinking. To date conservation has been very much the domain of the biologist, but the current ecological crisis in Africa and the failure of orthodox conservation policies demand a radical new appraisal of conventional practices. This new approach to conservation, the book argues, cannot deal simply with the survival of species and habitats, for the future of African wildlife is intimately tied to the future of African communities. Conservation must form an integral part of future policies for human development. The book emphasises this urgent need for a complementary rather than a competitive approach. It covers a wide range of topics important to this new approach, from wildlife management to soil conservation and from the Cape in the nineteenth century to Ethiopia in the 1980s. [original abstract, 1987]
The first section of the book deals with past and present conservation ideologies in Africa, leading up to present debates about the need to new forms of conservation policy. The second section considers conservation in the context of wildlife and game parks, and in relation to the African Pastoralists who make use of those same rangelands. Prevailing perceptions of pastoralist land-use are questioned, and the practicalities of implementing game park policies are examined. The third section deals with conservation priorities for rural communities, looking at indigenous and imposed resource management systems, conflicts over forest conservation and fuelwood provision, and policies towards soil conservation. In the final section, conservation is considered in its relationship to development in the late 1980s.

13. Araujo, F. (1994) 'La Ley de Participación Popular: una estrategia para el desarrollo económico social'. *Municipio y Participación* :83-106.

This article analysed the potential contribution of the Law of Popular Participation to the political, social and economic development of Bolivia, before it was approved by the Legislature. Its main argument is that this Law represents the best strategy for economic, social and political development which is guided by the following principles:

1. Local development is seen as the basis for national development
2. Scarce economic resources should be redistributed in a fair and balanced way among the various components of the country
3. The participation of all the population in the production and redistribution of the national resources should be ensured
4. The structure of the state should be improved by assigning clear and complementary duties to the local, regional and national levels.

Among the various elements contained in the Law, the author highlights three which have a great potential to contribute to the economic, social and political justice:

- The redistribution of national resources in favour of an equal development of all regions
- The legal recognition given to a social organisation in each municipality (organizaciones territoriales de base) as a grassroots representative of the population living in a specific territory. At the same time, other type of organisations (e.g. NGOs, religious organisations, productive organisations, etc.) continued to have the same rights and possibilities for action.
- The territorial authority and extended duties given to the Municipal government.

14. Arce, A. and N. Long (1992) 'The dynamics of knowledge: interfaces between bureaucracies and peasants'. In N. Long and A. Long (eds.), *Battlefields of Knowledge: The Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Development*. London: Routledge.

Through the examination of an agricultural development programme in Mexico, the authors trace the 'interfaces' between agricultural bureaucrats (higher level bureaucrats and extensionists) and peasants. 'Interface' means some kind of face-to-face encounter between individuals with different interests, bodies of knowledge, resources and power, which is influenced by broader institutional power fields.

The article emphasis that the production and transformation of knowledge resides in the processes by which social actors interact, negotiate and accommodate to each other's life-worlds, leading to the reinforcement or transformation of existing types of knowledge or to the emergence of new forms. These processes and outcomes are shaped by sources of power, authority and legitimisation available to the different actors involved.

This analysis identifies the power differentials and incompatibilities existing between the knowledge and life-worlds of the two sets of actors (bureaucrats and peasants). In the case presented here, the differences between them have the effect of sealing off the worlds of the bureaucrat and peasant from each other, making it impossible for them to co-operate and for the project to achieve its aims. This example shows the problematic of state-peasant relationships and the struggle that may emerge over the social meanings and knowledge of agricultural development and technological transfer when the life-worlds of the two set of actors encounter each other.

The authors express the need to develop a methodology for handling the set of

relations that evolve in interface situations. This methodology should allow for a more thorough appreciation of how bodies of knowledge shape the struggles and negotiations between local groups and intervening parties.

15. Archer, L. and D. Whitaker (1994) 'Developing a culture of learning through research partnerships'. In P. Reason (ed.), *Participation in Human Inquiry*. London: Sage Publications.

The paper provides guidelines for partnership arrangements between university based researchers and a service-providing organisation. The experience of the authors is based on research with service organisations including social, health or therapeutic support programmes. The authors provide a list of successive steps that are likely to produce a successful research partnership:

1. Informally contact someone in the management to gain insight into what issues the organisations might want to work with.
2. Meet the managers who have the authority to decide the overall purpose of the project and allocate resources.
3. Decisions must be made within the organisation as to who will participate in what capacities.
4. An initial series of workshops establishes contact between the university researchers and the organisations' staff. This serves to build trust as well as planning research activities.
5. A Phase I workshop is held, at which the staff on the research team present their experience and it is recorded uncritically by the university researchers.
6. A meeting is held by the Project Group to decide on the logistics of taking the project forward.
7. The research plan is finalised, the research is conducted and a report is written.
8. A full report of the research is prepared.
9. A plan for dissemination of learning is formulated.
10. Dissemination and research utilisation are carried out.

For each of these steps, the authors provide detailed examples and advice from their experience. They give some examples of partnership research at the end of the article, including examples of problems and failures as well as successes.

16. Argyris, C. (1957) *Personality and organisation: the conflict between system and the individual*, New York: Harper and Row.

In this book, Argyris argues that there is a fundamental tension between "formal organisations" (Weberian bureaucracies) and the needs of the human personality. He draws on evidence from European and North American settings.

He begins by presenting a view of the human personality, and the needs of humans for development and self-actualisation. He then presents an ideal type of the "formal organisation"-his thinking is mainly based on the Fordist assembly line factory. The crux of his argument is as follows:

If the principles of formal organisation are ideally defined, employees will ten to work in an environment where (1) they are provided minimum control over their workaday world (2) they are expected to be passive, dependent, and subordinate, (3) they are expected to have a short time perspective (4) they are induced to perfect and value the frequent use of a few skin-surface shallow abilities and (5) they are expected to produce under conditions leading to psychological failure….. All of these characteristics are incongruent to the ones health human beings are postulated to desire

He argues that the behaviour demanded of people by such institutions is more appropriate for children. He argues that the incongruence between personality and organisation increases with the maturity of the person, the tightness of formal organisation, the further down the line of command, and as jobs become more mechanised. The outcome is that workers feel frustration, failure, and conflict, which leads them to adopt a variety of coping mechanisms, from leaving work altogether, to mental coping mechanisms.
As for solutions, he argues that many of the management solutions of the time would make the incongruence worse rather than better. He suggests two possibilities for lessening the tension:

- Job enlargement
- Participative or employee-centred leadership

17. Argyris, C. and D.A. Schon (1996) *Organisational learning II. Theory method and practice.* Addison Wesley Publications.

18. Argyris, C. (1998) 'Empowerment: the emperor's new clothes'. *Harvard Business Review,* May-June:98-105.
Top level executives accept their responsibilities to try to develop empowered employees. Experts teach change management. Executives themselves launch any number of programs from re-engineering to continuous improvement to Total Quality Management. But little of it works. Despite all the rhetoric about empowerment and major change programs, there has been no transformation in the workforce and in organisations. The way employee commitment is elicited is at the root of the problem. Commitment is about generating human energy and activating the human mind. Human beings can commit themselves in two fundamentally different ways: externally and internally. Only internal commitment reinforces empowerment. Individuals define tasks and the importance of the goals as well as the behaviour required to perform tasks. The more that top management wants internal commitment for its employees, the more it must try to involve employees in defining work objectives and defining performance goals. However, the framework that most organisations are now using to transform themselves discourages employees from actually taking responsibility in their jobs. Management single-handedly defines work conditions for employees and all that is left for employees is to do what is expected of them. In this kind of external commitment employees do not feel responsible for the way the situation itself is defined. Managers love empowerment in theory, but the command and control model is what they trust and know best. But although managers share some of the responsibility for undermining internal motivation in organisations, the change programs that could create high levels of internal commitment and empowerment in corporations do not yet exist. The article ends with some recommendations that may help executives think more sensibly about empowerment.

19. Armonia, R.C. and D.M. Campilan (1997) 'Participatory monitoring and evaluation: the Asian experience'. Laguna: User's Perspectives with Agricultural Research and Development (UPWARD).
This document is a review of field experiences in participatory monitoring and evaluation (PM&E) in the Asian region, carried out in preparation for an international workshop on the theme. The report considers practices, tools, lessons learned and future challenges drawn from a wide range of development projects in the sectors of agriculture, public service/government, health, enterprise/livelihood, environment and

community development.

20. Armstrong, J. (1999) 'The Learning Partnership: a literature review'. Canada: IDRC.
This useful literature review is organised around four themes:
* Current Trends in Public Sector Management
* Managing for Results in Research, Innovative, and Development Organisations
* Public Sector Accountability and Governance Issues
* Strategic Frameworks for Collaborative Partnerships
These themes are tied together by a common and relatively novel thread: collaborative partnerships. Collaborative partnerships involve a formal agreement to plan and work together in specific ways to promote specific outcomes. The commitment can be fairly limited in scope, like a partnership agreement to work together to provide integrated business information services to the public; or it can extend to the co-management of an entire set of activities as is the case with the partnership between IDRC, donors, and Secretariats. Unlike traditional partnerships, which are based on a contract for the performance of specific tasks, collaborative arrangements are based on a contract for results and a commitment to share decision making. As with intergovernmental agreements, the government and its partner(s) negotiate a framework of outcomes, principles, objectives, and indicators. The partner(s) then commit(s) to achieving the outcomes and to having their/his performance evaluated against the indicators. At the same time, they acquire some flexibility regarding the design and delivery of services, tasks that may even include elements of policy making. IDRC Library staff carried out an extensive electronic search for source material. They designed and managed a process that identified many useful documents. Key words for the search included: Collaborative Partnerships, Alternative Service Delivery, Organisational Innovation, Alternative Organisational Forms, Secretariats, Development and/or Research and (Organisation, Structure, Accountability, Governance, Management, Administration, Organisational Performance, organisational Capacity, Leadership, Strategic Planning).

21. Arnold, P. and I. Cole (1987) 'The decentralisation of local services: rhetoric and reality'. In P. Hoggett and R. Hambleton (eds.), *Decentralisation and democracy. Localising public services*. Bristol: School for Advanced Urban Studies, University of Bristol.
The authors offer a critical evaluation of public bureaucracies' attempts to create more responsive local services and devolve power away from the centre. Whilst they focus on the experience in the UK and on the decentralisation of local services such as housing, the authors' conclusions on internal resistance to bureaucratic change, management control and monitoring in decentralisation are illustrative of a wider problem. Five assumptions about decentralisation and participation need to be effectively subjected to empirical analysis to anchor some of the more elusive claims made for going local:
i) Decentralisation breaks bureaucratic power. Many of the delays in implementing proposals indicate that the capacity of local government bureaucracy to frustrate and incorporate innovation is not diminished with the challenge of decentralisation. Moreover, many local authorities have set up rather clumsy organisational structures - often led by a small, and centralised unit - to promote decentralisation.
ii) Decentralisation changes officer values. Initial changes in attitudes are often fairly transient, particularly if localised provision is contained within a relatively

unchanged hierarchical management structure at the centre.

iii) Decentralisation increases job satisfaction. While going local seems to offer the prospect of greater autonomy and more flexible working conditions, it can also create new pressures, due to the demands of generic practice, or the increasing number of enquiries, or the more exposed conditions which place staff at greater risk of physical assault. The broader parameters of the officer response to new practices now needs to be brought into account.

iv) Decentralisation redistributes resources. The re-distributive potential of going local, focusing more resources on priority areas, has been proclaimed far more than it has been evaluated. There is a need to critically assess access to services and community responses to decentralisation to be convinced that the gatekeepers have not just been moved further down the line.

v) Decentralisation is politically regenerative. This view may need to be counterbalanced with an alternative account which suggests that local people may be taking an instrumental rather than a politically inspired approach to neighbourhood provision.

22. Ascarrunz, I. and N. Bejarano (1994) *Mujer y medio ambiente en las estrategias de desarrollo y los procesos de planificación*, Bolivia: ILDIS.

This book presents a review of Bolivia's development policies between 1989 and 1993 which analyses how far they addressed the themes of 'women' and 'environment' (and their links) and how this was integrated into the policy design at the national and regional level. The authors argue that both issues have only become part of the official discourse recently and that there still has not been enough time for the development of methodological tools at the policy level to be used within policies that address both issues. This means that the importance given to women and the environment more recently cannot yet be transferred into action.

They highlight the process of decentralisation as having the potential to promote the demands of women and other demands related to the environment. However, this will only be the case if the process of decentralisation itself incorporates a gender perspective and if it is aware of environmental issues. They conclude that progress has been made, but there is still a long way before development planning in Bolivia incorporates a gender and environmental perspective. The authors recommend that social participation should be included in the planning and implementation of gender and environmental policies and argue that the local level might be the best one for action.

23. Ashby, J.A. and L.Sperling (1995) 'Institutionalising particiaptory, client driven research and technology development in agriculture.' *Development and Change* 26:753-770.

This article identifies key characteristics of participatory research and development (R&D) in the agricultural sector: it is client driven, requires decentralised technology development, devolves to farmers the major responsibility for adaptive testing, and requires institutions and individuals to become accountable for the relevance and quality of technology on offer. Through case study material drawn from Latin America, Asia and Africa, the article then reviews ways by which institutions have responded to these characteristics and raises issues for further elaboration. Steps need to be taken, in particular, to safeguard equity, both between the more and less vocal groups of farmers, and between the requirements of present and future generations (the latter referring particularly to environmental concerns). It is argued that

participatory R&D alone is insufficient to deliver innovations relevant to diverse client groups: policy mechanisms are required to define which clients are to participate, whose agendas are to drive the process, and what organisational innovations are needed to move agricultural R&D in these directions. (Authors abstract)

24. Asian Productivity Organisation (1995) *Integrated pest management in Asia and the Pacific*. Presented at the 'Asian Productivity Organization study meeting', Bandung, Indonesia, Asian Productivity Organization.
This is a collection of papers from the conference. It includes several background papers on the current state of IPM in Asia. It also addresses some of the key challenges for the future, such as the need for more applied ecology in the IPM approach, and a paper on future research and training needs. The collection also includes papers on IPM efforts in a number of Asian countries, including: Republic of China, Cook Islands, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Thailand.
The collection provides useful overviews of activities in each of the countries, but does not address the need for institutional change explicitly as a topic. The focus in largely on training coverage and supportive macro policy decisions.

25. Atte, O.D. (1993) *Indigenous knowledge and local level development: the participatory approach*. Presented at the 'Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Development: 25 Selected Papers,' Cavite, Philippines: IIRR.
This paper argues the case for harnessing the possibilities latent in indigenous knowledge in rural communities as the cheapest and most appropriate way to realise participatory development. It explores in detail the concepts of participatory development and provides examples of local people's knowledge of soils, vegetation, climate, pests, veterinary knowledge, agriculture, medicine, and engineering. Ways in which indigenous knowledge can be built into the participatory agenda are briefly discussed, including its use in resource inventory/mapping, environmental monitoring and planning.

26. Aubin, B. (1991) *Amenagement des terroirs et participation populaire: elements du debat sur les approches participatives*, Quebec: Centre Sahel, Universite Laval.
This publication (Land Management and Popular Participation: elements of the debate on participatory approaches) introduces the ideas of partnership, aid to the poorest and participation as strategic option which are feasible in principle but when applied encounter significant challenges. The concept of participation is analysed from a socio-anthropological perspective, principally from its application in the Sahelian context.
The first section considers the theoretical underpinnings and diverse contexts contributing to the participation concept and its use in the North American development discourse. The concept's varied utilisation is analysed from a socio-economic and historical perspective, and particular attention is given to the 'technocratic indoctrination' of participation in the U.S. The following section examines certain constraints identified in the application of the participation concept, particularly in the rural development context. Examples from available literature and macro-initiatives like USAID and SIDA form the basis of the analysis. Finally, Aubin concludes by emphasising the importance of interrogating the parameters

guiding participatory application and evaluation. He further states that the study's outcome is much like its predecessors: many criticisms and few concrete solutions.

27. Bandre, P. (1998) 'Participatory self-evaluation of World Neighbours, Burkina Faso'. *PLA Notes* 31(February):44-49.
Paul Bandre reviews World Neighbours experience with participatory monitoring and evaluation in Burkina Faso. World Neighbours has been working in Liptougou for approximately tens years, and has seen a reduction in its role as autonomous community efforts have become more common, and WN has begun to act collaboratively with community Activity Committees in planning, budgeting and evaluating activities. The article describes a large-scale participatory evaluation undertaken in 1997 in some detail. Communities agreed on the terms of reference for the evaluation with the 'outside' team. Community members decided to structure their sample into two categories they defined themselves: villages strong in self promotion, and villages weak in self promotion. Data was collected with a view to triangulation, collecting similar information from different sources, and through different techniques. If discrepancies arose, other exercises were used to come to agreement. During analysis, feedback was regularly given to community members. Findings were synthesised at the village level, and then between villages, through participatory workshops. Feedback was presented back to the communities again after the synthesis process. The evaluation is seen as contributing to the capacity of local people, as well as demonstrating that the programmes supported by WN are having success at the community level.

28. Barraclough, S.L. and K.B. Ghimire (1995) *Forests and livelihoods: the social dynamics of deforestation in developing countries.* Basingstoke: Macmillan/St. Martin's.
The social dynamics of deforestation and of forest protection are the ongoing interactions among social actors and processes that determine the use and management of forests. Based on a vast amount of research and detailed case studies in Brazil, Central America, Nepal and Tanzania, as well as other work dealing with wider themes and regions, the book argues that most current discussions of increased rates of deforestation and perceived accompanying environmental crises are overly simplistic. Institutional reforms and policy measures that have been undertaken in developing countries usually failed to protect either the forests or people's livelihoods. Technical solutions to deforestation are only one element in what are essentially political questions. The central issue is not how to halt deforestation but rather how to manage forest areas and natural resources in order to meet social goals on a more equitable and sustainable basis. Conventional wisdom that attributes deforestation primarily to peasant ignorance and population growth is questioned, as are other single-factor explanations such as market and policy failures.
Having considered the causes and impacts of deforestation, the authors examine some grassroots responses to deforestation, noting that policies, programmes and projects have to be based on a full appreciation of the dynamics of local people's own livelihood systems if they are to achieve success. Some national and international forest protection initiatives are discussed, such as forest reserves and social forestry, however their success has been highly variable. This is due to the fact that such initiatives deal primarily with the symptoms of deforestation, not the causes, such as contradictory policies and market forces, land tenure, lack of participation and social relations more generally. The concluding chapter of the book reviews issues and

dilemmas faces by those attempting to reform national and international policies and institutions to make them more supportive of ecologically and socially sustainable forest use. These include the difficulties of achieving meaningful participation by rural people in shaping the policies that affect their lives; the resolution of conflicting interests through negotiation; mobilising resources and enforcing rules.

29. Barraclough, S.L. (1999) *Land reform in developing countries: The role of the State and other actors*. Discussion Paper No. 101, Geneva: UNRISD.

An approach to sustainable and equitable development requires well informed, purposeful courses of action by the state and other concerned social actors. Land tenure institutions have to be continually adapted and regulated to serve the 'public interest'. But unless the institutions and policies regulating rights and obligations in access to land are somehow made primarily accountable to poor majorities, to low-income minorities and unborn generations-instead of to currently dominant corporate and other powerful groups-'public interest' can easily be interpreted to mean the opposite of sustainable development.

A review of twentieth century land reforms in Latin America and in a few other developing countries is instructive, as it brings out several of these controversial issues. Each case is to some extent unique, but there are also common features permitting qualified generalisations. Land reforms are considered to have occurred in countries where more than approximately one fifth of the agricultural land has been redistributed to benefit over one tenth of the rural poor, over a period of a decade or less.

Social movements with important peasant support led to revolutionary regimes implementing significant land reforms in Mexico, Bolivia, Cuba and Nicaragua. Similar processes produced massive land reforms in China and Viet Nam. Popularly based insurgencies in Peru and El Salvador convinced nationalist military officers wielding state power to undertake land reforms. Important land reforms by authoritarian regimes in South Korea and Taiwan had partially similar origins. Democratically elected regimes in Puerto Rico, Guatemala, Venezuela and Chile all initiated important land reforms. Political parties in each of these cases sought increased electoral support from low-income rural voters as well as being pressured by a wide range of other clients and allies with frequently conflicting interests in reform. In all of these reforms, peasant organisations and the state regime of the moment were central actors.

The often fleeting nature of popularly based state regimes supporting serious agrarian reforms is well illustrated by the Latin American experiences. In Mexico the most sweeping phase of the reform occurred during the Cardénas administration in the 1930s, with state-encouraged militant support by armed peasant organisations. Credit, marketing, technical assistance and similar state institutions were created or redirected to serve reform beneficiaries' needs. This resulted in significant increases in peasant food production and incomes. Subsequent administrations after 1940 continued to redistribute land, but priorities were changed to promoting commercial production by large-scale private farmers while leaving the peasants as dependent clients of the state's ruling party. In Bolivia, peasant food production and consumption increased following reform, but the marketed surplus diminished. The state was able to meet growing urban demands for food through highly subsidised imports. It directed most investments in agriculture toward private commercial producers in frontier regions while neglecting the mostly indigenous peasantry that had benefited from the land reform. Land reform had brought substantial benefits to major low-income peasant

populations in both cases, but subsequent changes in the state's major political support groups, and hence its priorities, had excluded most peasant producers from playing a dynamic role in post-reform developments.

The Puerto Rican reform accompanied the protectorate's full integration into the US economy. Sugar exports lost their historic importance, while food imports increased rapidly. The house and garden plots allocated to many thousands of reform beneficiaries, however, provided a cushion that enabled rural workers to migrate to other employment on the island or in the United States on better terms than would have otherwise been the case. They were also politically very popular. Land reform in Venezuela was instigated in response to peasant protests, but its reliance on paying full compensation to expropriated large holders illustrated the limitations of a 'market friendly' approach in reforming rural social relations.

The initially very successful Guatemalan reform was aborted by a United States-instigated military coup in 1954 with disastrous consequences for the country's future. The United States had supported the Chilean land reform timidly begun by the Alessandri regime and rapidly extended under the Frei administration, but its opposition to the Allende administration resulted in the coup that halted and partially reversed these earlier reforms. United States support had been decisive in promoting land reforms in South Korea and Taiwan, as well as in El Salvador. But United States opposition to the Sandanista regime in Nicaragua eventually led to a government that placed its priority on promotion of large-scale agro-export production by transnational investors and commercial private farmers who were mostly not reform beneficiaries. In Cuba, the United States trade embargo imposed in the early 1960s negatively affected production and incomes of land reform beneficiaries, but this was offset by liberal support from the Soviet Union until 1989.

Obviously, international markets as well as the policies of foreign powers and transnational corporations have crucially influenced the courses of these and most other land reforms. In rapidly globalising national economies, this is likely to be even more the case in the future than it has been in the past.

Some analysts have concluded that growing globalisation of finance, markets, information, production and modern technologies have left the redistributive land reforms of the past irrelevant for today's developing countries. Social differentiation of their rural populations have already advanced so far that it would be impossible to redistribute land rights in a way that could benefit most of the rural poor, according to this view. The difficulties experienced during the Chilean and Peruvian reforms of building a consensus among potential beneficiaries about how expropriated lands should be divided would seem to support this conclusion. The rural poor, they believe, will have to wait until livelihoods become available in other activities. Meanwhile, some might be helped by market-assisted land reforms that promote voluntary sales of land by large holders to low-income buyers who use the land more 'efficiently'. The majority of the poor who could not benefit from such real estate transactions could be tided over by social 'safety nets' and emergency aid until they find other sources of income.

Fortunately, this pessimistic vision is not universally shared. Redistributive land reforms can still play a crucial role in relieving rural poverty and in promoting broad-based sustainable development. Increased social differentiation and other concomitants of globalisation present new opportunities for significant reforms, as well as obstacles. Contradictions among large landowners about the costs and benefits of reform are increasing. Peasants have new opportunities to communicate and organise with access to modern transport and communication facilities. They are now

in a better position than earlier to find allies among environmentalists, groups promoting human rights and others in civil society as well as from international organisations committed to the promotion of equitable and ecologically sustainable development. Popularly based development strategies that include radical land reforms are not necessarily becoming obsolete. The problem is to organise the social forces able and willing to support them.

30. Barraclough, S. and M.P. Pimbert (2000) *Participatory natural resource management and property rights issues*, London and Geneva: IIED and UNRISD Discussion Paper Draft.
Participatory approaches to natural resource management require that local communities have well defined, secure and equitable rights and duties regulating their control over and access to land, water, genetic and other natural resources as well as the present and anticipated benefits derived from them. These rights and duties define the relations among members of the communities and also those with outsiders such as the state, private individuals and corporate entities in the use of natural resources. This means that property rights constitute a central issue for participatory natural resource management. As such the issue of property rights is highly contested by widely opposing forces, both within and outside national borders. This discussion paper analyses recent global trends which influence and impose constraints on the policies of national governments that regulate access to, use and control over land, water, forest, genetic and other natural resources. Global trends in intellectual property rights over genetic resources, privatisation of rights to water and land are related to specific country contexts (Indonesia, India, Senegal, Burkina Faso and Mexico).

31. Barrera, A. (1997) 'De la movilización a la participación popular en la gestión municipal'. *Cántaro* 18:31-35.
Barrera reflects on the process of decentralisation in Ecuador and the difficulties in incorporating citizen participation at the municipal level. Among the factors that limit participation he cites:
- limited technical capacity of the local authorities
- institutionalised corruption
- some government staff are very racist (against the indigenous population)
- lack of political will of local government staff, since participation would imply a redistribution of power unfavourable for them
- bureaucracies are used to working separately from the society

The author argues that participation can be incorporated into all levels of government action: planning, preparation of budgets, prioritisation of action, implementation of plans, etc. Furthermore, the municipality can promote social participation at different levels such as: information and consultation, presentation of demands and proposals, supervision and control. According to Barrera, the successful cases of participation in governmental initiatives have shown that before incorporating institutional reforms for participation which could bureaucratise the process, it is best to put into practice various participatory initiatives, to evaluate them and learn from them.

32. Batterbury, S., T. Forsyth and K. Thomson (1997) 'Environmental transformations in developing countries: hybrid research and democratic policy'. *The Geographical Journal* 163(2):126-132.
This is an introductory paper to a special edition of The Geographical journal on the

theme of, ‘environmental transformations in developing countries’. Geographical research into human-environment relation is well established. However, many recent studies of political ecology or constructivist approaches to environment either overlook biophysical aspects of environmental change, or uncritically accept ‘orthodox’ explanations of physical degradation without appreciating the social and political construction of such models. This paper, and those following, attempt to outline ways in which environmental research may remain sensitive to political and cultural debates, yet also give insights to practical environmental management of biophysical resources ‘externally real’ to human experience. It is argued that understanding human impacts on environment may only be achieved through long-term environmental histories compiled using ‘hybrid’ social and physical research methods; plus an awareness of the social and political construction of environmental ‘orthodoxy’s’ by powerful domestic and global agendas. As such ,’transformations’ may be viewed as both physical changes in factors such as land cover or health hazards; but also as the socio-economic transitions in the driving forces of environmental degradation and perceptions of risk which in turn fuel new orthodoxy’s in research and policy.

33. Baumeister, E. (1999) *Iniciativas Campesinas y la Sostenibilidad de los Resultados de las Reformas Agrarias en América Central*. Discussion Paper No. 105, Geneva: UNRISD.
Title in English: Campesino initiatives and the sustainability of results of the agrarian reforms of Central America.
The agrarian reforms considered in this study - in Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua - took place during the great expansion in agricultural exports (cotton, sugar cane, African palm, coffee, bananas and cattle) from Central America between the 1950s and the late 1970s. Permanent or seasonal agricultural workers constituted the main social groups exerting pressure for reform.
The agrarian transformations propelled by reform were concentrated in export-related activities. As a result, new forms of organisation of the labour process emerged: state-owned enterprises with some degree of direct and participatory management by the workers, or associations based on co-operative property and management.
The governmental coalitions that launched agrarian reforms had heterogeneous goals, including control of rural unrest; decrease of the power of landed elites; and creation of an agrarian basis for the transition to socialism supported by socialist countries. In all cases, workers’ and farmers’ initiatives depended upon other social groups, in spite of their own capacity to exert pressure and mobilise people.
According to data from the mid-1990s, one fourth of rural families and one third of total land area were affected by land reform in El Salvador and Nicaragua. In Honduras, reform had an impact on a smaller proportion of the population, but some of the initiatives originating there - relating to the production of bananas and African palm, in particular-constituted the most striking examples of associative enterprises in agrarian reforms in Latin America.
By the mid-1980s, agrarian reforms implemented in the 1970s and early 1980s were being affected by structural adjustment policies and an increased role for market mechanisms-the formation of land markets in particular. Furthermore, the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s were marked by deep political changes from which emerged subsequent revolutionary processes.
Following civil war in the 1990s, both El Salvador and Nicaragua gave land to insurgents and demobilised soldiers. Simultaneously, beneficiaries of earlier reforms

lost control of their land; physical capital (machinery, irrigation equipment, etc.) deteriorated rapidly; and access to bank credit for development and technical assistance fell significantly.

In response to this unfavourable situation, diverse strategies were pursued at the national, regional, departmental and local levels. Many of the strategies adopted revealed the weaknesses of the land reform processes, such as the lack of participation of beneficiaries in the management of production units and the predominance of paid rural workers rather than self-managed entrepreneurs.

The first strategy used in the three countries studied was to allow total or partial sale of land by beneficiaries. In the case of El Salvador, this resulted from strong pressure to use the land for urban development. In Honduras, a large number of beneficiaries sold the land and infrastructure they had obtained as a result of land reform to transnational banana producers at the beginning of the 1990s. After 1990 in Nicaragua, especially in the North-Pacific region, many co-operatives, as well as demobilised soldiers, ceded their land to the growing number of landlords engaged in coffee production, cattle raising and non-traditional crop cultivation. Other farmers preferred to reduce their agrarian or bank debts by selling or leasing part of their land while continuing to work what they retained. In the three countries, some beneficiaries leased their land because they lacked the capital to exploit it. Many of the initial achievements of agrarian reform were thus mitigated in the medium term.

The second strategy observed, especially in Nicaragua, was the individualisation and division of land that was previously collectively exploited. It is estimated that nearly 89 per cent of Nicaraguan co-operatives totally or partially parcelled out their land. As a result, land was individually exploited but machinery, irrigation, agro-industrial equipment, commercialisation and access to credit were used co-operatively.

A third important strategy was a radical change in production systems and techniques, shifting from schemes of specialised production, inspired by the ‘first’ Green Revolution, to schemes where agriculture, cattle and forestry-related activities were combined for both commercial purposes and family consumption.

A fourth strategy, observed mostly in Honduras, was co-investment by reform beneficiaries in agro-industries, which facilitated access to credit, as well as processing and marketing of products. This occurred in the most prominent valleys of the country for sugar cane and commercial vegetable crops, together with basic grains commercial activities.

A fifth strategy, promoted by trade unions representing reform beneficiaries, consisted in taking up activities such as marketing of farm products and financing of production, particularly in exports (as was the case, for example, of CONFRAS in El Salvador, UNAG/ECODEPA in Nicaragua and palm co-operatives in Honduras.) In general, this strategy has not been as successful as expected 10 years ago.

The results of these strategies has been highly unstable. On one hand, it is evident that land has been ceded by reform beneficiaries to other sectors. On the other hand, beneficiaries have also pursued strategies of consolidation and resistance, generally when flexible mechanisms for business organisation have been established (such as combining individual and collective management of production). Factors that have contributed to success of these strategies have been the growing recourse to vegetable gardens for self-consumption, the combination of agricultural, cattle and forest activities, and the use of more sustainable production techniques. Furthermore, beneficiaries of earlier reforms continue to seek alliances with the private sector, both national and multinational. But doing so entails risk of losing their property, as agri-businesses constantly seek to increase their own holdings.

34. Bawden, R. (1994) 'Creating learning systems: a metaphor for institutional reform for development'. In I. Scoones and J. Thompson (eds.), *Beyond farmer first: rural people's knowledge, agricultural research and extension practice.* London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

The author highlights the challenge to develop organisations that have the capacity to facilitate and respond to change. This can be achieved through building flexible learning organisations, that are themselves a "learning and inquiring system". This is the context of work underway at Hawkesbury College at the University of West Sydney.

There are different forms of learning: propostitional, practical and experiential; as there are also different reasons for knowledge: to know for knowing, to know for doing, and to know for being. An effective learning system involves dynamic interaction between all of these.

Collaborative learning involves critical conversations between learners , and depending on the quality of the conversations, this can lead to consensus for action. However it is important to acknowledge and embrace leaning differences, and to maintain internal coherence.

The author identifies as a further challenge the institutionalisation of ways of creating learning systems such that they are continually evolving and systematic. This could involve the use of Action Research techniques. However, experience reveals that it is not easy to encourage clients to adopt systemic methodologies.

35. Bebbington, A. (1991) 'Farmer organisations in Ecuador: contributions to farmer first research and development'. *Gatekeeper Series* 26.

This article discusses the role of farmer organisations (FO) as a vehicle leading to the reorientation of agricultural research and policy towards the needs of the rural poor. It is based on the analysis of the experience with FO's in Ecuador. In this country, organisations of poor farmers can be found at the community, regional and provincial levels and even across borders seeking to cover the Andean and Amazonian regions.

The author argues that FO's can be helpful in building sustainable livelihoods for the rural poor in three ways:

- acting as an 'interface' between the extension and research worlds of development agencies and the livelihood conditions of poor farmers
- actively adapting and disseminating agricultural technologies in programmes that they control
- pressuring the public sector and non-governmental agricultural agencies to orient their work to the needs of the rural poor

Bebbington describes cases in Ecuador where FO's have played these three roles. For instance, in some cases they have attained high levels of control over the research and extension process and they have partially institutionalised farmer-to-farmer extension by training indigenous extension agents.

The author believes that there is space for collaboration between public resources and FO's which would benefit the goals of both actors. For example, the public sector can provide financial or technical assistance (i.e. an agronomist) to help resolve the FO's technical and resource deficiencies. In turn, the FO's role as 'interface' would make the work of an agronomist more efficient and beneficial for the population. Furthermore, the links created between the public sector and FO's through technical collaboration can facilitate the role of the FO's as pressure groups in favour of their constituencies.

Bebbington acknowledges that FO's are not always well organised, but he argues that assisting them to become stronger and better organised should be in the interest of all actors (including the government) since they are the key to a more efficient and effective research and extension system than could have been achieved by government services working alone.

36. Bebbington, A. and J. Farrington (1993) 'Governments, NGOs and agricultural development: perspectives on changing inter-organisational relationships'. *Journal of Development Studies* 29(2):199-219.

It has become a commonplace to assume that agricultural and rural development strategies will benefit from the increased collaboration between governments and NGOs. The common argument behind this assumption is that it will contribute to the democratisation of the development process, since NGOs can be seen as a channel for popular participation. The authors seek to analyse this argument with more depth and for this purpose they explore NGO-government relations mainly in Latin America.

That this is a relevant contemporary issue is demonstrated by the fact that reforms (recent at the time of publication) of agricultural research and extension services in Bolivia, Chile, and Colombia have delineated roles for private sector agents, especially NGOs.

The article focuses on the analysis of NGOs-government relations, and does not address participation in other forms. It describes the changes that governments in Latin America are undergoing in terms of accepting, to a certain degree, the collaboration of non-governmental actors within the rural development sphere.

The authors argue that collaboration between government and NGOs does not necessarily lead to increased participation in decision making or to more participatory and transparent development programmes, since the state has attempted to retain a great degree of control. They state that NGO-government relations have not been easy and have many times led to confrontation, as governments resist power sharing. Thus, the authors believe that, although there has been a move towards democratisation of the agricultural development process in the form of increased government-NGO relations, this is still limited because of political tensions. Furthermore, they also sustain that it cannot be assumed that greater NGO involvement guarantees rural democratisation, since their own relationship with the rural poor is far from democratic and thus their participation in public sector programmes should not be viewed as a direct representation of the rural poor. NGO involvement should be seen as a step towards organisational pluralism rather than democratisation as such.

The authors propose possible scenarios for future NGO-government relations and assert that the type of relationship between governments and NGOs in the future will vary between countries depending on their specific political settings.

37. Becker, L., O. Benoit, J. Fairhead, O. Gatter, et al. (no date) 'Can rural appraisal really be rapid? A critical assessment by a group of 'slow' researchers and practitioners'. Mimeo available at IDS.

Within a general critique of the shortcomings of RRA, the authors include a criticism of Venn diagrams for understanding local institutions. This paper is the outcome of a discussion among a group of researchers, all of whom have 1-2 year's field experience involving the use of 'informal, people-oriented, multi-disciplinary' research, about the relation of RRA methods to their own extended fieldwork experiences. The main source of difference was with the institutional context in which RRA developed. RRA presents itself as sensitive to local issues, but specific

methodologies and aspects of the team context in which they are applied are locally impractical and insensitive. The questions asked using these methods are still 'ours', which can result in mutual ignorance. The paper discusses specific methods and looks at the limited view RRA tends to have of the contexts in which these data are collected. These methods are preference ranking in interviews, visual representations (Venn diagrams, bar charts, flow diagrams) secondary data gathering, and semi-structured interviews. Each method is critically discussed. Problems relating to the formation of multi-disciplinary teams and the relationship between a team and the 'target community' are explored in depth. Knowing local categories does not mean that RRA researchers know how they are used in the local context, a problem which can only be resolved by long -term participatory studies. Exploring an 'anthropology of RRA', the relationship between the RRA methodology and the institutional context of development agencies is discussed - a context in which agendas have already been written - and hence RRA is only bottom-up in the context of top-down development.

38. Behnke, R.H., I. Scoones and C. Kerven (1993) *Range ecology at disequilibrium: new models of natural variability and pastoral adaptation in African savannas*, London: Overseas Development Institute.

In Range Ecology at Disequilibrium, authors view recent biological research on African rangelands and highlight its management implications for future donor and national government policy. The relationship between livestock numbers and range degradation is debated, and more appropriate techniques for the assessment of rangeland carrying capacity and degradation are proposed.

Contributors argue that the mainstream view of range science is fundamentally flawed in its application to certain rangeland ecologies and forms of pastoral production. If range management is to be of any use in these settings, conventional theories and recommended management practices require not minor adjustment but a thorough re-examination. This book provides an opportunity for such a reassessment.

39. Beinart, W. (1996) 'Environmental destruction in South Africa : soil erosion, animals, and pastures over the longer term'. In T.S. Driver and G.P. Chapman (eds.), *Time-scales and environmental change*.

A well established discourse about long term environmental degradation exists in South Africa, particularly focusing on soil erosion. This article provides a case study of ' how during the century different actors - government officials, scientists, white farmers, black herders, apartheid politicians and post apartheid politicians have interpreted environmental change in the range lands of the Karoo of South Africa'. The paper reinterprets the prevailing ideas about degradation on white-owned settler stock farms in the light of recent research in botanical history and in particular the work of Hoffman and Cowling, which suggests that vegetation of this area has been subject to fluctuation shaped largely by natural causes.

The author suggests why from a historians point of view their position may have some foundation and cautions that while there is no doubt that growing population, stock numbers, commercialisation and apartheid have contributed to environmental problems, there is a danger in environmental historians examining the past using limited concepts of decay and degradation. Environmental change it is argued should be examined in a less linear manner with deployment of the concept of transformation, rather than degradation to help to shift the emphasis of debate. Overgrazing and overstocking are frequently cited as the major cause of degradation in the area. Yet, Beinhart points out that the evidence is very contradictory and there

is the unspoken assumption that despite the use of range lands for stocking, somehow they should remain the same in some undefined equilibrium. Not only is the Karoo is a low latitude area where there could be great swings in precipitation and where landscapes might be far from in biological and geomorphological equilibrium but the area has been browsed and grazed for a very long-time by indigenous species making it difficult to argue for a pristine period when vegetation was in its natural state.
Although the paper does not contest view of environmental degradation at some periods, it questions that there has been continuous long term decline for it is striking that a continual build-up of stock numbers was possible for many decades after alarmist reports in the nineteenth century.
In order to gain the view of those at the local level regarding change in the veld environment a limited number of interviews were held with local farmers, most of whom were of the of the opinion that the veld has stabilised or improved in their districts in their living memory.
In the light of this evidence the paper suggests that some of the arguments canvassed in recent years about the environmental destruction of settler capitalist agriculture have been used to justify totally new ownership regimes in South Africa and that it is important to disentangle apartheid and the white farmers who largely supported it from the environmental conditions of the farms.

40. Bekalo, I. (1997) *Strengthening organisational capacity through participatory monitoring and evaluation: the Ethiopian experience*. Presented at the 'International Workshop on Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation: Experiences and Lessons', Cavite, Philippines, 24-29th November, 1997.
This paper gives a summary of the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction's efforts to use participatory monitoring and capacity building for organisational development. The IIRR has developed a monitoring system called the Organisational Capacity Assessment Tool (OCAT). IIRR works with the clusters of non-governmental development organisations it supports to assess their capacity as a way of guiding institutional development. Agencies rank themselves on the following criteria: governance, management practice, human resources, financial resources, delivery, external relationships, and sustainability. The results are used by IIRR to formulate their plans for supporting capacity building. The agencies themselves use the findings as well, and it also helps to guide agencies in their relationship with other NGDOs in the same cluster as to how they can co-operate with one another. The article concludes with lists of lessons learned about PM&E, both by IIRR and by the NGDOs involved.

41. Berkes, F. and C. Folke, (eds.) (1998) *Linking social and ecological systems. Management practices and social mechanisms for building resilience.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
This collection of papers investigates how the management of selected ecosystems can be improved by learning from a variety of management systems and their dynamics. All chapters address the question of sustainability, and seek principles that may assist in successful resource management or help regenerate degraded ecosystems. The main assumption behind the analysis offered is that resource management is necessary but that it requires a radically different approach The book integrates two streams of resource management that fundamentally differ from the classic utilitarian approach. The first builds on the system's approach and adaptive management, with their emphasis on linkages and feedback controls. The second

stream of thought is that improving performance of natural resource systems requires an emphasis on institutions and property rights. Learning to relate management practices based on ecological understanding to the social mechanisms behind these practices is a central challenge.
See also http://www.resalliance.org/.

42. Bessant, J. and S. Caffyn (1997) 'High-involvement innovation through continuous improvement'. *International journal of technology management* 14(1):7-28.
Continuous improvement (CI) in all aspects of the business is essential for meeting the challenge of today's turbulent environments. CI is 'an organisation-wide process of focused and sustained incremental innovation.' One increasingly popular strategy for enabling continuous improvement is through mobilising a high level of involvement of the workforce in sustained incremental problem-solving. Although the potential benefits of such high involvement innovation are considerable, implementing a programme of this kind is not easy. This paper reports on a five year research programme exploring implementation issues in CI and presents a framework model for the development of CI which draws upon extensive case study works. In particular it identifies a series of levels of CI performance and the blocks and enablers associated with them.
The paper supplies a brief summary of the emergence of the idea of CI. It also provides some evidence as to the impact of adopting CI. The article presents a typology of five levels an organisation progresses through to achieve effective CI. It also describes the behavioural routines involved in being a learning organisation. The project has developed a number of tools to enable organisations to adopt the behaviours essential to achieving CI.

43. Blackburn, J. and C. de Toma (1998) 'Scaling down as the key to scaling up? The role of participatory municipal planning in Bolivia's Law of Popular Participation'. In J. Blackburn and J. Holland (eds.), *Who changes? Institutionalizing participation in development*. London: Intermediate Technology Group.
This chapter analyses the recent spread of participatory methodologies in Bolivia in the context of the profound politico-structural changes set in motion by the Law of Popular Participation enacted in May 1994. The chief characteristics of the law are first described: how central government authority and revenue is being transferred to the country's 311 municipalities; how local institutions (the basic territorial organisations and the vigilance committees) have been 'empowered' to carry out a range of planning, management and auditing activities at the municipal level; and how 'participatory planning' by local institutional and municipal governments is supposed to articulate with conventional top-down development planning by departmental and national institutions.
The law offers a unique space for participatory methodologies to spread. Indeed, it endorses the use of such methodologies by requiring that participatory planning be facilitated by local institutions throughout the country. The authors are less concerned, however, with the nature of the spread as with its potential political consequences given the unique legal environment in which such a spread is occurring. The potential and limitation of PRA and related methodologies as a tool for political empowerment in the context of the law are, therefore, considered. Particular emphasis is placed on the role of participatory methodologies in (i) strengthening the political potential of new local institutions and wider popular movements and (ii)

forcing the state to reformulate its more conventional development planning procedures (and therefore policies); and (iii) allowing NGOs with expertise in participatory methodologies to exercise greater influence over government at all levels (municipal, departmental, and national).
Despite evident administrative bottlenecks and co-optation, the Law of Popular Participation is seen to provide a context for users of participatory methodologies to move from micro- to macro-influencing strategies. 'Empowerment' in such a context takes on a whole new meaning.

44. Blackburn, J. and J. Holland (1998) *Who changes? Institutionalizing participation in development*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
The recent trend of participatory approaches presents challenges to those working in the development sector. Who Changes? draws together lessons and experiences from key development agencies around the globe on the institutional change needed to make participation a reality. The book explores the main issues and concerns of development professionals involved in PRA practices: adapting PRA methods to macro and micro organisations and the type of changes required by an organisation to implement PRA effectively. In addition, the reader is provided with a checklist of practical considerations to guide them through this complex field:

- Training programmes and training needs involved in the participation programme
- Implementing projects from piloting stages to gradual scaling up
- Institutional change and the changing cultures and procedures of hierarchical organisations
- Participatory monitoring and evaluation.

45. Blauert, J. and E. Quintanar (1997) *Seeking local indicators: participatory stakeholder evaluation of farmer-to-farmer projects (Mexico)*. Presented at the 'International Workshop on PM&E: Experiences and Lessons', IIRR Campus, Silang, Cavite, Philippines, November 24-29.
This paper describes the methods and process used to evaluate the farmer-to farmer programme CETAMEX in the highland Mixteca region of Mexico.
Oral histories of farmer extensionists involved in the programme were a key tool for the process of describing and analysing with them the evolution of the project and personal motivation that shaped the team. After providing their oral histories various PRA tools were used to involve each person in a number of reflective exercises.
PRA was also used to identify the criteria that farmers and project staff used for quantitative and qualitative evaluation and in addition to these, some of the tools for participatory learning and organisational development, visioning and strategic planning approaches were incorporated. Of particular use were individual and group tools for analysing changes in the past and into the future. Results from early exercises were shared amongst the programme staff and reused in different workshop sessions with different village actors and was found to encourage farmers and extensionists to speak more publicly about their views.

46. Bognetteau-Verlinden, E., S. van der Graaf and J.J. Kessler (1994) *Aspects de l'amenagement integre des ressources naturelles au Sahel*. Tropical Resource Management Papers, 2, The Netherlands: Wageningen Agricultural University.
This document is comprised of three chapters concerning forestry management within NRM. In this text, Gestion de Terroirs (GT) is presented as a new approach and is analysed in terms of its applicability to forestry-related issues at the field level. The

first chapter by Jan Joost Kessler discusses the fundamental problems raised in the application of agroforestry techniques in a semi-arid zone in order to better integrate forestry with agriculture. Kessler introduces the topic through a brief description of the increasing degradation and desertification in West Africa. Agroforestry is offered as a potential solution to reducing water-related erosion and soil and nutrient loss, but only after potential pitfalls are identified and discussed. Kessler provides ten sub-hypotheses which state possible positive outcomes of agroforestry techniques, which broadly cover biodiversity, conservation, soil restoration and the increase and recycling of nutrients, for example: An agroforestry system is capable of increasing the availability of water for annual cultivation. He concludes with an analysis of the ten sub-hypotheses, stating which were confirmed directly and indirectly first in sub-humid and then in semi-arid zones.

The second chapter presents the ideas and experiences of Sonja van der Graaf in the area of sylvo-pastoralism, or the integration of forestry with livestock raising based on a bibliographic study. The author reviews four systems of agro-forestry: pastoral, livestock corraling, agro-pastoral and sedentary animal husbandry. She notes the importance of particular tree for the four systems. The chapter provides a nearly exhaustive review of agro-forestry technology, inputs and factors affecting output. She concludes by affirming the need for integration between livestock raising and woodland management, and points to people's participation as a means of ensuring creativity, communication and flexibility in negotiation the merger of the two systems.

Finally, the third section details the methodological aspects of the implementation of a management plan for village-based GT in Burkina Faso. The author briefly reviews the evolution of 'Amenagement du territoire' (Land and resource management) from the colonial period to the late 1980's, and subsequently elaborates its application in Burkina Faso.

47. Borrini-Feyerabend, G. (1999) *Participatory Management of Natural Resources [online]*. http://nrm.massey.ac.nz/changelinks/pmnr.html.

This paper provides a comprehensive guide to the use of participatory management (PM) to help address environmental and natural resource issues. Participatory Management refers to a situation in which "two or more social actors concerned about a territory, an area, or a set of natural resources negotiate, define and guarantee amongst themselves a fair sharing of the management functions, entitlements and responsibilities". It emphasises the importance of recognising differences in values, interests and concerns, being open to different types of management and entitlements, seeking equity and allowing civil society to assume roles and responsibilities, in the form of partnerships.

The three phases common to any PM process: Preparatory, Negotiation, and 'Learning-by-Doing' are explained through sections which outline the aims and practical steps for implementation for each phase. The Preparatory Phase involves analysing the feasibility (legal, political, institutional, economic and socio-cultural) of participatory management; analysing available human and financial resources and creating a start-up team or initiation committee for collecting and analysing necessary information. The challenges of the Negotiation Phase are to develop a partnership by which the benefits and responsibilities are shared in the most efficient and equitable manner, and sometimes to develop a partnership among people who do not share the same culture (values, attitudes etc.). This requires careful procedures and some examples of rules for the negotiation phase are offered. The Learning-by-Doing Phase

involves the implementation, monitoring, evaluation and reviewing of the agreements made.
An example of a common long-term vision of a rural community is provided, as well as a guide to methods and tools for achieving this including participatory mapping, brainstorming, ranking exercises and SWOL.

48. Borrini-Feyerabend, G., A. Kothari and M.P. Pimbert (2000) *Co-management of natural resources: 'Learning by doing' throughout the world.* IUCN and IIED.
This book draws from various examples of 'explicit' and negotiated partnerships in sustainable management of natural resources throughout the world. After offering an overview of relevant experiences and concerns, the book synthesises key features of collaborative or participatory management. Key steps in evolving such regimes as well as the lessons learned regarding types and forms of management agreements and institutions are described.
Material on adaptive resource management, participatory processes, plural interests, negotiation, equity and sustainability is organised under the following sections:
i) Defining a contextual framework for collaborative or participatory management, -focusing on actors, entitlements and equity in natural resource management
ii) Seeking effective co-management (CM) processes, -with a focus on how to prepare for a partnership and how to make it effective?
iii) Working towards effective co-management agreements,- what type of CM agreement? What goes into a CM agreement?
iv) Towards effective CM institutions,-focusing on the types of CM institutions and what are the characteristics of a functional and sustainable CM institution?
v) Evolving supportive participatory management conditions, policies and legislation,- with a focus on natural resource policy and legislation, peoples' rights and security of tenure,, democracy and political decentralisation as well as social communication, research and participatory learning.

49. Bosch, O.J.H., W.J. Allen, J.M. Williams and A. Ensor (1996) 'An integrated system for maximising community knowledge: Integrating community-based monitoring into the adaptive management process in the New Zealand high country'. *The Rangeland Journal* 18(1):23-32.
This paper describes the development of a process to facilitate the identification and introduction of sustainable land management practices in the high country of New Zealand. The process was designed to gather and structure community knowledge (both local and scientific) into a single, accessible decision support system (DSS). The development and provision of appropriate, and user-friendly monitoring tools is supported. An outline is given of how this integrated system can be used to integrate monitoring with adaptive management. Special reference is made to how this process is used as a large-scale ecological 'experiment', to enhance continually the knowledge base available for land use decision-making in the South Island high country of New Zealand.

50. Bosch, O.J.H., W.J. Allen and R.S. Gibson (1996) *Monitoring as an integral part of management and policy making.* Presented at the 'Symposium on resource management: issues, visions, practice', Lincoln University, New Zealand, 5-8 July, 1996.
This paper describes the key elements of a successful monitoring programme to help those entrusted with the responsibility of managing our natural resources. It will also

illustrate how these elements can be brought together within a robust framework. Finally, an example of such a monitoring programme in the South Island high country is provided and evaluated against the required elements for successful monitoring.

51. Brass, D.J., K.D. Butterfield and B.C. Skaggs (1998) 'Relationships and unethical behaviour: a social network perspective.'
Recent models of unethical behaviour have begun to examine the combination of characteristics of individuals, issues and organisations. In this well referenced paper, the authors extend this examination by addressing a largely ignored perspective that focuses on the relationships among actors. Drawing on social network analysis, the authors generate propositions concerning types of relationships (strength, multiplicity, asymmetry, and status) and the structure of relationships (structural holes, centrality and density). Basic to this approach is the assumption that organisational actors are embedded within a network of relationships. These ongoing social relationships provide the constraints and opportunities that, in combination with characteristics of individuals, issues and organisations, may help explain behaviours and attitudes in organisations.

52. Bunch, R. and G. Lopez (1999) 'Soil recuperation in Central America: how innovation was sustained after project intervention'. In F. Hinchcliffe, J. Thompson, et al. (eds.), *Fertile Ground: the impacts of participatory watershed management.* London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
This document reports on a rare example of a long term impact study in which several locations in Honduras and Guatemala were returned to fifteen years after World Neighbours soil recuperation activities had ceased, in order to assess the long-term impacts of the interventions .
To select villages for the study COSECHA personnel listed all the 121 villages that had been involved and divided them roughly into those where they felt impact had been best, moderate and relatively poor. Villages were then selected from each category whilst also baring in mind their geographic spread and the need to avoid the effects of subsequent work by other development agencies.
The methodology used in the impact studies varied from area to area and included, observation of plots in study villages, including visual productivity estimates of maize to determine soil fertility and the use of a checklist of questions about easily observed factors in the fields, individual open-ended questionnaires and open-ended informal conversations with people known to the study team. PRA methods were used with groups of men, women, and children, including mapping exercises, priority exercises and participatory economic analyses of specific crops. A review of programme documents, including evaluations of project impact was also conducted.
The study showed that considerable increase in productivity had taken place after intervention and indicated that whilst specific technologies do not generally have long term sustainability, the process of agricultural innovation does and that it is important for agricultural development programmes to design their work so as to motivate farmer innovation.
(See also Bunch, R. and G. Lopez (1995) *Soil recuperation in Central America: sustaining Innovation after Intervention.* Gatekeeper Series SA 55. IIED, London.)

53. Burns, D., R. Hambleton and P. Hoggett (1994) *The politics of decentralisation. Revitalising local democracy*, London: Macmillan Press.
This book provides a detailed examination of neighbourhood decentralisation in

practice. It locates the drive towards decentralisation within the context of changing ideas about the nature of public service management and new demands by different groups of citizens for active involvement in decisions which affect their lives. To what extent does neighbourhood decentralisation offer a democratic alternative to recent central government attempts to introduce markets and competition into public services? Does devolution of managerial and political decisions make for more responsive local government, improved service quality and increased political participation, or does it lead to a more costly and inequitable service delivered by more isolated and unsupported staff? The book demonstrates the potential and the limitations of decentralisation initiatives to date and the need to go beyond a purely neighbourhood approach towards yet more democratic and pluralistic models of governance. Although the book focuses on urban situations in the United Kingdom, its conclusions have wider relevance for natural resource management in a variety of ecological, cultural and economic contexts.

54. CABI-USAID (1996) 'Diagnóstico para la capacitación administrativa, fortalecimiento institucional, y manejo de recursos naturales del Izozog'. Bolivia: CABI/USAID.

This is the proposal for a development project in the Capitanía del Alto y Bajo Izozog (CABI), which was the first recognised indigenous municipal district in Bolivia, representing 21 indigenous communities. Within the context of the Bolivian Law of Popular Participation, CABI (the municipal government) carried out a participatory process to design this proposal for the support of development efforts in the municipality. This proposal deals specifically with administrative capacity building, institution building and natural resource management. The aims are to:

1. Enhance the administrative and technical capacity of the CABI to improve the use of natural resources in its area
2. Sustain a close relationship and co-ordination with the indigenous population of the municipality, the grassroots organisation and with national and international institutions wishing to co-operate with them
3. Develop and implement a natural resource management plan for the protected area of 'Kaa-Iya' which is within the municipality
4. Improve the traditional and non-traditional productive systems to raise the standard of living of the population. This will be achieved by using technical criteria for sustainability, through research, capacity building, extension services, and technology transfers

This project was approved in September 1995 and had already received a pledge from USAID for financial and technical support. The implementation of the project is planned to involve the participation of the indigenous communities of the municipality and is seen as only one of many efforts needed to further the development of the area.

55. Calas, M.B. and L. Smircich (1997) 'The woman's point of view: feminist approaches to organisation studies'. In S.R. Clegg, C. Hardy, et al. (eds.), *Handbook of organisation studies*. Sage Publications.

The authors review liberal, radical, psychoanalytic, Marxist, socialist, post-structuralist and Third World/(post) colonial feminist approaches, and discuss their contributions to organisational studies and change. The favoured methodologies used by each school of thought for organisational analysis are presented. Drawing on a rich feminist literature, the authors offer examples of how each school of thought has

analysed different struggles to mainstream gender and women's participation in decision making in different organisational settings. Despite their diversity, most feminist theories share some assumptions, notably the recognition of male dominance in social arrangements, and a desire for changes from this form of domination. More generally feminist theoretical perspectives are critical discourses in that feminist theory is a critique of the status quo, and therefore always political. Yet, the degree of critique and the nature of politics vary, leading to agendas that range from 'reforming' organisations to 'transforming' organisations and society.

56. Carter, S.E., A. Chidiamassamba, P. Jeranyama, B. Mafukidze, et al. (1993) 'Some observations on wealth ranking after an RRA looking at soil fertility management in north-eastern Zimbabwe'. *RRA Notes* 18:47-52.
In a RRA in Mutoko communal area, Grandin's wealth ranking technique was used by a multi-disciplinary team to elicit a stratification of households in two villages. the focus of the study was farmer's use of different techniques for soil fertility management. The first part of the article looks in hindsight at the usefulness of wealth ranking for this and other applications in the field of natural resource management and the second part of the article details some errors made with the technique in one of the villages. (Abstract from article). The differences identified between groups of farmers were found to be useful in that they indicated the types of differences in the community that local people felt had an influence on soil fertility management.

57. Caruso, A. (1994) 'Bases para un programa de capacitación para la decentralisation'. In I.M.d.M. Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, y Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid, (ed.), *Descentralización y Participación Ciudadana, Memorias de las Jornadas de Descentralización y Participación Ciudadana*. Montevideo: Trilce.
Caruso explains the origins of the Education for Decentralisation programme of the Montevideo municipality. He points out how it was conceived as a space for permanent reflection, discussion and action between the team in charge of 'decentralised activities'. Within this space, they were able to identify the difficulties and potentials of the decentralisation efforts in Montevideo and search for ways to address them.
Among the main issues that came up was the strong resistance to decentralisation among the staff at different levels of the municipality and also among the citizens. This resistance came from the fact that decentralisation implied radical changes in the relationship between State and society, including changes in attitudes, in the way of performing duties, and in the type of cultural and political relations. On one hand, citizens had to change from a "demand culture" they were used to, to a "proposal culture" in which they could work with the State. On the other hand, the bureaucracy needed to change their "culture of the public employee" to work in different ways and relate to the citizens in a more horizontal manner.
In their effort to "educate for decentralisation" the team worked with the municipal government staff and citizen representatives, they organised workshops and installed information centres in the Community Centres. This work with the government and citizen representatives aimed to create awareness about the decentralisation process, enable a common analysis of society and to generate common planning, diagnosis and implementation instruments that would allow them to work together.

58. Castillo, M.R. (1997) 'Integrated pest management: institutional constraints

and opportunities in the Philippines'. *Asia Pacific Journal of Rural Development* 7(2):101-106.
The article begins with a very brief overview of the historical development of integrated pest management (IPM) approaches in the Philippines. The article then addresses three key institutional challenges facing the sustainability of IPM in the Philippines:
1. Decentralisation of agricultural services. The Philippines is undergoing a decentralisation of budgetary and management powers to municipal and provincial governments. Since IPM is very popular with farmers, local politicians have been steadily increasing the allocation to these programmes. The use of local resources to fund the programmes reduces the dependency on more erratic national funds, increasing the consistency of funding levels. Castillo argues that decentralisation has increased the responsiveness of the programme to farmers, and has encouraged local innovation appropriate to diverse conditions. The rapid turnover of local political leadership and cases of corruption interfere with the smooth functioning of the programme
2. Pesticide registration. The pesticide registration procedure has led to the ban of some particularly harmful pesticides. However, the decision-making procedure does not take adequate account of pesticides' effects on predators.
3. Women and IPM. Castillo argues that women need to be better integrated into the IPM approach. IPM training and delivery needs to better recognise the multiple roles that women play in rural life. IPM access should be used to promote equal access to knowledge, resources and opportunities. Women should also be involved in research to increase productivity and reduce their workload.

59. CEDIB (1994) 'Participación Popular: Proyecto de Ley y Comentarios'. La Paz: CIDEB.
This publication reproduces the text of the Law of Popular Participation and also compiles numerous newspaper articles published before the Law was approved which express views in favour and against the Law. The articles highlight the political debate ignited by the proposal of this Law, and point to the various sectors of society which believed that their interests would be benefited or damaged by the implementation of the Law. It is an example of the forces that come into play and the issues discussed when the institutionalisation of participation is attempted. Some of the opinions expressed in the articles are:
1. Leaders of organisations of farmers and miners and various workers' unions criticised the government for designing this law without the participation of the whole population and for attempting to implement it without consulting the population
2. Various organisations (civic organisation of La Paz, farmers and miners organisations) claimed that with this law, the official party attempted to manipulate the population and grassroots organisations in its favour
3. The workers' union, neighbourhood organisations and the major of El Alto municipality described the Law as a trap designed by the government to exclude the participation of established unions/organisations which are based on sectoral affiliation (as opposed to territorial affiliation)
4. The majors of the country's existing municipalities expressed their concern with their inability to carry out with efficiency the new duties transferred from the central government
5. The government of the Bolivian capital, La Paz, complained that the Law implied a significant reduction in the budget for this city which would lead to its economic

stagnation.
6. Women members of various political parties called for the implementation of measures to include women into the new decision-making structures created by the Law

60. Chambers, R. (1993) *Challenging the professions: frontiers for rural development*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
Challenging the Professions questions the dominant approaches of professions, disciplines and bureaucracies concerned with rural development. The theme is that 'we', who call ourselves professionals, are much of the problem, and to do better requires reversals of much that we regard as normal. The challenge is to upend our thinking, to turn values on their heads, to invent and adopt new methods, and to behave differently. The frontiers are personal and professional, requiring changes which are radical but quite surprisingly practicable: to question our values; to be self-critically aware; to see simple as often optimal; to offset our spatial and seasonal biases; to help rural people do their own analyses; to stay in villages and learn from and with rural people; to test and use participatory approaches, methods, and procedures; to encourage decentralisation and diversity; to put people before things, and poor people first of all.
To face these challenges both threatens and exhilarates. It threatens the snug security of citadels of learning with their traditional textbooks, treadmill teaching, conservative curricula, and assurance of timeless knowledge. It exhilarates because these citadels are also prisons. To break out, learning to unlearn, embracing doubt, and welcoming uncertainty, is a liberation. The shift from things to people, form central control to local initiative, from standardisation to diversity, open up new opportunities and potentials.
Each chapter in the book presents its own professional frontier:
1. to all concerned with rural development, to recognise normal professional thinking, values, methods and behaviour as much of the problem, and a new professionalism of reversals as much of the solution
2. to planners, bureaucrats and academics alike to recognise practical principles and modes of thought, and the potential for change from new procedures which are simple, participatory, and sparing in demands on staff time
3. to economists, planners and aid agency staff to recognise and practice 'simple is optimal', to decentralise in identifying poverty-focused projects, and to improve their judgement by spending time personally in the field
4. to policymakers, practitioners, academics and researchers, to be aware of and mitigate adverse seasonality, especially interactions of health and agriculture in tropical wet seasons, and to encourage and enable participatory analysis of seasonality in each location;
5. to agricultural researchers and extensionists, to reverse learning, location and roles of farmers, to provide them with baskets of choices, and to support diversity and complexity in farming systems
6. to all concerned with projects, to counterbalance engineers' and economists' normal preoccupation with infrastructure, budgets, targets and schedules, and to support learning projects which are unhurried, adaptive and flexible, without pressure to spend, and with continuity of committed staff in the field
7. to NGOs and those who fund them, to assess NGOs' comparative competence for making a difference and to identify and exploit their potential for wider impacts, especially through developing and spreading new approaches and methods;

8. to policymakers, practitioners and academics alike, to avoid the pitfalls of both neo-Fabian and neo-liberal ideology, and to adopt in their place an ideology of reversals, a practical pluralism which seeks to dismantle the disabling state and to enable and empower the poor.

61. Chambers, R. (1995) 'Making the best of going to scale'. *PLA Notes* 24:57-61.
Discusses some of the problems and opportunities presented by the increasing use of PRA on a large scale. Numerous examples are given of countries and organisations where PRA is being used on a large scale, and the trend looks set to continue. This presents dilemmas, particularly in the realm of quality assurance. Some of the shortcomings of scaling-up are discussed and suggestions are made of ways these can be overcome. The author presents his personal view of the options and the way ahead. He argues that "the benefits to poor people can be greater from doing less well on a wide scale than from doing better on a small scale". There may also be "benign viruses" in PRA which can gain a foothold in large organisations and then start to spread. The paper concludes by suggesting a programme of action for individuals and organisations in going to scale.

62. Chambers, R. (1995) *NGOs and development: the primacy of the personal*. IDS Working Paper, 14, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
The experience with participatory rural appraisal (PRA) suggests that a reversal of the normally dominant behaviour and attitudes of outsiders is crucial for participatory development. Personal behaviour and attitudes have, though , been neglected in seeing how to do better. The development enterprise is oriented « North-South » by patterns of dominance between uppers and lowers , and by funding, pressures to disburse and upward accountability. These patterns increasingly affect NGOs which may then become more like government organisations, in scale, staffing, hierarchical culture, procedures and self deception.
Policies, procedures and organisational cultures are determined by individuals, especially those in positions of power. The author argues that to stem and reverse trends of dominance and deception requires personal change and action by them : to shift emphasis from upward to downward accountability ; to resist pressures to disburse, to stress trust and to reward truthfulness and honesty ; and above all, to enjoy giving up the normal exercise of power, enabling lowers to do more and take more responsibility. Participatory field experiences and training can help these personal changes. These in turn require a new professionalism of training, and for some NGOs a redefinition of roles and organisational change.

63. Chambers, R. (1997) *Whose reality counts?: Putting the first last*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
Why do so many development interventions fail? Chambers describes and analyses major past errors. These range from structural adjustment policies to integrated rural development projects, from estimates of community-level grain losses and wood fuel forecasts to beliefs about famines and nutrition, and blaming the poor for much environmental degradation. Why have development professionals so often been so wildly wrong yet so confident they were right?
Explanations, Chambers argues, include the education and training of professionals, the way "all power deceives", and the social and physical distance between professionals and local people. Professionals, as superior "uppers", transfer and impose their realities; poor people, as inferior "lowers", prudently reflect back the

professionals' beliefs.
To construct their realities, many professionals seek precise measurements, and rely on questionnaire surveys, mathematical models and single indicators. Creating and working in stable, standardised, simplified and controlled conditions they generate blueprint development packages. When transferred these often misfit the local, complex, diverse, dynamic and uncontrollable realities of the poor and marginalised women, men and children whom they seek to assist.
A methodological revolution has begun with participatory rural appraisal (PRA). This is a growing family of values, approaches, behaviours and methods. The professional role is to enable local people to present and analyse their complex and diverse realities, and to plan, act, monitor and evaluate. Often local people work in groups to record their knowledge in maps and diagrams. They direct the exercise, while the professional, as facilitator, stands back, listens and learns.
Chambers reviews much practical experience to support his argument. Some highlights:

- many examples where professionals' beliefs have been wrong about poor people's realities
- an extensive list of sectors, urban and rural, in which PRA has been applied, including natural resource management, health, and poverty programmes
- a presentation of PRA findings about the complexity and diversity of poor people's livelihoods

The policy implications of Chambers' argument are radical. He calls for a fundamentally new approach to development which emphasises people over things, and is guided by principles which include:

- fostering decentralisation, democracy, diversity and dynamism
- managing for diversity and complexity
- Self-critical awareness and admitting and learning from errors
- making reversals in existing behaviours, professionalism, bureaucracy, careers and modes of learning

Accumulating experience from PRA has generated powerful findings:

- capabilities: local people are capable of many tasks formerly controlled by professionals
- social synergy: through interactions, sharing and fun, the sum of group discussions and visualisations is more than its parts
- the primacy of the personal: the major challenge in development is now to enable professionals to change their behaviour and attitudes, taking responsibility for their own learning and actions.

64. Charlin, M. and S. Rojas (1992) 'Participación, concertación y partenariado, la descentralización del Estado en una perspectiva local: Ideas para una discusión'. *Serie Estudios Sociales* 35.
This article discusses the effects of decentralisation on the participation of the population and social organisations at the local level, particularly in initiatives related to the environment and poverty. It identifies an existing trend in Latin America in which the State has increasingly transferred local development functions to the civil society, while at the same time the society demands greater autonomy at this level. Within this context, the authors endorse the concept of partnership as a means by which the state and civil society can collaborate to address the most relevant issues at the local level. In a partnership relationship, the state ceases to be the central actor and becomes a partner alongside various other social actors interested in the development

of a specific region.
The authors believe there is potential for partnerships between the government and civil society in various regions of Chile, and see this as a positive alternative for the regional and social development of the country. Furthermore, they argue that this can be a positive model for Latin America, particularly as the deteriorating environmental situation and increasing poverty call for innovative mechanisms to promote sustainable development.

65. Choo, C.W. (1996) 'The knowing organization: how organizations use information to construct meaning, create knowledge and make decisions'. *International Journal of Information Management* 16(5):329-340.
An organisation uses information strategically in three areas: to make sense of change in its environment; to create knowledge for innovation; and to make decisions about courses of action. These apparently distinct processes are in fact complementary pieces of a larger canvas, and the information behaviours analysed in each approach interweave into a richer explanation of information use in organisations. Through sense-making, people in organisations give meaning to the events and actions of the organisation. Through knowledge creation, the insights of individuals are converted into knowledge that can be used to design new products or improve performance. Finally, in decision making, understanding and knowledge are focused on the selection of and commitment to an appropriate course of action. By holistically managing its sense-making, knowledge building and decision-making processes, the Knowing Organization will have the necessary understanding and knowledge to act wisely and decisively.

66. CIDA (1997) 'Mainstreaming participatory development: experiences and lessons of the inter-agency group on participation'. CIDA for Interagency Group on Participation.
This paper compiles the experience of donor agencies in institutionalising participatory approaches to development. Aside from general lessons, the text presents the specific experiences of some agencies in box format. The lessons learned are summarised by the authors under five headings:
1. Mainstreaming participation- global, systematic approaches. There is no single best approach to mainstreaming participation. Institutionalisation of participation requires systemic change
2. Policies and structures- creating space for participation
Policy statements can reinforce participatory development by legitimising efforts to date and by providing a framework for future action. Responsibility for putting participatory approaches into practice must be shared. Participatory approaches require decentralisation- and more.
3. People power- top-down and bottom-up
Mainstreaming participatory development is a dynamic process, propelled by catalytic people and events. Having the right people at the right place at the right time helps mainstream participatory development. Mainstreaming requires personnel with values, technical capacity and experience in participatory development. Changing attitudes is fundamental. The 'right answer' mentality of bureaucracies is a key obstacle standing in the way of participatory processes. Incentives, institutional as well as personal, are needed to motivate personnel to adopt participatory approaches
4. Building capacity- walk the talk.
Mainstreaming participation is constrained when needs for information are not met.

There is an on-going need to design participatory development tools, improve those that exist or adapt old tools to incorporate participatory approaches.
Convincing evidence is needed on how investment in participatory practices leads to improved delivery and project impact. Special funds may be an effective instrument for mainstreaming participation, but care should be exercised in order not to sidetrack the issue. Internal contractual and procurement procedures are one of the major obstacles to mainstreaming participatory processes
5. Assessing institutional capacity
Traditional development models must be adapted or replaced to incorporate participatory approaches needed for sustainable development. Participatory development is often associated with community level (micro) projects, but interventions at the policy (macro) and institutional (meso) levels will ensure long-term sustainability.
(DO NOT CITE - draft working paper for IGP only)

67. Club du Sahel (no date) 'Bilan des experiences de GTRN au Nord de l'Afrique'. Dakar: Club du Sahel.
This study of North African experiences in participatory natural resource management interrogates the lack of documentation of participatory natural resource management, and particularly Gestion de Terroirs (GT) in North Africa as opposed to that of the Sahel. The authors identify four areas of study and reflection within the GT concept:
1) A distinct 'terroir';
2) A well-defined population;
3) Their management of available resources; and
4) The effectiveness of the population's participation.
'Terroir' is treated as a less restrictive yet unambiguous space applied to one or more villages, part of a tribe, a rural commune, a delegation, etc., but is always located in semi-arid to desert regions.
The paper summarises the history of natural resource management as a means to illuminate prevailing traditional methods of GT in water distribution and land and forestry management. Cultivated land is cited as exclusive to traditional GT because of its strict control by authorities. Examples of traditional rules for water distribution and management include:
- one cannot dispose of water unless a descendant of a founding family of the village;
- one man per family must participate in water management; and
- water misuse and abuse can be rectified through 'downstream harvesting'.

Traditional GT is explained as centred around three organisations:
- institutions: the 'Jmaa': a group of people connected by common interests;
- universal rules: written or held in 'collective memory'; and
- sanctions: payments in currency or livestock demanded of offenders.

The paper identifies the concept as weak because of its inegalitarian structure and its tendency to overshadow individual rights, thus creating competition. Further impeding the effectiveness of GT is an increasing, sedentary population, perverse effects of economic reforms like Structural Adjustment and national agendas for 'detribalisation', thus disrupting indigenous institutions and processes.

68. Cockburn, C. (1991) *In the way of women: men's resistance to sex equality in organisations*, London: MacMillan.
Cockburn reports the results of her research into men's resistance to sex equality in

organisations in Britain. The author conducted research at four institutions: a high street retailer; a branch of the civil service; a trade union; and a local council. She draws on qualitative data to find themes in the ways men react to women's entry into organisations.
Particularly relevant to this project is the material on 'the Service', as she calls the anonymous civil service agency she investigated. In Chapter Two, Cockburn presents her findings about promotion within the hierarchy in the civil service. She finds that there are both institutional and cultural barriers preventing women from climbing the promotional ladder. Institutional barriers include giving preference to men who 'need the extra money to support their family,' not recognising the time women need for domestic work, etc. On the cultural side, men tend to subtly produce a climate which excludes women. Especially working class white men resent the entry of women into the agency. Men represent women as either being power-mad, or alternately being too 'weak' to be effective managers, sending conflicting signals that both mean women are inappropriate for leadership. Although men are competitive with one another, they unite when they encounter women entering the organisation as a group, resenting the additional competition.
The book goes on to address other themes, intertwining material from the four case studies. Themes include the construction of women in relation to domestic roles, sexuality in the workplace, wage differentials, and sexual harassment.

69. Cooke, B. (1996) *From process consultation to a clinical model of development practice*. Discussion Paper Series, 48: Institute for Development Policy and Management, Manchester.
This paper argues that two related concepts, process consultation and, in particular, the clinical perspective, developed by the organisational psychologist Edgar Schein, can improve the understanding, teaching and conduct of development practice. Process consultation - which is more than just the application of so called process approaches - and the clinical perspectives are described, and the case for them is put, in relation to contrasts with ethnography and action research and in light of contemporary debates about development studies and practice. Five particular aspects of the clinical model - the primacy of the "helpful intervention", the subservience of science to helping, its client centredness, its recognition of inteventionists' financial and political status, and it overt normativeness - are seen as particularly relevant to development practice. In conclusion, the clinical model is seen to pose four challenges for development studies: (1) the creation of development's own theory and practice (2) the establishment of rigorous practitioner training programmes, (3) the consequent institutional change, and (4) an acknowledgement of the implication of development studies' disciplinary biases.

70. Cooke, B. (1998) 'The theory of institutional and organisational development: a comparative review for practitioners'. *Discussion Paper Series* 52.
This is a comparative review of the concepts underpinning three forms of social intervention. The first is "institutional development" (ID), which refers to "changes that are intended to occur outside any single organisation, in patterns and arrangements of society: for example it is applicable to changing the structure of relations between local level organisations and state agencies." The second is "development's organisational development" (DOD), which is "an ongoing process that optimises an organisation's performance in relation to its goals, resources and environments," particularly for social and economic development organisations. The

third, mangerialist organisation development (MOD) is, "the applied behavioural science discipline that seeks to improve organisations through planned, systematic, long range processes focused on the organisation's culture and its human and social processes." This may be applied to any type of organisation, not just development organisations.
Although theoretical, the article is aimed at practitioners, in the belief that all interventions are informed by some kind of theory, and that inteventionists improve their practice by understanding the range, assumptions, and limitations of theory they use and which are on offer to them. ID, DOD, and MOD are compared according to six factors, including their defining models, their position on practitioners, and their theoretical influences. They are also compared in term of their strengths and weaknesses. This article also seeks to act as an entry point to those wanting to learn more about any one of the particular forms of intervention, with extensive cross-referencing to further reading in table form.

71. Cooper, L. and N. Gelezhamtsin (1994) 'Historical matrices: a method for monitoring changes in seasonal consumption patterns in Mongolia'. *RRA Notes* 20:124-126.
This article describes how historical matrices were used to study the impact of economic liberalisation on consumption patterns in Mongolia. Households were ranked according to their wealth status and exercises carried out with a richer household from Tariat district in the central forest/mountain steppes and also with a poorer one from Erdene in the desert steppe zone. Two matrices were constructed by each household. The first to indicate the seasonal pattern of household consumption during the Negdel period, five years ago and the second, the seasonal pattern for the last year. Scoring was used to gain an understanding of the relative importance of the various food sources. The matrices showed significant changes in consumption patterns over the past five years since privatisation and decollectivisation.

72. Cornwall, A. (1998) 'Gender, participation and the politics of difference'. In I. Guijt and M.K. Shah (eds.), *The myth of community: gender issues in participatory development*. London: Intermediate Technology.
In much development practice there is a tendency to make a simple division between women and men. However, this paper argues that there are powerless men just as there are powerful women and that there is a, 'need to break away from stereotyped assumptions about women or men'. The importance of taking into account other differences that affect local people's lives and livelihoods by examining categories relevant to the communities in question is stressed. Thus, 'rather than presume that gender differences make a difference in all settings it is important to investigate the contexts in which ways of thinking about gender emerge. For example, the notion of gender used in the mosque may be very different to those used in the market or on the farm' (Cornwall, A. 1998). Strategies and methods that go beyond dividing women and men up into notionally homogenous groups according to wealth, age and so on, as is often the case, are argued for.
As much PRA work relies on group based analysis, the paper argues that particular care needs to be taken in deciding how to work with groups because 'creating artificial groupings according to presumed differences can produce misleading conclusions.' The need for a cultural understanding of the dynamics and composition of such groups is stressed before assuming that they are going to want to share their views and experiences openly with others.

73. CORPONARIÑO, GTZ, UPA and FUNDACION SOCIAL (No date) 'Manual de planificación integral: nuestro municipio'. Colombia: CORPONARIÑO, GTZ, UPA, FUNDACION SOCIAL.

This is a methodological guide for participatory planning developed by the Regional Government of Nariño (Colombia) with the support of GTZ. It is intended to be used by the Municipal Governments of Nariño in order to incorporate community participation in the planning of their development initiatives, including local environmental plans. The legal framework for the development of this guide is the 1991 Constitution which establishes citizen participation as a right for all Colombians. Since then, different initiatives have been implemented that involve citizen participation within governmental actions. In Nariño, one of this initiatives was the design of the development plan of the Municipality of La Florida using participatory methods. The success of this initiative served as the model for this methodological guide.

The guide explains what participatory planning is and why it should be pursued by municipal government staff. It emphasises the benefits of participatory planning: it is the best to guarantee that the needs of the community are addressed; it creates community conscience, builds the local capacity and has a liberatory effect on the people. The guide emphasises the importance of promoting dialogue between the different actors and involving the community in the decision-making process of the local government.

The use of different participatory methods is presented as important for the identification of problems; prioritisation of projects; compromise over the resources needed for action; and the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the projects.

The guide describes with detail the planning stages and methods that can be used. The different stages include:

- training of community leaders on participatory methods
- gathering of secondary data
- creation of teams
- division of the municipality into areas
- Participatory Rural Appraisal in the communities (describes various PRA techniques: Venn diagrams, transect walks, time lines, vision of the future)
- identification of problems
- identification of causes, effects, and indicators for each problem
- prioritisation of problems
- identification of ideas for projects
- model for municipal development
- investment plan for the development of the municipality
- approval and discussion of the plan
- follow-up and implementation of the plan

74. Cross, N. and R. Barker (1998) 'The Sahel oral history project'. In R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral history reader*. London: Routledge.

This paper reports on the Sahel Oral History project (OHP) that set out to explore how oral history can assist the development process by aiming to develop a practical methodology which could be incorporated into development planning, project implementation and evaluation.

Farmers, pastoralists, refugees and other groups were all talked with at great length to record the perceptions of Sahelian men and women about their changing environment

and to gain a better understanding of traditional land-use practice, land tenure, farming and pastoral systems, the causes of desertification and other aspects of Sahelian life. Between January 1989 and October 1990 over 500 individual interviews and also a small number of group interviews were conducted which involved over 650 respondents in total from eight countries. The interview sites were linked to ongoing development projects, such that participating agencies were provided with new, village-authored extension and evaluation materials and the Sahel OHP with a ready-made base, although some interviews were also conducted in non-project areas to act as controls.
Methodological issues are described and discussed, including, the selection of interviewers and their training, the preparation of interview guides applicable to all sites, issues surrounding working with women, selection of interviewees, how the interviews were conducted and issues surrounding translation. The interviews describe a wide range of environmental knowledge and traditional farming and pastoral systems. Where a large degree of repetition was found in the responses between interviews this was taken as evidence of a consensus about environmental and social change. One of the most significant results of the study was reported to be the impact on the development project workers involved as interviewers, especially with regards to their attitudes towards local people.

75. Crozier, M. and E. Friedberg (1977) *L'acteur et le système. Les contraintes de l'action collective*, Paris: Seuil.
Based on strategic analysis, the authors argue that public bureaucracies cannot be changed by top down decree or through coercion and other authoritarian measures. Instead, the focus should be on helping civil servants and government staff to evolve by emphasising their qualities and by offering them new opportunities and ways of using them. Staff in public organisations are not bound to their routines in a passive and stubborn manner. They are perfectly capable of changing quickly provided they have a stake in what is proposed to them. Reforms will be made by civil servants as and when they perceive the benefits they can potentially gain from such change. Whilst civil servants and state functionaries are not fundamentally opposed to transformation, they do nevertheless have an instinctive appreciation of the risks which change can create for them. Whether or not they agree with the need for reforms, they will unconsciously, but legitimately, block anything which threatens their autonomy. They will also seek to orient change in such a way as to maintain, and even reinforce, the control they have.
Strategic analysis shows that actors who have most to lose from organisational change will be the main sources of blockage and resistance. Middle management in particular stands to lose most in a process of organisational change that implies the flattening of hierarchies, delegation, participation, collective learning and the involvement of front line workers in the collective solving of organisational problems. The structural dimension and the organisation of work must therefore evolve simultaneously with organisational change and offer alternative professional opportunities for middle managers (lateral rather than upward movement options). The authors demonstrate that the two approaches based on directed or imposed change ultimately fail, the one based on an imposed, top down a priori rationality and the other based on a logic of incremental change of parts of the system. Emphasis is placed instead on a process of collective change that builds on learning, i.e. the discovery of new working relations, new ways of thinking and new capacities for collective planning and action. Collective learning is defined here as the process whereby a group of actors with

stakes in an organisation invent and fix new rules of the game, with their own cognitive, emotional and relational norms and values. This type of change is not neutral; it implies a redefinition of power relations both within bureaucracies and between public administrations and those invested with political power.

76. Curtis, D. (1994) ''Owning' without owners, managing with few managers: lessons from third world irrigators'. In S. Wright (ed.), *Anthropology of organizations*. London: Routledge.
The chapter is based upon the finding that Third World farmers who manage their own irrigation systems seem to have come to similar conclusions about structure and culture to those drawn by management scientists about the desirable features of responsive organisations in northern industrial societies. It presents some evidence for this assertion and asks why this should be the case, particularly when so much of the management literature that applies to the Third World cautions against any assumption that management theory derived from the industrial world is relevant in the non-industrial world.
The short answer is that, in looking at farmer managed irrigation, one sees effective organisation through which a complex task is managed in an uncertain environment in the interests of the customers; all characteristics that are shared by effective modern firms. The focus of the analysis is on task, environment, responsiveness to key interests and a value system reflective of this orientation. It would follow that the reason for failures of management theory in the third world lies not in differences in economic location but in its application to organisations that are not driven to carry out complex tasks, or to be responsive to customers, as is still the case with much of the public sector.
Curtis builds his analysis by taking catch-phrases from an influential management book based on western experience, Peters and Watermans' In Search of Excellence. He finds that their management concepts based on northern experience are all found in farmer irrigation organisations, such as: managing ambiguity and paradox, a bias for action, 'stick to the knitting' (keep a narrow focus on a particular task), simple form and lean staff.

77. DANIDA (1994) *Lessons learned with respect to DANIDAs impact evaluations of selected agricultural sector evaluations*. Presented at the 'Nordic evaluation meeting in Copenhagen', 27-28 September.
This document describes briefly how impact studies were carried out on agricultural projects using four different methods in various combinations:
1/ Secondary time series production impact studies in which production in the project area was compared with average figures for crop production in other areas using data collected by the national statistics bureau.
2/ With and without intervention assessments using a participatory methodology for some projects and household questionnaires for other projects.
The participatory methodology was undertaken by OUTREACH in six villages involved in the Women Youth Training and Extension Project (WYTEP) in Karnataka, India and in three non-project villages. An adapted approach to wealth-ranking was used to categorise socio-economic groups and to identify the approximate number of families belonging to each group and the number of women from each group who were related to WYTEP. The number of socio-economic groups varied from one village to another and so did the criteria for defining the various groups. Wealth ranking was found to be a good method to discuss and compare

within a given village, to find out whom the programme has reached and indicate who the poor are. However, it was difficult to make comparisons between villages as participants can only make criteria and rank what they know and in each case it is a relative wealth-ranking specific for the local community. Trends in production and income were also investigate using PRA techniques and from this it was discovered that the WYTEP women did not consider the project as a main source of change in either productivity nor in income.

Household questionnaires in six WYEP villages and 6 non-WYTEP villages were also carried out. Methodological lessons with respect to with and without impact assessments - including the selection of villages, use of participatory techniques and comparison between locations, comparison between participatory and household questionnaires are briefly mentioned.

3/ Before and after intervention assessment

Research studies which had been made in the initial phases were revisited used rapid rural assessment studies and focus group discussions. Methodological issues mentioned regarding this methodology include causality and problems where initial research studies are not designed specifically for the purpose.

The paper also includes a consideration of the use of quantitative and qualitative impact indicators as a measure of change in impact studies, including environmental impact indicators and also integration of these with poverty and gender indicators.

78. Davies, R. (1995) *An evolutionary approach to facilitating organisational learning: an experiment by the Christian Commission for Development in Bangladesh (CCDB)*. Presented at the 'ODI-CDS Workshop: The potential for Process monitoring in project management and organisational change', 6-7 April.

The article describes experiments with a new type of qualitative monitoring system. Staff at headquarters created four categories of change resulting from the project: change in People's Lives; changes in people's participation; changes in the sustainability of people's institutions and their activities; and any other changes. About fifteen changes would be documented in each project office with a description of the change, and an explanation of why they chose it as most important. The senior staff from each project office would submit four changes (one in each category) from their project area to the central office, and central staff would then select the most important ones in each category.

Unlike previous monitoring systems, this one has been used on schedule and persisted past the initial experimental period. Offices have continued to report new types of changes, and offices that did well in terms of credit payment have not necessarily fared as well under the new system. The information generated has been useful for publicity, publication, and videos, unlike information generated under previous monitoring regimes. The organisation has modified the system itself, adding a category of "changes in the project management." The system has survived and is evolving.

The evolutionary monitoring system encourages different perceptions of the meaning of events to be discussed and debated. Experience is summarised by identifying events at the edge of experience, not central tendencies, and thus provides a guide as to where the organisation should go i.e. creating more changes like the one identified this month. Field staff set criteria for achievement, and participate in analysis, not just providing data. The open-ended system also encourages evolution of the system itself.

79. Debrabandere, R. and A. Desmet (1998) 'Brides have a price: gender dimensions of objective -oriented project planning in Zimbabwe'. In I. Guijt and M.K. Shah (eds.), *The myth of community: gender issues in participatory development*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
This article describes the process and results of a planning workshop with farmers in Mutoko district, Zimbabwe. The meeting was attended by both men and women, as is culturally accepted practice. Whilst generally men tend to dominate such mixed group meetings this paper analyses the aspects that in this instance apparently enabled women to set their priorities and influence the problem ranking and planning, in spite of the presence of male counterparts. Critical factors contributing to women's involvement are identified, including, the visual nature of the methods used, the attendance of roughly equal numbers of men and women, the confidence of the women largely as a result of the large number of independent women (widows, divorced or with husbands elsewhere) attending and the facilitating organisation's policy of positive action towards female participation (training for transformation) etc.
Whilst this example is taken from a planning situation the factors enabling women's participation may be equally valid for other group meeting situations.

80. Dent, D.R. (1996) 'Research specialisation: a constraint to integration'. In H. Waibel and J.C. Zadoks (eds.), *Institutional constraints to IPM. GTZ-UNI Pesticide Policy Project Publication No. 3.*
The goal of integrated pest management is in practice constrained by the disciplinary and specialist nature of research. One consequence of this emphasis on research specialisation is compartmentalisation through the development of disciplines with their own modes of inquiry, specific key terms and vocabulary, standards of proof, basic concepts and observational categories and techniques. Institutional changes that could facilitate the integration of pest management research programmes are discussed under three headings: i) appraisal and reward systems; ii) organisational structures; and iii) training in interdisciplinary research and management.

81. Dewees, P. (1989) 'Aerial photography and household studies in Kenya'. *RRA Notes* 7:9-12.
The way in which aerial photos were used during a household study of land-use change and in particular change in tree cover is described in this paper.
Photos were used to help identify households to interview to help to identify how households respond to resource constraints. For example, the photos enabled the identification of specific features of interest and or extremes, such as the smallest and largest holdings, most barren or most wooded holdings and holdings where land-uses do not seem to be intuitive, such as where someone had planted trees where coffee would be expected. The photos were also used during household interviews as the focus for discussions about land-use practices and people were found to be very comfortable with their use. From this experience the author suggests that aerial photos could be taken and incorporated into many rapid appraisal type of exercises at relatively low cost.

82. Dilworth, R.L. (1996) 'Institutionalising learning organisations in the public sector'. *Public Productivity and Management Review* 19(4):407-421.
The author starts from the premise that a learning organisation is an organisation that facilitates the learning of all its members and continuously transforms itself. He notes

that there are very few examples of learning organisations in the public sector and even fewer examples of institutionalising organisational learning. Movement in the direction of organisational learning represents a dramatic shift from the way organisations have historically been structured and managed. The author emphasises that "the organisational culture must be prepared to adopt a new paradigm, or associated changes will either not be accepted *or* will be rejected over time". He then identifies the following barriers to the development of learning organisations:

- The treatment of learning as an individual phenomenon rather than as something that can involve a group of people.
- The fixation on formal training, with very little attention given to informal workplace learning
- Treating business and learning processes as entirely discrete worlds
- Non-listening work environments that effectively block communication and the kinds of idea interchange necessary to promote organisational learning
- Autocratic leadership styles which create an atmosphere of distrust, fear, blocked communications, fragmentation of work effort and stultification of organisational learning.

The author then summarises lessons on how to institutionalise learning organisations. He stresses that leadership is central to institutionalisation of a learning organisation and that the leadership must be democratic in form, promoting human dignity and quality of work life. An inventory of techniques that can be used to help institutionalise a learning organisation environment is presented. Action learning is identified as a key technique in this context.

If learning organisations are to become a reality in the public sector, more focus must given to learning to learn, learning through doing, and experiential forms of learning. Action learning can do this by influencing how we form cross-functional teams, conduct work outs, use task forces, and deal with problem solving.

The author concludes that organisations, like people, can be learning disabled. To prevent this from happening, fear must be driven out of the organisation and replaced by trust. Communication based on trust is needed for organisational learning and it must evolve into a capability to engage in true dialogue-questioning assertions, rethinking basic assumptions, critically reflecting on what is going on, exploring new avenues by dealing with people who have different perspectives.

83. DiMaggio, P.J. and W.W. Powell (1991) ‘The iron cage revisited: institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields’. In W.W. Powell and P. DiMaggio (eds.), *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

This article attempts to explain the striking homogeneity of organisations, arguing that organisational change today tends to make organisations more similar without making them more efficient. The unit of analysis used in the article is the organisational field, "those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognised area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organisations that produce similar services or products" (65).

DiMaggio and Powell argue that there are two types of isomorphism: competitive and institutional. Competition alone is not sufficient to explain organisational change, as many organisations are not exposed to competition. The idea that organisations institutionalise structures for reasons other than efficiency helps to explain the "politics and ceremony that pervade much modern organizational life." (66)

There are three mechanisms through which organisations undergo isomorphic change:

1. Coercive isomorphism. Formal or informal pressure by organisations on which the organisation depends, or cultural expectations in society, tend to pressure organisations to change to resemble one another.
2. Mimetic processes. When faced with uncertainty, or when goals are ambiguous, organisations deal with risk by mimicking other organisations in their field. Imperfect mimicry may lead to innovation.
3. Normative pressures. This force for change stems mainly from professionalism. The creation of professional norms, the circulation of similarly oriented and trained staff through different organisations, etc, tends to exert a force for isomorphic change.
The authors derive several hypotheses about predictors of isomorphic change at the organisational level:

- The greater the dependence of an organisation on another organisation, the more similar it will become to that organisation in structure, climate, and behavioural focus.
- The greater the centralisation of organisation A's resource supply, the great the extent to which organisation A will change isomorphically to resemble the organisations on which it depends for resources.
- The more uncertain the relationship between means and ends, the greater the extent to which an organisation will model itself after organisations it perceives as successful.
- The more ambiguous the goals of an organisation, the great the extent to which the organisation will model itself after organisations that it perceives as successful.
- The greater the reliance on academic credentials in choosing managerial and staff personnel, the great the extent to which an organisation will become like other organisation in its field.
- The greater the participation of organisational manger in trade and professional associations, the more likely the organisation will be, or will become, like other organisations in its field. (74-76)

A similar set of predictors is outlined at the field level.

84. Dorner, P. (1999) *Technology and globalization: modern-era constraints on initiatives for land reform*. Discussion Paper No. 100, Geneva: UNRISD.
This paper is divided into four sections. The first section provides an outline of some of the major land reforms of this century. It includes a brief commentary on European feudalism of earlier centuries as well as the land conflict inherent in the American Civil War over slavery. Feudal land tenure systems and the struggle of peasants for rights to land were key factors in the French Revolution. And although the American Civil War was primarily about the abolition of slavery, it had a major land tenure component. Two major land reforms of the current century that have had various periods of active restructuring followed by periods of relative stability are those of Mexico and Russia. In both cases, there have been very fundamental changes within the past decade.
The second section provides a brief outline and discussion of the various levels of political action (at the international, national and local levels) for the initiation and implementation of land reforms. The role of the United States in the East Asian reforms - Japan, Taiwan Province of China and South Korea - as well as in those of Latin America are prime examples. But other countries were also involved in such reforms. Sweden was deeply involved in the land reforms of Ethiopia, and the French and the British tried to convert a variety of communal land systems to Western freeholds in a number of their African colonies. The Soviet Union and China were active in trying to influence the tenure structures of many of the newly independent

nations upon the demise of colonialism. Likewise the specialised agencies of the United Nations and other international organisations, including both the Food and Agriculture Organisation and the World Bank, have held conferences, offered technical assistance, and used various forms of leverage and pressure in Asia, Africa and Latin America to encourage land policies considered to be more effective than those in existence at the time.

The third section looks at the globalisation of markets and economies and the resulting negative effects that this new order can have, especially on local initiatives directed at promoting and implementing land reforms. This increasing globalisation, linked as it is to modern technology, permits the interests and powers of other nations, as well as those of the economically powerful multinational corporations, to penetrate deeply into life and decisions at the local level. Likewise, these developments have made action and initiatives by local communities and interest groups increasingly difficult. All economies, even those of the largest nations that were largely self-sufficient a generation or two ago, are today highly dependent on international trade. And a corollary of this increased trade is that national economies are less amenable to direction by domestic economic policies. This makes life of local officials as well as of national legislators and executives increasingly difficult. People demand action to improve their economic conditions, but the actions necessary are only partially under the control of national officials. And local initiatives can rarely be fruitful without support at a higher level.

The final section attempts to suggest some prospective innovations at the national and international levels to make the economic playing field more level so that local initiatives for the promotion and implementation of land tenure changes can again be more fruitful. There are both private and public institutions operating transnationally which may require enforceable new codes of conduct in their economic policy implementation. We cannot, and would not want to, put the technological genie back into the bottle. We cannot, and would not want to, force a dismantling of all multinational corporations. But there is a desperate need for new and enforceable rules and procedures to be observed by giant multinational corporations as well as by some public international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Without such major changes in order to get a more level playing field, the effectiveness of local actions is not likely to be restored.

85. Dove, M.R. (1995) ‘The theory of social forestry intervention: the state of the art in Asia’. *Agroforestry Systems* 30:315-340.

This study focuses on the major issues in current thinking about the theory of social forestry development in Asia. The first of these issues concerns the cause of deforestation. The governmental view is that deforestation is a gradual process driven by community-based factors, whereas the community view is that deforestation is a stochastic process driven by external, political-economic factors. The two explanations have different implications for where the ‘problematique’ of social forestry is located- in the forest community or in the forest agency- and how, therefore, it is to be addressed.

A second issue concerns how and when social forestry interventions are carried out. The concept of a ‘window of opportunity’ for intervention reflects a widespread belief that it is important when interventions are carried out- with both the costs and benefits of intervention increasing as it is timed earlier and decreasing as it is timed later. A key determinant of the best time for intervention is the receptivity of the forest agency and the broader society. The purpose of intervention is to strengthen receptivity and

other factors conducive to change, to hasten extant processes of change, and to minimise the possibility of a reversal of direction.
A third issue is whether the focus of social forestry intervention should be on state lands or on community lands. While there are logical reasons for either foci, the continuing vacillation between them suggests the lack of a theoretical perspective with sufficient breadth to encompass them both. Whatever the focus, attitudinal change within the forest agency is usually mandated in social forestry interventions, but it is rarely accompanied with intervention in the underlying power relations, reflecting a continuing difficulty in viewing the forest agency sociologically. This lack of sociological perspective also is seen in the tendency to focus on adding resources perceived to be in short supply, instead of removing institutional obstacles-including those within the forest agency- to the proper use of existing resources.
The final issue involves the unintended consequences of social forestry intervention. These include redirection of the intervention as a result of bureaucratic resistance or negative feedback, and secondary consequences stemming form the dynamic responses by forests, forest communities, and forest agencies to changes in their relationship.

86. Dudley, E. (1993) *The critical villager. Beyond community participation*, London: Routledge.
The author argues that community based participatory research and 'transfer of technology' are not rival models of development but complementary components of effective aid. The eight practical principles for evaluation and action described call for students, development workers, policy makers and researchers to put themselves in the shoes of the intended beneficiaries of aid. Participatory research only makes sense as a data gathering component in a larger process which includes wide scale action. There are two necessary and complementary stages in this process:
1) Action. The action or implementation stage involves the transfer of some resource: materials, money, knowledge or values. It is about 'us' transferring something to 'them'.
2) Reflection. The process of reflection can be broken up into the stages of evaluation, problem definition and the trial of prototypes. The concern here is how to assess and improve the quality and content of action. The reflective process is greatly enhanced by learning from the intended beneficiaries – 'they' transfer knowledge to 'us'.

87. El-Ghonemy, M.R. (1999) *The political economy of market-based land reform*. Discussion Paper No. 104, Geneva: UNRISD.
The paper uses a political economy approach to examine the post-1980 shift in land tenure policy away from redistributive land reform. The focus is on the perceptible change in development objectives and policy instruments from the rapid reduction in rural poverty and land concentration through government intervention toward a market-based transfer of land property rights, with emphasis on resource use efficiency and output growth, irrespective of distributional consequences. Based on empirical evidence, the paper presents a quantitative examination of the extent and pace of change in poverty levels, landlessness, food production and inequality in the size distribution of land.
The discussion is divided into five main sections. Sections I and II define key terms and present basic principles of policy choice and access to land. In Section III, these principles are applied to country-specific experiences within a historical context. With regard to the implementation of market-based land reform, the experiences of Brazil,

Colombia, Kenya, the Philippines and South Africa are briefly reviewed, followed by an assessment of the effects of the privatisation of customary land tenure on food production and land concentration in Côte d'Ivoire, Malawi and Uganda. The implementation of these market-based programmes is viewed as part of the market liberalisation and structural adjustment policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) associated with heavy foreign debts. Available data indicate increasing inequalities, and falling food production and average daily calorie consumption per person in most sub-Saharan African countries where ownership of communal lands has been privatised. Empirical evidence also suggests that most of the buyers of land are politicians, senior government officials and urban land speculators, all of whom know the law and registration procedures, and have contacts with credit institutions and land surveyors.

Section IV addresses two critical questions. First, if the present trends in market-based access to land were to continue into the twenty-first century, what would be the prospects for the hundreds of millions of landless and near-landless rural poor? And second, can a wage-dependent landless worker purchase land in his or her lifetime? How long would the worker need to save all or part of his or her daily wage in order to purchase land in the open market? Empirical evidence suggests that opportunities to buy land through the market are virtually non-existent, owing to (i) the downward trend in cropland availability per working person in agriculture, especially between 1980 and 1996, due to rapid urbanisation and budget cuts in public spending for irrigation; (ii) inflated land-sale prices combined with falling daily wages in real terms and increases in the cost of living; (iii) the increasing demand for land-which is viewed in this paper not as a commodity or as a factor of production, but as a unique social amenity (a secure form of holding wealth, and of gaining social and political advantages and family food security); and (iv) the impossibility of obtaining land mortgages and the high risk of lending capital to landless workers and asset-poor peasants.

In Section V, it is argued that the land market has special socio-political aspects that require a different mode of analysis. Some assumptions behind the land market approach are challenged, particularly the view of the land market as a culturally isolated economic mechanism serving to equilibrate supply and demand. Some ways are proposed for making the land market approach workable and socially acceptable, bearing in mind the alarming statistics of increasing numbers of rural poor, landless workers and undernourished children, especially in the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa.

88. Environmental Entitlements Research Team (1997) 'Methods for environmental entitlements analysis'. *IDS Bulletin* 28(4):15-22.

This article examines practical methods which can assist the application of the environmental entitlements approach to field-based situations. It introduces a 'toolbox' of methods relevant to livelihood analysis, environmental analysis and institutional analysis, and illustrates how they can be combined in innovative sequences to explore particular themes. Illustrations are drawn from research in India, Ghana, and South Africa taking an environmental entitlements approach. Understanding complexity, diversity and dynamism is best achieved by combining multiple methods, and needs careful attention to sampling, scale and research setting. In the context of inevitable dilemmas about the relationship between research, participation and action, the environmental entitlements approach could, the article suggests, be applied within a variety of modes from more 'extractive' to more

'activist', depending on objectives and circumstances.
The article provides a 'toolbox' of methods to address livelihood, environmental, and institutional issues. Tools for livelihood analysis include: social mapping; well-being ranking; seasonal calendars; time use and activity charts; livelihood diagrams; biographies and life histories; endowment and entitlement ranking; individual and household surveys/censuses.
Tools for environmental analysis include: environmental histories and time lines; site histories; archival information; traveller's records; time series arial photographs and satellite imagery; seasonal calendars; resource assessment transects; soil/vegetation surveys and inventories; state-transition modelling.
Tools for institutional analysis include: network diagrams; venn diagrams; decision trees and flow charts; actor-network analysis; organisational analysis; biographies of institutions or organisations.

89. Escobar, A. (1999) 'After nature. Steps to an anti-essentialist political ecology'. *Current Anthropology* 40(1):1-30.
The author presents the outline of an anthropological political ecology that fully acknowledges the constructedness of nature while suggesting steps to weave together the cultural and biological on constructivist grounds. From tropical rainforests to advanced biotechnology laboratories, the resources for inventing natures and cultures show agreat deal of uneveness. The author proposes an « anti-essentialist » framework for investigating the manifold forms that the natural takes in today's world. This proposal builds on current trends in ecological anthropology, political ecology, and the social and cultural studies of science and technology. The resulting framework identifies and conceptualises three distinct but interrelated nature regimes,-organic, capitalist and technonatures- while sketching their respective characteristics, their mutual articulations and contradictions. The political implications of the analysis are discussed in terms of the strategies of hybrid natures that most social groups seem to be faced with as they encounter, and try to stem, particular manifestations of the environmental crisis.

90. Estrella, M. and J. Gaventa (1997) *Who counts reality? Participatory monitoring and evaluation: a literature review*. IDS Working Paper No. 70, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
This literature review on participatory monitoring and evaluation was prepared for an international workshop in Cavite, Philippines. The review outlines the major purposes for which PM&E is used: impact assessment; project management and planning; organisational strengthening or institutional learning; understanding and negotiating stakeholder perspectives; and public accountability. It also reviews literature on the philosophy of participatory monitoring and evaluation. It concludes with a list of challenges for developing PM&E in the future. The report includes 'boxed' examples of various applications of PM&E, an extensive bibliography, and a matrix-format summary of many examples of PM&E.

91. Evers, Y. (1994) *Local institutions and natural resource management in the West African Sahel: policy and practice of 'gestion de terroir' in the Republic of Mali*. Institute for Development Policy and Management, Rural Resources and Rural Livelihoods Working Paper No 5. Manchester: IDPM.
This paper reviews the literature on the Gestion de Terroirs (GT) approach in Mali. It begins by briefly describing the historical evolution of the approach. It then provides

a discussion and critique of the concepts underlying the GT approach, namely the "terroir" concept, the "community" concept and the "participation" concept. The report provides very brief overviews of the projects undertaken in the Western Sahel using a GT approach. The paper then outlines the political and legislative background to the development of the GT approach in Mali. Evers provides a list of GT projects in Mali, and a few boxed examples of projects. Evers examines many of the remaining challenges to the success of GT, including developing effective representative local institutions that do not neglect social groups such as pastoralists; clarifying the relationship between various NRM programmes at the national level; and fitting the GT approach within the government's broader programme of decentralisation.

92. Fairhead, J. and M. Leach (1996) 'Escaping the deforestation mythology'. *ILEIA Newsletter* 12(3):6-8.

These two documents are based on research carried out in Kissidougou prefecture in the Republic of Guinea to examine the history of vegetation change.

Understanding of vegetation history up to the time of this research had depended on deductions about past vegetation based on observations of the present vegetation and theories concerning how vegetation has been influenced by land use and held that rapid and recent forest loss had taken place and that existing forest island patches were remnants of what at an earlier date was pristine extensive forest. The documents describe how by combining evidence from historical sources, with detailed research into local land use knowledge and practice, this study was able to reveal how in fact contrary to widely held opinion, the forest islands found in the savanna actually owed their existence to inhabitants who had encouraged them to form around savanna settlements. The three main sources of evidence used are described and their strengths and shortcomings discussed.

Firstly, a simple visual comparison of modern air photography and satellite imagery was compared with old air photography dating from 1952 and 1979. The enabled a rapid assessment of broad vegetation change in the prefecture and from this it became immediately obvious that in 1952 Kissidougou had a pattern of forest islands in the savanna similar to that of today's with little change in the shape or size of the islands having taken place.

Secondly, archival sources were used comprising mainly of various colonial documents dating from the 1890's that were found which had land descriptions of the area. These included, military assessments of forest island 'fortresses' made when the French colonial forces attacked, forestry assessments for rubber resources and detailed farming assessments made by an agricultural officer based in Kissidougou at the agricultural station from 1909-1914 which provide excellent descriptions of peri-village forest islands. Some of the biases involved in using such sources are discussed, including the fact that they can suffer from a seasonal bias, there is no standard set of vegetation definitions and quantification used and also the fact that the way in which the landscape is described reflects the authors experiences of other ecological zones with which they are comparing Kissidougou.

Thirdly, oral testimony of elderly men and women was used to gain more precision regarding changes in vegetation quality and what these had meant for inhabitants livelihoods. Direct questions were found to be problematic because they tended to produce standard politicised answers and therefore, discussion was centred on locally-meaningful indicators of environmental change. Every day aspects of vegetation use were identified which depend on and thus indicate a particular vegetation state and

then the way in which this aspect of life has changed was discussed. For example agricultural tasks were looked at that revealed that where in the past rice-field preparation had involved burning off savanna grasses, tree felling has now become a central element of task sequences. Changes in farm hut construction, hunting, fuelwood and cattle management were all examined and also the occurrence of termite mounds and fungi, with the type of termite found with an edible fungus associated with savanna having been replaced by a different type of mound with a different fungus species, associated with the forest. Initial indicators were identified from field work and further ones were gained through conversation when people would spontaneously come up with others. While each indicator offered only an aspect of change the authors were able to build up a fairly reliable picture of vegetation form and composition by combining and triangulating between multiple indicators, derived from multiple conversations with the different people to whom they were of particular significance. Such indicators proved particularly useful in understanding the broad shifts from savanna to forest which had occurred over large parts of Kissidougous landscape.
Discussions of settlement history in which people related the arrival of their ancestors and their foundation of settlements provided an understanding of how the village islands had originally been formed and often made reference to the planting of foundational cotton trees and the establishment of vegetation based fortifications

93. Fairhead, J. and M. Leach (1996) 'Rethinking the forest savanna mosaic. Colonial science and its relics in West Africa'. In M. Leach and R. Mearns (eds.), *The lie of the land. Challenging received wisdom on the African environment*. Oxford: James Curry.
The authors first describe how scientists and policy makers have considered patches of dense, semi-deciduous forest found scattered in the savannas on the northern margins of Guinée's forest zone to be relics of a previously more extensive forest cover. All outside observers have viewed the landscape in terms of a one way deforestation process, and have assumed that local land use is responsible because inherently destructive. Using historical analysis, studies of local agro-ecological practices and the knowledge and experience of local inhabitants, the authors point to a very different picture, one of a landscape half full of forests with some expansion of tree cover into savanna zones. The authors also reinterpret evidence once presented in support of arguments concerning its degradation. They explore how the scientific conviction that forest islands were relics has been incorporated into administrative canon and perpetuated there, considering how institutional, financial and socio-political structures have shaped environmental policy. Rethinking the forest savanna mosaic suggests the need for a fundamental challenge to these structures.

94. Fairhead, J. and M. Leach (1998) *Reframing deforestation. Global analysis and local realities: studies in West Africa*, London: Routledge.
International concern over the extent and rate of tropical deforestation has intensified, whether for interests of biodiversity, climate change, forest peoples or respect for nature. West Africa is assumed to have experienced the most dramatic and recent deforestation of all, sup-porting cataclysmic climatic predictions . Yet evidence presented in re-framing deforestation suggests that the scale of destruction wrought by West African farmers during the twentieth century has been vastly exaggerated and that global analyses have unfairly stigmatised them and obscured their more sustainable, even landscape enriching practices.

The book begins by reviewing how West African deforestation is represented in policy, forestry, and environmental sciences, and the types of evidence which inform present deforestation orthodoxy. Using historical and social anthropological evidence, this orthodoxy is critically evaluated on a country by country basis (covering Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo and Benin). Together the cases build up a variety of arguments which serve to reframe forest history and question how and why deforestation has been exaggerated throughout West Africa, setting the analysis in its institutional and social context.

Within conservation circles and state forest departments at all dates deforestation has been portrayed as recent and the supposed period of rapid forest loss updated accordingly. This allows deforestation to be attributed to current generations and conveniently justifies a role for state bureaucracies and international organisations to intervene. However, available evidence suggests that the inhabitants of 15-20 million hectares of West Africa have been mis-represented as having brought about deforestation during the twentieth century. Moreover, a significant proportion of those blamed for deforestation may have been partly responsible for increased woody cover during their lifetimes in the forest-savanna transition zone where the extent of forest vegetation has been increasing over the century. The ways that many farmers have been enriching or stably managing their landscapes have gone unappreciated by bureaucracies. They have instead been blamed for damage which they have not caused and have paid heavily for this in policies aimed to control their so-called environmental vandalism, and to remove their control over resources in favour of national and international bureaucracies.

Although the last few decades have seen many adjustments to forest policy and conservation approaches, often with the avowed aim of "greater local participation", the conceptual frame-work of policy, and its scientific substrate, have not fundamentally changed.. Meanwhile, the rise of global environmental concerns, and of global modelling as a practice and a profession, have created more, and more distanced, contexts in which deforestation figures are put to work, often with very little accountability to the people whose everyday lives may be ultimately influenced by them.

Stressing that dominant policy approaches in forestry and conservation require major rethinking world-wide, the authors argue that more realistic assessments of forest cover change, and more respectful attention to local knowledge and practices are necessary bases for effective and appropriate environmental policies.

95. Farrington, J. and C. Lobo (1997) *Scaling up participatory watershed development in India: lessons from the Indo-German watershed development programme*. Natural Resources Perspectives, No 17, London: ODI.

This paper draws lessons from the Indo-German Watershed Development programme (IGWDP) which has explicitly attempted to make participatory watershed development replicable over wide areas. If approaches to micro-watershed rehabilitation are to be participatory and rapidly replicable, then the pre-conditions for scaling up have to be identified and introduced into the design of projects and programmes. These pre-conditions include:

- the close engagement of stakeholders and marshalling of political support, at international, national, state and subsequently district and local levels, and the creation of confluences of interest (and corresponding checks and balances) within and between levels.
- the creation of a local watershed management planning methodology which is

technically defensible to funding agencies yet is participatory and accessible to community based organisations (CBOs); the provision of appropriate capacity building and technical support to these.

- the existence of a framework for local level-collaboration among NGOs, CBOs and government departments.
- the creation of mechanisms which channel funds to local organisations with as few intermediate stages as possible; some authority by these to contract in services, especially training.
- the existence of a mechanism for promoting the approach across major political and administrative boundaries.

96. Ferguson, K.E. (1984) *The feminist case against bureaucracy*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

The book aims "to present a radical argument, identifying the power structures of bureaucratic society as a primary source of the oppression of women and men, and advocating the elimination of such structures rather than their amelioration." Ferguson argues that recruiting women into organisations will not change them.

The first section of the book aims to clarify the structures and processes of power in bureaucratic society and the effect they have on individuals in the society. As these structures and processes rest in part on a perpetuating supportive ideology, Ferguson argues that exposing them to a feminist critique is a valuable political project in itself.

Second, the book aims to provide a basis for opposition to bureaucracy. The author argues that relationships within bureaucracies parallel the patterns of dominance and subordination between men and women, and suggest a different way of conceiving the individual and the collective.

Third, the book suggests and alternative non-bureaucratic approach to organisation. For example, labour can be divided vertically so that the creative and repetitive parts fo one task rest with the same person. She argues in favour of organisations small enough to allow participatory decision making, federated into larger organisations in order to deal with tasks requiring larger organisational scale. She argues that co-operatively organised groups within bureaucratic organisations can exert an influence on the larger organisation's evolution, although there is a risk of co-optation.

97. Ferguson, J. (1990) *The anti-politics machine: "development", depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The book analyses a case study of a Canadian funded development project in the Thaba-Tseka district of Lesotho implemented between 1975 and 1984. Ferguson argues that "'development' institutions generate their own forms of discourse, and this discourse simultaneously constructs Lesotho as a particular kind of object of knowledge, and creates a structure of knowledge around that object. Interventions are then organised on the basis of this structure of knowledge, which, while 'failing' on their own terms, nonetheless have regular effects, which include the expansion and entrenchment of bureaucratic state power, side by side with the projection of a representation of economic and social life which denies 'politics' and, to the extent that it is successful, suspends its effects. The short answer to the question of what the 'development' apparatus in Lesotho does, then, is found in the book's title: it is an 'anti-politics machine,' depoliticising everything it touches, everywhere whisking political realities out of sight, all the while performing, almost unnoticed, its own pre-eminently political operation of expanding bureaucratic state power."

98. Filer, C. and N. Sekhran (1999) *Loggers, donors and resource owners: Papua New Guinea country study*. Policy that Works for Forests and People Series 2, ed. J. Mayers, London: IIED Forestry and Land Use Programme.
Papua New Guinea is well endowed with tropical forest, almost all of which is held by local people under customary title. But the forest sector is in a mess. Over the last ten years a major national process of policy and institutional reform has sought to sort out the sector, but some key features of PNG society continue to frustrate the process. The "ideology of resource ownership" is the core of the national identity yet it undermines the potential for diversified economic development based on the use or value of land and forests. Also, a widespread obsession with the pursuit of personal political power grows along side an equally widespread loss of faith in the ability of government to deliver social and economic development. These contradictions help explain why the national policy process centres on a struggle between the logging industry and donor agencies for the hearts and minds of the resource owners. Whilst this struggle throws up many problems, it also presents opportunities for establishing a new approach to policy for forests and people. This would establish the common ground upon which a wider coalition of interests - a new "policy community" - could be built. opportunities include: developing mechanisms for testing and publicising claims to productive innovation; combining different scales of enterprise; generating a vision of the public interest through dialogue; and installing a brokering mechanism to connect needs with existing capacity.

99. Finchman, R. (1992) 'Perspectives on power: processural, institutional and "internal" forms of organizational power'. *Journal of Management Studies* 29(9):741-59.
This article explores processural and institutional approaches to viewing organisational power. It suggests that while they are extremely important, explanations of power effects within organisations may be incomplete if determined by power constituted in institutions outside, or if the organisation itself becomes an abstracted 'arena' for the interplay of group processes. Attempts to reconcile these aspects of power into a 'unified' account also remain problematic. The article goes on the address a parallel problem: the neglect of specifically organisational power practices. The emphasis on power spontaneously generated in interaction, or power devolved from wider structures, has detracted from the idea of organisations possessing power capacities of their own. The case is argued for traditions in organisation theory that start from organisation as a substantive level of analysis.

100. Finger, M. and S. Bürgin (1997) 'Apprendre le changement dans le secteur public'. In M. Finger and B. Ruchat (eds.), *Pour une nouvelle approche du management public: réflexions autour de Michel Crozier*. Paris: Seli Arslan.
The authors demonstrate the scale and urgency of the changes needed in the public sector for it to remain efficient in the future. They argue that the processes of organisational transformation in the public sector should be conceived in global terms (in order to take into account relationships between the different actors of the political system), organisational terms (to integrate bureaucratic phenomena and the interaction between structural and cultural dimensions) and process terms (as opposed to an interventionist and planned approach). The authors show how such an approach to change also implies processes of individual and collective learning. They then present a critical analysis of two theoretical approaches that make the link between

change and learning: the school of organisational learning and the strategic analysis proposed by the French sociologist Michel Crozier. In each case, the role and form of learning and training in organisational change are carefully analysed in order to highlight the contributions each tradition makes to understanding the processes of organisational transformation in the public sector. The link between individual learning and organisational change is more explicit in the theories of organisational learning than in the case of Crozier's thinking. However, these theories are based on humanistic and pragmatic views that are naïve in their understandings of how organisations actually function. In that context, strategic analysis does have a comparative advantage. By situating individuals in a system of power, resource and structural constraints, strategic analysis illuminates points of resistance and blockages whilst emphasising the risks of an approach that focuses exclusively on the cultural dimension of transformation.

101. Finger, M. (2000) *The potential impacts of global financial institutions and macro-economic reforms on national initiatives to scale up participation in natural resource management.* London: IIED Discussion Paper draft.
This paper examines the potential conflicts between the internationalisation of macro-economic reforms and the capacity of national governments to scale up and institutionalise participatory approaches to natural resource management. In analysing the national impacts of the restructuring of the global economic system on large scale participation in natural resource management, the paper specifically focuses on the following trends:
i) structural adjustment programs and their impacts on State apparatus and the capacity of government departments to fulfil their mandates in natural resource management and livelihood provisioning
ii) speculative financial movements and their influence on national stability and the capacity of government departments to deliver services and administrate
iii) the influence of the debt crisis on the direction of country level macro economic policy, the functioning of government departments and their capacity to deliver services
iv) the fate of national sovereignty in an unfolding context in which the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) share increasing authority over economic policies

102. Fisher, T., V. Mahajan and T. Topgyal (1996) 'Institutional development in practice: a case study from the Tibetan refugee community'. *Development in Practice* 6(3):217-227.
This article provides a case study of a successful long-term programme of institutional development, which built the capacity of the Tibetan refugee community in development planning. The Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) administers the affairs of about 120,000 refugees living in 47 formal refugee settlements and other scattered communities across India and Nepal. From 1991 to 1994, the CTA received assistance from Ford Foundation, NORAD, and others to enhance their planning capacity, while producing a Five Year Plan.
The authors compile a list of factors that contributed to the success of this institutional development intervention:
1. Supportive environment. Staff were motivated, and there was a policy climate supporting change in the CTA.
2. Commitment of the client. Demand for capacity building came from the CTA

itself, and was not driven by donor agendas.
3. Team of consultants. As tasks were divided amongst a team of consultants, most of whom were only partially resident, the team did not take on too much responsibility themselves and left opportunities to act and learn with the CTA staff.
4. Training, human resource development. This was a major focus of assistance. Training was constantly adjusted to suit the rate of learning of the participants, even from day to day in a week long workshop.
5. Flexibility. The terms of reference were repeatedly changed over the three year period in response to unpredictable events such as staff transfers.
6. Flexibility within defined limits. Although there was room to adjust the process, the goal of producing a product (the Five Year Plan) prevented the process from losing its focus.
7. An iterative process. Four planning documents were prepared over the three years, which allowed the staff to learn and improve from earlier efforts.
8. A comprehensive approach. As the project evolved, more objectives and actors were included. The complexity was manageable because the Planning Department played a co-ordinating role.
9. Participatory planning. Although the first draft of the plan included little input from community members, a participatory planning process involved 250 delegates from each of seven regions in producing the second plan. CTA staff gained facilitation skills through this process.
9. Long term intervention. Three years was allowed for the programme to show results.
It is difficult to measure the success of interventions such as this one, due to the 'low specificity' of the tasks. However, there are important indicators, such as the difference in quality between subsequent drafts of the planning documents, and the enthusiasm with which the final Plan was received by donors.

103. Floquet, A. (1998) 'Monitoring and assessing the impact of participatory research for technology development on soil fertility management in the southern Benin'.
In response to the failure of over fifteen years research into soil fertility improvement in the south of Benin, whereby farmers were only involved at the end of the research process, this document reports on a new more participatory research project started in 1994. The research process began with a topical PRA on soils and cropping systems, followed by a discussion with farmers of a range of potential agronomic principles already tried out elsewhere. Each year farmers tried those they were interested in to compare with their own traditional practices. This paper describes briefly a study designed to determine the importance of using a participatory approach and the tools and methods used to do so. Impacts examined include those on both the development and adoption of technologies, impact on the welfare of potential users, on long term regional trends and also the impact on both local institutions and other institutions involved in research and extension.

104. Ford, R., F. Lelo and J. Ayieko (1992) *Community action: water, trees and PRA in Pwani,* USA: Clark University Programme for International Development.
This report documents a process of community development through PRA, discusses the advantages of the use of PRA, particularly through local community members. The use of a number of techniques are documented, including spatial (maps and transects) and temporal (time and trend lines, seasonal calendars) data as well as

numerous ranking exercises, and Venn diagrams. A community action plan was produced, and the methods by which the community began to implement this are given. Attempts to demonstrate that PRA by communities can initiate long term development providing lasting strength and cohesion. A number of illustrations are included.
The paper is included in this review because it provides an example of a Venn diagram that was made as part of an action planning process addressing natural resource management issues.

105. Fowler, A., L. Goold and R. James (1995) *Participatory self assessment of NGO capacity*. INTRAC Occasional Paper Series No. 10, Oxford: INTRAC.
The authors present their experience in facilitating participatory organisational assessments in a form meant to be useful to NGOs. The paper outlines some of the necessary preconditions and principles underlying OA. It then presents a conceptual framework for analysing the capacity of institutions in three areas: their internal organisation (capacity 'to be'); their external linkages (capacity 'to relate'); their programme performance (capacity 'to do'). The paper also presents a pyramid model of organisations that emphasises the need to have an appropriate fit between function and form. The authors argue that organisational capacity is the product of four principle factors: organisational competencies; (non-human) resources; external relationship; and learning from results.
There are a series of general steps that should be followed in any OA process:
1. Pre-entry. winning support and commitment, raising awareness, clarifying roles of those initiating and supporting the process, determining the important stakeholders, ensuring that they are involved, etc.
2. Negotiating methods to be employed, participation and control of the process.
3. Deciding what information is needed, how it is to be gathered and validated and the actually collecting it.
4. Analysing, sharing, interpreting and debating the information obtained. Understanding areas of strengths and weakness and reaching conclusions about root causes.
5. Identifying priority areas (and indicators) for organisational change.
6. Making a plan of action.
7. Implementing the plan.
8. Evaluating the process and outcomes.
The paper distinguishes organisations into low, medium, and high complexity. Organisational complexity is determined based on factors such as the size of the staff, the geographical area the organisation covers, the size of the budget, the number of different tasks it performs, the number of donors that fund it, etc. For each level of complexity, the paper suggests a different approach to OA, conforming with the broad steps set out above. Each approach is discussed step by step, and a short section reflects on the limitations of each approach. The authors are clear that they are offering guidelines, not a narrow blueprint. The text is filled with reflections on the contingencies that a practitioner should consider when designing an OA process to suit a particular organisation.

106. Freire, P. (1993) *Education for critical consciousness*, New York: Continuum Books.
This book presents two of the authors major studies on "Education as the practice of freedom" and "Extension and communication". Both studies offer a profound

synthesis of the role of education understood as that of humanising (wo)man through his/her conscious action to transform the world.

107. Freire, P. (1998) *Pedagogy of freedom. Ethics, democracy and civic courage.* Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
The author shows why an engaged way of learning and teaching is central to the creation of the individual, culture and history. Freire finds in today's emerging global society a new context in which education cannot be indifferent to the reproduction of dominant ideologies and the interrogation of them. He argues against "progressive" liberalism and its passive acceptance of a world where unemployment and hunger must inevitably coexist with opulence. In so doing, he shows why an acceptance of fatalism leads to a loss of personal and societal freedom, -and how those individuals who think without optimism have lost their place in history. The author's views on learning as a human act, respect for the freedom and autonomy of learners, critical reflection, dialogue and conviction that change is possible are of particular relevance here.

108. Frischmuth, C. (1998) 'From crops to gender relations: transforming extension in Zambia'. In I. Guijt and M.K. Shah (eds.), *The Myth of Community: gender issues in participatory development.* London: Intermediate Technology.
The article describes the experience of institutionalising a gendered approach to agricultural extension in Siavonga District, Zambia. The Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries has been supported by the German-Zambian Siavonga Agricultural Development Project since 1992 in developing a gender-oriented participatory extension approach (PEA). The project began using participatory methodologies to involve farmers in extension services, but a participatory self-evaluation conducted by project staff found that women were not being included in project activities. The project made a concerted effort to address women's needs. Aside from including women and gender issues in existing activities, the extension agency began to conduct women's leadership workshops and gender-awareness workshops.
Frischmuth argues that there were four key elements in institutionalising gender-oriented participation:
- Teamwork
- Interactive method development
- Training
- Changing the terms of reference for extension staff

Frischmuth concludes with a list of key lessons from the Siavonga experience:
- Gender is not the sensitive topic some claim it to be. With the right methods, attitude and approaches, it is welcomed by local people and extension staff alike.
- Gender can be demystified. It is not a foreign, theoretical concept, cannot be addressed only by women and is not only about women. If handled appropriately, gender is not a 'hot' issue that will cause problems for the facilitators. Before embarking on gender discussions, however, facilitator must feel comfortable about dealing with potential conflicts.
- Gender affects all aspects of life and determines the success of extension work and development. At the same time, gender is inherent in the notion of participatory development, but not automatically addressed.
- The extension staff must challenge themselves and change their views and attitudes. They need to pursue and allow change at a personal level in order to

become sensitive facilitators.

- Methods must be adapted constantly and used flexibly.
- Visual PRA methods serve to accompany discussions in the process of change. They are only one group of methods which must be supplemented by others (i.e. role plays).
- Institutionalisation must be a participatory process itself, responding to demands for change and inputs from the actors and participants concerned, and following the pace of change and development that the actors and participants in the process set and undergo.

109. Fromm, E. (1978) *To have or to be?*, London: Jonathan Cape,.

The author argues that two modes of existence are struggling for the spirit of humankind: the having mode, which concentrates on material possession, acquisitiveness, power and aggression and is the basis for universal evils as greed, envy and violence; and the being mode, which is based on love, on the pleasure of sharing and productive rather than wasteful activity. The experience gained from radical-humanistic psychoanalysis is used to outline a programme of socio-economic change to embody the being orientation in people, institutions and the organisation of daily life.

The author emphasises that establishing a society of being depends on many measures. Among these measures for transformation, active and responsible participation requires that humanistic management replace bureaucratic management. Most people are unaware of how deadening the bureaucratic spirit is and how it pervades all spheres of life. The bureaucratic method is here defined as one that a) administers human beings as if they were things and b) administers things in quantitative rather than qualitative terms, in order to make quantification and control easier and cheaper. The bureaucrats base their decisions on fixed rules, rather than in response to the living beings who stand before them. Bureaucrats fear personal responsibility and seek refuge behind the rules; their security and pride lie in their loyalty to the rules, not in the loyalty to the laws of the human heart. The old fashioned bureaucrat, who was prone to be unfriendly, still exists in some old established enterprises or in large government bureaucracies in which a single bureaucrat has considerable power over poor or otherwise powerless people. The bureaucrats in modern industry are not unfriendly and probably have little of the sadistic streak, even though they may get some pleasure from having power over people. Their bureaucratic allegiance is to a thing,-in their case the system: they believe in it. The corporation is their home, and its rules are sacred because the rules are ‘rational’. However, neither can the old nor the new bureaucrats coexist in a system of participatory democracy, for the bureaucratic spirit is incompatible with the spirit of active participation by the individual. The new social scientists must devise plans for new forms of non-bureaucratic large scale administration that is directed by response (that reflects ‘responsibility’) to people and situations rather than by the mere application of rules. According to the author, non-bureaucratic administration is possible provided we take into account the potential spontaneity of response in the administrator and do not make a fetish of economising. However, the author does not offer more details on how to transform bureaucracies into more life affirmative agencies.

110. Funtowicz, S.O. and J. Ravetz (1993) ‘Science for the post normal age’. *Futures* 25(7):739-755.

The authors argue that the emerging science fosters a new methodology. In this, uncertainty is not banished but is managed, and values are not presupposed but are made explicit. The model for scientific argument is not formalised deduction but an interactive dialogue. The paradigmatic science is no longer one in which location and process are irrelevant to explanation. The historical dimension, including reflection on humanity's past and future, is becoming an integral part of the scientific characterisation of nature.
The authors argue for the involvement of "extended peer communities" in scientific activity. Persons directly affected by an environmental problem will have a keener awareness of its symptoms, and a more pressing concern with the quality of official reassurances, than those in any other role. Thus they perform a function analogous to that of professional colleagues in the peer review or refereeing process in traditional science, which otherwise might not occur in new contexts. When problems lack neat solutions, when environmental and ethical aspects of the issues are prominent, when the phenomena themselves are ambiguous, and when all research techniques are open to methodological criticism, then the debates on quality are not enhanced by the exclusion of all but the specialist researchers and official experts. The extension of the peer community is then not merely an ethical or political act; it can possibly enrich the processes of scientific investigation. The democratisation of science is thus viewed as a precondition for improving the quality of scientific understanding and sustainable environmental response. This enhanced quality of scientific understanding is undermined by the current working assumptions and insulation of scientific institutions from scrutiny and enquiry. The implied challenge is to transform science based bureaucracies so as to better integrate scientific expertise with other assessments, problem definitions and expertises; to acknowledge diversity and to appreciate the interconnectedness of social, environmental and technical issues and concerns.

111. Garvin, D.A. (1993) 'Building a learning organisation'. *Harvard Business Review* (July-August):78-91.
In this article, Garvin attempts to provide guidance as to how the idea of a learning organisation can be put into practice. He puts forward three main components necessary to creating a learning organisation: meaning, management, and measurement.
As Garvin thinks that having a clear definition of a learning organisation is essential, he briefly reviews some of the definitions in the literature, and puts forward one of his own. He defines learning organisations as, "an organisation skilled at creating, acquiring, and transferring knowledge, and at modifying its behaviour to reflect new knowledge and insights."
The next essential ingredient is management. Management needs to support an ongoing programme of learning. This can include visiting other organisations. It is key to give incentives for risk taking, and staff must have the skills to perform and evaluate experiments. Organisations must also develop the ability to learn from past experiences, by reviewing, assessing, recording, and disseminating experiences within the organisation. Learning organisations must also learn from others. The term 'benchmarking' has been coined to describe seeking out best practices in the industry and learning from them, usually concentrating on learning about processes rather than products. A final key ingredient is transferring knowledge. Reports and tours are the most common ways to go about it, but creating opportunities to learn by doing is more effective. This can happen through personnel rotation, or through training linked to

real projects.
The third key ingredient is measurement. Garvin reviews the shortcomings of the learning curve approach to measuring innovation, and advocates a measurement method called the half-life curve. The focus is on measuring the rate of learning, usually measured through the rate of improvement in measurable outputs.
Organisations that wish to become learning organisations can start with some basic steps. It is essential to free-up staff time for learning. A second step is opening boundaries, allowing people to interact in new ways with people outside their immediate section or level of the hierarchy in the organisation, and also with clients or members of other organisations. A third step is to create learning forums, where people have a chance to share knowledge.

112. Gaventa, J. (1998) 'The scaling-up and institutionalization of PRA: lessons and challenges'. In J. Blackburn and J. Holland (eds.), *Who changes? Institutionalizing participation in development.* London: Intermediate Technology Group.
The chapter begins by examining the challenge of linking micro-level participatory approaches to macro-level institutions. Can quality of participation be maintained as participatory approaches are scaled up? What gains can be made by moving by scaling up local efforts? Gaventa offers a framework for analysing cases of scaling-up. He distinguishes three distinct dimensions of change:
1. Scaling out, or increase in the types and quality of participation
2. Scaling-up, or expansion of the quantity of participation; and
3. Institutional change in large institutions to allow for participation.
The article explores the ways these dimensions of scaling up are inter-related, and draws examples from the case studies in the edited volume to illustrate the various dimensions.

113. Genetic Resources Action International (GRAIN) & GAIA Foundation (1998) *Ten reasons not to join UPOV*. Global Trade and Biodiversity in Conflict Series No. 2, London and Barcelona. GRAIN / GAIA.
Developing countries are currently facing intense pressure to institute intellectual property rights (IPRs) for plant varieties. Despite the fact that the brief history of IPRs over plants and biological resources has undermined local biodiversity in the North and precipitated corporate monopolies over the food system, Southern countries are being forced to travel the same path. These pressures are centred now in the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) Agreement of the WTO. TRIPs obliges all member countries of the WTO to protect private rights to plant varieties by either patent or by an effective sui generis system.
The pressure to extend intellectual property rights (IPR) legislation to biodiversity in developing countries is gaining momentum by the day. In some countries this means being placed on the United States' Super 301 'Watch List' of free trade offenders. In other countries the heat comes from trade ministries responsible for implementing the agreements signed at the end of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Uruguay Round.
Plant variety rights are one such form of IPR being aggressively imposed upon developing countries. Often touted as a 'soft' kind of patent regime, plant variety protection laws are just as threatening as industrial patents on biodiversity, and also represent an attack on the rights of farming and other communities at the local level. The World Trade Organisation's (WTO) agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of

Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) requires developing countries to provide either patent or sui-generis (unique) protection for the ownership of plant varieties by the year 2000. Least developed countries must do the same by 2005. UPOV is currently presenting itself as the ready-made solution for compliance with TRIPs. The Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants (UPOV) unites 37 countries under a common regime to protect the interests of plant breeders. Although it was created in 1961, UPOV has never gained much of a following beyond industrialised countries. However, this is rapidly changing now. This briefing presents ten reasons why countries should resolutely avoid the UPOV trap and take the 1999 Review of the TRIPs Agreement as a legitimate opportunity to remove biodiversity from the grips of the WTO. Concerns centre around the loss of farmers access and control over plant genetic resources important for food and agriculture. The briefing argues that national policies that support the privatisation of rights over seeds denies the possibility of large scale farmer participation in the management of genetic resources.

114. Ghai, D. and J.M. Vivian., (eds.) (1992) *Grassroots environmental action: people's participation in sustainable development*. London: Routledge.

This volume is concerned with how people participate in the management of their environment, either within the framework of State or international organisations, or without them. The authors maintain that sustainable environmental management needs local level support, although this alone is not necessarily sufficient. They suggest that the potential of grassroots environmental action, and local people's ability to provide solutions to environmental problems have been neglected, due to perceptions of local communities as "buffeted by forces beyond their control" (p. 11). The editing authors wish to present an alternative scenario in which people do take control of their situation and successfully gain, or regain, sustainable management of their environment. The implications of this shift in perception for policy approaches are outlined in the introduction. These include calls for a reorientation from the dominant approach (characterised by centralisation and large scale investment); an end to the reliance on technical and economic fixes; and a need to re-invigorate existing resource management systems rather than seek to replace them with systems based on foreign models.

The two authors in the first section, Approaches and Concepts, consider the need for a new framework for analysing the issues of sustainable development that take into account people's participation. The remaining three sections are devoted to case studies which provide concrete illustrations of the role of grassroots environmental action in resource management and sustainable development. The three sections are:

Traditional systems of resource management - with case studies from Tanzania, the Philippines and Brazil. Mechanisms and structures of some traditional resource management systems in three very different ecosystems are outlined, as well as people's reactions to the pressures put on them. In all three cases environmental degradation, and virtual exclusion of traditional resource managers led to protests and political action.

Social action and the environment - with case studies from Mexico and India. Analyse the struggles of marginalised groups for control and preservation of natural resources when the environment is threatened by outsiders. Competition for control over resources and the conflict that this induces compel indigenous communities to organise themselves in order to safeguard their livelihoods.

Lessons from environmental projects - case studies from Ethiopia, Latin America and various. This section looks at the more practical aspects of the preparation and

implementation of environmental projects initiated by the State or grassroots organisations.

115. Ghimire, K.B. and M.P. Pimbert (1997) *Social change and conservation. Environmental politics and impacts of national parks and protected areas*, London and Geneva: Earthscan and UNRISD.
This comprehensive volume discusses the social consequences of protected area schemes and conservation policies. Drawing on case studies from North America, Europe, Asia, Central America and Africa, it critically reviews current trends in protected area management, and shows how local people have been affected in terms of their customary rights, livelihoods, wellbeing and social cohesion. The loss of secure livelihoods ultimately threatens conservation, as poverty and rates of environmental degradation intensify in and around protected areas. The volume not only critically examines the content and practice of protected area management in different contexts; it also scrutinises the origins of the concept of conservation, and its ability to fulfil social as well as environmental goals. It seeks to demonstrate that protected area management systems are not apolitical as implied by most conservationists, nor are the resultant costs and benefits equally shared among different social groups. In particular, it records and analyses how the establishment of protected areas has affected the customary rights, livelihoods, well-being, natural resources management practices and social cohesion of local people living in and around the protected areas. Policy measures to accommodate local communities' concerns, in large part due to growing social conflicts and grassroots mobilisation through such initiatives as CAMPFIRE, and eco-tourism, extractivism and so forth have largely been ineffective because of the non-respect of local rights over natural resources, excessive reliance on market forces, institutional problems and a lack of popular participation. The book is cautious not to make simplistic recommendations. Instead, it argues for a total overhaul in the current course of conservation thinking and practice.

116. Ghimire, K.B. (1999) *Peasants' pursuit of outside alliances in the process of land reform: a discussion of Legal Assistance Programmes in Bangladesh and the Philippines*. Discussion Paper No. 102, Geneva: UNRISD.
In order to secure access to land and improve its productivity, peasant groups need external support. Their ability to establish solid alliances with NGOs, church groups, trade unions, political parties, development agencies and others is key to ensuring that their land and related livelihood demands are heard by landlords and authorities. External organisations can provide peasant groups with key information and resources that they would otherwise lack access to, as well as broaden the space in which they can operate to mobilize support for their causes.
In this configuration of potential external allies are lawyers and other legal representatives. In fact, one of the most tenuous and overlooked alliances in the process of land reform is that between peasant organizations and their legal representatives. Land reform is clearly a political issue, but it is also a legal one. The formulation and, more importantly, the implementation of effective land reform legislation is a vital step in improving the livelihoods of the rural poor.
From this perspective, this paper examines the search for legal support by peasants in their efforts to secure land and tenurial rights. The role of lawyers and legal aid groups as possible allies (and potential enemies) for peasants is critically examined, and their will and capacity to help peasants are assessed.

In order to determine what role lawyers can, or could, play the nature of what exactly constitutes a peasant's legal needs is initially discussed. Experiences have shown that even when progressive land reform legislation exists on paper, it may remain mute on the ground. This is often due to the political and legal clout powerful landowners and business interests possess in developing countries, allowing them to manipulate the system in their favour through legal loopholes and other means.

Given this situation, this paper highlights the myriad of important roles legal aid can play-from informing peasants of their basic rights, to holding governments and the legal system accountable for areas where land reform legislation has not been implemented in favour of the rural poor. Lawyers can also help peasants in the often long, costly and arduous process of taking cases of wrongdoing by landowners and other more powerful individuals and groups to court. The very nature of their profession and their detailed knowledge of legislation regarding property rights, land and tenurial clauses and international human rights declarations means that lawyers can play a most valuable role in ensuring not only that peasants get what they are legally due, but also in monitoring the legal system so that accountability and transparency are respected.

But this paper points out that, in reality, lawyers and legal aid services rarely fulfil this role. It argues that although the ability of lawyers to act as allies for peasants is context specific, on the whole the availability of efficient legal aid in rural areas remains weak. To try and counter this trend, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and peasant groups are increasingly including the provision of legal aid, legal awareness and training programmes in their activities. Examples are given of a few such initiatives, but evidence shows that this process is often hampered by a lack of resources (especially financial) as well as by a very limited pool of skilled persons who are willing to work in rural areas to promote peasant legal needs.

These issues are indeed complex and multi-layered. To elucidate, case studies from the Bangladesh and the Philippines are discussed, showing that despite land legislation and jurisdiction favouring sharecroppers, smallholders, women and other groups, other more powerful actors are able to retain their stronghold. In the cases from Bangladesh, even though legal provisions exist in favour of the distribution of government *khas* land to landless peasants, very little is actually given to them. A few NGOs and other groups are getting involved in mediating land disputes. Legal assistance has been essential in preventing unjust eviction of peasants, as well as in fighting off false charges issued against them.

In the Philippines, the roots and complications of the Carruf and Mapalad cases are analysed. They not only present a very complex legal struggle between peasant beneficiaries and the legal system, but also depict internal fighting between various government agencies and business interests. In both cases, farmer beneficiaries were given legal land titles under the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Programme, but they faced continuous legal and physical harassment due to the embedded interests of business and political élites in the area. But the Mapalad case is also an encouraging example of the large degree of social mobilisation and support a peasant group can achieve even when confronted by powerful political and business opponents.

In the concluding section it is argued that, in general, securing outside alliances is crucial in conflict mediation, identifying land for redistribution, rallying media, political and public support for peasant causes, and other areas. More specifically, the provision of legal aid and the support of lawyers increases the chances that peasant organisations will achieve their objectives. In reality, however, opportunities for such alliances remain limited, and justice is often far from being the blind, objective

arbitrator it is theoretically meant to be. It is argued that for changes to occur in favour of the rural poor, networks between peasants and other support groups need to be strengthened, and legal aid services made more available in rural areas. Furthermore, popular mobilisation by the concerned population groups themselves is particularly crucial if social actions related to land rights are to be more effective.

117. Gilmour, D.A. and R.J. Fisher (1991) *Villagers, Forests and Foresters: the philosophy, process and practice of community forestry in Nepal*, Kathmandu: Sahayogi Press.

118. Goetz, A.M. (1995) *The politics of integrating gender to state development processes. Trends, opportunities and constraints in Bangladesh, Chile, Jamaica, Mali, Morocco and Uganda.* UNRISD Occasional Paper No. 2, Geneva: UNRISD.
The study examines processes of institutionalising gender and development (GAD) concerns in the state. Institutions are defined here as a set of informal and formal rules, which are ad-ministered by organisations. The project of institutionalising gender-sensitive policy and practices is oriented towards routinising gender-equitable forms of social interaction and limiting the possibilities for choosing discriminatory forms of social organisation. Participation in decision making and the nature of institutional structures have been the focus of efforts to change the gendered outcomes of development processes in the six country case studies considered. Whilst there have been many important strategic gains, -above all in legitimating a place for gender issues in development-, a range of constraints undermine the potential for mainstreaming gender equity in state based institutions. GAD and WID (Women In Development) government units have been marginalised through under resourcing in staff, skills and funding and through patterns of institutional location and role assignment which stigmatise and condemn in advance their ambitions for gender transformative policy change. When women participate in institutions, the rules of the game may be stacked against them because they are structured around the physical and social needs and capabilities and the political interests of those who designed them in the first place. The obstacles to "de-institutionalising male preference" are embedded in the everyday functioning and the overall structure of government bureaucracies, which give little space and no legitimacy to a political project of participation and gender equity. Hierarchical and undemocratic, bureaucracies are hostile to agendas that challenge accustomed thematic organisational patterns. In national public administrations, this hostility is deeply compounded by the high boundaries erected between different sectoral ministries and by the patronage politics preserved by the Ministerial boundaries. The most important constraint, however, inheres in the deeply embedded gendered conventions in public bureaucracies, where women's needs are largely seen as a matter for private provision not public administration. Challenging these conventions, which the WID/GAD agenda does, arouses profound resistance and fairly efficient subversion.
There are two main constraints on the effectiveness of WID/GAD policy efforts. One that gender sensitive policy proposals tend rarely to be traced through the actual budgetary implications and fail to make a direct impact on the main instrument for national development planning: the public expenditure planning process. The second serious shortcoming regards the nature of connections between WID/GAD units in the public administration and the women's constituency in civil society. Ideally, a strong constituency base among women's organisations and gender sensitive NGOs would strengthen the position of the WID/GAD agenda in government, while at the same

time sensitising it to the needs of the national female citizenship. But it has proven difficult to build and exploit this iterative relationship, in part because of mutual suspicion on either side of the state-civil society divide. In closing, the political and policy opportunities for integrating gender into state development processes are discussed. Opportunities for furthering the WID/GAD agenda come from strategic allies, from moments of political systems change and from changes in the international development policy environment.

119. Goetz, A.M. (1997) 'Managing organisational change: the 'gendered' organisation of space and time.' *Gender and Development* 5(1):17-27.
The article examines the experiences of women and men staff in the world's largest development NGO, Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), to investigate the impact of the organisation of space and time on women's capacity to become effective development workers. The way development organisations structure everyday work through space and through time reflect the physical and social capabilities of those who dominate organisations. The article draws on extensive interviews with BRAC field staff to describe the ways in which the organisation of time and space impacts women especially.
Women working for BRAC are placed in a difficult position. On the one hand, they are meant to represent the 'modern', progressive character of the organisation with regards to gender roles, challenging conventional gender roles. On the other hand, they must maintain some degree of propriety and respect.
Goetz studies the ways in which the organisation of space is gendered. The first is around living arrangements, with young, single women being expected to live in field offices, contravening norms around familial protection and propriety. Travel and mobility is a second major issue, as travel is essential to fieldwork, and it is unconventional for women to travel alone, ride bicycles and motorcycles, etc.
The second set of issues Goetz studies is around the organisation of time and gender. The day-to-day time demands of the work, including erratic hours extending beyond normal office hours, and the need to respond to emergencies at any time, present difficulties to women (and men) in reconciling work responsibilities with family responsibilities. The career cycle also presents difficulties for women, as the expectations around an appropriate age for marriage clash with hiring ages and career paths. Child care also does not mesh well with organisational culture around time, but BRAC has made changes by allowing more leave for women.
A third set of issues is around health and sexuality. Women tend not to be well physically prepared for the demands of field work, since they are not encouraged to participate in sports as youths. Toilet facilities are a problem in rural areas, so women intentionally dehydrate themselves during the day. BRAC allows maternity leave, but it is difficult for new mothers to come back to the office after only three months. Menstruation raises difficult issues as well. Women have been granted two days 'desk leave' per month, so that they do not have to go to the field while menstruating, but as asking for the leave signals that they are menstruating, they often do not take it out of embarrassment. The movements of women are carefully monitored to avoid scandal over sexual relationships, but women complain that women's lives are controlled and monitored rather than men's.
Goetz concludes that rather than bringing the home to the office, the BRAC approach has brought the office to the home, eliminating time for family and leisure for the staff, and effectively monopolising their labour. Reconciling marriage and the demands of BRAC is difficult for both men and women. BRAC is making it possible

for women to pioneer new roles, yet the women themselves are ambivalent to being pioneers. There is a high personal cost for doing so. Goetz suggest that BRAC can look to women's organisations for examples of organisations built around the situation and needs of women.

120. Goetz, A.M. (1997) 'Introduction: Getting institutions right for women in development.' In A.M. Goetz (ed.), *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development*. London: Zed Books.

The book aims to examine the project of institutionalising gender equity in development organisations. Goetz briefly reviews the conceptual shift from Women in Development to Gender and Development, and notes that the GAD camp has applied very little effort to institutional change rather than individual training.

Goetz explains the difficulty of institutionalising gender equity given her understanding of institutions:

"Understanding institutions as historically constructed frameworks for behavioural rules and as generators of experience contributes to understanding why it is that when new agents (such as women) and orientations (such as concerns with gender equity) are introduced to institutions, outcomes can seem so little changed. Institutional rules, structures, practices, and the identities of the agents which animate them may continue primarily to serve the political and social interests which institutions were designed to promote in the first place." (page 6)

Goetz describes the cultural barriers to change in organisations. The article also explains how the 'rules of the game' in organisations, as established by men, can make success possible for new-comers (women).

Goetz argues that gendered outcomes persist as a result of day-to-day decision making by government and NGOs, revealing that the organisations themselves are gendered. The article provides a typology of the ways in which programmes and activities are commonly gendered in the rural development field.

Institutions are not only formed along gendered lines- they also produce gender differences. For example, credit institutions have been constructed so as to provide for the needs of male, propertied producers, and tend to neglect women with little or no land. Without access to capital, women are unlikely to become propertied producers.

There is room for agency within organisations. This often explains why gender oriented policies can be subverted by field agents, given sufficient room for manoeuvre. It also raises the possible role of 'femocrats' in challenging institutionalised state sexism.

Goetz outlines eight elements of undertaking a 'gendered archaeology of organisations':

1. Institutional and organisational history. How and when were institutions (such as the State) constructed?
2. Gendered cognitive context. How do ideologies and disciplines animating an organisation institutionalise gender biases?
3. Gendered organisational culture. Is there a male culture in organisations? Are the characteristics of bureaucracy necessarily 'male' and can the same characteristics be turned to benefit women?
4. Gendered participants. What gender are the winners and losers, or the decision-makers and decision-takers in institutions?
5. Gendered space and time. In what ways is the organisation of space (travel, living arrangements) and time (daily schedules, career paths) gendered?

6. Sexuality of organisations. How do organisations attempt to manage or ignore the sexuality of its members?
7. Gendered authority structures. How do gendered images of leadership and authority influence relations in the organisation?
8. Gendered incentive and accountability system. How do the rewards and accountability systems favour men or women?

121. González, A. (1997) *La institucionalización del enfoque participativo: un caso de innovación cultural liberatoria*. Presented at the 'Metodologías Participativas en Proyectos de Desarrollo', Bolivia.
The author shares his reflections on the importance of institutionalising a participatory approach and the limitations that can be encountered in this process. He draws from his experience working in development projects with Mexican social organisations and also in some projects with institutions.
González believes that participatory approaches are 'liberatory' and traces their origin to concepts developed mainly by Latin American authors en the last 30 years. He cites the following currents: sociología crítica, investigación-acción, investigación-militante, concienciación dialogal and desarrollo pueblo-céntrico.
The institutionalisation of participation is understood as the systematisation, legitimisation and critical improvement of the principles, criteria and instruments that facilitate social participation. It can also be defined as the process through which the individuals and organisations that use it change themselves to facilitate and promote participatory learning. It is emphasised that to be effective participation should guide the personal and institutional lives of those people who promote it. The institutionalisation of participation is seen as the result of the growing practice with participatory approaches world-wide.
González identifies several problems which arise when participation is institutionalised. Among them are:
- an authoritarian attitude which leads to a top-down approach that does not allow for participation from below
- an attitude of the 'dominant group' who perceives itself as the owner of the truth and sees 'others' only as subjects of its own discourse
- the sectoral and fragmented way in which institutions work which makes it difficult for participation to be effective
- the bureaucratic culture by which government staff act upon certain inertia that blocks any personal initiative or creativity and inhibits the conditions to facilitate participation
- an irresponsible attitude which blocks human solidarity and trust, both essential requisites for participation to be successful

122. Gosselink, P. and J. Thompson (1997) *Application of participatory rural appraisal methods for action research on water management.* Short Report Series on Locally Managed Irrigation No. 18, Colombo: International Irrigation Management Institute.
This document provides a case study from Pakistan in which mapping and historical trend analyses by water user's of their perceptions of soil salinity and sodicity in proved to be an efficient method for obtaining complex insights into changing soil conditions and salinity/sodicity processes.
A group of elderly water users mapped the area providing background information regarding the historical development of soil salinity and sodicity and changes that

took place during recent decades. Other farmers from different locations along the water course then mapped the present soil conditions. The historical analyses and interviews revealed further details of water users strategies to cope with salinity and sodicity and changes in irrigation management and farming practices over time.The exercise also provided a set of indicators based on both physical characteristics of soils and those relating to crop performance that water users apply to recognise soil problems. Six soil classes were Identified to differentiate between the different types of saline, sodic or waterlogged soils.
Also, described in the document is the use of historical matrices in a study of the Kenya catchment approach. The matrices were used widely with different groups to explore changes since the 1950's , including changes in land use management and conservation practices prior to and after the implementation of the catchment approach. The matrices showed a variety of interesting relationships, including and increased level of conservation and agricultural production coinciding with increasing population, crop diversity decreasing with the adoption of modern varieties of maize and then increasing after the catchment approach began and a high degree of soil and water conservation in the 1950's when it was enforced, disappearing in the 1970's and 80's before reappearing with the catchment approach. Other methods found to be useful in examining the impact of the catchment approach and understanding changes in resource use and conditions over time were found to be venn diagrams to show historical changes in institutions, historical farm sketches and farm systems diagrams and seasonal labour diagrams.

123. Government of India, Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment and Lal Bahadur Shastri Academy of Administration (1998) 'Proceedings of the workshop on attitude and behaviour change for participatory development programmes'.
The workshop on attitude and behaviour (A&B) change in participatory development programmes organised at the National Society for Development Administration Research and Training in Mussoorie delved extensively on the need and importance of key functionaries to be oriented to appropriate A&B changes. In the process, the participants had an opportunity to try out games and exercises that connotes to changes in A&B in a subtle way. The workshop focussed on four major sectors in development administration, namely:
i) Participatory irrigation management
ii) Participatory watershed management
iii) Joint forest management
iv) Panchayati Raj Institution
The participants worked in groups and developed training modules that can be further refined to train key government bureaucrats and agency staff. The document presents the training modules along with the games and exercises identified by workshop participants.

124. Greene-Roesel, J. and R. Hinton (1998) 'Gender, participation and institutional organization in Bhutanese refugee camps'. In I. Guijt and M.K. Shah (eds.), *The myth of community: gender issues in participatory development*. London: Intermediate Technology.
The article compares the structure of three NGOs serving Bhutanese refugees, and explores the link between their internal structure and their performance, especially in empowering women. The authors drew on field work, and diagrams of organisational structure drawn by women participating in their programmes, to describe the

differences in the three NGOs' structures. One has a relatively flat hierarchy and includes women and refugees, while a second is more hierarchical but includes women except in senior management , and the third is hierarchical and includes few women except in token positions. The article explores the different implications for empowerment that flow from these different institutional structures. The case study shows that the first two organisations create more opportunities for women to participate in decision making and implementation than the third, and are more effective in 'empowering' women. The authors argues that, "failure to include women in organisational and project administration renders the pursuit of women' empowerment an empty and imperialistic goal. It attempts to initiate change in hierarchical, male-dominated societies but neglects to take responsibility for the same objectives within the organisation itself."

125. Grimble, R., M. Chan, J. Aglionby and J. Quan (1995) *Trees and trade-offs: a stakeholder approach to natural resource management.* Gatekeeper Series No. 52, London: IIED.

The authors argue that Stakeholder Analysis (SA) "can help us to understand better the objectives and interests of the various stakeholders managing and using the environment, the trade-offs there may be between objectives, and the costs and benefits of change and intervention at both macro and micro levels. Incorporating these ideas into environmental planning can improve prediction of outcomes, reduce the risk of unforeseen resistance, and generally facilitate informed policy-making" (3). They define SA as:

"An approach for understanding a system by identifying the key actors or stakeholders in the system, and assessing their respective interests in that system. Stakeholders include all those who affect, and/or are affected by, the policies, decisions, and actions of the system; they can be individuals, communities, social groups or institutions of any size, aggregation or level in society. The term thus includes policy-makers, planners and administrators in government and other organisations, as well as commercial and subsistence user groups." (4)

The authors distinguish between trade-offs and conflicts. Trade-offs are instances when the objectives of one stakeholder are in conflict. Conflicts arise when the objectives of different stakeholders are at odds.. The method is illustrated with boxed examples of a SA on forest resources in the Cameroon.

126. Grimble, R. and M.K. Chan (1995) 'Stakeholder analysis for natural resource management in developing countries. Some practical guidelines for making management more participatory and effective'. *Natural Resources Forum* 19(2):113-124.

The authors present their ideas and experience of developing and applying stakeholder analysis to natural resource management, and to stimulate further development of its concepts and methodologies. Stakeholder analysis emerged in response to the perceived deficiency of conventional economic, and social approaches for assessing and designing projects and policies. It is emphasised however that it is intended to complement rather than replace existing methods. The paper sets out principles of stakeholder analysis (SA) and provides indicative guidelines for conducting SA in different situations. SA is an approach and procedure for gaining an understanding of a system by means of identifying the key actors or stakeholders in the system, and assessing their respective economic interests in that system. It is shown to have particular advantages for getting to the heart of many natural resource

problems and for understanding the conflicts of interest and trade-offs that may threaten the success of a project or policy. The authors discuss the origins of SA, the contexts of its applications, how one goes about it, and quotes examples from northern Thailand.

127. Grindle, M.S. and J.W. Thomas (1991) *Public choices and policy change: the political economy of reform in developing countries*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

The authors define policy reform as, "deliberate efforts on the part of government to redress perceived errors in prior and existing policy and institutional arrangements." They present and refute two dominant schools of explanation for policy making, and then present a third alternative of their own. The findings of the book are based on thirteen different case studies spanning different policy areas.

The authors produce a useful survey of the generally accepted schools of theory used to explain policy making. They label the first category of explanations "society-centred explanations" of policy choice. These include class-analytic approaches, making policy a reflection of class interests and power. This school also includes pluralist approaches, in which groups in civil society push their agendas on government. The third subcategory within this school is public choice approaches. Based on economistic views of rational, utility maximising individuals, this school represents officials as rent seeking, and politicians concerned only with maintaining power who choose interest to 'buy' the support of the most important groups. Grindle and Thomas reject these schools of thought for being overly determinist, and neglecting the agency of policy elites.

The second school of thought is "state-centred models of policy choice." This includes rational actor models, which have developed ideas such as "bounded rationality" given information constraints, and "satisficing". A second school is the bureaucratic politics approach, which explains policy as the outcome of struggles between bureaucratic entities and actors constrained by their organisational roles and capacities, so that "where you stand depends on where you sit." A third view is the state interest approach, which attributes the state with broad goals that may transcend the views of particular groups. Objectives might include the maintenance of state hegemony over societal actors, or the pusuit of national development as defined by key policy elites. Grindle and Thomas reject these ideas for their various shortcomings.

Grindle and Thomas put forward their explanation for policy reform, which places central importance on policy elites and their context. They attribute great agency to policy elites in creating policy, given the particular constraints of the situation. Elites' ideas about policies are shaped by their own characteristics and view of the world: personal attributes and goals; ideological predispositions; professional expertise and training; memories of similar policy experiences; position and power resources; and political and institutional commitments and loyalties. These explain how they act given the key factors in the policy environment: societal pressures and interests; historical context; international context; economic conditions; administrative capacity; and other policies. Grindle and Thomas argue that all of these factors must be considered to understand why policy changes as it does.

The authors continue by considering some of the key elements in developing countries that shape the policy making context, such as a history of centralisation, the large role governments have taken in the economy, etc. They also divide the policy elite into key subgroups and examine their context and interests.

The authors also examine the difference between policy changes made in crisis situations, and those made as part of politics-as-usual. Chapters then examine the agenda setting process, decision making, and policy implementation. The book concludes with some 'how-to' tips for policy reform leadership.

128. Groot, A. and M. Maarleveld (2000) *Demystifying facilitation in participatory interventions*. Gatekeeper series, London: IIED.
The importance of facilitation in participatory interventions is increasingly acknowledged but its actual practice proves complex. A large variety of tools and management procedures have been developed to support facilitators in their work but the underlying intentions, theoretical and epistemological assumptions underpinning practice usually remain implicit. Based on their own experience of facilitation, the authors make facilitation and the role of the facilitator more transparent by highlighting four different choices: 1. legitimation of the participatory intervention, 2. The construction of hierarchical subsystems, 3. The nature of learning being facilitated and the style of facilitation. For each of these four choices, a number of options and their consequences for facilitation of the learning process and its outcome are presented. This learning process is described in terms of 1. Who are the actors involved in the learning and when, 2. About what will actors learn, 3. How do they learn and 4. Why? The paper assists facilitators and other actors involved in participatory interventions (e.g. donors, ministries, farmers, NGOs) to critically look at choices to be made regarding the underlying intentions of the interventions and subsequently the type of facilitators that is required and the role they are to play.

129. Grove, R.H., V. Damodaran and S. Sangwan (1998) *Nature and the orient. The Environmental history of South and Southeast Asia*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
This book is an introduction to issues in the environmental history of South and Southeast Asia. The contributors take a very long term view of the historical processes of environmental change and the history of interactions between people and environment in the region in order to: i) critically examine colonial discourses about nature, risk and the control of natural resources The region was subject to the influence of very closely interconnected series of colonial discourses about nature, exercised in the context of Mughal, British, French and Dutch imperialism ii) build up a picture of indigenous responses to changing patterns of environmental control, both under colonialism and in the post colonial period.

130. Guijt, I. (1996) 'Moving Slowly and Reaching Far: Institutionalising participatory planning for child-centred community development: an interim analysis for Redd Barna Uganda'. Redd Barna Uganda and IIED.
This report has been compiled with a view to serving as part of a process documentation process, and so is very full in detail. This brief summary is taken only from the Executive Summary:
Since 1994, Redd Barna Uganda (RBU) and the Sustainable Agriculture Programme of IIED have been working to institutionalise participatory planning for child-centred community development. Initial work focused on training RBU field staff, who are not active in the districts as Child Advocacy Project Officers (CAPOs.). The report looks at the follow-up phase which encompasses: support to field staff; assessing follow-up work at the community level; integrating vision, strategy, and procedures; and advice on training strategy.

RBU is non-operational, aiming to work through NGOs, CBOs and government agencies. It aims to strengthen the capacity of partners while pursuing child-centred development with a focus on marginalised groups.
There have been several achievements to date:

- Increased training and planning capacity within RBU
- Improved working relationships with agencies and with communities
- Increased motivation among extension workers
- A range of physical and attitudinal changes at the community level

There were still several weaknesses at the time of the evaluation:

- Inadequate attention to enhance local people's capacity to plan with (and not just to analyse) their local situation
- Insufficient focus on analysis and planning of activities to improve the situation of marginal groups, especially younger women, children, and the worst off
- Inadequate efforts to identify and create appropriate opportunities to involve marginal groups, especially younger women, children, and the worst off.
- Over-emphasis on community-level planning to the detriment of group-specific planning capacities.

The report includes many suggested improvements to address the main shortcoming to date:

- Consolidate a training strategy
- Careful selection of partners in community-based work
- Provide support mechanisms for RBU's field staff and government extension workers alike
- Adapt follow-up processes with communities.

131. Guijt, I., T. Kisadha and G. Mukasa (1998) 'Agreeing to disagree: dealing with gender and age in Redd Barna Uganda'. In I. Guijt and M.K. Shah (eds.), *The Myth of Community: gender issues in participatory development.* London: Intermediate Technology.
After many years of civil war, Uganda is undergoing an intense process of national reconstruction. Planning for more equitable development plays a central role in ensuring that resources are allocated to benefit all parts of the country and all social groups. Redd Barna Uganda (RBU), a non-governmental organisation, is providing support to government agencies and other NGOs in planning efforts that will benefit Uganda's children. This means building planning capacities at both the district and national levels, and also with communities.
In 1994, RBU turned to participatory rural appraisal (PRA) as a methodology with great potential for community-based planning. The principle of 'community participation' seemed to fulfil its need for a methodology that could deal with gender and age differences, or 'intra-communal difference.' However, RBU found a surprising lack of information about two fundamental aspects: (I) how intra-communal differences can be addressed systematically; an (ii) how communities can be involved in planning and not just appraisal. The legacy of quick analysis, inherited from the rapid appraisal tradition, had persisted in much of the initial PRA work in the early 1990s. This fostered a belief that successful PRA could be identified by the existence of a 'Community Action Plan'. Yet such plans were developed over too-short a time frame, and wrongly claim to reflect 'the community's opinion', while commonly ignoring th needs of younger women and children. Redd Barna Uganda set out to modify participatory planning to ensure inclusion of women and children, and emphasise the building of local planning skills. Two main features now guide its

community-based work: (I) it encourages a slower and more adaptive planning process, based on understanding and negotiating differences within the community; and (ii) it encourages planning with smaller groups of community members, alongside community-wide plans, to enable gender- and age-specific needs to be expressed and resolved. Through this process, community members learn to 'agree to disagree' about priorities, while not losing the benefits of collective action at the community level.
This article discusses the context in which RBU is aiming to make a positive difference and how it evolved its particular approach to participatory planning that involves five social groups: younger and older men and women, and children. It describes the steps that RBU takes to ensure the participation, in particular, or women and children in community-based planning.

132. Guijt, I. (1998) *Participatory monitoring and impact assessment of sustainable agriculture initiatives: an introduction to the key elements*. IIED-SARL Discussion Paper No. 1, London: IIED.
This document provides a practical guide and comprehensive methodological introduction to setting up an indicator based participatory monitoring (PM) process for sustainable agriculture initiatives to start tracking relevant types of changes. Key concepts concerning PM are introduced, including definitions of participation, monitoring, evaluation, impact and indicators. The steps in developing a monitoring system are outlined clearly with examples throughout given in particular from an ongoing PM action research program in Brazil. The document includes a comprehensive annex describing twenty different participatory methods that can &/or have been used for monitoring change. Clear descriptions are given of how to use the methods and case studies where they have been used presented.

133. Guijt, I. and F. Hinchcliffe (1998) 'Participatory valuation of wild resources: an overview of the Hidden Harvest methodology'. London: IIED.
This paper is a shorter version of the fuller methodological report from the Hidden Harvest project. Economic approaches and participatory research techniques, based largely on PRA, were combined in these five country studies to evaluate wild resources. This paper summarises the two traditions, describes how they can and were combined and reflects on some of the challenges encountered. Detailed examples are provided from the Hidden Harvest case studies.

134. Guijt, I. and M.K. Shah, (eds.) (1998) *The myth of community: Gender issues in participatory development.* London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
The contributors to this volume examine how the fields of gender studies and participatory development strengthen each other in theory and in practice. The widespread uptake of participatory approaches has created a need to assess more critically if the work undertaken is benefiting women and men equally. Community differences are simplified, power relationships poorly understood, and conflicts avoided or ignored. The losers of this participatory naivety are often women. This volume offers many insights into how women can be involved more equitably and appropriately in participatory processes, and how gender issues can be tackled more meaningfully. Theoretical reflections on participation and gender are followed by examples of how organisations are attempting to integrate gender sensitive work in participatory processes. Practical experiences from Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Caribbean allow the authors to discuss the central role played by conceptual

clarity, appropriate methods and methodologies, and supportive organisations and institutional structures.

135. Gunderson, L.H., C.S. Holling and S.S. Light (1995) 'Barriers broken and bridges built: a synthesis'. In L.H. Gunderson, C.S. Holling, et al. (eds.), *Barriers and bridges to the renewal of ecosystems and institutions*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Drawing on six case studies from North America, two key questions are explored: Do institutions learn? And how do ecosystems and their resources respond to management actions? The management histories in New Brunswick forests, the Everglades, Chesapeake Bay, the Columbia River, the Great Lakes, and the Baltic Sea demonstrate how people, institutions and ecosystems interact. Common patterns of pathology in managed ecosystems are identified followed by an analysis of how resource exploitation leads to ecological, social and institutional breakdown, followed by crisis and, in some examples, reform and learning.

Both ecosystems and social institutions are viewed as dynamic adaptive systems. The links between natural resources and institutional changes are discussed from the perspective of adaptive management. The basic tenets of adaptive management all deal with the unpredictable interactions between people, institutions and ecosystems as they evolve together. Surprises are inevitable; hence policies and institutions must always be adaptive and capable of transformation.

The authors argue that barriers and bridges for transformation, renewal and sustainability include:

1. The ways in which people and institutions understand nature and resources. The paradigms of relationships among processes and structure in nature can either facilitate or inhibit change. The mode in which science is practised can also be either hindrance or conveyance. The paradigms of how nature operates are critical to management of natural resources. The key bridges are provided by views that include a systems perspective, inter-disciplinarity, non-linearity, and cross scale views that build on notions of discontinuous change, chaos, evolving complexity and self organisation. Evidence suggests that ecosystems and their resources go through adaptive cycles over time and space. The recurring cycles can be visualised in terms of four processes in which time flows unevenly: i) colonisation and exploitation; ii) consolidation, accumulation and conservation; iii) release and creative destruction; iv) reorganisation, innovation and investment. Recognition of these processes at the appropriate space and time scales is reported by all the case studies as a clear bridge to improved management of natural resources and ecosystems.
2. Way ecosystems are managed. Case study analysis suggests that any attempt to manage single ecological variables (fish, trees, water, cattle) inexorably lead to less resilient ecosystem and more rigid management institutions. A common pathological feature is to reduce variability of a target whose normal fluctuations in time and space imposed problems or periodic crisis. Reduced variability of ecosystems and natural resource dynamics inevitably leads to reduced resilience and increased vulnerability. The pathology is broken when there is a shift towards: i) Integrated policies, not piecemeal ones; ii) flexible adaptive policies, not rigid, locked in ones; iii) management and planning for learning, not simply for economic or social product; iv) monitoring designed as part of active interventions to achieve understanding and to identify remedial response, not monitoring for monitoring's sake; v) investments in eclectic science, not just controlled science; vi) citizen involvement and partnership to build "civic science", not public information programs to inform passively.

3. The design and practice of human institutions. There is a need for at least four different roles by players in the management scene: bureaucrats who implement policy, activists who declare crises, catalysts who frame alternatives, and decision makers who decide on new policies. These roles are seemingly filled as needed by formal structures (e.g. agencies) and by informal emergent entities such as epistemic communities, shadow networks, and other non government agencies.. Institutions that desire to be more flexible and adaptive should contain all these roles in order to continually learn, generate system understanding, and resolve the challenge of both simultaneously implementing and revising policies and procedures. Another bridge for transformation has emerged in the movement away from traditional bureaucratic entities towards more adaptive institutions with an explicit strategic mission. Institutional transformation begins when adaptive concepts are formally internalised and part of the operational principles. The adaptive groups focus on innovating, on reviewing assumptions, and on building skills of reflection. These adaptive groups are especially flexible in a rapidly changing world. These are the groups that not only tolerate but nurture "rebellious" bureaucrats who are willing to declare the "emperor has no clothes".
4. Public participation and education. The involvement and education of the people who are part of the system are crucial to building resilient solutions.. The people who live in these areas and are affected by the natural resource management policies often become ignored or detached from the institutions established to serve them. Yet, they provide the "pool" for creative and adaptive solutions.
See also http://www.resalliance.org/

136. Gündel, S. (1996) 'Facilitating a joint analysis of change'. *ILEIA Newsletter* 12(3):16-17.
Based on work in the Yucatan peninsula in south east Mexico this article describes how local classification systems can be used to examine change over time.
Information is passed on orally and related to the practical relevance of the information to its local context. For example, different forest types are classified locally in the Mayan language according to their age, composition of species etc.
'A main distinction is made between the *Chee'che kaak*, which describes a forest with a dense tree population and the *Pi'che kaak* which literally means "if you look into the forest, you can see very far". As high forest is becoming very rare in the region the Mayan name for them *Kanaankaak* is losing its importance in the active vocabulary of younger generations. New categories are being created as new vegetation types or new ways of using them are evolving. Such changing categories can be used as evidence of environmental transformation

137. Habermas, J. (1984) *The theory of communicative action. Volume 1: Reason and the rationalization of society*, Boston: Beacon Press.
The theory of communicative action has three interrelated concerns: 1) to develop a concept of rationality that is no longer tied to, and limited by, the subjectivistic and individualistic premises of modern philosophy and social theory; 2) to construct a two-level concept of society that integrates the lifeworld and system paradigms; and, finally, 3) to sketch out, against this background, a critical theory of modernity which analyses and accounts for its pathologies in a way that suggests a redirection rather than an abandonment of the project of enlightenment. He develops these themes though a somewhat unusual combination of theoretical constructions with historical reconstructions of the ideas of "classical" social theorists. The thinkers discussed -

Mearx, Weber, Durkheim, Mead, etc - are, he holds, still very much alive. Rather than regarding them as so many corpses to be dissected exegetically, he treats them as virtual dialogue partners still to be learned. The aim of his "historical reconstructions with systematic intent" is to excavate and incorporate their positive contributions, to criticise their weaknesses, by thinking with them to go beyond them.
Interspersed throughout these critical dialogues with the classics are numerous excurses and two chapter long "Zwischenbetrachtung", or intermediate reflections, devoted to systematic questions. The concluding chapter attempts to combine the fruits of his historical reconstructions with the results of his systematic reflections in sketching a critical theory of modernity.
The chapter headings are as follows:
1) Introduction: Approaches to the problem of rationality
- "Rationality" - a preliminary specification
- Some characteristics of the mythical and the modern ways of understanding the world
- Relations to the world and aspects of rationality in four sociological concepts of action
- The problem of understanding meaning in the social sciences

2) Max Weber's Theory of Rationalisation
- Occidental rationalism
- The disenchantment of religious-metaphysical worldviews and the emergence of modern structures of consciousness
- Modernisation as societal rationalisation: the role of the protestant ethic
- The rationalisation of law. Webers diagnosis of the times

3) Intermediate reflections: social action, purposive activity, and communication
4) From Lukacs to Adorno: rationalisation as reification
- Max Weber in the tradition of western marxism
- The critique of instrumental reason

138. Habermas, J. (1987) *The theory of communicative action. Volume 2: Lifeworld and system: a critique of functionalist reason*, Boston: Beacon Press.
See abstract to volume 1.
Chapter headings are as follows:
5) The paradigm shift in Mead and Durkheim: from purposive activity to communicative action
- The foundations of social science in the theory of communication
- The authority of the sacred and the normative background of communicative action
- The rational structure of the linguistification of the sacred

6) Intermediate reflections; system and lifeworld
- The concept of the lifeworld and the hermeneutic idealism of interpretive sociology
- The uncoupling of system and lifeworld

7) Talcott Parsons: problems in the construction of social theory
- From normativistic theory of action to systems theory of society
- The development of systems theory
- The theory of modernity

8) Concluding reflections: from Parsons through Weber to Marx
- A backward glance: Weber's theory of modernity
- Marx and the thesis of internal colonisation

- The tasks of a critical theory of society

139. Hagmann, J. and K. Murwira (1994) *Indigenous soil and water conservation in southern Zimbabwe: a study on techniques, historical changes and recent development under participatory research and extension.* Project Research Report 13, Department of Agricultural Technical and Extension Services (AGRITEX), Zimbabwe and GTZ.
This report was selected because it provides an example of the use of Venn diagrams to assess institutions for natural resource management in Zimbabwe. On pp. 14-15 of the report, the authors assess the functions of local institutions and government authorities in soil and water conservation. In their findings, they include Venn diagrams prepared by people in the project areas. The size of circles is used to represent the power of various institutions, while their proximity to the centre represents the degree to which they are involved in natural resource management. Venn diagrams were prepared by young men, young women, older women, and older men. This brings out some contrasting views, such as different perceptions of the importance of chiefs in NRM.

140. Hagmann, J., E. Chuma and O. Gundani (1996) 'Acknowledging the role of gender in agricultural research and extension. Review of experiences of a project in Zimbabwe'. Eschborn, Germany: GTZ.
The paper reviews the learning process of the project "Conservation Tillage for Sustainable Crop Production Systems" in Masvingo (Zimbabwe) with regard to gender issues in research/technology development and extension. The project started with conventional research where no gender differentiation was conceptualised and went through several stages where the interaction and active participation of farmers (in particular female farmers) became increasingly crucial to achieve the desired goals. The result of the learning process was anew approach and concept of innovation development and extension, where the gender perspective is an integral element.
Intensive interaction with rural families has shown that decision making pattern and criteria in the families is highly complex and dynamic and that women have a much stronger influence behind the scene than assumed. It revealed that the husbands often announced the decisions which were made by the wives. This and weak communication structures within the families necessitated new approaches , methods and tools in communication and learning in extension and innovation development. The main focus in the methodology was to increase the recognition of women's tasks, achievements and capabilities and thereby empower women through strengthening of their confidence and increase men's acknowledgement of the importance of women's roles in an action learning process.
The paper concludes that building the human capacity in terms of self organisation, strengthening of confidence and strengthening of the ability to negotiate power and roles is the key issue. This includes specifically women's capacity as they are the backbone of agriculture in many societies. Therefore, it is not the question whether « gender in development » is needed, but it is an ultimate necessity to consider those people as farmers, who work the land. The gender perspective should be built in any serious development process. Promotion of gender as an isolated theme or component can be counterproductive.

141. Hagmann, J., E. Chuma, M. Connolly and K. Murwira (1997) *Propelling*

*change from the bottom-up: institutional reform in Zimbabwe.* SARL Gatekeeper Series No. 71, London: IIED.
Participatory approaches to extension and innovation development are increasingly being seen as the way forward for agricultural development. Yet the challenges arising when trying to reform conventional government bureaucracies to make all the change this approach requires are many. This paper describes how just such a reform process was undertaken in Zimbabwe. Scaling-up of this approach through institutionalisation into the agricultural extension department required a complex and multi-pronged strategy. The development of 'learning cases', and the exposure of officers to these case studies helped raise awareness and commitment for change. An informal network of initiatives pursuing participatory development as a lobby group strengthened the influence and brought participatory approaches into mainstream thinking.
Once commitment for change had developed in the extension department, operationalisation of participatory extension approaches (PEA) became a major challenge. This reform required substantial changes in the organisational culture, roles, relationships and attitudes of individuals and groups. Changes of that nature are presently being addressed in an organisational development programme which includes a learning process to facilitate behavioural and attitude changes.
The paper concludes that institutionalisation and operationalisation of participatory approaches is far more than training staff in participatory methods. It is a highly complex intervention which requires high commitment of all actors, sound strategies, flexible methodologies, rather than on technical and formal issues. The lessons learned and steps taken will have resonance and value for any other organisations embarking on a similar journey.

142. Hahn, A. (1998) 'Institutionalising participation on village level- the example of one community in the south-west of Burkina Faso'. In C. Scherler, R. Forster, et al. (eds.), *Beyond the toolkit: experiences with institutionalising participatory approaches of GTZ supported projects in rural areas*. Eschborn: GTZ.
This article describes the implementation of an approach called community land management (CLM) and particularly how land conflicts were managed through a participatory process. Conflict arose between Fulani herders and settled farmers. The project facilitated analysis of the roots of the conflict, and the village came to a plan which would ease tensions, involving designating grazing corridors, and establishing a system of communicating regulations to passing pastoralists. A local institution has been formed through the process, and the people involved have gained skills in planning and self-evaluation.
The project staff learned many lessons from this experience. Development projects become embroiled in local conflicts, and the best way to handle them is to let groups in conflict analyse the situation and propose their own solutions. Development staff must be flexible, and respond to needs as they arise, not being overly bound by pre-programmed operational plans and financial plans. Local people are easily convinced of the value of a project through village-to-village visits. Local organisations will not last if they are created to please project staff, but must reflect specific purposes relevant to local people.

143. Hajer, M.A. (1997) *The politics of environmental discourse: ecological modernization and the policy process*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Hajer uses discourse analysis to make a comparative study of acid rain policy in

Britain and the Netherlands. His analytic framework builds on Foucauldian ideas about discourse. He develops the concept of a policy discourse coalitions. Discourse coalitions are "the ensemble of (1) a set of story-lines; (2) the actors who utter these story-lines; and (3) the practices in which this discursive activity is based. Story lines are here seen as the discursive cement that keeps a discourse coalition together. The reproduction of a discursive order is then found in the reutilization of the cognitive commitments that are implicit in these story-lines" (65). Discourse plays a structuring role, framing the way players understand a problem. At the same time, discourses are changed by players exercising their agency to pursue their interests. Hajer documents the different discourse coalitions that formed around acid rain, reflecting the different discursive means and institutional frameworks in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

144. Hambly, H. (1996) 'Grassroots indicators: measuring and monitoring environmental change at the local level'. *ILEIA Newsletter* 12(3):14-15.
Grassroots indicators are, 'measures or signals of environmental change formulated by individuals, households and communities and derived from local systems of observation, practice and indigenous knowledge' (Hambly and Onweng-Angura, 1996). These indicators are based on accrued local knowledge of the environment and are used in local decision-making for the allocation of resources and land management procedures. This article considers the use of grassroots indicators in enabling farmers to discuss with scientists the patterns of environmental change which they experience and upon which they may base their economic, social and cultural activities.
The possibilities and problems involved in the aggregation of such grassroots indicators and the scaling up the data to higher levels where they can be included in watershed or regional data sets are briefly mentioned.

145. Hambly, H. and T.O. Angura, (eds.) (1996) *Grassroots Indicators for desertification: experience and perspectives from eastern and Southern Africa*. Otawa: IDRC.
Conventional measures and standards associated with the planning , monitoring and evaluation of research and development projects have tended to be dominated by Euro-American scientific perceptions of environmental and development change using 'top-down' approaches to data collection and analysis.
This document comprises of research findings presented at a conference in Uganda that maintain that grassroots environmental indicators, 'measures of environmental quality or change formulated by individuals, households and communities and derived from their local systems of observation, practice and indigenous knowledge' are in fact critical for local-level evaluation and reporting on environmental change. One of the reasons given for focusing on grassroots indicators is to transform what are commonly referred to as 'proxy indicators' or field level indicators identified and applied by outsiders, and often regarded as inferior to 'scientific' indices. The documents in this book argue the case that grassroots indicators can in fact be a far more powerful tool to identify environmental change than these proxy indicators.
The research studies presented provide a wide range of examples of grassroots indicators and show how they can serve to augment national and regional environmental monitoring systems, both temporally and spatially and how through them local people can collaborate with scientists and researchers to improve desertification and drought indices.

146. Hartley, J. (1996) 'Organisational Change'. In P. Warr (ed.), *Psychology at Work*. London: Penguin.

This literature review provides a brief summary of some of the thinking on organisational change generated through the discipline of organisational psychology. Hartley begins by briefly reviewing stakeholder analysis, as many considerations of organisational change forget that people situated differently in organisations experience change differently. She then presents as typology of organisational change on two axes: incremental vs. transformational change, and; scope of change, from the whole organisation, to subsystems of the organisation. She notes that incentives for organisational change come from four types of external pressures: political, economic, social (i.e. higher expectations from a service's users), and technological. Environmental factors can often impose time pressure on an organisation to change quickly, which affects the degree to which the change will be top-down or participatory.

Transformational change involves substantial alteration to the purposes, structure, or culture of the organisation. Leadership has an important role in change. Strategic management of change requires leaders to analyse the environment and resources, values, and capacities of the organisation, to make choices between courses of action, and then to implement them partially or fully. At all points, psychology can offer insights into the ways that the perceptions, cognition, values, and group interactions amongst leaders can affect their behaviour at each of these stages.

Changing the culture of the organisation may also be desirable. Psychologists are hired to help design such processes of change. Problems included achieving changes in behaviour without achieving change in underlying attitude, and also encountering resistant sub-cultures within organisations. Hartley reports that experience shows that around five years is necessary to achieve cultural change in large organisations.

Hartley reviews four influential theories of organisational change. The first is Lewis' (1951) model, in which change is conceptualised as three stages: unfreezing, change, freezing. Organisations are seen as resting at an equilibrium and for change to occur, the balance between forces for the status quo and for change must be shifted. Hartley argues that the influence of this model testifies to the theoretical vacuum about organisational change. The second theory is organisational development, which builds on Lewis' ideas. It is defined as a "top-management-supported long-range effort to improve an organisation's problem-solving and renewal process." Hartley is harsh on OD, arguing that it is overly normative, and more of a framework with a commitment to human interaction and participatory management than a theorised discipline. Hartley also reviews systems theory, emphasising its advantage in drawing out the relation of an organisation to its environment, and showing that change in one area of an organisation can affect other seemingly unrelated areas. Finally, she considers theories of power and organisational change. She says that this school draws attention to the negotiated nature of change. She also says that textbooks do not acknowledge the practice of coercive organisational change, yet it happens frequently with mixed results.

147. Hill, M. (1997) *The Policy Process in the Modern State*, London: Prentice Hall.

This useful textbook surveys a number of main theoretical currents in political scientists' understanding of policy processes. The book presents three main theoretical perspectives on policy processes. The first is pluralism, a theoretical

perspective which views policy as emerging from popular demands. The second set of structuralist perspectives represent policy processes as the outcome of environmental, technological, economic, demographic, and other such forces external to the political system. Theoretical schools in this category include structuralists, and structural Marxists. A third main stream of theorising about policy processes analyses the role of actors within government in creating policy outcomes.
Hill argues that although it is important to understand the crucial linkages between policy decisions and all the steps through implementation, for analytical purposes it is useful to separate the policy process into stages. The author begins by reviewing literature on policy making. Hill presents literature which puts forward arguments about the best way to make good policies, arguing for a rational approach to policy making. He also reviews literature with a less openly prescriptive agenda that emphasises the role of politics rather than rationality in explaining policy outcomes.
Drawing on further literature, he presents two distinct perspectives for studying the implementation process. The first, the 'top down' approach, begins with policies and identifies the way policy implementation falls short of the ideal. The 'bottom up' approach views policy as emerging from the actions and interests of the implementing institutions, so provides a very different view of the implementation process.
The next chapter presents a view of policy processes as an organising process. Hill first presents Weberian organisational theory. He then reviews literature on inter-organisational theory. He concludes the chapter by briefly reviewing the New Public Management in relation to policy processes.
Hill reviews literature on bureaucrats and professionals. He explores literature on the links between individual values and bureaucratic organisation

148. Hinchcliffe, F., J. Thompson, J. Pretty, I. Guijt, et al., (eds.) (1999) *Fertile Ground: the impacts of participatory watershed management.* London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
Based on twenty three wide-ranging case studies from around the world, this book investigates the economic, environmental and social impact of participatory watershed management programmes and resource conservation programmes.
Six categories of change were examined in the twenty three research sites: sustained increases in agricultural productivity, decreases in resource degradation, increases in local resilience (i.e. livelihood security) and decreases in vulnerability, increase in autonomy and capacity of local groups and organisations, replication in non-programme sites and changes in the operational procedures and institutional norms of external support agencies and the attitudes and behaviour of development professionals.
A framework of 'sustainability indicators' for assessing impacts in these categories and a participatory research process for applying it were used by the research teams. Participatory Rural Appraisal methods were used in many of the studies.
The average length of time over which most teams were able to assess the performance of the participatory programmes was seven years and few teams had access to quality baseline information from which they could measure trends and changes from the past to the present. Therefore, the studies relied on much secondary data (e.g. official programme reports, government reports, consultants studies etc.) and consultations with a wide range of knowledgeable local actors in order to understand pre-and post-intervention changes.

149. Hoben, A. (1995) 'Paradigms and politics: The cultural construction of

environmental policy in Ethiopia'. *World Development* 23(6):1007-1021.
In the wake of the 1985 famine, the Ethiopian government launched an ambitious programme of environmental reclamation supported by donors and non government organisations and backed by the largest food for work program in Africa. In retrospect, it is clear that much of this effort was wasted or counterproductive. The long and short term soil conservation benefits of the structures and trees are uncertain. Farmers have been unwilling to construct or maintain structures without food for work or coercion, and many of the structures have fallen into disrepair. Most community woodlots have been harvested or destroyed. While many factors contributed to the reclamation program's poor performance, the author is primarily concerned with the role of a neo-Malthusian environmental policy narrative that was used by government and donors alike to justify the rapid, massive and widespread use of standardised environmental management 'packages' without research on their environmental impact or their economic costs and benefits. Understanding the context in which this happened is important for key elements of the narrative still inform thinking and planning in Ethiopia. There is mounting evidence that the use of narratives in this type of environmental management programs and, more generally, in many other types of development planning is widespread and costly.

150. Hoggett, P. and R. Hambleton (1987*) Decentralisation and democracy. Localising public services.* Localising public services occasional paper No. 28, School for Advanced Urban Studies.
Drawing on a wide literature as well as insights from good practice, this book suggests that public sector bureaucracies should do more than learn from the practice of successful private sector firms. Much more attention needs to be given to the democratisation of public services. In their introduction, the editors of this volume make an important distinction between the decentralisation and the democratisation of services. They regard one approach as essentially "consumerist" in form and the other as essentially "collectivist". Consumerist approaches clearly resonate with and draw upon many of the developments in the private sector, hence their attractiveness not only to all shades of political opinion but to public sector managers also. By focusing on the efficiency and effectiveness (i.e. responsiveness and accessibility) of services they tend to use a "neighbourhood concept" as a vehicle or catalyst for bringing about greater managerial delegation, a reintegration of divided services and functions, improved management information systems and more consistent client or customer awareness. As such they do provide the basis for more local and extended forms of accountability but the one need not necessarily follow from the other. In contrast, collectivist orientations give primary emphasis to the democratisation of local government service provision. The question of public control over planning and the delivery of services is placed much more firmly on the agenda alongside concerns relating to responsiveness.
Given the nature of many government services, and particularly the fact that they are consumed collectively, the editors argue that the two aims of decentralisation and democratisation are inextricably linked. It is quite possible for a service providing bureaucracy to be highly responsive (and hence successful) but quite undemocratic. On the other hand, it is perfectly possible for a service providing organisation to be highly democratic (with worker/consumer management boards etc) and yet lack organisational structures and procedures which would enable it to respond effectively to concerns and needs. Decentralisation can be used to extend local democracy as well as improve service responsiveness. Crucially, a shift to new forms of local

accountability requires a strong commitment of political will.

151. Hoggett, P. (1987) *Going beyond a "rearrangement of the deckchairs" some practical hints for councillors and managers*. Decentralisation and democracy. Localising public services, Occasional paper No 28, School for Advanced Urban Studies, University of Bristol, UK, ed. P. Hoggett and R. Hambleton.
Based on historical studies of many public sector organisations in the UK, the author argues that many senior and specialist staff have tended to introduce forms of decentralisation that leave them untouched along with the paternalism of bureaucracies. However, real delegation requires a fundamental break with the management structures and practices which characterise most bureaucracies. It requires a fundamentally different approach to, among other things, financial control, staff development, recruitment and service evaluation. If real change is intended then organisational decentralisation must mean fewer managers, flatter hierarchies and a shift towards more self-managing and self- monitoring units. However, it is quite possible for an organisation to change its structures and procedures quite radically yet leave the style and culture (i.e. the values, attitudes, assumptions and behaviours of workers and managers) relatively untouched. The author describes some methods and principles for changing the culture of an organisation through training based approaches:
i) Training is vital but one must also recognise its limitations
ii) Above all it is necessary to go beyond the idea of training which involves taking individuals out of their work situation to be placed on a course. Real organisational change can only be achieved if the trainer works with whole groups of people of individuals who work together-neighbourhood teams, layers of middle management, the top management team
iii)The change agent needs to work "vertically" through the organisation as well as horizontally. Only by getting different levels of the organisation together can "truth be spoken to power".
iv)Training is often a useful vehicle through which people can acquire a new set of values. But one needs not just to change workers "espoused theory", one also has to tackle their "theory in use" which may be quite different.
v) The change agent needs to be considered as a kind of trouble shooter or trained subversive. Her essential role is to be disturbing, to force workers and managers to reflect critically on their own behaviour, to keep them on their toes so that they do not fall back on their old ways. They must have the personal capacity to be disturbing, confronting and yet also supportive. They will need support themselves. Moreover, it is vital that they have the backing of members and senior managers otherwise they will soon become marginalised.
vi) If organisations are serious about changing rather than tinkering with their structures then they must give time and priority to non-task oriented forms of training i.e. training for cultural change.

152. Holland, J. and J. Blackburn, (eds.) (1998) *Whose Voice? Participatory research and policy change*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
In recent years there has been a quiet revolution in policy analysis. The increasing use of PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) and related participatory approaches by NGOs, governments and multinational agencies has opened up new ways in which policy can be influenced by those who are poor, weak, marginalised and excluded. Participatory policy analysis questions conventional policy making procedures,

challenges the behaviour and attitudes of policymakers and influences the style and substance of policy itself. *Whose Voice?* demonstrates the far-reaching implications of this quiet revolution for the development sector and examines the issues that need to be addressed in order to increase the effectiveness, sustainability and acceptability of future participatory policy-focussed research.
The book incorporates the findings of an international workshop on PRA and Policy held at the Institute of Development Studies in 1996, presenting the case studies and discussion of practitioners, policy makers and academics in an easily digestible three part structure:
* Part 1 explores case studies in which participatory methods and approaches have been used to influence policy
* Part 2 concentrates on PPAs (Participatory Poverty Assessments), an innovative approach designed to bring local poverty and policy analysis into the policy process
* Part 3 discusses key issues arising during the IDS workshop, and includes chapters by several participants. [original abstract]

153. Holling, C.S. (1993) 'Investing in research for sustainability'. *Ecological Applications* 3(4):552-555.
In many cases of renewable resource management, success in managing a target variable for sustained production of food or fibre leads to an ultimate pathology of more brittle and vulnerable ecosystems as well as more rigid and unresponsive bureaucracies.. Recognising that science, policy and management are inextricably linked, the author argues that sustainable natural resource management should be based on the following emerging concepts, methods and technologies:
1. Problems are essentially systems problems where aspects of behaviour are complex and unpredictable and where causes, while at times simple (when finally understood), are always multiple. Therefore interdisciplinary and integrated modes of inquiry are needed for understanding. And understanding (not complete explanation) is needed to form policies.
2. Problems are fundamentally nonlinear in causation and are characterised by discontinuous behaviour in both space and time. Therefore the concepts that are useful come from nonlinear dynamics and theories of complex systems. Policies that rely exclusively on social and economic adaptation to smoothly changing and reversible conditions lead to reduced options, limited potential and perpetual surprise.
3. Analysis should focus on the interactions between slow phenomena and fast ones and monitoring should focus on long term, slow changes in structural variables. The approach needed is not only interdisciplinary, it is cross scale since natural planetary processes are coupling over time and space with the human, economic, and trade linkages that are evolving among increasingly interdependent nations.
4. Both the ecological and social components of these problems have an evolutionary character. The problems are therefore not amenable to solutions based on knowledge of small parts of the whole, nor on assumptions of constancy or stability of fundamental relationships, ecological, economic or social. Such assumptions produce policies and science that contribute to a pathology of rigid and unseeing institutions and increasingly brittle natural resource management systems. Therefore, the focus best suited for the natural science components is evolutionary, for economics and organisational theory is learning and innovation, and for policies is actively adaptive designs that yield understanding as much as they do product.

154. Holmberg, J., (ed.) (1992) *Policies for a Small Planet*. London: Earthscan.

This book, from the International Institute for Environment and Development, tackles issues relating to sustainable development. It begins by approaching a definition of sustainable development that includes biological, social and economic systems. The following chapters by different authors tackle various areas or sectors in which changes are needed in order to achieve sustainable development. These are: organisations; economic policy; agriculture; urban; industry; forestry; drylands; energy; finance and population. The chapter on organising for change looks at the role of democracy, governance and organisational frameworks and structures in promoting or preventing participation. Mechanisms for achieving participation include guaranteed civil and political rights, freedom of information, empowerment through appropriate education, awareness raising and skill training.
The sections on agriculture and on drylands stress the need for recognition of traditional agricultural institutions and local knowledge. There are also calls for new approaches to research, training and extension that gives priority to farmers needs and views.

155. Howes, M., D. Banu, Z. Hoque and Z. Islam (1991) 'Rapid Rural Appraisal field training and research exercise: including an assessment of the impact of a BRAC deep tubewell group'. Assessment workshop report, Dakar, Bangladesh: BRAC.
This document reports on an assessment made of the impact of deep tubewells in Chandipur Village. Various PRA techniques were used including impact flow charts drawn by villagers which revealed both negative and positive impacts of the tube well. The impact diagrams were drawn by starting with the positive impacts of the wells and worked from the first primary effect through to its secondary and tertiary consequences and repeated until all positive effects had been identified. This was then repeated for negative.. Charts were drawn by different groups and when compared revealing that some of the environmental effects were experienced by all the households and others more specifically on particular constituencies. For example, an increase in irrigation had led to a decrease in possibilities for fishing which had a particularly negative effect upon the diet and income of relatively poorer households. Potential future problems were also highlighted such as, the hardening of certain soils in the command area that was thought to have occurred as a result of irrigation and that was feared might lead to a long term decline in per unit land productivity.

156. Howes, M. and C. Roche (1995) 'A participatory organizational appraisal of ACORD'. *PLA Notes* 22:69-73.
The article describes an experiment in using PRA tools to carry out a participatory appraisal of the Agency for Co-operation and Research in Development (ACORD). Initially conceptualised as a means for familiarising headquarters staff with PRA tools being used in field operations, the process evolved to become an early step in a strategic planning process. Over two days, PRA tools were adapted to conduct analysis both of the internal conditions of the agency, and their relationship with outside agencies. The workshop improved mutual understanding amongst staff, gave staff insights into the activities of their colleagues, and gave members of staff a better understanding of PRA. There were limitation, as some PRA tools were more easily adapted to the organisational setting than others. Also, there was some difficulty because of the competing goals of learning to use the tools for the first time and attempting to produce useful outputs.

157. Howes, M. (1998) 'The National development Foundation Small Tank

Renovation Programme'. Working Paper, Bern: Intercooperation.
This case study reports on an investigation into the effects of the National Development Foundation's (NDF) small tank renovation activities in Kurunegala, where been active since 1984, on poverty levels, gender relations and grass roots institutional development. A participatory methodology to project work was introduced in 1988 following a project review. This impact study was carried out in three villages: a low caste and a mixed caste village where a participatory approach was facilitated by the Intercooperation Self-Help Support Programme and a high caste community where a more conventional approach was used.
Data was collected using both information available from project files and the knowledge and recollections of field staff as well as a series of exercises using PRA techniques. The document reports on some of the difficulties experienced in using PRA methods for the impact assessment, including a difficulty in attracting women to take part in the PRA exercises, an unwillingness on the part of participants to divulge culturally sensitive information, difficulty in recall, a tendency to give answers that it was perceived the team wanted to hear and the management of the sheer volume of data required to build up a sufficiently comprehensive picture of the issues under investigation.
The most serious problems arose in the initial study in Bedigrama, a relatively remote and low caste village, where people appeared somewhat insecure about communicating with outsiders. Their fears and uncertainty about the assessment team were exacerbated by an initial failure to call a community meeting and additional difficulty was created by the presence of a foreigner which inevitably served to raise expectations that some further intervention was about to take place, and proved something of a distraction. Moreover, team members competent at administering standard questions, lacked ability to adapt and re-design in the light of emerging circumstances and showed limited capacity to 'interview diagrams' and probe.
The results of the study are presented and suggest that the participatory style is more likely to prove successful where villages are not divided by caste, class or faction. Other factors that could have affected the relative success or failure in the various villages are listed, including a greater degree of previous contact with external agencies, quality, popularity and representativeness of the *grama niladhari*, level of access to outside employment opportunities, smaller size of bunds and less demanding nature of task of renovation etc.

158. Huizer, G. (1999) *Peasant mobilization for land reform: historical case studies and theoretical considerations*. Discussion Paper No. 103, Geneva: UNRISD.
In this paper, more or less successful past social mobilisations for the promulgation of agrarian reform laws and their implementation are examined in roughly chronological order, from the early experience of Mexico, Russia, China and Japan to Bolivia, Cuba, Indonesia and Zimbabwe. Cases where effective reforms did not come about, such as the Philippines, Brazil and India, are also considered.
Generalising from the case studies, it seems that a certain level of frustration incites peasants to risk building or joining a peasant organisation. Comparison of the different case study areas where important regional or nation-wide movements began reveals that they were not the poorest, most marginalised agricultural areas but those where 'development' had created growing discrepancies. Another characteristic shared by these areas was that they were not isolated - most of them had access to a city - and were less rigidly traditional and feudal than other areas. They also tended to be densely populated.

The first steps toward peasant organisation were often taken by peasants who wanted to solve a specific problem or deal with a concrete grievance. A real impulse was often achieved, however, when those who were in a position to solve the problem or to respond to the grievance were not willing to do so. This forced the peasants to become more aware of their frustration. This rigidity of the power-holders was often motivated by fear that by giving in to requests from below, the status quo would be in danger.

Once a peasant organisation had come into existence, a process of consolidation and of gaining strength generally followed. It seems that the availability of charismatic, or solidarity-inspiring, leadership among the peasants was highly important in getting an organisation to the point where it could confront elites. Cases of abuse were presented to the courts, and mass demonstrations and public meetings were held to support petitions for justice or land. Continuous frustration, often encountered during the slow course of legal procedure, prepared the ground for more radical peasant action such as peaceful or symbolic occupation or invasion of lands considered to be expropriable.

There is considerable evidence regarding the obstacles to peasant mobilisation. Certain strategies used by large landowners, often with state support, to prevent peasants from organising included the firing of agricultural workers or the eviction of tenants who were potential or actual leaders and who took the initiative to organise their peers. If such actions did not result in preventing an organisation from emerging, the assassination of the most important leader(s) has in a number of cases tried to block the organisational process.

In most cases of social mobilisation land redistribution was the strongly desired objective. This was especially so in areas where the creation or extension of large *latifundios* or plantations, through usurpation of land belonging to local or indigenous peasants, had occurred. The more recent the despoliation and usurpation, the more strongly felt was the injustice. It was then generally some form of direct action from the peasants which made it clear beyond doubt to the authorities, as well as to the vested interests and landholding groups, that peasant demands were serious. There are abundant examples where effective reform measures were won by militant peasant organisations through such direct action approaches. This happened frequently with severe risks for social and political stability and occasionally at the cost of many lives, particularly on the side of the peasants.

Recapitulating the strategic aspects of peasant mobilisation, one could say that initially the means used to present the demands were generally moderate: petitions, lawsuits, and complaints to the courts or the labour inspector. But wherever peasants had some organising experience or could count on support from people with such experience, more radical demands, such as land reform, emerged. After meeting with the intransigence or even violence of landed elites, an escalation of these demands occurred, generally accompanied by an escalation of the means used to exert pressure for them. Direct action then became a frequently used approach and land invasions, generally explicitly peaceful and non-violent, were an expression of this. Violence generally came from the landlords' or government's side in this process of escalation. Consistent use of the non-violent strategy thus could bring peasants into revolutionary action because of the intransigence and rigidity of elites.

Once land reform was effectively being implemented, the role of peasant organisations took various forms. An important function played by peasant organisations in the process of land distribution was to fill the vacuum created by the disappearance of the large landowner as the central figure in or behind the local government and power structure. There were many indications that where a peasant

organisation played a role in the distribution of land and the preceding struggle, post-reform measures and programmes, such as the formation of co-operatives or credit societies, could be carried out more easily. Local leadership had considerable experience both in dealing with official agencies and in harnessing support from the members.
It is remarkable that in the increasingly abundant literature over the years on rural development and on non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as part of the growing interest in the role of "civil society", hardly any attention is paid to the kind of militant rural organisations created by underprivileged people on their own behalf - such as peasant or tenant unions. Mainstream scholars in the rural development field have only gradually and partially learned to appreciate the tremendous political potential of peasants to mobilise for radical reform.

159. Hussein, K. (1998) *Conflict between farmers and herders in the semi-arid Sahel and East Africa: a review*. IIED Pastoral Land Tenure Series No. 10.
This study is concerned with the relationship between crop farmers and livestock keepers in semi-arid Africa, a subject that has been the subject of academic and development policy interest ever since colonial rule in Africa (see Webb 95).
The generally held perception is that conflict between the two has increased, especially since the droughts of the 1970s and 1980s, the result of changing patterns of use and competition for resources and the breakdown of "traditional" mechanisms governing resource management and conflict resolution.
This study assesses whether these claims of increasing conflict are valid when considered in relation to the evolution of relations between these groups over time, based on a review of interviews with individual farmers and herders recorded by various researchers using oral history research methods.
The document also cites evidence from an analysis of poetry by Rirash (1992) as a vehicle for understanding conflicts in pastoral Somalia. Oral history provides a key historical record among Somali herder groups, with poets having a duty to represent historical events relevant to their clans in their poetry and to address vital community concerns. The poetry not only reveals the key principles held by herder clans that may lead them into violence but also as it is passed down through the generations and it therefore, has the potential to reveal historical trends. Although it does not supply numerical data on past conflicts, increasing references to conflict in clan poetry after the introduction of colonialism is a strong indication that violent conflict has increased since then.
The review concludes that, "assertions of increasing conflict between farmers and herders are often not backed by detailed historical analysis" and that neither hypothesis can be substantiated. No generalisations can be made as conflict is often localised. What the evidence would suggest though is that there has been a fluctuating pattern in the relationship between the two groups with relationships normally changing between co-operation, competition and conflict.

160. IDS Workshop Participants (1998) ‘Reflections and recommendations on scaling-up and organizational change’. In J. Blackburn and J. Holland (eds.), *Who changes? Institutionalizing participation in development.* London: Intermediate Technology Group.
The lessons learned from the diverse cases presented in parts 1 and two of the edited volume about the dangers and optimal conditions for scaling-up, and the requirements needed for better practice in the future, are in many ways strikingly similar. This

chapter presents a synthesis of the discussions held on scaling up and organisational change at the IDS workshop held in May 1996. For practitioners and policy-makers considering a scaling-up strategy, this chapter is highly recommended. It summarises key lessons and recommendations from the combined effort of some of the most experienced and knowledgeable people in this field.

The chapter begins by considering three enabling conditions which the workshop participants agreed are needed to ensure maximum success in the scaling-up of participatory approaches: a policy context in which democratisation and decentralisation are genuinely embraced as necessary governance reforms; the support of high-level government figures; and the existence of an in-country critical mass of people with training experience. Certain danger of rapid scaling-up are then pin-pointed, notably reutilization, duplication and abuse in the application of PRA and related methodologies. Recommendations are, consequently, made for quality PRA training and field practice to overcome cascade training, and to include transparency as a general principle in PRA practice, as well as honouring commitments, and the production of user-friendly documentation and other way of recording experience, are all explored. The chapter offers a list of recommendations, agreed upon by the workshop participants, for communities and local groups, NGOs an donor involved in the implementation of participation projects. It also suggests a strategy for people involved in shifting organisations towards adopting participatory approaches.

161. IDS Workshop Participants (1998) 'Towards a learning organisation: making developmental agencies more participatory from the inside'. In J. Blackburn and J. Holland (eds.), *Who changes? Institutionalizing participation in development*. London: Intermediate Technology Group.

As more organisations are implementing 'participatory' projects, they are being forced to re-examine their internal systems, structures, procedures and values, which are often not participatory. To successfully take a participatory approach to development work, organisations need more than a training programme. They need to change: the personal skills and attributes of their staff; procedures; and systems and structures.

Staff need to develop the ability to listen and engage in dialogue and mutual learning. They need to develop reflexivity. This means staff must develop critical self-awareness, and the ability to recognise their mistakes and learn from them. Individuals also need to develop a vision of participatory development, and their role in it.

Procedures must change in a variety of ways. The focus must be on process, not only products. That means changing the time scale in which projects are conceived. New incentive mechanisms must be developed to reward 'participatory' behaviour, both within the organisation and in the field. The incentive system should be developed with the input of staff. Creative and fun mechanisms for sharing experience within departments in the organisation is key. Creative documentation of field experience, and innovative means for sharing it, will help staff in the organisation to learn from one another. Organisations must also open themselves by different stakeholders, including the communities they serve.

Systems and structures is a third area where organisations must change. Small learning units, in which people connected in loose networks cutting across departments, have a high learning potential. Rigid pre-set budgets must give way to more flexible accounting procedures, in which the number of people entrusted to make budgetary decisions is broadened, it is made easier to move money from one

line item to another, and it is possible to roll unspent balances forward. Organisations must also strive to develop downwards accountability as well as upwards, requiring a high level of trust between members of the organisation and the clients they serve. The idea of flat management, based on Japanese experience, also provides a helpful model. Communication across hierarchies in the company is made as easy as possible, allowing faster adaptation and broadening the responsibility for innovation to include all staff members.

162. IDS Workshop Participants (1998) 'Participation, policy change and empowerment'. In J. Holland and J. Blackburn (eds.), *Whose Voice? Participatory research and policy change*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
Participation jargon pervades the development community. The challenge highlighted in this chapter is to ensure that the principles of participation are not lost as the language of participation becomes institutionalised. It is important to consider (i) who can be empowered by participatory policy-focussed research; and (ii) in what circumstances certain groups are empowered. Participation is examined both as a process, and as a product, and some thoughts on promoting PRA best practice in policy focussed research are offered.

163. IIED (1992) 'Special edition on applications of wealth ranking'. *RRA notes* 15.
This special edition of RRA notes focuses on wealth and well-being ranking as means to identify the poor and the poorest of the poor. The process of wealth ranking by card sorting is described and case studies of where wealth and well-being ranking have been used for various purposes are presented. Included in the case studies is an example of the use of wealth ranking in the Gambia to evaluate technology testing initiatives that revealed that in neither of the villages where the evaluation had been carried out had the poorest compounds been involved in the testing of agricultural technologies.
Issues surrounding the use of wealth ranking and other methods to identify the poor are reflected on, such as the need for sensitivity.

164. IIED (1997) 'Valuing the hidden harvest: methodological approaches for local-level economic analysis of wild resources'. *Sustainable Agriculture Programme Research Series* 3(4).
Many natural resource management policies and projects affect wild resources and their habitats, yet fail to consider their full contribution to local people's livelihood strategies. This can be seen in part as a result of a lack of appropriate methods available for local level economic assessments.
Based on the experiences of the *Hidden Harvest* research programme this document presents examples from the five research sites in Zimbabwe, Botswana, Brazil, Nigeria and Papua New Guinea of methodologies that can be used to capture the hidden values of such products. The methodologies used seek local level perspectives on economic questions about resource values and incentives by bringing together the two fundamentally different methodological traditions of participatory research and economics.
An understanding of the value of wild resources requires some information on their availability and importance over time and also an exploration of sustainability issues, as one years harvest will not be representative of what happens on average, while the average may conceal repeated movements between very low and high amounts. The

paper includes descriptions of how the methods from the two traditions were used to examine such change over time, including the use of trend analysis, historical mapping, transects and interviews with community elders.
Drawing on the case studies and other similar research the paper examines specifically the methodological complementarities between the two research approaches and gives examples of how economics and participatory research can be used in various ways together. Assessing historical trends and fluctuations was found to be an area of the study where considerable complementarity was found between PRA and economics.

165. IIED (1999) 'Land tenure and resource access in West Africa: Issues and opportunities for the next twenty-five years'. Report. London: IIED.
This report reviews common issues concerning land tenure and access to resources in West Africa. Policies regarding land tenure and resource access are of great significance for assuring the sustainable management and use of West Africa's natural resources. The region is very diverse in terms of ecology, history and socio-economic setting, stretching from the coastal forest zones to the deserts in the north. Recent decades have brought many changes: urban growth, population increase, migration, and access to new markets and technologies have exerted major pressures on land. The report discusses key policy areas to be addressed by governments, donors and civil society to ensure best use of land, equitable access and minimisation of conflict. Ways forward include decentralisation and devolution of powers and responsibilities, clarification of customary and statutory tenure systems, encouraging debate at local, national and sub-regional levels, evolving mechanisms for conflict resolution, innovative approaches to land registration, and supporting local institutions for land and resource management.

166. ILEIA (1996) 'Tracking change: indicators to assess a moving target (editorial)'. *ILEIA Newsletter* 12(3):4-6.
Special edition of ILEIA notes focusing on ways to understand, document and demonstrate impact on the environment. The case studies presented indicate the complex nature of interpreting environmental change, owing to the fact that different stakeholders perceive reality according to their own world view and that perception of environmental degradation may vary even between individuals within a given stakeholder group as a result of socio-economic, religious, gender or age group differences.

167. Irwin, A. (1995) *Citizen science. A study of people, expertise and sustainable development.* London: Routledge.
This book addresses matters of environmental threat and sustainability from the perspective of science and citizenship. The author avoids simplistic "pro" and "anti" science stance on science, and discusses instead the relationship between scientific understanding and the different ways in which people make sense of environmental concerns. Having conducted a critical discussion of the relationship between science and environmental policy making, the author considers the existence of more contextual forms of knowledge and understanding. Current discussions of the public understanding of science tend to dismiss these citizen expertises as uninformed or irrational. The author argues that such forms of expertise are essential to the process of sustainable development-not least because of the challenge they offer to scientific institutions and bureaucracies.

After discussing various models and social experiments intended to produce a more effective and open relationship between science, technology and citizen concerns, the author considers the bare elements of what a citizen science might involve. Citizen science implies a "meeting point" between different forms of knowledge and understanding. It also implies the possibility of cross-fertilisation within a diverse area of different knowledges. Especially for the science-based bureaucracies and institutions, it will involve change but also reflexivity in the face of social pressures. Citizen science thus implies the recognition of new social and knowledge relations which are:

i. willing to engage with non-scientifically generated understandings and expertises.

ii. heterogeneous in form rather than trying to impose a unitary consensus. A plurality of knowledges forms must be recognised and built upon

iii. prepared to engage with the problem situations which give rise to citizen concerns rather than merely attempting to filter out science from noon science. Citizen concerns will not fall easily in established academic categories

iv. reflexive in terms of the uncertainties and limitations but also the constructive possibilities of science in everyday life

v. institutionally flexible and open to change. Progress cannot be made without the support of powerful bureaucracies and institutions- but they must also be prepared to reconsider and transform their own practices.

Written at a time when knowledge claims are increasingly challenged, this book emphasises new possibilities for re-negotiation and change in the environmental knowledge that legitimates the interventions, organisational culture and policies of science-based bureaucracies.

168. Ison, R. (2000) ‘Experience, tradition and service? Institutionalized R&D in the rangelands’. In R. Ison and D. Russell (eds.), *Agricultural extension & rural development: breaking out of traditions*. Cambridge University Press

This chapter describes a study in New South Wales Western division Australia exploring the nature of the task of "extension" and the relationship between the ethos, the structures and the culture of organisations and the way in which officers felt they could do their jobs.

The author begins by discussing the concepts of "organisation", "institution" and "structure". Institutions are generally perceived as the "rules of the game", and organisations as groups of individuals bound by such rules or a common purpose. Organisations differ from structures in that an organisation is a set of relationships between components which constitute a recognisable whole. These relationships must be maintained to maintain the system. The structure of a system, on the other hand, is the current set of components and relationships through which the organisation of a system is manifest in particular surroundings.

The themes that emerged from the interviews and the relationships between the various actors involved in the organisation are explored. The main areas of resistance emerging from the interviews were that past and present organisations have created a dependency culture in the rangelands and that there is a need for more "co-learning" and working together in community based activities. The concern is raised that there is no debate around the central issue of extension as technology transfer.

The author concludes that the current organisations and structures are inappropriate for the effective control of rangeland R&D and that "what is missing is a theoretically and ethically valid framework from which to build relationships with major

stakeholders in such a way that the resulting organisation was adaptive to the biophysical characteristics of the semi-arid rangelands and its associated human activity" (p.17).

169. Jackson, C. (1997) 'Actor orientation and gender relations at a participatory project interface'. In A.M. Goetz (ed.), *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development*. London: Zed Books.
This article applies an actor-oriented perspective to institutional change. Jackson argues that the agency of individuals within organisations is an important factor in explaining how projects are implemented, regardless of official statements of policy. The role of individuals in organisations is important from a feminist perspective for two reasons: (1) agents who are averse to stated gender equity goals can subvert projects by using their room for manoeuvre, and; (2) women can manipulate projects to further women's goals even if the stated intent and orientation of projects do not appear to be conducive to furthering women's interests.
Jackson uses a case study from India, a participatory agricultural technology development project, funded by ODA, and implemented by the Hindustani Fertilizer Corporation. Jackson describes how a general statement of concern for gender equity allowed space for women in communities to use the project to further their interests. This outcome would seem unlikely from the start, due to the technical orientation of the implementing agency, and due to the uncertainty of the staff about gender issues. The general commitment of the agency to gender equity meant that project staff had to find co-operating women 'beneficiaries.' This gave women in the communities a certain amount of leverage. Jackson explains that
this project began with an emphasis on mainstreaming and moved towards targeted women's activities, and it began with access to agricultural technology but found itself supporting women's groups resisting domestic violence by direct action against offenders, and campaigning against alcohol by smashing equipment of distillers and vendors. Both these developments are rooted in the ability of fieldworkers and women at the project interface to refashion a project through their mutual interactions, compliance and resistance.
The actor oriented position taken in the article calls into question conventional dichotomies between top-down and bottom-up projects. It also credits women with agency for changing institutions which may be lost in more structural approaches.

170. Jackson, C. (1997) 'Sustainable development at the sharp end: field worker agency in a participatory project.' *Development in Practice* 7(3):237-247.
An actor-oriented approach is used to understanding the significance for policy and practice of field worker experience at the interface between project and people. It is set in the context of an Indian project which aims to reduce poverty through sustainable, participatory agricultural change, based on low cost inputs, catalysed by village based project staff. Diaries kept by such staff are analysed to reveal how the social position of field workers enables and constrains their interactions within and without the project, and the ways in which "street level bureaucrats" shape projects through discretionary actions. They show the Village Motivators struggling to communicate project objectives, to establish their roles and distinguish them-selves from other village level bureaucrats, to negotiate participation, to overcome hostility to Participatory Rural Appraisal, to arbitrate access to consultants and seniors, to interpret project objectives and lobby for changes in these without admission of failure, and finally to develop a shared vocabulary of participation and belief in

success. Some of the lessons learnt from the analysis of field workers diaries derive from an understanding of the social positioning of the village based field worker, and others are gained from the view of the field worker as subject interactively constructing the project around his or her own understandings and villagers own "projects", rather than as a project "implementor". The diaries show that it takes time to establish meaningful contact with poor villagers, and this process cannot be accelerated. It is not the case that the model of participation can be evolved in one place and then applied elsewhere much more quickly. The spread, expansion and scaling up of participation may well need as much time as the work in the original areas. Understanding the complexities of power and patronage in field worker experience indicates potential problems in the notion of a catalytic project, igniting participatory development and moving on to new areas, to include more people and places.

171. Jacobi, P. (1991) 'Descentralización municipal y participación ciudadana: anotaciones para el debate'. *Estudios Sociales Centroamericanos* 55(1):45-60.
Jacobi defines decentralisation as the possibility of broadening rights, the autonomy of municipal action, the everyday participation of the citizens in public action, and a more efficient use and redistribution of the scarce public resources. The author draws on the experience with decentralisation in Brazil to argue that the greatest challenge for the decentralisation process is to establish new rules to guide the relationship between the authorities and the population in general with the aim of increasing the instruments and channels of participation, and thus furthering the democratisation of the State and, more specifically, of the municipal government. The analysis, however, is mainly carried out at an abstract level, with few details about Brazil's experience and some mention of decentralisation in France, Spain and the United Kingdom. Jacobi distinguishes between the different interpretations of decentralisation by various political groups. He points out how neoliberal governments such as those of Pinochet, Thatcher and Reagan actually diminished the resources and authority of the local governments while supposedly acting within a framework of decentralisation. On the other hand, for "left wing sectors", decentralisation is conceived as a means to promote the socialisation of the working class and other progressive socio-economic transformations.
But differences in the conceptualisation of decentralisation are not restricted to an ideological debate. There are groups with specific interests who would either benefit or be damaged by the process. Among those who would benefit are: local politicians, social movements, local economic elites and government officials committed at the local level. While the central government officials, some political leaders, the big enterprises linked with the public administration and whoever stands to loose from the redistribution of duties would be among those who would oppose the process.
Jacobi devotes some detail to the analysis of participation within the process of decentralisation. He argues that the two should be seen as different objectives, but as complementary policies within a same process. Participation should be conceived as a continuation of the process of democratisation at the municipal level. Based on the Brazilian experience, he emphasises that within a context of social pressure and political polarisation it is essential that participation emerges within a constant process of interaction between the State and the citizens in which the administration promotes the extension of community action through the establishment of institutional mechanisms that recognise the citizen's rights. He believes that two main factors are necessary to make popular participation possible: the existence of popular

organisations with certain presence at the local level, and the holding of public positions within the municipal government by parties or individuals favourable to participation.
He emphasises the need for public administration to create mechanisms for the participation of the diverse social groups. However, he warns that the bureaucratic apparatus will tend to strongly resist new participatory initiatives since they will perceive them as a threat to the *modus operandi* of the *status quo*.
The author points out that there are no models of participation which could be replicated everywhere. But, successful experiences in European and Latin American municipalities (which he doesn't mention) can be useful as parameters for experimentation of participatory practices and procedures. However, participation should not be considered a panacea but only a concrete possibility to create a better distribution and use of scarce resources.

172. James, R. (1994) *Strengthening the capacity of Southern NGO partners*. INTRAC Occasional Paper Series No. 5, Oxford: INTRAC.
Strengthening the organisational capacity of Southern NGOs is currently being identified as a crucial development strategy by official and non-governmental development agencies alike. While many Northern NGOs have begun to develop their own particular approaches for strengthening the capacity of their partners, there has been no previous attempt to aggregate and analyse these experiences in a systematic way. This 6-month INTRAC research project provides an overview of different NGO approaches, including: changing the traditional roles in 'partnership'; using supportive financing methods; supporting management training; encouraging organisational development consultancy; providing management advisors- staff attachments; supporting the development of Southern networks; supporting Southern training centres.
The main conclusions of this research are that:
- Capacity-building is very popular at the moment, with 93% of agencies responding positively that they did implement capacity-building with partners.
- Despite the growth in interest and use of the vocabulary, NGOs have limited understanding of what capacity-building entails.
- NGOs pursue a variety of interrelated approaches, which are often implemented in a hybrid form. There are no blueprint strategies that work with all partners at all times.
- The two most popular methods that are used are providing institutional funding, and management training.
- Their nationality, size and mode of operation has some impact on the propensity of northern NGOs to support capacity-building. UK and Canadian NGOs tended to be more positive than other nationalities, and German agencies less so. Donor NGOs with field offices were more positive than donor NGOs without field offices.
- There are a variety of constraints on the successful implementation of capacity-building programmes: constraints of time, cost and staff skills in the north; NGO weaknesses, staff turnover, and communication problems with the South; and in the nature of the interventions themselves.
Capacity building is strategic, not just another sectoral programme. This work is complex; long-term; expensive in time and money; requires Southern ownership, not just acceptance; and is not a convenient exit route. This has significant implications for Northern NGOs wanting to get involved in capacity building. Capacity building affects the whole development direction of the Northern NGO and has significant implications for organisational systems, structure and skills.

- Evaluation of capacity-building programmes by NGOs is extremely limited and there is little evidence from the NGOs regarding the effectiveness of their approaches. This does not suggest that its impact is in fact limited, but that capacity building is difficult to evaluate and has not seriously been attempted by NGOs to date.
- There is therefore a need to develop organisational frameworks which can be used with indicators to facilitate evaluation of organisational change. Unless some definitions of success (organisational indicators) are developed there are no means to measure capacity building either qualitatively or quantitatively.
- There is a need for further field-based research to gain a Southern perspective on capacity-building approaches and make some independent assessment of their impact.
- Northern NGOs should apply capacity-building principles and practice within their own organisations. Furthermore, if they are going to get involved in capacity building of others then they need to develop the organisational understanding and skills to be able to direct and manage such programmes.

173. Jayakaran, R.I. (1996) *Facilitating attitude change in officials and professionals*. Presented at the 'South-South workshop on PRA Behaviour and Attitudes', Bangalore, India.

This brief article outlines the types of attitudes commonly found among professionals, the stages of change involved in those who have a positive attitudes and those who resist change, the required level of attitudinal change and the ways of facilitating attitudinal change in the context of PRA/PLA. Emphasis is put on changing individual's values, such as a reversal in attitudes to learning, openness, and trying to see things differently. Training strategies necessary for bringing about attitudinal change among professionals is discussed with reference to the World Vision of India's experience in PRA/PLA training.

174. Jeanrenaud, S.J. (1998) 'Can the leopard change its spots? Exploring people-oriented conservation within WWF', PhD, Norwich: University of East Anglia.

This thesis examines the new trend of people-oriented approaches to biodiversity conservation, and asks whether changes in conservation policy and practice constitute a "paradigm change", with reference to the activities of the World Wide Fund For Nature, the world's largest conservation organisation.

The author explores the hypothesis that international conservation organisations have shifted the legitimacy of their claims to the environment onto grounds of people-oriented conservation, making new policies and practices more refined forms of technocratic control of nature and people. The focus on WWF provides an opportunity to examine how particular institutionalised patterns of knowledge and power mediate global environmental planning and management.

Evidence for paradigm change within WWF is triangulated from three fields:

1. Policy Narratives. Three narratives rooted in different views of the "nature-people" problematic are identified. In the 1960s, WWF framed people as "the threat" to a spiritually charged nature, and advocated their removal from national parks and reserves. In the 1980s nature was reworked as "ecosystems" and "biodiversity", which gave scientists a much greater influence over environmental claims, and people were re-framed as "a resource" for its management. A common thread running through these changes is appeals to, and participation in "crisis narratives" of environmental degradation, which legitimise global conservation interventions. These contrast with conservation "counter-narratives" which have emerged since the beginning of the 1990s, and which rework concepts of nature, question old problems and articulate a

new social commitment which promotes human rights in environmental management as an end in itself.
2. Organisational structures. These are viewed as institutionalised patterns of environmental knowledge and power. It explores how WWF's origins; goals; decision-making structures, staff profile; alliances; and the mobilisation of resources reflect and help perpetuate a blend of particular scientific, socially privileged and neo-corporate business interests. As a competitive fundraising "business", the author shows how WWF manipulates particular images of nature and people for market advantage. However, well endowed fundraising strategies also help institutionalise and mediate patterns of environmental knowledge in the North. These reflexive patterns of power and knowledge reproduce "structured terrains" which resist new ways of thinking about people and nature. They help explain why the classic conservation paradigm has been so tenacious, and raise questions about democratic accountability in global environmental decision-making.
3. Field projects. The author examines how ideas of people-oriented conservation are translated in practice, and challenges some of the more populist assumptions of new conservation thinking. A review of contemporary forest conservation projects indicates that some 75% have social as well as conservation objectives, but that notions of "community", "local institutions", "livelihoods and participation" have been moulded by projects to serve conservation objectives. This reflects an instrumentalist tendency which sees people as intermediaries in international conservation as defined "from above".
Based on the review of 35 years of field and policy documents; an analysis of over 2000 WWF projects since 1961, an evaluation of 150 contemporary forest conservation projects, seven field case studies and a wide range of interviews, the author argues that there has not been a paradigm change within WWF policy and practice. Rather conservation has been adroit at co-opting the rhetoric of new approaches but without significant realignments of political, scientific and bureaucratic powers. However, in contrast to earlier autocratic conservation styles, many new projects and policy processes provide people with more "room for manoeuvre" in environmental decision making, and in many cases projects and local people manage to negotiate a middle ground of shared interests. The author concludes that, paradoxically, people-oriented conservation may be considered "double edged" progress. The very means for improving conservation practices may also reproduce subtle ways of co-opting local people. The current reflexive relationship between the imperatives of fundraising and conservation style, which help maintain the dominant paradigm, may finally prevent the "leopard from changing its spots".

175. Jennings, B.H. (1997) 'The killing fields: science and politics at Berkeley, California, USA'. *Agriculture and Human Values* 14: 259-271.
Over the past several decades, a group of scholars at the Berkeley campus of the University of California have frequently challenged many of the dominant themes of contemporary agricultural research. In their work, they have organised curricula questioning the assumptions of conventional agriculture and its sciences while encouraging the development of alternative agricultural practices based on the principles of ecology. Some of this research was geared to designing biological forms of pest control that enhanced farmer participation and household independence from suppliers of off-farm inputs such as chemical pesticides and genetically engineered pest control agents. The collective critique of these change agents in academia has stimulated an intellectual climate calling forth a scrutiny of the university's role in the

production of knowledge and the social consequences of its works. The result of this intellectual project has been a group that has also largely challenged the dominant themes of the modern university. In place of a setting where ideas are a passive currency, the modern university is a place where knowledge and power are manifest in a dialectic that is revealed not simply by the production of knowledge, but in its destruction as well. Pressure from agribusiness corporations and more conservative forces led to a reorganisation of the University of California and a political economy that transformed the production of knowledge to coincide with these interests. This has resulted in the gradual demise of a group of researchers at Berkeley who have endeavoured to provide an alternative vision of agriculture as well as knowledge and technologies supportive of more farmer centred, participatory development.

176. Jodha, N.S. (1998) *Waste lands management in India: myths, motives and mechanisms*. Presented at the 'National workshop on watershed approaches for managing degraded lands in India: challenges for the 21st Century', New Delhi, 27-29 April 1998.

The central focus of this paper is on the disregard of common property resources (CPR)-perspective by the successive public approaches for management or development of waste-lands (WL) in India. The indifference or inappropriateness is rooted in the very nomenclature (i.e. waste land), which not only disregards the economic and ecological contributions of these lands but also ignores the diversity of their potential and limitations, which local communities seem to know better than the macro level planners and policy makers. Moreover, the author argues that the lack of clear thinking behind the successive initiatives for WL development, insufficient attention to their institutional and equity aspects and failure to enforce regulatory measures have been the important gaps in public programmes for WL. However, learning from past mistakes the more recent approaches to WL or natural resource management have evolved in a positive direction and give higher priority to participatory approaches. The paper, while discussing the factors affecting participation, focuses on the importance of socio-economic and ecological diversities of WL, which obstruct the scaling-up of natural resource management. The author suggests a few steps to manage diversity-generated constraints against up-scaling of participation:

i) Choice of a small unit with sufficient flexibility and autonomy of decisions for local adaptive responses to specific conditions

ii) federating of units, which can be described as horizontal up-scaling of participation.

iii) expanding the range of primary stakeholders by integrating up-stream and down stream activities linked to the products of the natural resource management unit under consideration. e.g. extending the activities beyond biomass ,-crops, fodder, timber,- and adding agro-processing and other value adding activities to their resource management agenda (vertical up scaling of participation).

177. Joekes, S., C. Green and M. Leach (1996) *Integrating gender into environmental research and policy.* IDS Working paper No. 27, Brighton: IDS.

Many interventions in the environment sector have given women a role in environmental projects in the hope that this would facilitate resource conservation efforts as well as benefiting women themselves. But across a whole range of sub sectors (forestry, soil conservation, water, rangeland management, integrated pest management etc.), the authors of this paper argue that outcomes have often been

disappointing and sometimes damaging to women:

- women have often been treated as, in effect, a cheap source of labour, with little consideration as to whether the project really served their interests. Frequently the demands of a project merely added to women's already overextended workload, or required them to forsake some other activity.
- in cases where women were able to resist the attempt to commandeer their labour, projects often failed as a result
- women have usually been sidelined in the management of projects, once they come on stream, and rarely given any decision making powers, or responsibilities for high tasks in routine operations

The approach underlying past efforts to incorporate women in projects relied on a flawed conceptualisation of gender relations, hinging on the idea that men and women assumed gender roles that were unproblematically complementary to each other. This led policy makers to focus exclusively on women's subsistence roles, ignoring their market related activities and the dynamic interactions of men's and women's resource management roles and responsibilities; and to view women as an untapped pool of labour while in reality women's workload usually entailed diversion of effort to the project and carried an opportunity cost to them. It also tended to be assumed that participation in an environmental project would benefit women, without appreciating either that women might have no rights in the incremental resource so created, or that women's involvement with resource management might be a residual consequence of lack of access to more rewarding activities.

The authors indicate how recent research has arrived at a new understanding of the link between gender relations and environmental management which carries very different policy implications. The prime requirement is the understanding that men's and women's interests in and incentives for environmental conservation may be very different, largely because women have lesser property rights than men in environmental resources. Those rights are usually insecure, being embedded within and dependent on rights of male kin; and slight as they may be, they risk being undermined by interventions of any kind.

178. Johanssen, L. (1995) 'Reforming donor driven projects and state bureaucracies through PRA'. *Forests, Trees and People* 26/27:59-63.

Outlines the process of transforming RIPS, a Finnish funded bi-regional integrated rural development programme in Tanzania. An eighteen month process was planned to transform the programme's previous top-down blueprint approach to one based on mutual learning and action research together with local people. Participation and sustainability were the key requirements. The various stages of the process and the problems encountered are described. It is concluded that "the process demands attitude change from many, creativity from project staff, patience and commitment from local people, and some re-thinking of what projects are for from central authorities and donor agencies".

179. Jones, C. (1996) 'Venn diagrams: participatory appraisal "methods" paper'. Brighton: IDS.

This short paper provides an introduction to using Venn diagrams. Venn diagrams are used to study, "key institutions, organisations, and individuals, and their relationship with the local community or other group." Each institution is usually represented by a circle, whether cut from card, drawn on the ground. Stones or cow patties or any other local material may be used. The size of the circle is one dimension in which

differences between institutions can be indicated. The size is often used to measure which institutions are most "important" to local people. The cards are then arranged around a circle representing the community or other relevant institution, with distance indicating the amount of contact the institution has with the community. In some cases, circles are arranged to overlap with one another to indicate how much interaction or co-operation there is between institutions.
Although Venn diagrams may provide useful insights into institutional issues in the community, there are limitations. For example, Venn diagrams are difficult to facilitate, and there is often a risk of facilitators 'stepping in' when local people cannot understand the exercise.

180. Jones, C. (1996) *PRA Behaviour and Attitudes Topic Pack*, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
This collection of material is meant to provide an introduction to the importance of attitudes and behaviour in good PRA practice. The first section, which includes a piece by Robert Chambers, explains the place of attitudes and behaviours within PRA. The second section describes the principles of PRA/A&B, such as: openness, humility, curiosity, acceptance, sharing, being friendly, showing respect, embracing error, not making the method rigid, triangulating information, avoiding collection of unnecessary data, using your own best judgement, etc. The pack also includes descriptions of training methods that can be used to encourage people to reflect on their attitudes and behaviour. Exercises include 'dominator' and 'saboteur'. The pack then includes short excerpts from a number of training and research reports that reflect on the process of PRA, and the lessons learnt from successes and failures of various teams in building rapport with the community, respecting local time, ensuring broad participation, etc. The pack concludes with the report from the South-South Workshop on PRA Attitudes and Behaviour held in India in 1996. The workshop proceedings include tips for designing training events for a variety of audiences, examples of training exercises, and the compiled experience of a number of experienced PRA trainers and practitioners.

181. Jordan, G. (1990) 'Sub-governments, policy communities and networks: refilling the old bottles?'. *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 2(3):319-338.
This article discusses the relationships between the new British literature on policy communities and the older US sub-government approach. It notes the importance of the difference between stable and ad hoc networks, and points to the need to develop further a range of types of policy-making structures. This theoretical article attempts to clarify definitional issues around policy communities versus policy networks. In the course of the discussion, the article gives a succinct review of many of the contributions to the literature both from the United States and Britain.

182. Josayma, C. (1996) 'Facilitating collaborative planning in Hawaii's natural area reserves'. *Research Network Report* 8.
This document reports on how local hunters, environmentalists and Hawaiian cultural practitioners came together to seek solutions to conflicts over forest management practices and forest policy within Hawaii's natural area reserves system.
The sharing and discussion of traditional knowledge of the forest regions was facilitated by a mapping exercise in which local hunters were given the opportunity to map their local hunting practices and environmental changes that they had observed overtime in the park.

Previously the only maps used during such meetings were from agencies reflecting legal jurisdictions and ecological characteristics. Using topographic maps at a 24:000 scale with tracing paper overlays, the hunters sketched out their hunting areas as well as areas used for other traditional uses of the forest, such as the collection of plants, places to share knowledge of nature and cultural practices across generations, and those for spiritual rejuvenation and a quiet refuge. The traditional migration patterns of the pigs were also indicated on the map and revealed how fencing was increasingly restricting the pigs in their traditional migration patterns and causing the recent problems of over rooting in certain areas. In parts of the traditional hunting areas hunters also indicated where there was an increased density of the forest undergrowth owing to the increased growth of a species that the hunters believe pigs keep under control by their foraging.

Through enabling participants to introduce their individual understanding of the historical and contemporary land use practices, a clearer picture of the differences and similarities by which the different parties viewed the environment was gained and what emerged was a more complex understanding of the role of the pig in the forest ecosystem, as well as a clearer recognition of their common agreement on some of the detrimental environmental changes occurring in the forest, including forest loss due to development.

183. Joshi, A. (1997) 'Progressive bureaucracy: an oxymoron? The case of Joint Forest Management in India'. *Unpublished paper, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, MIT* .

This paper attempts to explain why Joint Forest Management was adopted as policy in West Bengal. The paper argues that the two existing explanations are inadequate, and that the spread of the approach can be understood by focusing on the role of front-line forestry workers and their union.

There were previously two dominant explanations for the spread of participatory forest management. The first was that progressive divisional forest officers started experiments in JFM, and the success of the approach led to wide scale adoption of the same strategy. This does not explain the ten year lag between initial experiments and widespread adoption. The second influential explanation is the subaltern view, that tribal communities spontaneously took control over forest management as a continuation of their historical struggle against colonial powers and settled agriculturalists. But this does not explain why foresters would accept a power-reducing policy change, nor how communities solved collection action problems.

Joshi argues that the work and living conditions of front-line foresters led them to campaign for adoption of JFM policies. Front-line foresters were torn from both sides, suffering violent conflicts and even death at the hands of community members while trying to police strict conservationist laws, and simultaneously being attacked by their superiors for neglect of duty for allowing forests to be degraded. Since the early 1970s, the front-line foresters' union began to hold workshops with community members on co-operation for forest management, and disseminate the results to higher officials. Front-line officials promised to share timber revenues with communities in return for their assistance with forest protection before it was officially acceptable to do so, risking the sacrifice of grey income if they had to pay unaccounted-for funds out to communities instead of keeping it themselves. In doing so, front-line foresters were neither risk averse, nor rent-seeking, as conventional views and neo-liberal views would suggest.

Joshi also studies collective action problems at the village level. She says there were

three types of co-operation made difficult by the fact that legal property rights lay with the State: intra-village co-operation; inter-village co-operation; and co-operation between villages and the forestry department. In the case of JFM, actions by the State helped to begin building trust. Attempts at social forestry improved trust of villagers for the forest department, as they realised it was not just a 'trick' to have them grow trees that would appropriated the by state. As mentioned above, front-line foresters took risks to guarantee benefits from forest protection to communities. Finally, "they tried to create trust incrementally through talking, creating of shared understandings of problems much as the new literature on trust in relation to firms has argued" (17).

184. Kandeh, H.B.S. and P. Richards (1996) 'Rural people as conservationists: querying neo-malthusian assumptions about biodiversity in Sierra Leone'. *Africa* 66(1):90-103.
Contrary to neo-malthusian assumptions population increase may not necessarily mean less biodiversity. More people may mean more care of the environment. Much depends on the circumstances through which local populations develop an awareness of, and practical involvement in, biodiversity management. This article considers two instances. In the first, an apparently pristine rainforest turns out on closer inspection to be heavy with the marks of past human occupancy. This may have been quite good for some classes of biodiversity-the birds, for instance. In a second case, attention is paid to crop genetic resources in a densely populated agrarian landscape. Here genetic biodiversity may have been conserved through the activities of farmers selecting planting materials adapted to harsh physical conditions. Case study material of this kind provides a basis for conservationists and community groups to develop mutual understanding. This knowledge of the ways humans become potentially part of the solution to, rather than simply the cause of, the problem of biodiversity loss also gives support to initiatives aimed at institutionalising participatory natural resource management.

185. Kar, K. and C. Backhaus (1994) 'Old wine in new bottles?'. Calcutta, India. Mimeo.
Much PRA has been through NGO, although government organisations are increasingly recognising the need for participatory approaches. This is a greater challenge, as these organisations have a greater institutional inertia, requiring more time for real change to occur. This is illustrated by a programme in the Dry Zone of Sri Lanka. Several problems common on to government organisations are discussed. Pressure to achieve unrealistic targets leads to criticism over the slow process of participation which may result in a desire to revert to faster top down approaches. Funding agencies are geared to blueprint planning, not a process approach. Pre-defined packages and resources do not sit easily with participatory management plans - the type of support offered does not coincide with that demanded. Government staff are less flexible for specific project requirements, may be more entrenched in their ways and have fewer incentives to change the pattern of their behaviour and attitudes. Training is required which is different from standard training, focusing on reversals and facilitation, and which is time consuming. Reorienting staff in a compartmentalised structure is difficult, as is maintaining their interest over time. Despite this, the benefits of PRA are seen to be many, although there is a long way to go before their widespread and wholehearted adoption.

186. Kar, K., G. Phillips and S. Liyanage (1995) 'Villagers in Sri Lanka plan their

future in partnership with government development authorities'. *PLA notes* 23:26-30.
Outlines the process of preparing a village resource management plan in Sri Lanka. The villagers used mapping, seasonal calendars, matrix ranking and chapati diagramming to analyse their situation and identify problems and solutions. The exercise was part of a PRA training programme for civil servants from five government departments, many of whom found it very rewarding and demonstrated a strong commitment to the participatory planning approach.

187. Kar, K., J. Adkins, P. Das and T. Lundstrom (1996) 'Report of the Regional Workshops on Institutionalisation of Participatory Approaches in Development'. Rural Integrated Project Support (RIPS).
This document is a detailed report of the proceeding of two regional workshops on institutionalising participation. It is the basis for the Kar, Lundstrom, Adkins (1996) publication abstracted above. The report includes exercise by exercise reports on the proceedings of each workshop. There are some details which may be of interest that are not included in the summary article. The participants engaged in detailed planning about what should come next in order to institutionalise participation in the region.

188. Kar, K. and S. Phillips (1996) *Scaling up or scaling down? Experience of institutionalising PRA in the slum improvement projects in India*. Presented at the 'Institutionalisation of Participatory Approaches Workshop', Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, UK.
The paper analyses the experience of institutionalising participatory approaches in the design and implementation of slum improvement projects in India, focusing on the case of Calcutta. The authors highlight the excessively compartmentalised structure of the project institutions (strictly divided between Engineering, Health, and Community Development sections) as the most significant obstacle to the effective adoption of participatory approaches. Despite staff enthusiasm for PRA techniques, these were considered useful primarily to extract information rather than for planning. Another limitation was the insufficient attention paid to behaviour and attitudes training. The main conclusion was that for scaling up to be effective, it may be necessary to scale down first, by concentrating on a handful of cases of sustained community action in which participatory approaches played an important role, and using them as learning laboratories.

189. Kar, K., T. Lundstrom and J. Adkins (1997) 'Who will influence the institutionalisation of participation and on whose terms?: recent experiences in institutionalising participatory approaches in development from Lindi and Mtwara Regions, Tanzania'. Rural Integrated Programme Support (RIPS).
This article gives some description of a programme to institutionalise participatory approaches, focusing mainly on a series of workshops held in 1996. The Rural Integrated Project Support (RIPS) programme is a development co-operation project between the governments of Tanzania and Finland, operating in the Lindi and Mtwara Regions. RIPS is meant to support the institutionalisation of participatory, community focused development planning using PRA tools. The report gives a brief summary of planned project activities.
The authors identify three key requirements for institutionalising participation:
1. A conducive political environment. The government of Tanzania's moves towards decentralisation by empowering district councils is encouraging in this regard.

2. Support by local leadership for changing their institutions. The authors list a number of attitude and behaviour changes that leaders must learn about local people's abilities.
3. Facilitation capacity for community based planning and management.
The remainder of the paper focuses on workshops which were key in affecting the attitudes of local leaders. A four day workshop was convened in each of the two regions, that brought together senior bureaucrats with political leaders, and also villagers. In both cases, the villagers made presentations of their community development plans to the officials. The key output of the workshop was the enthusiasm generated amongst the officials when they realised the capabilities of villagers.
The authors record the main lessons they learned from the success of the workshops. Firstly, it was positive to combine civil servants and elected leaders in one workshop, especially as it empowers the elected officials to understand what the civil servants are doing. The visual presentation by villagers of their own plans allowed for constructive discussion with the officials. Villagers were open about the small role they saw government playing in their own development, a revelatory finding for officials who assume that people wait for assistance.
The authors outline the future challenges for the implementation process:
- Strengthening local institutions, so they are able to exert demand on government for services.
- Changing roles, strategy, policy.

a. developing participatory responsive government organisations, that act as facilitators and supporters of local efforts
b. Donors must target their resources in a catalytic way, that encourages the mobilisation of local resources.
c. Local communities must develop awareness of their local resources, and the right to control their resources. They need to develop leadership oriented towards participatory decision making. They need to develop awareness of their rights.
· Conflict emergence. Conflict should be viewed as a positive sign of change, as officials lose their monopolistic control over decision making.

190. Kar, K. *et al.* (1997) 'Participatory impact assessment of Calcutta slum improvement project: PRA case study volumes'. Mimeo.
Report of PRA work carried out as part of an evaluation of the Calcutta Slum Improvement Project in 12 Calcutta slums to examine the perceptions of slum dwellers regarding changes in their livelihood and environment.

191. Kar, K. (1999) 'Report of the second consultancy visit: institutionalisation of participatory approaches in Kibbale district local government'. Mimeo.
This report illustrates the process and issues arising from training of local government development agents in a district of Uganda, to improve their skills in encouraging local participation in their work. The views of government district officials on the factors that make it difficult for officers to change attitudes in relation to PRA in communities is of particular interest here. Key factors in the Ugandan context include:
i) Home upbringing. The home reproduces inequalities between husband and wife, older and younger children as well as between girls and boys. This strongly reflects on attitudes and behaviours in subsequent adult life.
ii) Training. Training in schools emphasises academic excellence and competition. This instils a high degree of elitism and a tendency to view citizens who did not go to

school or who dropped out as second grade citizens.
iii) Norms at the office. Strong hierarchical norms in the office encourage government staff to act as superiors in the field.
iv) Reception in the community. Communities in Uganda have learnt to respect powerful outsiders since the days of Chiefs, Kingdoms and Colonialism. Government officers from big offices thus tend to be received ceremoniously by the community and are often kept at a distance from the "ordinary" villagers.

192. Keeley, J. and I. Scoones (1999) *Understanding environmental policy processes: a review*. IDS Working Paper No. 89, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
Environmental policies in developing countries are increasingly criticised for being predicated on highly questionable assumptions. This presents both a puzzle and a challenge. The puzzle is to explain how and why particular types of knowledge get established in policy. The challenge is to reflect on how policy processes might be opened up to more diverse forms of knowledge. Understanding the knowledge-policy relationship involves clarifying what exactly policy is and how it is developed, and reflecting on the particular nature of scientific knowledge which plays such a major role in environmental policymaking. Analysing the policy process also cuts to the heart of key debates in social science: why is reality framed and dealt with in certain ways; how important is political conflict over distribution of power and resources; what is the role of individual actors in policy change? Three contrasting explanations of policy change are explored: that policy reflects political interests, that change reflects the activities of actor-networks, and that policy is a production of discourse. The paper addresses the extent to which these explanations are incommensurable and argues that they can be taken together using a structuration argument where discourses and interests are seen as shaping each other, and where both are additionally shaped by the activities of actor-networks. The analysis emphasises the importance of agency and suggests that powerful interests and discourses should not necessarily prohibit the emergence of more participatory policy processes: policy processes allowing room for citizen science and the diverse perspectives of different stakeholders. [Original abstract]

193. Khare, A., S. Bathla, S. Palit, M. Sarin, et al. (forthcoming) *Joint forest management: policy, practice and prospects: India country study*. Policy that Works for Forests and People Series, No. 3, ed. J. Mayers, London: IIED Forestry and Land Use Programme.
India’s bold central policy change for joint forest management has resulted in regeneration of considerable areas of forest, and is pulling forestry practice slowly towards inclusion of more stakeholders. But these successes are matched by concerns that the policy is being used as a mask by some forestry departments seeking to regain control of forests, whilst in others, serious local inequities are being exacerbated. This report describes the evolution of powers over policy - the legacy of favoured colonial forestry, the inertia of "fortress forestry" institutions, the favoured forest industries, and the protectionist agenda which seeks to lock away forests from people’s use. These powers need to be tackled openly and concertedly for the ideal of joint forest managment, and the potential of farm forestry, to be fully realised. The report shows how this can be done through policy which fosters productive and equitable forest management.
Abstract from web site.

194. Kilvington, M. (1998) ‘The Whaingaroa Catchment Management Project: A multi-stakeholder approach to sustainable catchment management’. Lincoln, New Zealand: Landcare Research.
The Whaingaroa Catchment Management Project (WCMP) represents the first formal attempt in New Zealand at establishing community-based, integrated environmental management on a catchment scale. The cornerstones of the project are that it is holistic and participatory. These are fundamental principles of integrated environmental management as it has been developed through a series of practical programmes in community-based planning in North America, Australia and Canada. This report documents an evaluation of this programme that was undertaken in July 1998. The evaluation is comprised of two parts: A review of the progress of the community project steering group, established through the Whaingaroa Catchment management project; and an assessment of the trial process (based on the North American Atlantic Coastal Action Programme) used in the Whaingaroa Catchment management project.

195. Kitwood, T. (1990) *Concern for others. A new psychology of conscience and morality*. London: Routledge.
The author sees psychology as a "moral science of action", and morality as concerned primarily with life affirmation and awareness rather than respectability and restraint. The main topics in the psychology of conscience - personhood, will, judgement, character, individual development, collective pressures, the good society - are re-appraised and the author shows the relevance of depth psychology with its ideas about preconscious awareness, unconscious motivation, and unconscious conflict.
In a chapter on organisations, the author argues that bureaucracies and other formal organisations have received very scant attention in studies of the psychology of morality. Yet understanding the morality of organisations is key because morality is first and foremost to do with the form of social life in which individuals acquire their personal way of being. The first aspect that requires scrutiny is that of the goals of an organisation: not its legitimating ideology, nor its official codes of practice, but what it actually does in the world, the ends to which its collective action truly points. There is an analogy with the study of the individual; it is his or her lived morality, rather than theoretical statements about what ought to be done, that is the more important. There is a need to look beyond and behind the obvious to discover what is really happening: the latent, as well as the manifest functions. For example, schools do not simply bring forth the abilities of their pupils. They divert resources and attention to a minority of high achievers, and actually inhibit the development of many. Schooling subtly replicates society, and prepares individuals to accept their place within it with resignation. Next, beyond their external goals, and their effects upon their clients, organisations may be evaluated morally with respect to the social relations experienced by their members: in particular, whether or not persons are truly respected within the organisational frame. Probably some degree of alienation is present in virtually all work within formal organisations. Also, they tend to impose a heteronomous morality; their "justice structure" is typically that of instrumental exchange. Another aspect of the internal morality of organisations concerns the actual place that the organisation accidentally provides for the life of its members as sentient beings, and for the growth of a morality of mutual respect, when its strict role requirements have been fulfilled. The author argues that, despite organisational constraints, moral space is continuously being created. Lastly, there is a need to

consider the long term effect of organisational membership on personality or, in moral terms, on character. From a purely cognitive-developmental point of view, those who have had to equilibrate over a long period to a low-level justice structure for the greater part of the day are likely to carry its effects in their whole moral outlook; one who has to be authoritarian at work will probably be authoritarian at home and at play. Depth psychology takes this matter further. The typical organisational role, with its defensiveness, its selective inattention, its avoidance of responsibility, is the activation of a part self; it is likely that a person who occupies such a role for a long period will enhance the division and fragmentation of his or her psyche. Perhaps this will especially be the case for one who identifies strongly with the role. Formal organisations and bureaucracies create an enormous psychological problem for their members. The years of retirement, restricted in other ways as they are for very many people, do not always make for recovery. The author concludes that moral development cannot merely be a matter for individuals, in their private lives. If, as human beings, we do have such strong tendencies to form bonds and associations, to fit in with others' expectations, the crucial task is that of creating collectives (organisations) that are conducive to moral being, while also fulfilling their instrumental goals.

196. Kliksberg, B. (1987) *¿Cómo reformar el Estado?*, Montevideo: Oficina Nacional del Servicio Civil.

For the past years, the debate over the Reform of the State has been one of the most heated ones in Latin America. Kliksberg contributes to it by analysing the negative characteristics of the actual State and proposing the characteristics that an ideal State should have, so as to provide a lead for ongoing reforms. Among those negative attributes that Latin American States have at the moment, he identifies:

- inefficiency of the bureaucracy resulting from 'hyper-concentration'
- rigidity of the public apparatus to the various contextual changes
- inefficiency in the formulation of public policies at the higher levels of decision-making
- the relationship between the bureaucracy and the citizens is authoritarian and not transparent, therefore, it is not genuinely democratic

Some of the actions that an ideal State should take are:

- to support democracy
- to support decentralisation efforts which transfer political and economic power to the regions, including a real transfer of decision-making and management power
- to modify its relationship with the citizens, making it participatory and transparent
- to follow an organisational model which is flexible, innovative and participatory

197. Kloppenburg, J. (1991) 'Social theory and the de/reconstruction of agricultural science: local knowledge for an alternative agriculture'. *Rural sociology* 56(4):519-548.

The author argues for the radical transformation of the science which informs and legitimates the culture and interventions of bureaucracies that are involved in agriculture and natural resource management. In the first part of this article, a rich and diverse body of theoretical and empirical resources is drawn upon to challenge positivist and realist epistemologies of scientific knowledge. A number of important points are made. First, the recognition that the "facticity" of science is not comprised of objective descriptions of a determinate natural world but of socially contingent constructions provides the foundation for a powerful new critique of science. Socially

contingent objectives can be recognised not just in the uses to which science is put, but in scientific facts themselves. Second, the inadequacy of criteria for the epistemic demarcation of science as a uniquely legitimate way of knowing means that what we call modern science is itself a historical product of continuous social struggle not only to define science in a particular way, but also to exclude other ways of producing knowledge from that definition. Third, if scientists do not have a uniquely privileged capacity to speak authoritatively on nature's behalf, then knowledge claims arising outside the institutions of science can no longer be summarily dismissed because they are non-scientific. And fourth, if science is socially constructed and is therefore subject to social deconstruction, then it must also be amenable to social reconstruction. However, loss of its unique epistemological status does not imply a wholesale invalidation of science. It implies the creation of space for the consideration of competing modes of knowledge production, which themselves represent partial understandings. The boundaries of what we call "actually existing" science are in fact negotiable and might be redrawn to include other ways of producing knowledge, to effect new articulations and combinations between ways of knowing whose essential complementarity is now obscured, or even produce a radically transformed science whose contours we can only dimly foresee.

Focusing on the North American context, the author argues that Cartesian science loses connection with the variability of natural systems because it is reductive, abstracting and interested in immutable components of a phenomenon. The reductionism of actually existing science is not adequate to the task of achieving sustainable agriculture and natural resource management. Finding sustainable solutions is dependent on bringing farmers and rural people back into formal knowledge production for agriculture and land use. According to the author, the theoretical resources for the transformation of science are available in contemporary sociological and feminist interpretations of science. Unlike most sociological interpretations however, feminist analysis bring a commitment to activist social change to their own distinctive yet constructivist approach to the critique of actually existing science. One of the central themes in the feminist analysis of science is the importance of legitimating and reaffirming the value of producing knowledge through sensuous activity and personal experience that is necessarily and specifically local (therefore neither universalising nor essentialising) in character. The material resources for the reconstruction of a "successor science" are to be largely found in the local knowledge that is continually produced and reproduced by farmers and rural people. Multiple and separate realities do exist and different environmental knowledges must be recognised and valued. Productive interactions and articulations between differently situated and partial knowledges, and between different ways of knowing need to be established,- not in order to combine nor translate the knowledges, but to permit mutually beneficial dialogue.

In presenting the case for the transformation of existing science,-and not just the democratisation of *existing* science-, this article implicitly challenges bureaucracies to transform the intellectual and epistemological assumptions that frame their natural resource management interventions.

198. Kochendorfer-Lucius, G. and C. Lobo (1992) 'The rain decided to help us: participatory watershed management in the state of Maharashtra, India'. Eschborn: GTZ.

This document describes the use of a life history approach to carry out a qualitative assessment of the economic, social and political results and benefits achieved by the

watershed development (WSD) program in Pimpalgaon Wagha.
The factors that stimulated involvement by the people in the program are assessed from twenty two life stories of farmers, women and the landless, representing all socio-economic groups in the village, that reflect the individual perceptions of the project and the role they played in the watershed development program (for detailed life story records see p32-42 ) and also from a life story of the village recounted by village elders (see p15).
People's narratives of their lives were told in their own words and recorded in a way that retains the expressions and language they used, revealing the decisive events in their lives and showing how they perceive the world they live in.
The life stories focused on how villagers perceived their environment and subjectively "felt" their poverty before the implementation of the WSD program, what made them interested in and motivated to participate, what benefit, if any, resulted from the WSD program and finally what their future plans, expectations and aspirations for themselves, their children and their village are.

199. Kolavalli, S. (1998) *Scaling up participatory approaches*. Presented at the 'National Workshop on Watershed Approaches to Wastelands Development', New Delhi.
This paper examines the conditions under which the approaches of successful participatory watershed management projects can be scaled up in India. The concept of participation is first examined along with its operationalisation in sample projects and aspects of participation that may be scaled up are identified. The author concludes by suggesting some features of an institutional environment that can offer adequate incentives for the adoption of participatory approaches in the mainstream watershed programs of the government. Key features offering bureaucracies incentives for change include:

- commitment of resources to social organisation and recognition for work with communities
- training grants to private and public organisations
- social organisation understood as a precondition to support watershed activities
- transparent processes and dissemination of information
- demand for commitment from the communities to contribute
- substantial freedom for communities to decide what they can do
- implementation under the control of the community
- review/evaluation which involve beneficiaries and facilitated by external agents
- availability of funds subject to successful implementation.
- reformed reward systems and provision of resources to staff of government departments to improve their capability of working with communities, travel and invest in social organising.

200. Korten, D.C. (1980) 'Community organisation and rural development: a learning process approach'. *Public Administration Review* (September/October):480-511.
Though many national and international agencies claim commitment to participatory approaches to helping the rural poor, little progress has been made in translating ambitious plans into effective action. The record of earlier community development and co-operatives' efforts is largely a history of failure, resulting more often in strengthening the position of traditional elites than in integrating poorer elements into the national development process. Many current calls for involvement of the rural

poor are little more than wishful thinking, inadequately informed by past experience as to the investments in institutional innovation required to give reality to an important idea. The prevailing blueprint approach to development programming with its emphasis on detailed pre-planning and time bounded projects is itself cited as an important impediment.
Examination of a number of Asian programs suggests that the more successful grew out of village experience. Consequently they were able to achieve an unusual degree of fit between beneficiary needs, program outputs, and the competence of the assisting organisation. The key was not preplanning, but an organisation with the capacity for embracing error, learning with the people, and building new knowledge and institutional capacity through action. A model of the learning process approach to building program strategies and appropriate organisational competence suggests a new program should progress through three developmental stages in which the focal concern is successively on learning to be effective, learning to be efficient, and learning to expand. Implications for the role of the social scientist and for action by funding agencies are discussed.

201. Korten, D.C. (1984) 'Rural development programming: the learning process approach'. In D.C. Korten and R. Klauss (eds.), *People centred development: contributions toward theory and planning frameworks*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press.
The article documents three success stories of people-centred development from Asia: the Indian National Dairy Development Board; Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee; and Thailand's Community Based Family Planning Service. Korten attributes their success to the process of the projects. He contrasts the 'learning approach' taken in these projects with the standard blueprint approach taken in most development interventions. He divides the learning process into three key stages: learning to be effective; learning to be efficient; and lastly, learning to expand. He argues that rather than being a self-deceiving organisation that does not acknowledge its mistakes, or a self-defeating organisation that assumes its failures are due to factors out of the agency's control, organisation should aim to be learning organisations that accept they will make mistakes and learn from them. He provides a brief summary of the Philippines National Irrigation Administration experience as an example of a conventional organisation which had transformed itself into a learning organisation.

202. Korten, F.F. (1988) 'The working group as a catalyst for organisational change'. In F.F. Korten and R.Y. Siby, Jr. (eds.), *Transforming a bureaucracy: the experience of the Philippine National Irrigation Administration*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press.
The author documents the role of a working group in the transformation of the National Irrigation Administration to using participatory approaches. The NIA was pushed through a policy change to adopt participatory methods of irrigation construction and management, but it did not have the organisational capacity to implement the approach dictated by policy. Korten identifies several barriers to change in bureaucracies: individuals with a common vision of change tend to be scattered throughout the organisation; hierarchy prevents risk taking except at the highest level; high level bureaucrats are consumed with coping with change, rather than having space for strategic management; information is exchanged upwards in reports and downwards as reports, which stifles learning.
A working group was formed to act as a catalyst for change. It was composed of

bureaucratic insiders and outsiders. The group created a forum focused on long-term organisational goals, structures, and processes, insulated from normal crisis-oriented management. It allowed individuals from different parts of the NIA to come together to form a new vision. It brought representatives from the front-line staff with field experience into contact with higher level staff. It also allowed researchers from outside the NIA to regularly share their ideas.

The group focused on creating successful pilot projects and systematising the lessons. It had a strongly shared vision of people's place in the development process, and a commitment to learning processes. The working group worked through five step learning cycle: identifying the need for an innovation; conceptualising a new approach; trying out a new approach on a small scale; systematising the lessons; and developing institutional capacities to adopt the change on a wide scale. The article gives examples in three areas of organisation: organising irrigation associations at community level; selecting sites and planning interventions; and assisting irrigation associations after construction.

There were several centrifugal forces that challenged the coherence of the working group. The main one was the different institutional loyalties of the members. Researchers found that the role they took in the process was not understood or supported by their institutes, as they weren't being 'academic' enough. Communication between members was complicated, leading to tensions. Outsiders sometimes were faced with resentment for suggesting changes.

There were important countervailing centripetal forces as well. The most important was a shared vision of change. The second was leadership within the agency. The third was the existence of a working group facilitator (in this case, the author). A fourth uniting force was the way that funds were granted to support the process. And fifthly, seeing ideas turn into action energised the working group members, giving them a sense of satisfaction.

203. Korten, D.C. (1988) 'From bureaucratic to strategic organisation'. In F.F. Korten and R.Y. Siby, Jr. (eds.), *Transforming a bureaucracy: the experience of the Philippine National Irrigation Administration*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press.

This article examines the internal management changes which led the Philippines National Irrigation Administration (NIA) to transform itself from a bureaucratic to a strategic organisation. The article begins by contrasting the characteristics of a bureaucratic organisation which takes a technical-engineering approach with strategic organisations that take a participatory approach. The article then describes the four categories of managerial innovations that allowed NIA to move from one to the other. The first was a staffing change, introducing college educated, highly motivated, and primarily female community organisers into an organisation staffed mainly by engineers. The second was to reorient site assessment and planning methods to build on local realities rather than engineering standards and blueprints. The third was to change decision-making styles and procedures. The fourth was to increase the agency's accountability to user groups, mainly by stressing financial viability, meaning that the NIA had to provide a service that would gain co-operation and support from farmers.

The lessons learned are many. The transformation required a supportive policy framework, and strong leadership with a focus on developing organisational systems, capacities and norms. It required patience for working out details. Every aspect of work must be examined and changed to allow the agency to respond to the needs of people.

The motivations of the people involved varied widely. Some had a vision of people-centred development. Many engineers were committed to the quality of the results that could be achieved through participation. The focus on cost recovery may have been the most important motivating goal in affecting change.

204. Kotey, N.A., J. Francois, J. Owusu, R. Yeboah, et al. (1999) *Falling into place: Ghana country study*. Policy that Works for Forests and People Series, No. 4, ed. J. Mayers, London: IIED Forestry and Land Use Programme.
Ghanaian forestry is in the process of rediscovering its past, consolidating what it does best, and learning from innovative new forest management initiatives. Falling Into Place charts the evolution of policies that affect forests. it describes how the "timber-first" orientation of forestry is giving way to more collaborative policy and forest management for a greater range of forest values, and how tactical approaches led by key opinion-formers and policy-makers have been successful at overcoming resistance to change. There are major challenges ahead: combining the economic potential of forest resources with maintaining environmental quality and human well-being; and rooting decision-making in places where people are really motivated to take action. Yet, after years of "things falling apart", it seems that Ghanaian forestry is beginning to fall into place.
Abstract from web site.

205. Krishna, A., N. Uphoff and M.J. Esman, (eds.) (1997) *Reasons for hope: instructive experiences in rural development*. West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian.
This edited volume presents eighteen ‘success stories’ of rural development. The cases are drawn from Asia, Latin America and Africa. The editors arrange them by broad sector: multi-sectoral development; agriculture-based development; social services, including health, nutrition, family planning, and water supply; and natural resources, including agro-foresty, watershed, and wildlife management.
The volume is introduced and concluded with brief outlines of the commonalities of the case studies. The successful projects tend to have been implemented in unfavourable conditions, whether due to political conflict, a hostile physical environment, or operating in areas of extreme poverty. Exceptional individuals play a part in the case studies as well, both as leaders, and as the staff and participants in programmes. When considering common themes, the editors observe that the case studies demonstrate that: "sympathetic but hard-headed leadership, operating from a variety of institutional bases (government, NGO, university) or from none at all could make common cause with rural people, learning with and from them how to make desired and sustainable improvements in their conditions of life. These were not pure bottom-up programmes because initiative came from a variety of outsiders. But these outsiders knew how to enter into the conditions and outlooks of rural people, to fashion programs from the inside-out, so to speak. They brought to this encounter the advantages of higher education and high-level contacts, but they knew better than to be patronising or paternalistic . By showing deep respect for the capabilities of the people whose lives they hoped to help improve, and by being persistent as well as patient (being impatiently patient, one might say), they helped fashion solutions to problems that mobilised and used resources of all sorts most effectively. This relationship, then, was a dialectical one, in which top-down and bottom-up institutions became fused in interesting new combinations. (294)"
This process works because local people play an active role in taking ownership of the projects. The cases showed that people can take on more and more responsibility for

sustaining the programmes once external assistance has established the programme.
Deeper analysis of the common lessons from the case studies are presented in the companion volume, *Reasons for Success.*

206. Krishna, A. (1997) 'Participatory watershed development and soil conservation in Rajasthan, India'. In A. Krishna, N. Uphoff, et al. (eds.), *Reasons for Hope: Instructive Experiences in Rural Development*. West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian.
The article briefly recounts the history of a watershed development programme initiated in Rajasthan in 1991. The project developed cheap, reliable, and locally renewable technologies. The programme was implemented in co-operation with User Committees formed from the local community. The staff worked in interdisciplinary teams, with individual responsibility for specific watersheds. As the programme had ambitious targets, the organisation was forced to learn by doing in the first year of implementation. Decision-making was decentralised, and lessons learned through experimentation were then disseminated throughout the organisation. No model was decided for the formation of User Committees, but the principles of openness, accountability, and representative membership were stressed. User committees were asked to contribute part of the cost of the works, in order to encourage them to take an interest in the quality of the project outcomes, and to force the staff to respond to their demands.
The article concludes by suggesting some remaining challenges for the programme: decreasing the level of subsidies; maintaining high level political support; gaining legal and political status for UCs; making linkages to implement the programme through NGOs; and finding ways to benefit the landless through the watershed approach.

207. Lanoug, C.A. (1989) *Participación comunitaria y gestión municipal: hacia una redefinición del marco conceptual*, Caracas: CLAD.
The author examines the issues of participation and action within the municipal level by referring to public organisations theory. He argues that to analyse community participation in public action, a clear definition of participation is required which redefines that given by organisation theory. From a conventional perspective, public organisations (i.e. government) have been seen as a 'closed system' that can improve its performance through the contribution of 'experts'. The author thinks that this situation serves to reproduce the hegemonic ideology and to make the bureaucracy into a powerful instrument of domination. He defines participation as the mobilisation of the community within a democratic system which represents a modification of the roles assigned to the State. Within this framework, the spaces for participation must be multiplied, and the municipalities are the ideal place to put it into practice, particularly at this time when most Latin American countries are undergoing strong decentralisation efforts.

208. Lawrence, A. (1997) 'Mapping information flows'. *ILEIA Newsletter* 13(1):22-3.
This case study from the island of Leyte in the Philippines describes a method used to examine the impact of information flows on the agricultural system and in particular, to examine the impact of a particular project on the adoption of new farming techniques in relation to the other sources of agricultural information available.
A visual mapping method was developed based on venn diagramming but in which

the direction and strength of the information flow are also indicated.
Circles were used to represent formal or informal groups or institutions between which information moves, the size of the circle indicating the importance of the source to the community being studied. Arrows show the relative strength of information flow (thicker lines) the influence of past information flows (broken lines) and the direction of the flow. Maps were drawn from the community perspective built up from thirty-five interviews with families. Individuals were interviewed rather than groups as it was considered important to explore the diversity of experiences and not to necessarily reach consensus. Moreover, by carrying out many exercises much opportunity existed for cross checking information. The visual mapping was carried out for two different time periods, one before the project in question was established and one when the project had been operating for more than two years.
Although, in this case study the maps were drawn by researchers because of their complexity, the author suggests that it could be useful to validate the maps by presenting them to the community.

209. Leach, M. and R. Mearns, (eds.) (1996) *The lie of the land. Challenging received wisdom on the African environment*. Oxford: James Curry.
Widely perceived images of environmental change in Africa include overgrazing and the desertification of drylands, the widespread existence of a fuelwood crisis, the rapid and recent removal of once pristine forests, soil erosion, and the mining of natural resources caused by rapidly growing populations. These images have acquired the status of conventional wisdom. Drawing on historically informed research, the contributors to this volume show that many of the orthodoxies are ill conceived or represent the interests of certain powerful groups. The editors of this volume ask why, if the received wisdom can be shown to be misguided or wrong, is it so pervasive and resistant to change? They argue that the answers to these questions are to be found in the sociology of science and in the sociology of development.

210. Leach, M. (1997) *Summary of Discussions*. Presented at the 'Workshop on Gender and Environment', Paris. Development Co-operation Directorate, Development Assistance Committee, Working Party on Development Assistance and Environment.
A workshop was convened by the DAC Working Party on Development Assistance and Environment to discuss integrating gender into the environmental activities of donor agencies. Forty-five participants attended. The report summarises some key points from the discussions.
The report starts by reviewing the different conceptions of 'gender' and 'environment' and their linkages held by workshop members. There was disagreement over the types of environmental issue that matter i.e. natural resource management versus the environment as a sink. Gender is understood by many workshop participants as women, their roles and interests (the WID approach), rather than gender as a set of socially constructed identities and relations (the GAD approach). Workshop participants note that gender and the environment debate mistakenly concentrates on 'win-win' issues, although in reality there are often trade-offs between women's interests and environmental protection.
The workshop participants called for developing particular understandings of gender-environment linkages specific to time and place. The analysis of environmental relations should include the following aspects:

- divisions of labour and responsibility

- different environmental knowledges, priorities and values
- tools and technologies used by different women and men
- differences in resource access and control
- the nature of decision-making around the environmental issue in question

Gender analysis can lead to the identification of particular institutions that can have the capacity to change gender relations. Donors often narrowly focus on women's organisations, rather than less visible institutions that my help women to channel their concerns and press for their entitlements.

The workshop participants discussed specific measure they could take to mainstream gender into environment related aid. They considered steps at the project and programme level, the national level, and also within the donor organisations themselves. Donor organisations often included the environment and gender issues as add-ons, which cannot compete with core values such as poverty reduction. Institutional mandates and mechanisms to link gender and environment are often lacking. Suitable indicators and instruments are often lacking, such as gender disaggregated measures of project success.

The report highlights the need for organisational change, which can begin with bottom-up analysis of organisations' incentive structures, management processes, knowledge and thinking which impede giving gender and environmental issues a more central place. The report mentions GAD research which links gender relations within donor organisations to explaining why the agency has not mainstreamed gender in their work.

The report also includes three case studies of attempts to mainstream gender issue: a case of participatory research supported by SIDA in a village in dryland Senegal; a case of integrating gender into environmental planning and policies in Uganda; and Australia's experience of trying to mainstream gender in the environmental and other programmes.

211. Leach, M., R. Mearns and I. Scoones (1997) 'Challenges to community-based sustainable development: dynamics, entitlements, institutions'. *IDS Bulletin* 28(4):4-14.

Recent approaches to community-based natural resource management frequently present 'communities' as consensual units, able to act collectively in restoring population-resource imbalance or re-establishing harmonious relations between local livelihoods and stable environments. Arguing that these underlying assumptions and policy narratives are flawed as guidelines for policy, this article presents an alternative perspective which starts from the politics of resource access and control among diverse social actors, and sees patterns of environmental change as the outcomes of negotiation or contestation between their conflicting perspectives. The notion of 'environmental entitlements' encapsulates this shift in perspective, and provides analytical tools to specify the benefits that people gain from the environment which contribute to their well-being. The processes by which people gain environmental endowments and entitlements are, in turn, shaped by diverse institutions, both formal and informal.

212. Leff, E., J. Carabias and A.I. Batis (1990) *Recursos naturales, técnica y cultura. Estudios y experiencias para un desarrollo alternativo*, Mexico City: CIIH.

This book compiles 24 papers presented at conference in Mexico City organised under the scope of a multi-disciplinary research project on "Traditional practices and integrated resource management" in Mexico and Latin America. The co-ordinators of

this research believe that understanding the traditional practices for the management of natural, technological, cultural, economic and social resources used by peasant and indigenous communities, is essential for the design of an "environmental strategy of development". This strategy should reflect the cultural and ecological diversity of each nation and should involve participatory and decentralised resource management.
The analysis of specific case studies of resource management in indigenous and peasant communities is taken as a starting point in a process of reflection about the possibilities of scaling up these initiatives within the policy-making arena.
Some of the conclusions reached by the participants were:
· The dominant economic model, along with the production and consumption patterns have led to the deterioration of the environment
· This economic model has contributed to the disintegration of peasant and indigenous communities, including the loss of their cultural values and abandonment of their traditional resource management practices
· This economic model has promoted the introduction of modern technology in the rural areas that has led to ecological destruction and social polarisation
· The political and economic elite has neglected the extensive knowledge of resource management held by peasants and indigenous people, in favour of western thinking and economic rationality
· A synthesis between traditional and modern knowledge should be the basis for the elaboration of appropriate technologies to satisfy the material and cultural needs of each community
· Participatory approaches should guide future research and action projects for the integrated management of resources. These projects should be specific to the cultural and environmental characteristics of each setting and should aim to strengthen traditional practices. These type of projects would lead to alternative development processes that are more equalitarian and sustainable and which improve the living standard of the rural population.
This book is particularly relevant, as Julia Carabias, one of the co-ordinators, has been Mexico's Minister for the Environment since 1994. Therefore the ideological position presented here can be taken as an antecedent/explanation to some of the policies that she has implemented during her time in the Ministry which aim to incorporate community participation in natural resource management initiatives and which make and explicit link between environmental and social development objectives.

213. Leurs, R. (1996) 'Current challenges facing participatory rural appraisal'. *Public Administration and Development* 16:57-72.
This article provides a summary of the major challenges currently facing participatory rural appraisal (PRA) as well as the changes implied by some of these challenges. These challenges are considered at six different levels, namely the individual, community, organisational, project and programme, donor and policy levels. The challenges identified are drawn from the literature on PRA as well as from a series of workshops held by the author with the staff of six NGOs that are promoting PRA in South Asia. The article concludes by attributing these challenges to five cross-cutting factors: differences in power, culture, knowledge, money and time.
There are several key challenges at organisational level. The first is that PRA should be beneficial for organisational appraisal, not just a tool to be applied to 'targeted' people outside the organisation. Perhaps the biggest barrier is hierarchical organisational culture. PRA can help change attitudes and behaviour, which contributes to changing hierarchical organisational culture. Staff recruitment and

promotion in government agencies is geared to seniority, age and qualifications, rather than attitudinal and behaviour of the staff in performing their jobs. Low salary scales also inhibit recruiting and motivating good workers. High turnover and transfers inhibits the relationships that are likely to encourage the adoption of PRA. Training the number of people in large organisations is a problem given the lack of skilled PRA trainers. Different levels of understanding between technical staff and other staff can also create problems, made worse if staff do not share experience. There is also little documented experience of creating and sustaining networks of community level PRA facilitators.

At the project and programme level, there is another set of challenges. Upwards accountability creates tensions with local agendas. The emphasis on financial disbursement and physical targets is often out of step with local pace and time horizons. Normal professionalism inhibits taking a learning approach to projects. Sharing power, by giving control over project resources and creating downwards accountability, are fundamental challenges facing PRA in project settings. New funding mechanisms may solve some of these problems. Local organisations can be given block funding, which they then use to buy services from NGOs or government agencies.

Another challenge for PRA is to apply it as a tool for policy making at the macro level. There are problems with synthesising information, combining PRA results with secondary information, the quantitative bias of many researchers, the lack of contextual understanding by many researchers, and inappropriate attitudes and behaviours. The overarching challenge is that policy-making power is highly centralised.

At the donor level, there is a further set of challenges. The first is that staff are upwardly accountable, rather than accountable to communities. Donors have a sectoral orientation, that conflicts with local people's holistic conception of their lives. Reporting requirements also orient accountability upwards rather than downwards. Short-term physical output orientation does not agree with PRA's long term, process oriented objectives.

214. Levy, C. (1998) 'Institutionalisation of gender through participatory practice'. In I. Guijt and M.K. Shah (eds.), *The Myth of Community*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Many would argue that the process of making gender issues a regular part of development practice necessarily contains within it a commitment to participation, not only as a means but as an end in itself. Making women's as well as men's voices heard and counted in planned interventions implies their active involvement in decision-making in issues which affect their lives. Similarly, many would argue that participatory development is necessarily socially inclusive, incorporating gender issues along with other social relations like class, ethnicity and age. Yet practice shows that neither contention can be supported.

There is already a critique in the relatively 'young life' of the Gender and Development (GAD) approach that it is sometimes being applied in a technocratic manner, disconnected from the critical political processes surrounding gender relations. Similarly, much of the research and planned intervention professing to be 'participatory' exclude women and other subordinate social groups. Both perspectives challenge power relations. However, while power relations linked to gender and power relations linked to participation are overlapping and intersecting, they are not neatly congruent. This has implications for any process aimed at making gendered

participatory practices a regular part of planned intervention.
The article describes a diagnostic and operational framework for the institutionalisation of a gender perspective in development policy, planning and practice. The framework stresses more than the basic compatibility of gender and participatory perspectives: they are essential and mutually reinforcing partners on any agenda for change. The article seeks to respond to two related questions: (i.) under what conditions than a gender perspective, which reflect more equitable power relations between women and men than exists in most development practice, be taken on to the point that it can be said to be institutionalised? And (ii.) how can a gender perspective be promoted and sustained to the point that it can be said to be institutionalised while remaining responsive to the variety of women's and men's experience and their interpretation of reality? The author proposes an operational definition of how to institutionalise gender within the participatory practices of organisations.
The author presents a web of the key elements in institutionalisation. The web is better understood when presented as such, showing the multiple links between elements- for simplicity's sake, the list of elements is listed in linear form below:
1. Women's and men's experience and interpretation of their reality
2. Pressure of political constituencies
3. Representative political structures
4. Political commitment
5. Policy/planning
6. Resources
7. Mainstream location of responsibility
8. Procedures
9. Staff development
10. Methodology
11. Delivery of programmes and projects
12. Research
13. Theory building
Aside from the presentation of these elements in a web diagram, the accompanying text also emphasises the links between the various nodes of the web.

215. Lightfoot, C., S. Feldman and M.Z. Abedin (1991) *Households, agroecosystems and rural resources management: a guidebook for broadening the concepts of gender and farming systems*. Joydebpur, Bangladesh: Bangladesh Agricultural Research Institute.
Of particular interest is the chapter: 'Incorporating gender in conceptual diagrams of households and agroecosystems'. Analysis of household livelihoods needs to take account of complex social relations within the household as well as the rural resource base. Creating conceptual diagrams with household members is a tool for examining the complex relations of households and agroecosystems. In this extract, researchers include information from women and men about gender roles as a part of the diagrams being created. Information is elicited during walks with household members through the farm and common property resources.

216. Lindblade, K. and G. Carswell (1997) 'Discrepancies in understanding historical land use changes in Uganda'. *PLA Notes* 28:59-63.
In 1945 a survey was conducted by a colonial agricultural officer of land use in Kabale District in south west Uganda. Land use was surveyed along 14 transects

covering 32 miles. This article reports on how 51 years later the survey was repeated along the same transect lines in the same month as it was originally conducted to examine changes in land use. Information on current land use was collected and the length of time which fields had been left to rest was estimated, using a system compatible to that used in the original survey.
The exercise was used also as an opportunity to examine how the findings from using participatory rapid appraisal methods to understand local perceptions of the environment compared with the changes indicated by such a quantitative, longitudinal study and demonstrated that, 'a discriminating attitude must be displayed towards information gathered from communities using participatory methods just as in many cases a critical attitude must also be displayed towards objective data'.
Semi-structured interviews, historical timelines and transect diagrams in which hillsides were diagrammed as they would have looked in the early 1940's, indicating where crops were planted during a typical season of that time period were constructed by small groups of elderly men and women (the *wazee*) who had lived in the area all their lives.
In all communities where these rapid appraisals were held people recounted how their was a lack of fallow land due to overpopulation. However, surprisingly the quantitative data from the survey conflicted with this and actually showed that fallow land instead of decreasing as a proportion of the and surface area had actually increased from 19.4 % to 31.6 % in 1996 and the average resting period had also increased from nine months in 1945 to over fourteen months in 1996. Possible reasons for this discrepancy are discussed including, possible misunderstandings as to what farmers term as 'fallow' and the way in which historical events and propaganda have shaped perceptions, including not only the campaigns during the colonial period but also the messages still being spread today through government departments and NGOs 'This pervasive view is likely to greatly affect perceptions of past conditions. The power of suggestion is certainly a strong one, and may partially explain why the participatory methods elicited concerns about population growth and over cultivation' .
Another discrepancy which arose was that farmers stated that peas were no longer planted because the soil has become infertile something which was clearly contradicted by the survey. However, peas were never inter cropped in 1945 as is often the case these days. The authors stress that such discrepancies reveal the importance of triangulation, 'key but often forgotten element of participatory methods'. The purpose of triangulation is they say 'not to determine whether local knowledge and perceptions are more or less accurate than other sources of data. Instead the aim is to reconcile these different realities. and in the process, gain insight into the participatory process, highlight misunderstandings and identify external forces, which may influence the discourse or interactions between participants'

217. Lindblom, C.E. (1980) *The policy making process*. Foundations of Modern Political Science Series, ed. R.A. Dahl, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
This classic political science text represents politics as the policy making process. It poses a central dilemma in policy making- the tension between expert knowledge and analysis for policy making, versus citizen control. Lindblom explores the role that policy analysis plays in the policy making process, directing attention to the many shortcomings of policy analysis. He argues that we should not view policy as reflecting rational analysis of policy options that lead to optimal solutions. Rather, we

should view policy analysis as 'partisan analysis,' a tool which may be used in interactions around policy issues to attempt to influence policy outcomes. Policy outcomes are negotiated reflections of the interplay between actors with different amounts of power. In a section called the 'play of power,' he reviews the many types of interactions that occur between policy actors, such as threats, bargaining, exchange, and reciprocity. He also presents literature on the way that policy is made by the actions of bureaucrats who implement the policy, creating disjunture between 'ostensible' policy and policy in practice. The author proceeds to describe the way in which business interests in the United States influence the policy process, and also the role that interest groups play in policy formulation. In a final section, Lindblom turns to the question of the role of citizens in the 'play of power'. He draws on political science literature to make an argument about the imprecision of voting. Voting alone cannot send very strong signals to politicians about particular policies. He also makes an argument about the agenda setting process, and the ways in which leaders and institutions keep certain questions from ever being raised on the agenda, while putting forward others. The example he takes is the lack of discussion over interference in the market mechanism in the United States.
As the book is written by an American and aimed at an American audience, most of the historical examples are drawn from America history.

218. Long, N. and A. Long, (eds.) (1992) *Battlefields of Knowledge: the interlocking of theory and practice in social research and development.* London: Routledge.
This book is a contribution to overcoming the impasse of deterministic and structuralist theories in the sociology of development by arguing for an actor-oriented approach to the analysis of social change. Such an approach entails the development of theoretically grounded methods of research that allow for the elucidation of actors' interpretation and strategies, and of how these interlock through processes of negotiation and accommodation. It places 'the subjects of development' -peasants, workers, entrepreneurs, government officials, traders, development practitioners and researchers- at the centre of the stage and rejects linear, deterministic and simple empiricist thinking and practice.
Within this context, the researchers and other 'outsiders' are considered active agents influencing specific events. A key concept within this approach is the analysis of 'interface' situations where the different life-worlds of the actors interact and interpenetrate leading to the ongoing transformation and interpenetration of local and external models and experience. This analysis questions the simple dichotomous distinction drawn between 'indigenous/local' knowledge and 'scientific' knowledge, as studies have revealed the process by which farmers absorb and rework 'outside' knowledge and vice versa. Therefore, knowledge should be viewed as a social process and not a static structure.
An actor-oriented approach recognises the 'multiple realities' and diverse social practices of these various social actors and develops a methodology for getting to grips with these different and often incompatible social worlds. This is central to the understanding of the development process and to better research practice. It also implies greater sensitivity to the process by which the researcher enters the life-worlds of the researched (and vice versa).
The authors are careful to point out that this is not a model for action research, but a theoretical and methodological approach for social analysis and the understanding of social processes. They call into question the euphoria of 'new populist' strategies for

empowering people, which are unaware of the internal processes and resistance strategies of 'the powerless' in their daily life, and leave no room for the strategic agency of individuals in dealing with unequal power situations. Even if they claim 'participatory' and 'empowerment' objectives, these strategies assume that social processes follow straight-forward systemic patterns and can thus be manipulated with an injection of power from the outside. The actor-oriented approach, on the other hand, is sensitive to reaching the voices, practical knowledge and strategies of local actors.

219. Maarleveld, M. and C. Dangbégnon (1999) 'Managing natural resources: A social learning perspective'. *Agriculture and Human Values* 16(3):267-280.
This article presents a social learning perspective as a means to analyse and facilitate collective decision making and action in managed resource systems such as platforms. First, the social learning perspective is developed in terms of a normative and analytical framework. The normative framework entails three value principles, namely, systems thinking, experimentation, and communicative rationality. The analytical framework is built up around the following questions: who learns, what is learned, why is it learned, and how. Next, this perspective is used to analyse two managed resource systems: fishery management in Lake Aheme, Benin and water resources in Gelderland, The Netherlands. To assess platform performance in resource use negotiation, emerging lessons from the case studies are combined with propositions concerning membership of platforms, accessibility of platform meetings, skills and relations of platform members, realisation of platforms, and third party facilitation of platform activities.

220. Macdonald, M., E. Sprenger and I. Dubel (1997) *Gender and organisational change. Bridging the gap between policy and practice*, The Netherlands: Kit Publications, Royal Tropical Institute.
The growing strength and impact of women's organising efforts throughout the world have spurred on the development of strategies to reduce gender inequalities. The need to address these inequalities has become a recognised element in encouraging development; poverty and marginalisation are now clearly seen as gendered phenomena. However, the authors argue that if real change is to occur with respect to gender, organisations will have to become accountable to the needs and interests of women-not only development organisations in the South, but also Northern donor organisations. This volume highlights the need to remedy the double standard involved in a one sided focus on the south, while maintaining a gender perspective in relation to funding.
The book provides a practical approach to change, richly illustrated with experiences in gender interventions. It explores change processes that are relevant to many if not all organisations, and sketches a vision of an organisation that is not only gender sensitive but more generally people-friendly. A roadmap shows steps along the way; specific chapters focus on organisational culture, the role of the change agent, and the challenge of monitoring and evaluating change. Guidelines for a gender assessment of an organisation are included ; however, the authors emphasise that a commitment to change remains the essential element.

221. Maclure, R. (1995) 'Non-government organizations and the contradictions of animation rurale: questioning the ideal of community self-reliance in Burkina Faso'. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 16(1):31-53.

This article presents a practical critique of Animation Rurale (AR), the Sahelian predecessor to PRA. The author cites several reasons for the gradual disappearance of AR in the Namentanga region of Burkina Faso. It is suggested that AR may have increased donor dependency levels among participants, necessarily affecting self-reliance and self-sufficiency of local populations. Animation Rurale is criticised for supporting and facilitating appropriate skills and technology development without adequately taking into account social differentiation or the socio-political environment. Furthermore, the tendency to focus on rural leaders rather than the rural community affected AR's dissemination and long-term sustainability among community members. AR in Namentanga remained 'obtuse' and 'unanimated' due to a high degree of discontinuity during the process. The author suggests sustained support for the community, inclusion of village representative and paraprofessionals from all neighbourhoods as well as reciprocal interaction between agency staff and village inhabitants.

222. MacRae, R.J., S.B. Hill, J. Henning and G.R. Mehuys (1989) 'Agricultural science and sustainable agriculture: a review of existing scientific barriers to sustainable food production and potential solutions'. *Biological Agriculture and Horticulture* 173-219.

Traditional approaches to agricultural science present a number of barriers to increasing our understanding of sustainable agriculture. Logical positivist and reductionist methods limit the information that can be obtained from complex biological systems, and institutional forces help to prevent scientists from exploring comprehensive and new directions that do not fit the predominant paradigms. A diverse range of political and institutional strategies for supporting research in sustainable agriculture is proposed by the authors. Transformation of mainstream agricultural research bureaucracies is dependent on:

a. Moving beyond productivity and efficiency as the dominant goals of agricultural research and including goals that reflect agriculture as a social process.
b. De-emphasise publication records in evaluations of individual scientists and reward them for all the work they can do (research, teaching, administration, extension/adult education, community work)
c. Reforming the education of scientists by fundamentally reorganising the content of curricula and changing the way students are taught.
d. Administrative support for shifts away from disciplinary based departments and for the design of multidisciplinary work requiring that scientists work with each other and with farmers.
e. Governments no longer funding research that is only of immediate benefit to agribusiness firms and private corporations.
f. Broadening the scientific method to complement reductionist with holistic approaches and evolving a diverse range of approaches that can be applied to problems to which their methods can be matched.

223. Mankin, W. (1999) *Entering the fray. International forest policy processes: an NGO perspective on their effectiveness*. Policy that Works for Forests and People Discussion Paper 9, ed. J. Mayers, London: IIED Forestry and Land Use Programme.

This discussion paper is by a leading NGO protagonist in the heated international debate on forest issues. He describes how bad international policy can undermine strong national or local policies, but also how the better initiatives have sparked off progressive policy and institutional change at many other levels. Whilst the

progressive reforms now taking place within the UN, multilateral development banks and parts of the private sector owe much to the hard work of NGOs, many challenges remain.

224. Mascharenas, J. (1998) 'The participatory watershed development implementation process: some practical tips drawn from OUTREACH in South India'. In J. Blackburn and J. Holland (eds.), *Who changes? Institutionalizing participation in development*. London: Intermediate Technology Group.
The chapter reviews the experience of OUTREACH, and Indian NGO, in facilitating participatory watershed development in semi-arid and drought-prone areas of South India. It describes five stages, over a period of four to six years, that the author considers essential to the successful introduction and institutionalisation of a participatory approach to natural resource management. Emphasis is placed on pre-project preparatory processes, such as the creation of self-help groups, as well as participator planning based on PRAs, before any intervention is considered. Consultation and co-ordination between newly formed watershed associations, other NGOs, and local government institutions are also considered crucial at ever stage of the process.
The author makes a strong case for a gradual, progressive institutionalisation of participatory approaches whose central aim is the strengthening of emerging community-based organisations (CBOs). 'Success' is defined as the moment that CBOs in the watersheds no longer need a supporting agency, and are able to manage their own projects and apply for outside assistance as and when necessary.

225. Matur, H.M. (1993) 'Desarrollo centrado en la gente'. In B. Kliksberg (ed.), *Pobreza: un Tema Impostergable, Nuevas Respuestas a Nivel Mundial*. Mexico: CLAD, PNUD, FCE.
The author argues that the failure of many development projects is due to the incapacity of their administrators and planners to recognise that people can contribute and participate in their own development. Development continues to be a rigid bureaucratic exercise where the administrators do not have the capacity to work with the people and perhaps consider that involving people may be a risk factor. The administrative system was conceived as an instrument to maintain order and collect taxes, and thus the bureaucracy does not have the ability to act as an effective development promoter.
In some cases, the people themselves do not see reasons to participate in development projects. There are also local factors that stop individuals from participating, an important one is the absence of community grassroots organisations.
The author sees the decrease of the government's role and the increase of people's involvement within development action, as a positive trend. Within this trend, the increasing role of NGOs is particularly relevant. However, he believes that people-centred development can only be successful if the administrative reforms reach all levels of bureaucracy, from centralised decision-making spheres, to implementing agencies in the periphery. This will be a long-term task since institutional development is a process of experimentation, learning and adaptation.
On the other hand, building the capacity of local people is also fundamental to achieve people-centred development. However the steps taken towards this end will generate strong opposition from various actors as they represent a challenge to established patterns of thinking and acting.

226. Mayers, J. and S. Bass (1999) *Policy that works for forests and people: Overview report*. Policy that Works for Forests and People 7, ed. J. Mayers, London: IIED Forestry and Land Use Programme.
This report draws together finding from the country studies with those from a wide review of other countries and from particular thematic studies. General conclusions are then made about policy that works. Contents include: Forest problems - is policy really to blame?; Understanding policy in practice; Lessons learned from country studies in Pakistan, Papua new Guinea, India, Ghana, Zimbabwe and Costa Rica; Key policy developments in Portugal, Scotland, China, Australia, Scandinavia, West Africa; Corporate influences on policy for forests; Certification and buyers groups; Global change and international games; Factors that affect forest decision-making and policy outcomes; Policy processes that work; Policy instruments that work; What can be done?

227. McLain, R.J. and R.G. Lee (1996) 'Adaptive management: promises and pitfalls.' *Environmental management* 20(4):437-448.

228. Mearns, D. and B. Thorne (1988) *Person centred counselling in action*, London: Sage Publications.
The authors describe the person centred approach to counselling as a set of values, attitudes and behaviours that are employed in contexts far removed from the traditional one to one setting of a therapeutic interview. The person centred approach assumes that all people have within themselves vast resources for development. They have the capacity to grow towards the fulfilment of their unique identities, which means that self-concepts are not unalterable and attitudes or behaviours can be modified or transformed. The creation of a growth producing climate in a therapeutic relationship requires that the counsellor can be genuine or congruent; offer unconditional positive regard and total acceptance; feel and communicate a deep empathic understanding.
The authors describe the underlying belief system of the person centred counsellor in terms of the following features. Human nature, it is postulated, is essentially constructive and not destructive. The person centred counsellor sees destructive behaviour and feelings as simply manifestations of the person who is by nature essentially constructive and self preserving when that person is functioning under unfavourable conditions. Aggression and destructiveness are interpreted as resources which the person brings into play when his desire to grow is thwarted or threatened or when, in potentially terrible circumstances, his very existence is at stake. Human nature is also seen as basically social so that human beings are by nature protective, caring, compassionate and understanding towards each other. Self regard is viewed as a basic human need and this is linked to an extreme position of respect for persons so that every effort is made by person centred practitioners not to violate a person's sense of autonomy, resourcefulness or self respect. The person centred counsellor further believes that perceptions determine experience and behaviour, that the individual should be the primary reference point in any helping activity and that individuals should be related to as whole persons who are in the process of becoming. Alongside the person centred counsellor's belief in the importance of rejecting the pursuit of control or authority over other persons is the corresponding commitment to share power and to exercise control co-operatively.
The book further explores the complex issues involved when a counsellor attempts to be congruent, accepting and empathic. The attitudes, skills, dilemmas and moment to

moment challenges of the person centred counsellor at work are illustrated in concrete ways. The authors note that this distinctive approach to counselling has extended its influence into many other fields including education, management, international peace work and cross-cultural communication.

229. Mehta, L. (1998) 'Contexts of scarcity: the political ecology of water in Kutch, India', D.Phil. thesis, Brighton: University of Sussex.
This research focuses on local and state perceptions of water scarcity, their underlying social and power relations and the resulting water management practices in Kutch, India. Kutch is an arid to semi-arid district in the state of Gujarat where rainfall is often scant and variable. Described in government reports as a "museum of environmental hardship," Kutch is known for its water scarcity and periodic droughts. Its panacea is made out to be the Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) a controversial dam under construction in mainland Gujarat. Contrary to decades of state promises, Kutch is unlikely to benefit significantly from this project. In examining why all hopes continue to be pinned on this project or "water wonder", the research argues that water scarcity in Kutch must be analysed in conjunction with the historical, socio-cultural and political realities that have shaped the region, the identity of its people and their perceptions of water.
By using sociological and anthropological methods, the research focuses on a case study village in eastern Kutch to understand local perceptions of and responses to scarcity conditions. It argues that intermittent drought and scarcity periods are an intrinsic feature of life in dryland systems such as Kutch. The empirical data suggests that local farmers and herders have evolved flexible and diversifying strategies to deal with cyclical periods of scarcity. However, recent changes in water and land use practices have had various adverse ecological impacts on the region, including a declining water table. State interventions and policies concerning water have ignored and reinforced these problems, thus undermining local water-related practices and survival strategies. They have also given rise to a "culture of dependency" and "drought industry". Popular narratives concerning water portray Kutch to be a victim of misery and impoverishment. All these factors have led to scarcity becoming an all-pervasive feature of life in Kutch. Hence, the popular sentiment that the region is on the brink of ecological collapse and is permanently afflicted by the scourge of scarcity.
The study examines the nexus between water, power and difference. It argues that water use id deeply embedded in local institutions, cosmologies and knowledge systems. Moreover, water use is highly differentiated and is intrinsically linked to local and regional power and social relations. Hence, the water "crisis" in Kutch is also the crisis of skewed access to and control over a finite resource.

230. Meintjies, H. (1995) *Trends in natural resource management: policy and practice in Southern Africa*. Working Paper No. 22, Johannesburg: The Land and Agriculture Policy Centre.
This working paper reviews experiences of Southern African countries in their moves towards the incorporation of community based NRM practices into government policy. It examines the sectors of Wildlife and Protected Areas, Forestry and Woodlands, Land Use Management, and Water Management. Lessons are drawn for south Africa from the experiences reviewed.
In many cases donor initiated projects have been later adopted by government departments. In the second part of the paper issues relevant to all sectors are

discusses. The difficulties of the participatory approach are credited, e.g. the need for extensive training and capacity building, conflicts within and between communities, cost and time factors, and problems of minimal supporting and enabling legislation at national levels.
Current problems with government strategies include the fragmentation of environmental issues across various sectors, the lack of political commitment, and the lack of institutional support and capacity.
Relevant factors that should be taken into future consideration are:
* the reform of relationships between ministries;
* the need for political will;
* the need for a national team with members from government and NGOs, CBOs, business, industry and civil society, rather than government working in isolation;
* the inclusion of women in policy considerations.

231. Merton, R.K. (1952) 'Bureaucratic structure and personality'. In K. Merton et al. (ed.), *Reader in Bureaucracy*. New York: Free Press.
In this article, Merton theoretically explores the relationship between personality and bureaucratic structure. He begins with a brief resume of the Weberian view of bureaucracy. He argues that the Weberian bureaucracy exerts pressure on the people within agencies to be, "methodical, prudent, disciplined." Bureaucratic structures require conformity of behaviour, and discipline built from strong sentiments: devotion to duties, a sense of knowing the limits of one's competence and authority, and methodical performance of routine tasks.
He argues that it is common for the aims of organisations to be displaced by an emphasis on details the rules and processes.
He also identifies the problem of rigidity in bureaucracy. He identifies a paradoxical loop, in which bureaucracy demands strict adherence to rules and regulations in the pursuit of efficiency, devotion to rules displaces the purpose of the organisation, new circumstances arise for which existing procedures are inappropriate, and so paradoxically the focus on rules and procedures leads to inefficiency rather than efficiency.
Promotion by seniority leads bureaucrats to be timid, conservative, technicians. He also argues that predictable, graded careers prevent competition amongst officials, so officials are likely to defend one another rather than take the side of elected leaders or the public. And he identifies the depersonalisation of relationships as leading to public perceptions that bureaucrats are arrogant. Bureaucratic structures demand officials to treat all members of the public the same way, which prevents officials from acknowledging the specificities of people which make us human. In dealings with the public, the bureaucrat represents the entire institution, and can count on support from superiors, and thus behaves with authority which the public takes as arrogance, despite the apparently lowly station of the bureaucrat.

232. Metcalfe, S. (1997) 'The CAMPFIRE Program: community-based wildlife resource management in Zimbabwe'. In A. Krishna, N. Uphoff, et al. (eds.), *Reasons for Hope: Instructive Experiences in Rural Development.* West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian.
The author describes the development of the CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe, which devolves responsibility for, and benefits from, wildlife management to local communities. The article includes examples of the direction the programme took in two districts. In one, the institutional focus of the programme was the district level,

and showed limited success. In the other, communities were given more responsibility for the programme. As a result of the power placed with them, communities quickly set out to gain the management knowledge they would need to handle funds from the programme. The programme allowed councils to formulate their own definition of a household to guide the distribution of benefits. Communities demanded accountability from their leaders, and recognition of their plans from the district level. Metcalfe argues that the success of devolving wildlife management to communities rests on a few key factors:

- an innovative and bold policy framework that empowered landowners and communities to benefit from the wildlife in their territory.
- good marketing of the resource, which can generate more value form wildlife wherever it exists.
- dynamic and co-ordinated local agencies, staffed with people committed to the country and the program; and
- flexible donor support, which nurtures and adaptive programmatic approach rather than attempting to care the territory up into project fiefdoms, as has happened in some other countries.

233. Meyer, J.W. and B. Rowan (1991) 'Institutionalized organizations: formal structure as myth and ceremony'. In W.W. Powell and P.J. DiMaggio (eds.), *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

This article "argues that the formal structures of many organisations … dramatically reflect the myths of their institutional environments instead of the demands of their work activities" (41). The authors attempt to explain why formal organisational arrangements are created. They argue that as new institutional forms evolve in society at large, individual organisations tend to adopt them regardless of their proven contribution to the efficiency of the organisation. In modern societies, the complexity of networks of social organisation and exchange increases, as do new 'myths' to rationalise them. Myths may be very general, such as universalism or expertise, or they may be more specific. The myths are legitimised because they are presumed to lead to efficiency, and may be supported by legal arrangements.

The authors argue that organisations enter a process of isomorphism with their environment, leading to three consequences:

1. They incorporate elements which are legitimated externally, rather than in terms of efficiency
2. They employ external or ceremonial assessment criteria to define the values of structural elements
3. Dependence on externally fixed institutions reduces turbulence and maintains stability (49).

Organisations depend for survival both on (1) their efficiency, and (2) on their conformity with myths about what institutions should be, both of which provide legitimacy and resources for the continuation of the institution. Organisations range across a spectrum to the degree to which their formal structures reflect the demands of efficiency or ceremonial rules institutionalised to gain legitimacy.

Organisations tend to suffer a conflict between the structures they adopt to reflect 'myths' and the structures demanded for good performance. They cope with this conflict in a number of ways:

*Decoupling*. The authors put forward the proposition that, "Because attempts to control and co-ordinate activities in institutionalised organisations lead to conflicts and loss of legitimacy, elements of structure are decoupled from activities and from

each other." (57) Activities are performed out of the view of mangers, goals are made ambiguous, integration is avoided, and human relations among staff members are highly valued, as they allow business to be done despite the inadequacy of formal structures.

*The logic of confidence and good faith.* "The more an organisation's structure is derived from institutionalised myths, the more it maintain elaborate displays of confidence, satisfaction, and good faith, internally and externally." (59)

*Ceremonial inspection and evaluation.* "Institutionalized organizations seek to minimize inspection and evaluation by both internal and external constituents." (59)

234. Michael, D.N. (1995) 'Barriers and bridges to learning in a turbulent human ecology'. In L.H. Gunderson, C.S. Holling, et al. (eds.), *Barriers and bridges to the renewal of ecosystems and institutions*. Columbia University Press.

Among the major barriers and bridges to institutional transformation for the participatory management of natural resources and complex ecosystems are those pertaining to individual and organisational learning: learning what needs to be done, how to do it, whether it worked, and how to apply the learning to the emerging consequences, learning that must be unlearned and learning that must be learnt anew and by whom, learning about how to learn under the conditions that shape humans, on the one hand, and the environment, on the other. Learning means learning content and, just as important, learning how to learn to attain these learning requirements. Unlearning previous norms, procedures and myths takes a special culture. Change in organisations, for example, requires disconfirmation of the adequacy of the current situation, anxiety about the consequences and the psychological security needed to attempt change. Drawing on past experience the author identifies some unavoidable constraints that shape what a person or an organisation wants to learn:

- Socio-cultural constraints. Individuals, groups, organisations and nations act according to norms, history, and processes of their culture's myth systems. Implicitly and explicitly, these myths play a powerful part in defining desirable and undesirable ways of being. Generally, the boundaries that express and facilitate these definitions constrain doing and thinking to the "normal" ways. Our prevailing beliefs about what is "naturally" worthy of aspiring and doing - our myths - and reflexive dependence on what has worked well before - habit - are attractive ways to leave our minds uncluttered, our behaviour reliable, and our anxiety levels low. Institutions and organisations depend on just those attractions to appeal to stakeholders and membership. Thus learning, which mostly upsets beliefs and habits in individuals and organisations, is hardly likely to be embraced easily and enthusiastically, even though there is a growing, and sometimes powerful, recognition of the need for change.
- Emotional constraints. The recognition of a threat to oneself (or to one's organisation) is accompanied by an acutely uncomfortable feeling of vulnerability. One's very sense of self is vulnerable because one's learned successful behaviours or habits now appear insufficient to protect that sense of self. Many persons, beset by fear, rage, and distrust, are driven by demanding, mostly unconscious wishes for an ordered or disordered world and for power and control. Both private and public documentation reveal that such unconscious destructive drives are operative in persons in all sorts of authority positions. It is unlikely that the various contenders in issues about natural resource management, with its implications for who has power and control, are devoid of such drives. Given these emotional constraints, careful preparation and attention to process as well as purpose are needed if real learning for transformation is to be realised.

- Cognitive constraints. The cognitive aspects of learning have to do with understanding, using, and evaluating formal information. Persons and organisations view information from their personal and peer shared myths and boundaries. Learning to perceive and to evaluate the "facts" differently, including experiencing them from the "rationality" of other interests, and then learning to act differently with regard to them confronts participants with all the threats and vulnerabilities deflected by their conventional habits of perceiving and acting. Hence there is a need for a learning approach that acknowledges this situation by being both humble and compassionate.

The author identifies opportunities for advancing individual and organisational learning for natural resource management:

- Use of the metaphoric power of language. The essence of metaphors is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another. Metaphors are powerful means for defining boundaries(barriers) and spanning them (bridges). Metaphors reinforce entrenched views of what is real, true, important or trivial. And, if well chosen, they can ease re-framing of issues and actions. Coercion aside, we influence each other through the stories we tell. These stories can be in the form of technical reports rich in theory and data, that is, metaphors that, in the dominant western construction of reality; imply authority and objectivity. But the stories that apparently have the strongest influence are those rich in gut level metaphors that elicit feelings of fear, hope, security and threat. There are several categories of metaphors that might serve well in exploring, arguing and structuring institutional transformation and natural resource management: nurturing, maturing, growth, fulfilment, decline, death, ebb and flow, emergent, counterpoint, dissonance, mixed voices and instruments, themes and variations, discovery, exploration, questing, new experience, risk, vulnerability, error and accomplishment. At all stages of learning the deliberate or inadvertent metaphoric content of language used will shape the story told and the story that unfolds, thereby affecting subsequent learning activities.
- Acknowledge uncertainty and embrace errors. Learning by individuals and organisations requires that the uncertainties and unpredictability associated with the construction of data, policies, plans and expected outcomes are acknowledged. Taking advantage of the opportunities to learn from uncertainties requires constructing procedures that embrace error. Specific uncertainties can be used to design error detecting capabilities that reach out to embrace the human and natural environment as it emerges over time.
- Minimise the learner’s sense of vulnerability. All who participate in change via learning have to deal with their fears that in the process of learning new perspectives and actions they will lose their sense of self and status and that what they subsequently undertake may fail. A major source of failure of efforts to construct learning groups and organisations arises from the distrust created by not acknowledging that such feelings of vulnerability affect all the participants, regardless of their role or status and by not explicitly trying to ameliorate them. The first step in reducing fear and distrust is to acknowledge that such vulnerability is part of the experience of being learners.
- Introduce training of group process skills. Learning to learn depends on learning skills that enhance task group behaviour. Ineptness and obfuscating habits can be replaced with learned constructive skills. Because the challenge of learning is also a challenge to one’s sense of person - Who am I? - it is imperative that learners be conscious of their need for a support group. This support group is intended to provide a way of sharing fears, worries, dilemmas, and hopes about the anticipated or experienced changes in oneself with others and to facilitate contact with caring

individuals on whom one can depend for empathy.

- Provide short term reinforcements/rewards. Because the management of natural resources and ecosystems are inherently long term activities, organisations must make it an explicit priority to learn how to remain learners. Continuous learning and relearning under changing circumstances are burdensome. Given a long time frame, the rewards of acknowledgement, appreciation, and accomplishment tend to be indefinitely deferred. Rituals must therefore be invented that regularly provide recognition and reinforcement for learning. Authentic rituals can be deeply meaningful and vivifying events. Rituals should acknowledge risks taken to make personal and organisational changes as well as the difficulties and desirability of transformation for adaptive resource management. Error embracing activities designed to detect deterioration in a culture of learning should be introduced e.g. ombudspersons and resident critics chosen by insiders plus outside stakeholders and changed every year or two.

235. Miller, C. and S. Razavi (1998) *Missionaries and mandarins. Feminist engagement with development institutions*. Intermediate Technology Publications with UNRISD.

This volume explores the various strategies of engagement employed by women working to transform the bureaucratic structures of state organisations, multilateral institutions and NGOs to make them more gender equitable. These strategies involve combining the task of pursuing transformative agendas from within bureaucracies-of being "missionaries"- while adapting to the techniques and practices of the bureaucracy as a "mandarin" would have to do.

The contributors examine struggles not only at the discursive level, where women's needs are constructed and contested, but also at the institutional level of the rules and procedures of bureaucratic actors, and at the level of resource allocation. Studies from many different countries, including Vietnam, Australia, Canada and Morocco, illustrate both the variety of institutional strategies adopted by feminists in different political and cultural settings, and the highly diverse forms of political action by women which can be seen to constitute feminist politics. The relationship between femocrats (insiders) and organised women's movement (outsiders) is contextualised within the broader themes of state civil society relationships, the growth of the international women's movement, as well as the apparent decentralisation of development institutions and their claims to apply participatory approaches to policy formulation. From their different perspectives the contributors acknowledge the gendered nature of bureaucracies but argue against the view that these institutions are monolithic and impervious to change.

236. Ministerio de Desarrollo Humano (1997) *Tres años de participación popular: memoria de un proceso*, La Paz: MDH.

This book tells how the Law of Popular Participation was initially conceived and the story of its first 3 years of implementation in Bolivia. Furthermore, it provides an analysis of its achievements, limitations and some suggestions for improvement based on 16 evaluation documents produced by different institutions.

The presidential election in Bolivia in 1993 brought to power a group of people previously in the opposition, who were committed to furthering the democratisation process in the country. The Law of Popular Participation was designed and approved for this purpose. The idea was that for real democratisation to take place, there needed to be a process of inclusion of all the population, down to those living in the smallest

and most remote villages in the country.. In this way, the idea of promoting 'participatory democracy' went hand in hand with a process of administrative and financial decentralisation. Municipalities were created across the country as administrative and political entities, i.e. new local government bodies emerged. Municipal authorities were to be elected by the population and the municipalities were given financial resources (the quantity determined by the size of the population) to design and implement projects responding to the expressed needs of the community. The municipal governments were also given the right to collect taxes from the population and the control over second and third level hospitals, health centres, primary and secondary schools, sports facilities, and local roads among others.

At the same time, existing social organisations were legally recognised as the legitimate representatives of the population, participation was to be channelled through them. One social organisation representing all of the population was recognised in each municipality (Organización Territorial de Base) and was given rights and responsibilities to fulfil. Among these are: to propose, control and supervise all the projects and services carried out by the municipality to ensure that they respond to the citizen's needs; to promote actions for the preservation of the environment; to control spending patterns of the local authorities and push for removal of any authority acting against the benefit of the population.

Another interesting feature was the creation of a system to strengthen the technical and administrative capacity of the municipal authorities and the community representatives. Specialised teams were sent out to the municipalities to work with them to build their capacity in different aspects related to the duties they had to perform.

While the book gives a general optimistic view of the transformation initiated by the Law, it also highlights numerous problems with its implementation. Among the most relevant ones are:

· In some places, local authorities have tried to take personal advantage of the new inflow of resources. In some instances this was solved after strong opposition from the community

· A large percentage of municipal plans designed are not implemented

· The majority of the plans implemented are related to social infrastructure and productive projects have been left aside. As a response to this problem, the government has already implemented an initiative of co-financing productive projects. Under this initiative there are also schemes for human development and environment/sustainable development projects

· The population tends to participate only by presenting demands to the authorities, but not in the stages of prioritisation and planning. The authorities are left with the freedom to select the projects they want without being held accountable for their decision

· The local authorities do not have the administrative and technical capacity to design, plan and implement projects and to administrate the financial resources effectively. The government's initiative to build capacity at the municipal level is only partially successful and the municipalities have become dependent on technical experts sent from the centre to carry out their initiatives

· Local authorities are too dependent on the financial resources given to them from the centre

The author sees this as a gradual long term process in which the problems will have to be dealt with as they become apparent. He is convinced that this process is irreversible and without doubt will contribute to the improvement of the lives of

Bolivian people. Among some of the suggestions for improvement presented are:

- The use of various means of communication to educate the population about the contents of the Law and to promote their participation in municipal affairs (e.g. radio, theatre, socio-dramas, music concerts, football championships, festivals and the translation of the law into the different indigenous languages)
- Increase the efforts for tax collection of the municipalities
- Promote the implementation of productive initiatives
- Design a strategy to strengthen the organisation of civil society. The population needs to become involved in all the stages of the project cycle.
- There should be an explicit policy to incorporate women into the participatory institutions

There needs to be a monitoring and evaluation system to help improve municipal actions

237. Ministerio de Desarrollo Sostenible y Medio Ambiente and Ministerio de Desarrollo Humano (1997) 'Norma de la planificación participativa municipal'. Bolivia: Secretaría Nacional de Planeación y Secretaría Nacional de Participación Popular.

This is the text of the law, approved in March 1997, which regulates popular participation at the municipal level within the framework of the Bolivian Law on Popular Participation. It states that its aim is "to move forward towards the institutionalisation of the participatory planning process at the municipal level, guiding and consolidating the processes, procedures and functions of the different actors of municipal planning, guaranteeing its participatory nature...and strengthening the capacity of social and institutional actors".

This law establishes the roles of the different actors involved and the operational mechanisms, technical and administrative definitions and the institutional framework for the municipal development planning process.

The stages of the participatory planning process defined by this law are:

1. Preparation and organisation of the process: actors are called upon and commitment for participation is ensured
2. Appraisal of the municipality: based on the self-appraisal carried out through the direct social participation of the population in each community of the municipality
3. Design of the development strategy: based on the demands expressed by the community and the results of the participatory appraisal
4. Planning of annual activities
5. Implementation and administration
6. Monitoring, evaluation and adjustment

The law considers the following as social actors with the right to participate in the municipal planning process (in Spanish where accurate translation is difficult): organizaciones territoriales de base; comités de vigilancia; community associations; other civil society organisations. The institutional actors considered under this law are the: municipal government; prefecture; and other public institutions. The private institutional actors considered are: NGOs, other private institutions dealing with social issues; and the implementing agencies.

238. Mintzberg, H. and A. McHugh (1985) 'Strategy formation in an adhocracy'. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 30:160-197.

The designing of organisational structures and the making of organisational strategies tends to be equated with planning, with the systematic "formulation" and articulation

of deliber-ate, premeditated strategies for change, which are then "implemented". The traditional precept of designing structure to follow "strategy" remains intact in almost all of the literature. However, this view of strategy making is unnecessarily restrictive. Based on detailed tracking over time of the actions of a public sector organisation the authors show that strategies for change can "form" in a variety of ways: from the precedents set by individual operators, from thin streams of activity that eventually pervade an organisation, from spontaneous convergence in the behaviour of a variety of actors, and so on.

The paper first identifies and tracks the strategies and structures pursued by this organisation across almost four decades of its history. The description of the organisations' quest for "adhocracy" and the problems this posed for the exercise of formal leadership is particularly relevant here. An "adhocracy" includes the following elements: 1) the organisation operates in an environment that is both dynamic and complex, demanding innovation of a fairly sophisticated nature. Each output tends to be unique. 2) the production of complex, unique out-puts forces the organisation to engage highly trained experts and to combine their talents into multidisciplinary teams 3) these experts are housed in specialised units, for administrative and housekeeping purposes, but are deployed in temporary teams to work on their projects; the structure thus takes on the form of a matrix. 4) because of the complex and unpredictable nature of its work, the organisation relies largely on mutual adjustment for co-ordination, which is encouraged by semiformal structural parameters such as liaison personnel and standing committees. Co-ordination by direct supervision and standardisation is discouraged, as are the more formalised aspects of structure such as hierarchy, performance controls, and rules. 5) the organisation is decentralised selectively: power over differential decisions is diffused in uneven ways, subject to the availability of information and expertise needed to deal with the issue at hand. The dilemma of leadership in managing adhocracy lies in trying to exercise influence without being able to rely on formal controls. Management has to ensure that the organisation is staffed with the best possible people, that hiring mistakes are corrected quickly and that structures are designed largely to leave these people free to work as they know how. Some controls are obviously necessary, - but the obsession with control found in machine bureaucracy is anathema to the exercise of expertise and skilled labour. In conclusion, the six components of a grass roots model of strategy formation for organisational change are summarised:

1. The process of strategy formation can be over-managed; sometimes it is more important to let patterns emerge than to force an artificial consistency upon an organisation prematurely.
2. These strategies can take root in all kinds of strange places, virtually wherever people have the capacity to learn and resources to support the capacity.
3. Such strategies become organisational when they become collective, that is when the patterns proliferate, to pervade the behaviour of the organisation at large.
4. That process of proliferation may be conscious but need not be; it may be managed but need not be.
5. Periods of integrated continuity tend to be interspersed with periods of quantum change.
6. To manage this process is to create the climate within which a wide variety of strategies can grow (to establish flexible structures and supporting ideologies, to define guiding "umbrella strategies") and then to watch what does in fact come up and not be too quick to cut off the unexpected.

239. Moore, M., S. Stewart and A. Hudock (1995) *Institution building as a development assistance method: a review of literature and ideas*. Evaluation Report, 1995/1: SIDA.

The objective of this monograph is to summarise the state of knowledge about institution building in aid programmes and to suggest practical conclusions for aid agencies.

Experience and ideas are examined in Part A. The long definitional debate about the meanings of 'institution', 'institution building', 'organisation', and related terms is reviewed. It is not possible to agree on clear and simple definitions of the terms 'institution' and 'institution building' that encompass everything that people wish to refer to when they use these words. This does not matter much: there is substantial implicit agreement on the meanings of these words, and disagreements exist only at the margin. One can have sensible and useful discussions and frame policies without first agreeing on the precise meanings of terms.

The core concern of institution building activities is to improve the effectiveness and capacity of formal organisations. There has been a considerable change in our understanding of the factors contributing to good organisational performance in recent years. There is now less emphasis on supplying the resources that organisations need, and more on locating them in an environment that places on them performance demands, pressures or disciplines. A framework for understanding these performance disciplines is presented.. This involves examining organisations and their environments in terms of the 'stakeholders' involved. Politics comprises an important part of this environment; institution building is a more political activity, in the broad sense of the term, than has often been recognised.

Aid agencies appear to be less effective at institution building than at other types of activities. There are several reasons for this, including the inherently difficult nature of institution building. Yet institution building activities are currently in fashion in development aid activities, often under the new label of 'capacity building'. This implies that it is going to be difficult for aid agencies to respond effectively to the demands being made on them. The problem is all the more acute because the weaknesses of the main conventional mode of delivering institution building services through aid - the individual 'expert-counterpart' technical co-operation arrangement - have recently been widely recognised. The emphasis is not on long-term 'twinning' arrangements between institutions. Sweden has been a pioneer of this type of arrangement, and has learned that it is not easy to expand such arrangements rapidly.

There are a range of areas in which SIDA and other aid donors could attempt to improve their institution building policies and practice. These practical conclusions are presented in Part B.

240. Morgan, G. (1986) *Images of Organisations*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Morgan argues that the metaphors we use to understand organisations powerfully limit our understanding of them. He reviews a series of metaphors that may be used to represent organisations:

- machines (bureaucracies)
- organisms
- brains
- cultures
- political systems
- psychic prisons

- flux and transformation
- instruments of domination

For each of these images, Morgan traces sub-components of the metaphor. He then presents what he sees as the strengths and limitations of each for understanding organisations. He argues that for analysis that reflect the complex, ambiguous, and paradoxical nature of organisations, one must open one's thought processes to read the same situation from several different perspectives. Using a private firm as an example, he applies the various metaphors to the same organisational history to illustrate how they highlight different characteristics. He suggests that detailed investigation of an organisation can identify the relative importance of the insights into an organisation used by taking the different metaphors. This process of analysis can then lead to identification of the most fundamental problems and solutions facing the organisation.

241. Mosse, D., J. Farrington and A. Rew (1998) 'Development as process. Concepts and methods for working with complexity'. London: Routledge/ODI Development Policy Studies.

Conventionally, the complexity of development work has been "managed" through the use of simple project models in which planned inputs lead logically to predictable outputs. In focusing on unintended outcome, the unmanageable element, the local variability of effects, and the importance of social relationships, the contributors in this book challenge simplistic managerial models and suggest new approaches and methods which acknowledge, explore and positively engage with the unexpected and with diversity in the development process.

Drawing on work in agriculture, irrigation, forestry and fisheries in countries in Asia and the former Soviet Union, this book examines changing information needs faced by development agencies as they shift from simple technology led project approaches, towards an emphasis on policy change, institutional reform and inter-agency partnerships. In looking critically at the politics of information production and use in different cultural and institutional settings, the authors explore two key questions: How can the complexity and unpredictability of planned development be understood? How can project managers deal with the social relationships and institutional contexts in which they operate?

The book presents case studies highlighting the value of non-predictive, non-indicator based systems of institutional monitoring which can identify and feed back information on significant changes generated by programme activities. Most of the process oriented methodologies described are geared towards monitoring programmes as they occur in specific contexts and feeding back information which can help managers, researchers, policy makers or network members respond to events. The availability of information on process can serve to analyse failure, adapt approaches and in other ways facilitate more rapid (managerial) responses to events, lead to course corrections and stimulate modification of project objectives and strategies in the light of implementation experience.

242. Mukherjee, N. (1996) *The rush to scale: lessons being learnt in Indonesia*. Presented at the 'Institutionalisation of Participatory Approaches Workshop', Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, UK.

This paper describes how the Indonesian government incorporated elements of PRA to launch a nation-wide programme of participatory village planning in 60,000 villages to be completed within the 1995-1996 budget year ending in March 1996.

The article analyses the mistakes committed in attempting to scale up too fast in the face of too many constraints: too few sufficiently experienced trainers resulting in poor quality training, unrealistic budget and time constraints imposed by government, and the pre-existing top- down culture of development planning in Indonesia. The article shows in very clear terms that participatory approaches cannot be tagged on to existing national programmes, and that scaling-up will fail if it is rushed.

243. Murray, G.F. (1997) 'A Haitian peasant tree chronicle: adaptive evolution and institutional intrusion'. In A. Krishna, N. Uphoff, et al. (eds.), *Reasons for Hope: Instructive Experiences in Rural Development*.. West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian.
This article reviews the history of the USAID funded Agroforestry Outreach Project (AOP) in Haiti. The author was the project anthropologist and director. The project was based on three principles, all of which were new in forestry projects in Haiti at the time:
1. rural smallholders were the most likely to spearhead tree-planting efforts
2. projects had to focus on rural smallholders needs for income, rather than macro considerations of ecological conservation
3. externally funded projects can be effective if based on ethnographic insights
The project took and agroforestry approach, encouraging rural people to plant free seedlings as a way of generating income. The goal of reforestation was not made explicit in communicating the project to local people. They were encouraged to plant and cut the wood trees as needed for their livelihoods. The programme was delivered through NGOs, to avoid funnelling money into the corrupt Duvalier regime. The programme showed remarkable success, surpassing early tree-planting targets.
The author explains how the programme evolved over its lifetime. For example, nurseries were decentralised to cope better with demand. The mix of seedlings made available became increasingly diverse in response to farmers' demand. The number of seedlings granted to recipients was reduced, due to the limits of farmers' labour to plant them.
The project was later shackled by a new USAID mission director. Despite many warnings to the contrary, the director insisted on charging farmers for seedlings. The author explains why this stopped farmers from availing of the seedlings produced. The thirty nurseries that were established all closed down. After a period of project collapse, there have been recent moves to revitalise the programme.

244. Nabham, G.P., A.M. Rea, K.L. Reichhardt, E. Mellinck, et al. (1982) 'Papago influences on habitat and biotic diversity: Quitovac oasis ethnoecology'. *Journal of Ethnobiology* 2:124-143.

245. Nelson-Jones, R. (1982) 'The fundamental counselling relationship'. In R. Nelson-Jones (ed.), *The theory and practice of counselling psychology*. Holt, Reinhart and Winston.
This chapter begins by discussing the intellectual, didactic, experiential and integrated intellectual-didactic experiential approaches to the practical training of counsellors. An integrated approach is advocated. The idea of a fundamental counselling relationship is examined. A distinction is made between basic empathy, understanding and responding to the client's current reality, and additive empathy, or counsellor interventions which go beyond basic empathy in helping clients to realise their potential. The skills and attitudes of basic empathy constitute the fundamental counselling relationship.

The remainder of the chapter contains a series of exercises, with accompanying text , designed to focus on aspects of counsellor provision of basic empathy. The main emphasis of the early exercises is on accurate listening, both to the counsellor's own attitudes and self-evaluations and to the client's personal viewpoint on internal frame of reference. Additionally, some of the early exercises focus on creating an awareness of the importance of empathic non-verbal and para-verbal communications. Next the concept of empathy is described more fully, followed by an exercise on discriminating its presence or absence in counsellor responses. The remaining exercises focus on developing empathic responding through appropriate use of words. These exercises cover reflection of content, reflection of feeling, and reflection of content and feeling together, as well as empathic co-counselling. Suggestions are made for further practising of empathic responding.

246. Nhira, C., S. BAker, P. Gondo, J. Mangono, et al. (1999) *Contesting inequality inaccess to forests: Zimbabwe country study*. Policies that Work for Forests and People Series 5, ed. J. Mayers, London: IIED Forestry and Land Use Programme.
Who you are and where you live determine whether or not you have access to forests and forest decision-making in Zimbabwe. Inequitable land distribution and anachronistic policies combine to provide the wealthy with incentives for forest land management whilst the poor are ensnared in a web of contradictory regulations. The state's control of forestry is now under challenge from alliances in the private sector and civil society. Yet, whilst local people have begun to be recognised as adept managers of trees, there are major political and economic tensions in devolving authority to the local institutions that might be truly motivated for good forest resource management. "Contesting inequality in access to forests" describes the initiatives and coalitions that have turned key debates and begun to generate a more widely shared vision of the role of forests and woodlands in Zimbabwe's development. It analyses what has and has not worked, and it sets out the ways in which vision can be turned into reality.
Abstract from web page.

247. Nicholls, L. (1999) 'Birds of a feather? UNDP and ActionAid implementation of Sustainable Human Development'. *Development in Practice* 9(4):396-409.
By the 1990s, innovative ideas such as Sustainable Human Development (SHD) and People-Centre Development (PCD) had begun to shift the development discourse beyond economic perspectives and the ideological (market versus state) debates of earlier days. This article describes how, despite their promise and the genuine efforts of international development agencies such as UNDP and ActionAid to put SHD/PCD ideas into practice, the conceptual deficiencies of the SHD/PCD paradigm, and internal organisational interests within the two agencies, have gradually displaced the agenda's core competencies.
The article analyses the efforts of UNDP and of ActionAid to implement SHD/PCD approaches particularly in Uganda, and from this analysis some important insights are drawn.

248. Nonaka, I. (1991) 'The knowledge creating company'. *Harvard Business Review* (November-December):96-104.
In this influential article, Nonaka draws lessons from Japanese companies that are successful product innovators. He argues that Japanese managers have found ways to manage the serendipitous nature of innovation. In organisations, knowledge creation

"depends on tapping the tacit and often highly subjective insights, intuitions, and hunches of individual employees and making those insights available for testing and use by the company as a whole." Nonaka says that there are two key processes that lead to new ideas- articulation and internalisation. Articulation is the process of taking tacit knowledge (gained through experience) and 'translating' it into explicit knowledge which can more easily be shared through the organisation. Internalisation is taking lessons gained through sharing explicit knowledge, and making them part of one's stock of tacit knowledge. The key to making such an organisation work is personal commitment, especially of the manager, and having a staff which identifies with the vision of the organisation. Nonaka argues that managers in Japanese companies effectively use images, symbols and metaphors rather than nuts-and-bolts ideas to mobilise the commitment of staff and to free up their thinking. One such example was Honda's successful development of a new car model based only on the idea of 'the history of automobile evolution.' Managers must learn to create and manage chaos, sparking new ways of thinking through images and symbols, and capitalising on the creativity that results from different people's interpretations of the idea. In learning organisations, every member is responsible for innovation, rather than assigning it as the responsibility of a specific department.

249. Nonaka, I., H. Takeuchi and K. Umemoto (1996) 'A theory of organizational knowledge creation'. *International Journal of Information Management* 11(7-8):833-845.
The paper proposes a theory of organisational knowledge creation, which is defined as the process that organisationally amplifies the knowledge created by individuals and crystallises it as part of the knowledge system of an organisation. The authors distinguish between two types of knowledge. Tacit knowledge is personal, context-specific, and therefore hard to communicate. Explicit knowledge is transmittable in formal, systematic language. The process of organisational knowledge creation is a never-ending spiral of tacit and explicit knowledge through four modes of knowledge conversion: i.e. socialisation (from tacit to tacit) externalisation (from tacit to explicit) combination (from explicit to explicit), and internalisation (from explicit to tacit). Each of the four modes of knowledge conversion is explained, using actual vignettes from Japanese private sector firms.

250. North, D.C. (1990) *Institutions, institutional change and economic performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
This study provides the outline of a theory of institutions and institutional change. Although it builds on the earlier studies of institutions, it delves much more deeply that the earlier studies into the structure of political and economic institutions and how they change. The specification of what institutions are, how they differ from organisations, and how they influence transaction and production costs is the key to much of the analysis.
The central focus is on the problem of co-operation- specifically the co-operation that permits economies to capture gains from trade. The evolution of institutions that create and hospitable environment for co-operative solution to complex exchange provides for economic growth. Not all human co-operation is social productive, of course; indeed, this study is concerned as much with explaining the evolution of institutional frameworks that induce economic stagnation and decline as with accounting for the successes.
In Part I, the book examines the nature of institutions and the consequences of

institutions for economic (or societal) performance. Part II outlines a theory of institutional change not only to provide a framework for economic (and other) history, but also to explain how the past influences the present and future, the way incremental institutional change affects the choice set at the moment, and the nature of path dependence. Part III addresses the primary objective of the study, to achieve an understanding of the differential performance of economies through time.

251. Norton, A. (1998) 'Analysing participatory research for policy change'. In J. Holland and J. Blackburn (eds.), *Whose Voice? Participatory research and policy change*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
The main objective of this chapter is to share some of the experience gained in the process of working on Participatory Poverty Assessments in Ghana, Zambia and South Africa. The brief introduction deals with some of the conceptual and ethical issues raised. The process of analysis of research generated through using participatory methods is then examined. Later sections are designed to give practical guidance for development practitioners seeking to develop their capacity to carry out participatory policy research.

252. Ochoa, H. (1989) 'Centralismo político vs. descentralización en las decisiones de la política ambiental: un comentario'. *Revista del Convenio Andrés Bello* XIII(37):9-17.
The author presents an account of two parallel processes: decentralisation in Latin America and the creation of national and regional environmental institutions in this region. The main objective of the article is to analyse the link between these two processes to assess what is the most appropriate government level to solve environmental problems in Latin America.
Ochoa describes what he considers the main issues related to decentralisation in Latin America. These include generally accepted assumptions such as viewing decentralisation as a means to strengthen the State's technical-administrative capacity or as a mechanism for increasing the bureaucracy's flexibility. He also highlights limitations existing in Latin America, such as the view of decentralisation as de-concentration, or only as a sectoral and regional initiative which is still far from fully reaching the municipal or community level. However, he is careful to stress that each country in the region has reached different levels of decentralisation.
He asserts that the initiatives of decentralisation in Health and Education have been among the most successful at the different levels of regional and local government and suggests that this experience should be drawn upon for the decentralisation of responsibilities regarding environmental issues.
Ochoa argues that furthering the decentralisation process is essential if we expect environmental issues to become the responsibility of a wider sector of the population. Following this argument, he emphasises the need for strengthening the technical and administrative capacity of the national, regional and local level government staff to deal with environmental issues. He assumes that the local population has limited environmental awareness and sees a role for the State (in its different levels) and the private sector (especially the NGOs) in promoting environmental action and making the local population aware of the importance of environmental protection.

253. Ojating, I. (1997) 'Folklore and conservation in Nigeria: using PRA to learn from elders'. *PLA Notes* 28:22-24.
This article reports on a project that attempted to discover elders knowledge of

traditional beliefs and taboos and their application to natural resource management and protection. Students used semi-structured interviews and transect walks with elders to examine historical laws and how they were maintained and how folklore and taboos were used to conserve natural resources.

254. Open University: Centre for Complexity and Change (1999) *CCC Home Page*. WWW: http://www-tec.open.ac.uk/ccc/.
The website of the Centre for Complexity and Change at the Open University lists courses available under the disciplines of Development Policy and Practice, Systems, and Technology Manufacturing Management. A number of these courses are of interest in their approach to understanding systems and the use of systems thinking in making sense of organisations' experiences, and in dealing with common challenges such as conflict, decision making and working relationships, and also in approaches to organisational change. These courses represent one form of capacity building relevant to the new generation of managers and other staff involved in technical projects, in organisations, and in community work. The courses aim to help participants to recognise the systems in which they are involved using various systems concepts and techniques. They can then study the problem further to identify the components of the system, examine how they relate to one another, understand how the system as a whole behaves and learn how they might intervene to change things.

255. Osuga, B. (1998) 'Towards community-sensitive policy: influencing the Uganda National Health Plan'. In J. Holland and J. Blackburn (eds.), *Whose Voice? participatory research and policy change*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
The process of developing the current five year Government of Uganda/UNICEF health plan (1995-2000) presented an opportunity for the Uganda Community-based Health Care Association (UCBHCA) to play a strategic role in influencing health policy in Uganda. UCDHCA is an umbrella organisation of health and health-related NGOs. It was represented in the various stages of the plan development process. its involvement included participation in the review of the previous country programme, brainstorming on the key strengths and weaknesses of the previous plan and in the development of this new five-year plan. The fora used to come up with this plan included: consultative meetings, logical framework workshops, exchange of materials and correspondence.

256. Ouchi, W.G. and A.L. Wilkins (1985) 'Organisational culture'. *Annual Review of Sociology* 11:457-483.
The contemporary study of organisational culture reflects several hotly contested concerns, among which the following: can culture be intentionally managed? Must culture be studied using the tools of the phenomenologist or the ethnographer or does the use of multivariate analysis have a place? A review of theory, empirical studies, and contributions,-both theoretical and empirical-, to the understanding of planned change of organisations is offered. Theoretical studies include macro-analytic and micro-analytic approaches. Macro-analytic theories try to understand the culture of a whole group or subgroup, the functions the culture performs in maintaining the group, or the conditions under which the group and its culture and subcultures develop. The focus is on patterns of beliefs, language and symbols in organisations. These elements of organisational culture are viewed as necessary to maintain order and stability and they are seen as resistant to explicit attempts at manipulation. Micro-analytic theories

of organisational culture are grounded in psychology. There are two general categories, those that tend to use psychological notions of attribution and social learning and those that point to the unconscious or underlying assumptions that give meaning to the surface manifestations of culture. Work on planned change related to organisational culture include:
- Case descriptions of planned change efforts. The descriptions of efforts to change culture are not encouraging to those who believe culture can be a tool for management control. These studies have typically found that organisational cultures are not easily altered in intentional ways, and they often turn towards an examination of environmental factors to explain the result.
- Advice to executives. Some of the most popular advice to executives comes consultants or business school professors who offer recommendations about how to influence attitudes, opinions, and beliefs.
Empirical studies of organisational culture are briefly presented under three headings i) holistic studies which combine ethnographic descriptions, analysis of archives, historical and other public documents ii) semiotic studies that focus on language and symbolism iii) quantitative studies which use surveys, questionnaires and experimental manipulation.

257. Packham, R., R. Ison and R. Roberts (1988) 'Soft-systems methodology for action research: the role of a college farm in an agricultural education institution'. *Agricultural Administration and Extension* 30:109-126.
This paper concerns the use of action research within a research institute both to meet immediate objectives of the staff and to learn about the research methodology. In a situation characterised by decreased funding and curriculum reform based on the concepts of experiential learning, the Checkland soft-systems methodology was adopted to manage a change in the role of university farms using a consensus approach. Two outcomes of the research process were (i) improvement in financial returns in the farms, a better working climate and greater use of farms in experiential education, and (ii) the researchers learned about the methodology and how it is able to accommodate purposeful behaviour and issues of power. Following description of the initial situation, the paper outlines the steps involved in applying the soft-systems methodology to that situation.

258. Painter, T.M. (1993) 'Trouve la bonne voie: Lier les concepts à l'action afin d'améliorer l'utilisation des ressources naturelles dans le Sahel ouest-africain'. *IIED Drylands Programme Discussion Paper* 40.
In this briefing, Painter interrogates the use of Amenagement/Gestion des Terroirs (AT/GT) as a conceptual and practical approach to natural resource management in the West African rural Sahel. His study stems from the heavy funding and attention AT/GT attracted following the 1984 Regional Convention to Combat Desertification in Nouakchott, and seeks to clarify the implications of its use by NGOs in improving living standards of pastoralist populations in the Sahel. Painter responds to the following questions:
1) What are the origins and the fundamental hypotheses of the AT/GT approach?
2) In what way has the approach proved efficient in the Sahel?
3) What are the implications for NGOs involved?
In this vein, Painter provides a critical but revealing overview of the evolution of the AT/GT approach. The use of the 'terroir' as a unit of analysis is inherently problematic, as it reflects the influence of planners in delineating a set area as a base

for exploitation and self-validation, and often reflects an anti-pastoral bias. However, despite the apparent 'guidance' of planners, communities involved are interested in the approach due to increasing land degradation and decreasing cultivation alternatives.
Painter further points up the tendency to confuse the evolving AT/GT discourse with the actual local impacts of the process. He suggests this confusion impedes progress and perpetuates existing conflicts by improving the language and policy related to AT/GT without actually identifying linkages to local impacts. Painter concludes his analysis by emphasising AT/GT as experimental, ambiguous but also flexible and able to connect local level resource needs with initiatives (NGOs, etc.) that may aid in improving local management of natural resources.

259. Paixo, P.R. (1996) 'Participative budgeting in Belo Horizonte: democratisation and citizenship'. *Environment and Urbanisation* 8(1):213-222.
This paper describes how a government elected to power in the Brazilian city of Belo Horizonte in 1993 introduced a participatory budget. This not only meant a much greater involvement by citizens and community organisations in determining priorities but also a more transparent and accountable form of government. The paper describes how this innovation changed the priorities in public spending. Participatory budgeting creates new ways of thinking, educates, and leads to cultural changes. It demands a decentralised form of governance, creating a direct relationship between key government staff and the community. Based on the recognition of a citizen's right to have information and make demands on the State, state agencies have to consider the feasibility of any request and either demonstrate that its feasible or, if not, why this is so. At the same time the State invests in projects which are needed by the organised communities and which are their priorities. The spread and scaling up of the participatory process depends on the number of public works that are chosen by citizens,-the more cases of direct control over government spending, the more the people trust the participatory budget and thus the greater the number of people who participate in it the following year.

260. Pangare, V.L. (1998) 'Gender issues in watershed development: a study of watershed development projects in Maharashstra and Andhra Pradesh'. World Bank/ICAR Sustainable Rainfed Agricultural Research and Development Project.
This study of gender issues in watershed development in India was undertaken in order to identify is-sues that would lead to a better understanding of the importance of gender in watershed development. The Guidelines for Watershed Development issued by the Council for Advancement of Peoples Action and Rural Technology, Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment, specify that efforts should be made "to improve the social and economic conditions of the disadvantaged in the watershed community such as the asset-less and women". Based on data from 38 villages in Andhra Pradesh and Maharastra, the author shows that activities undertaken for women in participatory watershed development do not empower them to become equal partners in the development process. Women's participation in watershed development continues to be judged mostly by the number of women working as labour on construction sites, or by their presence in "meetings". The author argues that women should not be viewed by bureaucracies as helpless and weak individuals in need of welfare; they should be treated as productive members of the community and be involved in key decision making. The real reason why women are disadvantaged is because their contribution to the rural economy is not recognised. Consequently, they

do not receive their rightful compensation in terms of wages (the average wage for women is 34 % less than the average wage for men involved in watershed management in the villages studied). Nor do they receive their rightful compensation in terms of ownership over productive assets and the benefits accrued from them.
The author concludes that women's interests in participatory watershed management are only represented when they are part of the planning and decision making process. In order to involve them in this process it is first important to understand their needs by making the women and their livelihoods visible as significant contributors to the family and village welfare and economy. Development policy must also support women in the redistribution of productive resources in national participatory watershed management programs.

261. Paul, B. (1998) 'Scaling up PRA: lessons from Vietnam'. In J. Blackburn and J. Holland (eds.), *Who changes? Institutionalizing participation in development*. London: Intermediate Technology Group.
The chapter gives a brief overview of the use of PRA in Vietnam, focusing primarily on its use in the Vietnam-Sweden Forestry Co-operation Programme (FCP) from 1991 to 1996. The author uses a systems analysis approach to assess how PRA was introduced and scaled up in the FCP. He warns that the very success of the approach threatens existing institutional structures and relationships, and project managers intent on introducing PRA elsewhere must be prepared to manage an array of organisational changes in the project(s)' administrative structures as the approach spreads. Of particular concern is staff insecurity as new roles are recognised and new positions created that can better facilitate the emergence of truly participatory projects. The author also warns that PRA is only one piece of the jigsaw. More thinking is required to determine how participation can be sustained throughout the project cycle. Such changes have implications for existing funding and institutional arrangements, particularly between donor and in-country organisations that are as yet little understood.

262. Pearce, J., P. Raynard and S. Zadek (no date) *Social auditing for small organisations: a workbook for trainers and practitioners,* London: New Economics Foundation.
The purpose of this book is to de-mystify the concept and practice of social auditing and to describe a process whereby any small organisation may embark upon setting up its own social audit system, tailored to its own needs and resources. The workbook is therefore best thought of as a resource which can be adapted to suit the different circumstances of different organisations: from the small community enterprise, to the larger local development trust or NGO; from a workers' collective to the larger co-operative with a more traditional management structure; and from the community business to the small firm with social objectives.
The workbook is divided into chapters explaining the eight main stages in social auditing:
1. What is a social audit? Do we want to do one? What are the key principles? What do we already do "towards a social audit"?
2. Clarify the social objectives of the organisation, and establish what the organisation intends to do (or is already doing) to achieve those objectives.
3. Agree who the stakeholders of the organisation are. What are the issues, and what would be the mode of consultation.
4. Agree what indicators and benchmarks will permit performance to be assessed,

and see what information is practical to collect.
5. Set up a "social book-keeping" system, keep social books and monitor progress.
6. At year end: gather the qualitative information; analyse and interpret the social books; prepare the social accounts.
7. Auditor and Audit Review Panel; criteria for selection of the Panel; list of people who would be on the panel; the qualities required to be an auditor; list of people who could be an auditor.
8. Disclose the social accounts and act upon them. How to use the results; dialogue circles; setting of targets; development of the method.

263. Peluso, N.L. and B. Atkinson (no date) 'The impact of social and environmental change on forest management: a case study from W.Kalimantan, Indonesia'. *Country Forestry Study Series* .
Two villages in East Kalimantan which have experienced the region's history in very different ways because of their locations were chosen for this study to examine how forest management has changed over time.
Initially key informant and group interviews were used, the observation of various resource uses and management practices and some sampling of the "least fortunate" or "most dependent" households of each community to determine the ways in which they used and managed the forests, swidden fallows, gardens and isolated trees
Semi-structured interviews then explored local people's experience of broader historical events, such as the Japanese occupation and Indonesian Revolution. As more about the local historical experience became known more time periods or events were added to the repertoire of historically relevant events, such as specific years in which a particular harvest was especially good. Using these progressive events as guides the researchers in group interviews then elicited an outline of chronological changes in land and forest use history. evening group interviews were held devoted to documenting such local history and details regarding these and alternative interpretations of the same events were collected in individual interviews or in life histories. These local histories documented patterns of forest and tree product trade, production, management, supplies and their sources over time. Where a great deal of variety over time or a diversity of products was noted, the circumstances triggering change, including the years that activities began and ended, were recorded.
Both group interviews and in-depth individual interviews were then conducted along these lines. Probes and direct questions were asked of a range of individuals, men , women, old people, middle-aged, wealthy, poor, middle income and people in different occupations to elicit different views of changing village-forest relations. In subsequent interviews the diverse perceptions of these changes could be related to concurrent changes in regional land use, the decision of labour, agricultural practices or environmental, political or economic structures.
Maps were also made to reflect peoples perceptions of important areas and as tools for initiating discussions on resource use, management and ownership or access rights. Maps were also found to be a useful tool for interviews on local history, life history or sensitive topics such as land and tree tenure, helping to clarify the issues discussed.

264. Peoples Committee- Tuyen Quang Province Agriculture and Forest Department (1995) 'Village evaluation of the farm level forestry project 1991 to 1995'. Peoples Committee, Tuyen Quang Province Agriculture and Forest Department.
Farmers and commune and village staff were involved in pilot projects to assess the

successes and shortcomings of the Farm Level Forestry Project in Vietnam, including an assessment of the impact of the project activities in terms of changes in land use, the environment and the economy.
The evaluation was carried out over a period of one and a half months and began with a four day workshop at which participants from the villages involved in the project were brought together to work out the content and methods to be used in the evaluation. Information from the first PRA exercises carried out in each village at the beginning of the project was used as a baseline and reviewed and some repeated such as land use transects to examine changes in agricultural techniques to measure changes in land use and the socio-economy of the villages. Other methods used in the evaluation included, group discussions with farmers, a survey of survival rates of trees planted and impact assessment diagrams drawn by local people to examine some of the wider impacts of the project.

265. Perks, R. and A. Thomson, (eds.) (1998) *The oral history reader*. London: Routledge.
Oral history can be defined as, 'the interviewing of eye-witness participants about the events of the past for the purposes of historical reconstruction' (Grele, R.J).
This book is an, 'international anthology of key writings about the theory, method and use of oral history' and provides examples from around the world that explore issues surrounding oral history work including, the reliability of memory and the nature of the interview relationship.

266. Pfeffer, J. (1982) *Organizations and organization theory*, Boston: Pitman.
This older book attempted to review the major schools of organisational theory influential at the time. The author classifies the theoretical perspectives using two main axes of difference: explanations for action, and the unit of analysis used.
The first set of categories is the way the theory attempts to explain action. Pfeffer divides theoretical explanations of action into three broad categories:
- action seen as purposive, boundedly or intendedly rational, and prospective or goal oriented
- action seen as externally constrained or situationally determined
- action seen as being somewhat more random and dependent on an emergent, unfolding process

Pfeffer then puts forward the second axis of theoretical difference, the unit of analysis used. Theoretical perspectives either take organisations as a whole as a unit for analysis, or they divide the organisation into individuals, coalitions, or subunits.
Pfeffer arranged the three perspective of action on one axis, and the two possible units of analysis on a second axis, producing a matrix with six cells. Pfeffer's book devotes a chapter to each of these categories, reviewing the key schools within each category, and presenting their strengths and weaknesses.

267. Pimbert, M.P. (1993) 'IPM options for Asia- explorations for a sustainable future'. *Journal of Asian Farming Systems Association* 1:537-555.
The research modes, content and scope of various approaches to integrated pest management (IPM) are compared to highlight possible "futures" for farming systems in 21st century Asia. It is concluded that to reflect and reinforce the goals of sustainable agriculture , the design of IPM should emphasise:
- The maximum use of production inputs that are internal to the system, e.g. incorporating indigenous knowledge on pest control in IPM design, enhancing local

natural control processes via vegetation management;

- The development (or redevelopment) of germplasm well adapted to local condition and pest problems (as opposed to germplasm with "broad adaptability")
- The selective use of diversity in time and space, both at the genetic and agro-ecological levels
- The wise and judicious use of insecticides and an economics that does not leave out social and environmental cost ("externalities") when defining threshold levels
- A frame of reference and set of concepts that allow us to visualise IPM programs centred more on pest management than on pesticide management (or any other single "magic bullet" tactic); this calls for the integration of the historically distinct fields of crop and pest management, the end of disciplinary myopia, and a more holistic appreciation of the potential role of functional diversity, patterning and complementarity in IPM
- A more open partnership with farmers that involves them in the conception , implementation and evaluation of IPM tools. This participation process would help stimulate the acquisition and use of technological information by farmer. This is critical because IPM in the context of a more sustainable agriculture requires more management time, substituting thoughtful observation and information for capital and resource-intensive external inputs.

268. Pimbert, M.P. and J.N. Pretty (1995) ‘Parks, people and professionals: putting `Participation’ into Protected Area Management’. *UNRISD Discussion Paper* 57.

Focussing on protected areas and the conservation of wildlife the authors argue that the dominant ideology underpinning this conservation has been that people are bad for natural resources. Policies and practice have, therefore, sought to exclude people and so discourage all forms of local participation. This style of conservation has neglected local people, their indigenous knowledge and management systems, their institutions and social organisation, and the value to them of wild resources. The cost to conservation has been high. Social conflicts have grown in and around protected areas, and conservation goals themselves have been threatened.

Conservation itself needs rethinking. It has been dominated by the positivist and rationalist paradigm, in which professionals assume they know best and so can analyse and influence natural resources in the ways they desire. Conservation bureaucracies and professionals tend to be reductionist in their approach, taking only the presence of a particular species or total species diversity as indicators of value. Such preservationist ideology is dominated by the desire to exclude local people. Yet, there is growing empirical evidence to show that local people have long influenced natural systems in ways that improve biodiversity. Many apparently ‘primary’ forests or habitats did in fact support large numbers of people in the past, whose management actions significantly influenced what remains today. The authors emphasise the historical importance of people as conservers and describe many examples in which people have helped to produce landscapes rich in biological diversity (at the genetic, species and ecosystem levels).

Organisational change in conservation bureaucracies closely depends on a rethinking of conservation science itself and the knowledge of people-environment interactions it gives rise to. This will need to draw on emerging experience on post-positivist science and philosophy from other fields as well as ecology itself. The central challenge is to find ways of putting people back into conservation. Such participation will not be easy, as the term itself is interpreted in many different ways. Only certain types of participation will lead to sustainable conservation. Alternative systems of learning

and interaction will help this process of participation, and lead to a new vision for protected area and wildlife management that builds strongly on vernacular conservation. Institutionalising participatory approaches to the management of wild plant and animal resources will need a new professionalism, new supportive policies, and innovative inter-institutional arrangements.

269. Pimbert, M.P. and J.N. Pretty (1998) 'Diversity and sustainability in community based conservation'. In A. Kothari, N. Pathak, et al. (eds.), *Communities and conservation. Natural resource management in South and Central Asia*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
"Community based conservation" and "peoples' participation" have become part of the conventional rhetoric and more attention is being paid to this approach on the ground by international and national conservation organisations. There are now several examples of projects which involve local communities and seek to use economic incentives for the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife, protected areas, forests, wetlands, grasslands and other biodiversity rich areas. However, the practice of community based conservation remains problematic because of its high dependence on centralised bureaucratic organisations for planning and implementation.
This paper identifies some of the reforms needed to encourage and sustain community based conservation in situations where rural people are directly dependent on natural resources for their livelihoods. Emphasis is placed on strengthening diverse local livelihoods through more decentralisation and local control of conservation and natural resource management. The authors also show how many of the beliefs, knowledge, values and other aspects of the culture of large organisations will need to change to support gender-equitable, participatory natural resource management

270. Poffenberger, M. (1992) 'Participatory appraisal methods for assessing the productivity of Community management systems for natural forest ecosystems'. India: MYRADA.
This document includes a section briefly describing methods that could be used in degraded forest areas of Nepal to examine and document the process of ecological change and reconstruct the actors and activities that have effected the forest ecosystem.
Methods mentioned include, interviews with individuals in the community who have observed how the forest ecosystem has altered over the past 30-50 years, the construction of maps and transects of the research area illustrating the change in forest cover and structure over time and its impact on the flow of forest products and local hydrology. Historical transects to understand change in landscape over time, timelines to identify the timing of important events etc. Other sources of information mentioned are forest department working plans, interviews with past forest department staff and local forest officers who can usually provide considerable information regarding the history of the research site including logging activities, fires, cleaning and pruning activities, enrichment plantings etc.

271. Poffenberger, M., B. McGean and A. Khare (1996) 'Communities sustaining India's forests in the twenty-first century'. In M. Poffenberger and B. McGean (eds.), *Village voices, forest choices: joint forest management in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
This article presents the broad context and history of joint forest management in India.

The article begins by attempting to explain the forces driving deforestation in India. The article focuses on the failures of state policy, as the state supported timber and exotic monocrops while neglecting local people's needs, and failed to provide adequate protection to natural forests. The authors represent joint forest management as government recognition of communities' spontaneous local efforts to protect forests. The State is a passive and marginal player in the evolution of joint forest management. The article situates local communities' efforts (especially tribal communities) in the context of historical struggles between tribal people and the State, The article reviews the patterns of local environmental activism regionally, with sections on the central India tribal belt, the Himalayan zone, and the Western Ghats. The authors see hope for India's future in local communities' efforts to respond to increased resource scarcity by developing local protection and management systems.

272. Poffenberger, M. (1996) 'The struggle for forest control in the Jungle Mahals of West Bengal, 1750-1990'. In M. Poffenberger and B. McGean (eds.), *Village voices, forest choices: joint forest management in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

This article attempts to reconstruct the historical process through which a grassroots movement to protect and regenerate forests in Western Bengal has emerged. The emergence of new community forest management systems in south-west Bengal is historically grounded in tribal and peasant resistance movements. In many parts of rural India, pockets of disempowered people have repeatedly organised to struggle for their survival as their resource base is increasingly being captured by local elites, moneylenders, tax collectors, and the state. In the past, each time a movement collapsed or was crushed, it would re-emerge after some time. The people of the Jungle Mahals represent a classic case.

In south-west Bengal, in recent decades, grassroots leadership has been effective in mobilising community commitment to forest protection. The emergence of tribal and scheduled caste leaders who could accomplish this under the populist government is a testimony to the broader socio-political changes that have occurred in the state over the past twenty years. Community members, clearly, are concerned about environmental degradation in their area and are willing and able to take action to respond to the challenge. That they were encouraged by a supportive West Bengal Forest Department (WBFD) programme and helpful field staff, definitely facilitated the process.

To understand how the WBFD has moved more quickly and more successfully than other departments involved in similar efforts, several explanation have been cited. There is little doubt that the socio-political context in the state has encouraged populist programmes and a responsiveness to forest community needs. A new generation of community leaders from small farming, agricultural labour, and tribal backgrounds has emerged. Further, the department's appeal to tribal communities to protect their forest resources and its willingness to empower them coincided with a growing desire among these communities to take environmental action. Finally, the West Bengal programme did not require complex registration and budgetary allocation processes for communities to take action. Instead, the programme presented communities with a simple strategy to protect the local forest and, in turn, enjoy the benefits. As each community began protection activities, it influenced the behaviour of neighbouring villages. Villagers were forced to negotiate and discuss management issues and needs with one another, without necessarily waiting for the

forest department to take action. It is this community-based chain reaction or catalytic effect that is apparently the driving force behind the rapid emergence of localised access control on state forest land ins eastern India especially in south-west Bengal. It is likely that a similar community concern over environmental degradation in other parts of India could provide the basis for a rapidly expanding rural movement to stabilise the nation's forest and water resources.

273. Pontual, P. (1994) 'Por una pedagogía para la participación popular'. In Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, Intendencia Municipal de Montevideo, *et al*. (eds.), *Memorias de las Jornadas de Descentralización y Participación Ciudadana*. Montevideo: Trilce.

Pontual draws on his 4 year experience working within the Education Ministry of the Municipality of Sao Paulo, Brazil. His main argument is that within the decentralisation process, it is not sufficient to create channels for citizen participation, as it is not enough to have political will to promote participation or decentralisation. Having channels for participation does not create a new quality of participation. For this to happen, education programmes for the government staff and population must be carried out. In Sao Paulo since 1989, they implemented an education programme working with government staff of different areas and levels to create a common conception of what the participatory and decentralisation processes should be like. At the same time they selected people from within the community with experience in popular education who would in turn work with the population promoting citizen participation within the municipality.

274. Posey, D.A. (1999) *Cultural and spiritual values of biodiversity*: UNEP-Leiden University and Intermediate Technology Publications.

This collective work shows that the best way to conserve the diversity of cultures and nature is through the empowerment of the people and peoples whose local knowledges and experiences form the foundations that conserve much of the Earth's remaining biological diversity. The scaling up and institutionalisation of local participation in natural resource management will occur through the regeneration and differentiation of living capital in a variety of unique ecological and social settings. Scientists themselves admit that they will never get more than a inkling of the whole, intricate webs of symbols, values, practices, and information that have evolved in unique systems for each society. The only way to employ all the force and sophistication of local communities is to allow them to develop and design their own systems for change, conservation, land and resource use. The volume has shown that this can be done best through communities in equitable relationships (true partnerships, if you will) with scientific and technical advisors--and works best when the "scientific experts" are in the role of advisors, not commanders.

Many indigenous, traditional, and local groups *already* employ principles of sustainability and strategies for successful biodiversity conservation; by learning from them conservation and sustainable development projects, programs, and policies can be improved to the benefit of all. Scaling up and institutionalising participation depends on policy recognition of the *basic rights* of indigenous and traditional peoples to their own cultures, customs, languages, lands, territories, and resources. Implementation of International Labor Organisation Convention 169, ratification by the U.N. General Assembly of the Draft Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples, recognition of "Farmers' Rights", support for the proposed United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples, and development of Traditional Resource Rights, are

simple, but decisive steps forward. Other basic, but essential, steps would be to redirect financial and political support from government economic and sustainability plans to support the programs and projects conceived and implemented by indigenous and local communities themselves.
This book raises several fundamental methodological, as well as philosophical and political questions. How can indigenous concepts be used as "criteria and indicators" in the development of baseline studies of biodiversity? And how can these become central, for example, to environmental impact assessments, monitoring activities and national biodiversity surveys? How can spiritual and cultural values be incorporated into planning and policy decisions? Can any of this be assigned monetary value? If not, how can other value systems be respected and weighed? These questions do not depend on political will alone to implement change, but also require considerable intellectual work to develop integrated methodologies to guide the practical tasks for such studies. Likewise the legal basis for protection of indigenous, traditional and local community rights is far from complete, given that the peoples involved have rarely been seriously consulted on what the basic principles for codes of conduct, and standards of practice, and new, appropriate laws might be. The latter depends more upon changes in political and economic policies than methodological difficulties.

275. Powell, W.W. and P.J. DiMaggio, (eds.) (1991) *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

276. Preston, D., M. Macklin and J. Warburton (1997) 'Fewer people, less erosion : the twentieth century in southern Bolivia'. *The Geographical Journal* 163(2):198-205.
Detailed investigations of household livelihoods in the valleys of Tarija, southern Bolivia, show how the resources of many different localities are used to provide a satisfactory living without necessarily reducing the stock of resources in the longer term. Historical studies of changes in the numbers of people and livestock show how land-use systems have evolved in recent centuries, and studies of river basins reveal the extent to which the frequency and intensity of floods have changed. The perceptions of rural people as to how the vegetation and hillside erosion may have altered, suggest that some environmental changes in the last half of the present century may be positive. This paper weaves together these threads of information to provide a coherent view of the current environmental situation in a part of southern Bolivia, set in the context of diversified household livelihood strategies. [original abstract]

277. 'Presupuesto Participativo: El contraste con las prácticas anteriores' (1997) *Cántaro* 18(September):36-41.
This article describes the experience of Betim, a municipality in Brazil, with the practice of the "Participatory Budget". It describes how since 1993, as a result of the victory of the Worker's Party (PT), the municipality has used participatory mechanisms to incorporate the citizen's views and priorities in the design of its annual budget as a way of reducing the existing inequalities.
Since then, the improvement of the quality of life in the municipality has been evident, as it is the first time that the local government has taken into account the needs of the poorest sectors of the population. Popular participation in this initiative has exceeded the government's initial expectations and has increased annually. Participation is promoted by a selected team from the municipality who has direct

contact with the population and has also carried out an important campaign of information to raise the awareness of the population about their right to participate in the design of the budget.
Other actions carried out to make the process participatory include the training of community leaders in basic issues related to budget planning and the participatory methodology followed by the municipality; meetings in the different neighbourhoods to facilitate people to select their priorities for development actions and to select their representatives. The results of these meetings are the basis for the design of the budget and the delegates are included in the process of design and approval of the budget to guarantee that the demands of the localities/neighbourhoods are taken into account. The methodology for incorporating participation into the budget planning is evaluated and updated every year.

278. Pretty, J. and J. Thompson (1993) 'Soil and Water Conservation Branch, Ministry of Agriculture, Kenya: Trip Report'. London: IIED.
This short report describes IIED's fourth national training workshop and six day fieldwork study with the Kenyan Ministry of Agriculture to quantify the impacts of the catchment approach in six catchments and to link this to the process of implementation. The two day workshop which provided basic training in the use of PRA methods for evaluation and impact analysis is described. A six day fieldwork trip in the Western, Rift Valley and Central Provinces is described. The study employed PRA methods to evaluate, with local people the changes that had occurred as a result of the Catchment Approach. Some "methodological innovations" are included are the use of historical matrices and gender specific mobility maps as evaluation tools and the value of in depth triangulation between the '4-5 parallel groups' in each fieldwork team.

279. Pretty, J.N. and I. Scoones (1995) 'Institutionalising adaptive planning and local-level concerns: looking to the future'. In N. Nelson and S. Wright (eds.), *Power and participatory development: theory and practice*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
Although we do not understand the complexities of people's diverse livelihoods, their relationship to the natural environment, or the way they adapt to economic and environmental changes, we behave as if we do. Development is dominated by the positivist paradigm. Sustainable development must begin with people who know most about their own livelihood systems.
Adaptive planning implies that local people participate in agenda setting and resource allocating and controlling processes, and generate and analyse their own knowledge. The advantages are best understood in contrast to the failures of blueprint planning, in which implementation is not altered in the course of projects, and lessons are not learned until projects are complete and evaluated.
Participation is a vital ingredient in adaptive planning. However, all participation is not good. People can be made to participate in implementing projects set by outsiders. Practitioners are prone to ignoring who participates and who does not in differentiated communities. The political context is also vital, as politicians may adopt participation in rhetoric, but not democracy, pluralism and accountability in planning.
There are two vital components to institutionalising adaptive planning. They are: improving accountability and increasing the number of stakeholders. Sensitising government personnel to the capabilities of local people is a vital ingredient in these

shifts.
There are many local level successes with adaptive planning, but the challenge is to 'scale up' or 'scale down'. NGOs with local experiences of success can scale up by forming federations, and through lateral spread of their approaches, increasing their ability to engage at regional and national levels with policy makers. The other path to widening the impact of participatory approaches is scaling down, that is making changes in government bureaucracies. The experience of departments or ministries more open to change than others can provide an influential example for others.
The challenge for NGOs is to work with governments, attempting to influence the use of their human capital and financial resources. NGOs should attempt to affect change from within, putting pressure on the system without threatening power, and to support innovative individuals.
The organisation of government must change. The 'culture of government' must be altered to reward enterprise, innovation, good governance and self-reliance. They may need to work through new local institutions, although caution must be exercised that they have popular support and legitimacy. Along with incentives to experiment, non-hierarchical structures should be adapted which do not inhibit dynamism and creativity.
Learning participatory research methodologies such as PRA is vital to organisational change. Through learning PRA, people learn to be learners, and can undergo attitudinal change.

280. Purser, R.E. and S. Cabana (1998) *The self managing organization: how leading companies are transforming the work of teams for real impact*, New York: The Free Press.
The authors suggest that organisations that do not move from bureaucracy and command and control hierarchies towards systems of "self-management" and responsiveness will not survive in an environment of growing competitiveness. In order to align to new knowledge, the evolution of new types of economy, and adapt to ever faster changes there is a need for a fundamental change in the design and operational principles of organisations.
This volume provides a general outline of the old bureaucratic organisational paradigm and in support of their proposed democratic paradigm they explain the concepts and methods with support from numerous case studies of large organisations in the USA.
Self-management involves a fundamental redistribution of power, giving people the capacity to plan and design their own work. A self-managing organisation is dynamic and capable of continuous organisational learning and self-renewal because of the following design features:
- "employees have knowledge , information, and skills to make all decisions that concern them;
- authority and responsibility for control and co-ordination are located as close as possible to the people actually in contact with the work process or customers;
- authority is based on expertise and competence, not hierarchical position or status;
- management and leadership are shared functions widely distributed across levels and departments;
- access to information and feedback is instantaneous and transparent;
- support systems are congruent and synergistic with the requirements of self-managing work structures;
- the role of management is redesigned to focus on value creation for key

stakeholders - customers, shareholders and employees." (p. 14.)
Two main methods they describe for creating the self managing organisation are "Participative design" and the "search conference". Participatory Design enables employees and managers to participate directly in redesigning organisations from the ground up, forming flexible and malleable structures. The search conference is "a democratic process for holding strategic conversations with hundreds of people" (p. 161). It is recommended to take the form of a 2 to 3 day event with around 20 to 50 people from all levels of the organisation, and through large group plenaries and small self management groups organisation learning can take place.

281. Ramirez, R. (1997) 'Understanding farmers' communication networks: combining PRA with agricultural knowledge systems analysis'. *International Institute for Environment and Development Gatekeeper Series* 66.
Farmers derive information from multiple sources, including other farmers, traders, input suppliers, outreach workers, and formal research institutions. These different actors comprise agricultural communication networks and interact regularly in multiple ways to form new relationships for innovation.
While these communication networks are an integral part of farming systems, they are seldom perceived either as a researchable dimension, or as a field of development which can be worked on and improved. However, work was commissioned in the Philippines, Peru and Ethiopia to develop an approach for identifying the communication networks which exist in agricultural systems, and for assessing their performance. This approach brings together researchers, field workers and rural communities to identify jointly the networks of information exchange. The process includes mapping of actors and linkages; analysis of linkage performance; and developing an action plan to modify roles and improve linkages.
The testing of this approach in three countries highlight many issues:
· Farmers gain only limited agricultural knowledge from the research system; their primary source of information tends to be other farmers.
· Extension workers need to become information brokers and facilitators, and this re-orientation needs to be supported by relevant training and a supportive institutional environment
· When farmers have demand capacity over the services in their area, this is likely to vastly improve their timeliness and relevance
· Research and extension activities need to be better integrated to avoid duplication and to improve the relevance of the information exchanged.
The approach is an important tool for many engaged in agriculture. For farmers, its visual nature helps them to understand communication networks and provides a basis to improve information exchange. For agricultural extension staff the approach makes clear the strong role of farmers as decision-makers, and helps them identify complementary sources of information to improve the effectiveness of the overall service provided to farmers. For agricultural researchers, the active participation of farmers in mapping the different actors and their roles will provide them with information on alternative sources of interventions. The approach should ultimately enable policy makers to make agricultural programs more pragmatic through redesigning the roles of extension workers so that interventions better reflect farmers' demands and so that a framework is provided for consultation with different actors within the agricultural communication network.

282. Rao, A. and R. Stuart (1997) 'Rethinking organisations: a feminist

perspective'. *Gender and Development* 5(1):10-16.
In April 1996, 24 women and men from Asia, Africa, Latin and North America, and Europe met for five days in Canada, to share their experience of helping organisations, especially development organisations, to include women in their programmes, and ensure equitable power relations between women and men. The article argues that organisations must not merely develop or change, but be transformed to include women.
The paper uses two images of organisations, organisations as 'onions' and 'icebergs'. The onion metaphor means that changes at one layer do not mean changes at others. The iceberg metaphor refers to what conference participants call the 'deep structures' of organisations, that are invisible but often explain the actions and practices of organisations.
The article present three examples of 'deep structures' in organisations that tend to work against women. The first is the 'work-life divide,' in which people are not supposed to be concerned with family or community while at work. The second is the concept of power held in most organisations, of power as a zero-sum resource which managers must capture for themselves. A third area is about the tendency of organisations to choose a narrowly defined focus and one way to get there, which tends to neglect other goals such as empowering women, and other ways of acting, such as valuing emotions and needs as well as rationality.
The article concludes with three ideas about changing the deep structure of organisations. The first is linking feminist goals to organisational values. The second is understanding multiple perspectives, negotiating with people in an organisation over what they see as gender issues. The third area is examining organisational work practice. For example, an emphasis on hard work, or valuing field work that is incompatible with parenting duties are two examples of values which harm women's chances of advancement.

283. Ravnborg, H.M. and M. Guerrero (1999) 'Collective action in watershed management: experiences from the Andean hillsides'. *Agriculture and Human Values* 16(3):257-266.
Watersheds constitute a special case of multiple-use common pool resources (CPRs). In a textual sense, watersheds tend to be mosaics of privately owned and managed patches of land. At the same time, however, watersheds are also eco-systems in which multiple resources and people interact through an infinity of bio-physical processes. Through such interaction, new watershed-level qualities emerge that, together with other factors, condition watershed users' continued resource use and access. In this perspective, watersheds become common-pool resources. Hence, watershed users do not only manage their individual plots, crops, forests, etc., knowingly or not, they manage landscape patterns and bio-physical processes that transcend their private property. In this context, drawing on experiences gained through participatory action research in a micro-watershed in the Andean Hills of southern Colombia, this paper describes a process aimed at fostering collective watershed management. The paper illustrates the importance of platforms as a mechanism for negotiating and co-ordinating collective action by multiple users and discusses the issues of representation on such platforms as well as the importance of third party facilitation.

284. Razavi, S. and C. Miller (1995) *Gender mainstreaming. A study of efforts by the UNDP, the World bank and the ILO to institutionalise gender issues.* UNRISD Occasional Paper 4., Geneva: UNRISD and UNDP.

This study focuses on the inequality on women's access to and participation in the definition of economic structures, policies and the productive process itself. It provides an account of efforts to mainstream gender in the UNDP, the World Bank and the ILO. A distinction is made between an "agenda setting" and an "integrationist approach" to mainstreaming; the former attempts to transform the thrust of development policy as it brings women's concerns into the mainstream, while the latter attempts to integrate those concerns within existing development activities without necessarily altering the agenda. The changes that have been introduced in the three multilateral institutions documented in this study fall within the confines of the instrumental approach. In this context, mainstreaming involves two main components i) integrating gender issues into the entire spectrum of activities that are funded and/or executed by an organisation (i.e. projects, programmes, policies); ii) diffusing responsibility for gender integration beyond the Women in Development (WID)/gender units - through mechanisms such as gender training and gender guidelines - making it a routine concern of all bureaucratic units and all staff members.

The extent to which an institution responds to outside pressures for change and transformation hinges on a number of factors, the three most significant being: i) the organisation's degree of independence from external pressures ii) the organisational mandate, ideology and procedures and iii) the existence and capacity of internal policy advocates and entrepreneurs. As far as external pressures are concerned, the influence of supportive donors has emerged as a key factor in all three agencies, especially UNDP and ILO. The organisational mandate presents different challenges to the WID/gender entrepreneurs in the different agencies. ILO's mandate has provided the most hospitable environment. At the World Bank considerable entrepreneurship has been needed to bring out the economic and efficiency dimensions of gender, so as to "fit" the subject with the organisation's mandate. One of the goals of the mainstreaming strategy has been to make gender a routine concern through new procedures. Common themes and problems in promoting attention to women's concerns across the organisation include:

- Given that gender is a cross cutting theme it requires organisation wide responsibility; but pursuing a cross cutting mission in highly sectorally divided bureaucracies presents formidable obstacles. Very rarely has responsibility for gender issues gone far beyond the small circle of staff directly responsible for WID/gender work. While the focal point system has been useful for advocacy work, very rarely do focal points have the authority, seniority and expertise to be able to promote gender issues with senior management.
- WID/gender staff bear the responsibility for promoting organisation wide attention to WID/gender concerns through staff training, preparing guidelines, and carrying out oversight and monitoring functions. Such responsibilities tend to "crowd out" the important work of research, policy and strategy development in the sense that they bite into the overall resources allocated to WID/gender. The emphasis placed by all three agencies on providing policy advice makes it imperative that the capacity for doing gender analysis at the policy level be strengthened. To play an effective role the WID/gender unit must be well placed institutionally to influence policy and their should be the requisite level of expertise for policy analysis.
- Nominal attention to WID/gender at the design stage renders a project or programme "WID-integrated", but obscures the fact that these concerns tend to get lost during the implementation.
- The mainstreaming strategy requires substantial human resource commitments-

both in terms of staff expertise and staff time-yet despite some resource commitment, in all three agencies resources are too limited to enable a thorough job to be carried out.
The three agencies' response to institutionalising gender has been strikingly similar in terms of strategies and tactics. The patterns observed in this study are indicative of the more general way in which new themes, terminology and operational models are diffused across institutions. Very often the pressure to keep up with new trends or "fashion themes" means that not enough time is invested in critically assessing their relevance and usefulness to what each agency does; nor is there enough emphasis on monitoring the effectiveness of specific components of the strategy for change and transformation.

285. Razavi, S. (1997) 'Fitting gender into development institutions'. *World Development* 25(7):1111-1125.
This paper analyses some of the more prominent strands of gender and development (GAD) discourse that have justified the need for policy attention to women on efficiency and poverty grounds. The analysis is set within the context of organisational politics, as well as the changing national and international policy environment of the past decade which has hastened the need for gender lobbies to forge strategic alliances with like-minded social forces. While admitting the analytical and methodological weaknesses that very often characterise the gender policy discourses, the paper draws attention to the political imperatives and institutional constraints within which these arguments have taken shape. A clearer recognition of these constraints and the fact that gender discourses are context-specific raises questions about the allegations of instrumentalism that are often levelled against them by institutional outsiders. Feminist advocates within bureaucracies find it useful to frame their arguments within the discourse already accepted by their institution, and their arguments should be understood as politically strategic.

286. Reason, P. (1994) 'Three approaches to participative enquiry'. In N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
The article reviews three schools of participative inquiry and reflects on their similarities.
Co-operative inquiry involves groups in co-operative experiential learning. First, the group identifies some research propositions to be addressed, and a procedure through which they will observe and record their experiences. The group then applies these ideas in their work, observing and recording their own and others' behaviour. The subjects become fully immersed in the research, hopefully coming to new understanding of their situation. Finally, the knowledge the researchers have gained through experience is used to revisit the hypotheses they began with, and the hypotheses are modified, reformulated, rejected, etc. Reason uses an example of a group of health visitors in south-west England who used the approach to study the sources of stress in their work.
Participatory Action Research aims to enlighten and awaken people by understanding knowledge as an instrument of power and control, empowering them as their knowledge is honoured and valued. People learn through dialogue. Methods such as community meetings and cultural expression are used to analyse and celebrate people's knowledge.
Action science and action inquiry are related "forms of inquiry into practice; they are

concerned with the development of effective action that may contribute to the transformation of organisations and communities towards greater effectiveness and greater justice." These methodologies focus on personal development as well as organisational development. Participants develop 'consciousness in the midst of action.' Both forms of inquiry encourage "the public testing of one's own perceptions and the use of action experiments to test new theories of action and to test new skills."
Reason compares these different schools of participative enquiry. Ontologically, they emphasise the subjectivity of research, and learning through action, while aiming to change the lives of those who participate. Epistimologically, they emphasise experiential knowledge gained through participation with others, and reflexivity. They differ as to what they consider data, from formal reports of conversations (action enquiry) to song, dance and theatre (PAR). There is a deep tension in their attitudes to leadership. Whereas PAR makes radically egalitarian claims about the research process, action science makes arguments about the importance of transformational leadership; the role of a catalyst in the process versus the self-direction of other participants is inherently problematic.
The article concludes by tentatively suggesting the way the complementarities of the method might be exploited. Simply, Reason argues that PAR best serves large groups of disempowered people; co-operative enquiry best serves small groups of empowered people such as professionals; and action inquiry serves individuals who want to lead others into participative inquiry. Reason suggests that their relative strengths can all be combined in a single process.

287. Reckers, U. (1995) 'Participatory project evaluation: allowing local people to have their say'. Mimeo
This document discusses the need for 'community driven project evaluation' rather than evaluation by 'outsiders' conducted in the 'western style' of thinking, with specific reference to pastoral areas. Such a community based project evaluation can be understood as, 'a cultural appraisal of projects. It is quantitative survey based on meaningful qualitative categories which in this case, are formulated by the beneficiaries. It allows us to translate between the culture of development and that of indigenous peoples. It acts as a mediator between our linear ways of thinking in designing projects and the realities of these societies.' Examples are provided of the different perceptions and priorities of the western and pastoral worlds.
A method derived from ethnographic interview methods which enables the outsider to learn about the local people's perceptions and understanding of their environment is described.
Before the first interview session an attempt is made to find a common language, especially with regard to spatial and temporal dimensions and other basic elements of pastoral life as a basis for any further communication, by learning for example the indigenous calendar, working calendar, local place and plant names and units of measure. In the first interview informants are simply asked to describe the project in question to get an idea of what is important and what is not. Following this a series of short questions is added, such as, do you know why the project is here? Do you know why they help you? From the case study presented in the paper misunderstandings were revealed through these interviews. pastoralists were then asked to rank, compare and contrast various activities of six different projects operating in their local area. From these narratives and results meaningful indicators for a community-based project appraisal were deduced.

288. Reed, M. (1997) ‘Organisational theorising: a historically contested terrain.’. In S.R. Clegg, C. Hardy, et al. (eds.), *Handbook of organisation studies*. Sage Publications.
The author presents a useful historical analysis of the intellectual development of organisational theory and analysis. Organisational theory is mapped out as a historically contested terrain within which different languages, approaches and philosophies struggle for recognition and acceptance. Six interpretative frameworks are examined along with the socio-historical contexts in which they attained, always contested, intellectual dominance. Each of these analytical narratives are stories that filter and mediate an extremely complex socio-historical reality. They omit, or at least marginalise aspects of organisational life which may seem of strategic significance when viewed from a different angle. Four points of exclusion or "silences" need urgent attention in contemporary organisational analysis: the issue of gender and its implications for the way in which we conceptualise, analyse and practice organisation; the theme of ethnicity and race and its relevance for our understanding of organisational equality; the subject of technoscience and its potential to transform both organisational structures and the theoretical means through which they are intellectually interrogated; finally, the process of global development and underdevelopment, and its impact on forms of world wide institutional and organisational governance.

289. Reichhardt, K.L., E. Mellink, G.P. Nabham and A. Rea (1994) ‘Habitat heterogeneity and biodiversity associated with indigenous agriculture in the Sonoran Desert’. *Ethnoecologica* 2(3):21-33.
Native cultures have practised agriculture in the arid lands of North America for at least 3000 years. Some indigenous communities have sustained farming in the same area for centuries without serious depletion of soils and attendant biota. The authors are careful not to claim that all indigenous fields are managed in ecologically sustainable ways or that they are unconditionally more diverse than orchards and farm managed by non Indians. A study to quantitatively compare the plant, habitat, bird and mammal diversity of agricultural habitat complexes, and uncultivated desert is presented here. Species richness in such made agricultural habitat complexes can be greater than adjacent or analogous habitats that are not cultivated.

290. Reid, J., L., S. Baker, S. Marta and Mutijulu ‘Community Traditional knowledge + ecological survey = Better land management’. *Search* 23(8):249-251.
This article describes how the Anangu, the traditional caretakers of the Uluru National Park in Australia have collaborated with ecologists in carrying out ecological surveys. The Anangu readily categorise landscape into several major habitats based on their fauna and landscape and this knowledge has ensured more comprehensive coverage in ecological surveys. Conventional ecological research being short term is limited in its application to environmental problems where longer term dynamics are often critical (Clark 90) therefore, traditional knowledge borne of a longer time frame is complementary.

291. Rhodes, R.A.W. (1990) ‘Policy networks: a British perspective’. *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 2(3):293-317.
This article has four objectives: to characterise briefly the literature on policy communities and policy networks; to provide a summary of, and to appraise critically, British contributions to the topic; to identify the problems with the concept; and to

suggest future lines of development. Rhodes identifies several strands in the literature, from the disciplines of sociology and political science, that use the concept of networks to explain interactions at the micro, meso and macro level. Particularly relevant to this study is his review of sub-government literature, which attempts to explain policy-making by studying 'small groups of political actors, both governmental and non-governmental, that specialise in specific issue areas.' They usually make 'most of the routine decisions in a given substantive policy area.' They tend to be a stabilising force, and only change due to macropolitical interventions that modify the rules and roles operating in the system. Also relevant is a very brief review of the British contribution to the field- studies of policy communities. "Policy communities are networks characterised by stability of relationships, continuity of a highly restrictive membership, vertical interdependence based on shared service delivery responsibilities, and insulation from other networks and invariable to the general public (including Parliament)." Analysis focuses on the personal relationships between people in government, industry, etc. who are involved in policy making in a given sector. The article describes a major study undertaken with this framework in Britain.

292. Ribot, J.C. (1995) 'From exclusion to participation: turning Senegal's forestry policy around'. *World Development* 23(9):1587-1599.
A century of centralised forestry policies has excluded Senegal's forest villagers from charcoal production and marketing. Policies have given access to marketing and labour opportunities to urban-based merchants who hire Guinean migrant labourers. While forest villagers neither produce nor consume charcoal, commercial production is cutting forest on which villagers rely. In 1993, progressive forestry agents ushered in a new "participatory" forestry code. But, this new policy may not be equitable nor beneficial, and it risks adding control over village labour (for forest management) to the long list of Forest Service controls. Locally accountable representation, local decision-making powers and simple local-management enabling policies could diminish these risks.
The article outlines some of the social and ecological consequences of charcoal production. It examines how the history of progressively more centralised land and forestry policies shaped access to forests and forest product markets, and subsequently relations among villagers, migrant charcoal producers, charcoal merchants and foresters. The interaction of these policies with village dynamics as they result in the detrimental overlap of village and commercial forest uses is explored. The author discusses the new forestry code and some of its implications given the local and national social and legal context in which it is applied, concluding that devolution of power to the village level has been limited and that participation in forest management is often coerced. To redress this there is a need for more effective locally accountable representation, and a more equitable distribution of the benefits, as well as the costs of forest use and management.

293. Ribot, J.C. (1998) 'Decentralisation, participation and accountability in Sahelian Forestry: Legal instruments of political-administrative control'.
This paper argues that colonial relations of political administration are reproduced in the current era of participation and decentralisation. In natural resource management, participation and decentralisation are promoted on the basis that they can increase rural equity, provide greater efficiency, benefit the environment, and contribute to rural development. Reaping these benefits is predicated on 1) the devolution of some

real powers over natural resources to local populations, and 2) the existence of locally accountable authorities to whom these powers can be devolved. However, a limited set of highly circumscribed powers are being devolved to locally accountable authorities, and most local authorities to whom powers are being devolved are systematically structured to be upwardly accountable to the central state, rather than being downwardly accountable to local populations. Many of the new laws being written in the name of participation and decentralisation administer rather than enfranchise. The paper examines historical legal underpinnings of the powers and accountability of state-backed rural authorities (chiefs and rural councils); the authorities through which current natural resource management projects in Burkina Faso and in Mali represent local populations; and the decisions being devolved to local bodies in new natural resource management efforts. Without reform local interventions risk reproducing the inequities of their centralised political-administrative context. Rather than pitting the State against society by depicting the State as a negative force and society and non-state institutions as positive--as is done in many decentralisation and participatory efforts--this article suggests that representation through local government can be the basis for generalised and enduring participation of society in public affairs.

294. Rivers, A. (1987) 'Training for change in Newham's housing service'. In P. Hoggett and R. Hambleton (eds.), *Decentralisation and democracy. Localising public services. Occasional paper No 28*. Bristol: School for Advanced Urban Studies, University of Bristol.
The author describes the struggle to identify a clear role for training and to establish a strategy which would most effectively facilitate a process of radical organisational change. The training for transformation approach was both top down and bottom up. Managers were encouraged to be both firm about the overall goals of the service, and flexible about the route taken to those goals. Staff were encouraged to look at the way they related to each other, as well as to customers, and to live out the values of the service in all their activities. The trainers tried to model these same values in the way they worked in the training unit and with their customers. The approach was site and organisation specific,-looking at what the government department was trying to achieve and working from there. Whilst the experience is based on the re-orientation of a British housing service, the rationale for, and description of, the training to change the culture and structure of the organisation are relevant for the transformation of bureaucracies elsewhere.

295. Rocheleau, D., L. Ross, J. Morrobel and R. Hernandez (1994) 'Gendered landscapes, gendered lives: learning from life histories, maps and surveys in Zambrana-Chacuey, Dominican Republic.'
In 1992-3 a four month study was conducted of the Forest Enterprise Project of the Rural Federation of Zambrana-Chacuey in collaboration with ENDA-Caribe, an international NGO. The forestry initiative had been in operation for over ten years and involved nearly 700 people in 500 households in the establishment of community and household nurseries to introduce a cash timber crop.
The study sought to understand the positive and negative effects of the forestry initiative on distinct groups, based on gender, class, location and occupation. Elements of RRA and PRA were combined with ethnographic, oral history and questionnaire survey methods.
Data collection methods included attendance at formal meetings, walking and

mapping tours of fields and forests, group interviews, focus groups, household histories, labour calendars and gendered resource/lifescape mapping exercises, key informant interviews, oral histories of communities, rural organisations and environmental change, personal life histories and a formal questionnaire survey from a stratified random sample of the adult members of the Federation.

The use of life histories led to deeper understanding of the gender division of labour, land and authority and its relevance to land use change and farm forestry and revealed that women's participation in forestry and land management was far more complex than simple gender equity or inequity or a fixed norm for the gender division of labour. For example, the stories of several women leaders in the Federation clarified the linkages between herbal medicine and midwifery, religious leadership and political authority for women. Leadership status in these established domains of authority were transferred and recognised within the federation hierarchy and in the larger community. This facilitated some women's participation in the Forestry Enterprise Project at household and group level, in spite of a strong bias toward men in the structure and management of the formal project

The juxtaposition of several women's personal histories revealed the importance of family composition and life cycle in determining the participation of women in land management. For example, many women who were the eldest children or part of a family with many daughters and few sons became apprentices to their fathers and often participated more actively in crop production and land management than girls with older brothers or with many brothers.

Histories of everyday conflicts and major confrontations between forestry officials and rural smallholders in the region and detailed accounts of arrest, imprisonment and pursuit by military forestry guards also led to an understanding of the reservations of some farmers about tree planting. Hence, through life histories a sense of the diversity of life experiences, choices and situations was gained, not only between men and women but among women and among smallholders normally lumped together as small holders and much more was learnt than would have been gleaned from quick "one-off" group exercises, household or key informant interviews. However, the authors recognise that such life history work is time consuming, requiring several visits and that if too little time is spent can be superficial

Landscape mapping was used not only as part of the life history interviews, but also in initial key informant and household interviews and later in the random sample survey. Detailed mapping and sketching exercises acted as a surrogate for participant observation, in order to get to know people through the shared task of creating an informal but accurate colour sketch of their farm landscapes. Through the images on the maps a local landscape dictionary was obtained, helping in the framing of resource questions in later interviews and alerting the researchers to relevant species, landscape patterns and land use units. Working with men and women in mapping gendered priorities and practices in accepting new technologies on farm, as well as the gendered knowledge which shapes these decisions was explored.

The document reflects on the research methodology and process used, stressing how the combination of life histories, landscape mapping and a formal survey helped to formulate more comprehensive versions of local changes than would have been possible if qualitative, quantitative or visual field methods had been used alone. Also, emphasised is the importance of the order in which methods are implemented if weaknesses in individual data gathering techniques are to be compensated for and to enable the building up of knowledge in a systematic way. Finally, suggestions are made as to how the study could be improved if repeated.

(See also ‘Gendered landscapes, gendered lives in Zambrana-Chacuey, Dominican Republic’ by Dianne Rocheleau, *et al*. pp. 178-187 in The myth of community: gender issues in participatory development. edited by Irene Guijt and Meera Kaul Shah (1998))

296. Rocheleau, D., B. Tomas-Slayter and E. Wangari (1996) *Feminist political ecology. Global issues and local experiences*, London: Routledge.
This volume explores the gendered relations of ecologies, economies, and politics in rural and urban communities. Environmental struggles occur throughout the world from industrial to urban societies. Women are often at the centre of these struggles, struggles which concern local knowledge, everyday practice, rights to resources, sustainable development, environmental quality, and social justice. The authors bridge the gap between the academic and rural orientation of political ecology and the largely activist and urban focus of environmental justice movements. The aim is to bring together the theoretical frameworks of feminist analysis with the specificities of women’s activism and experiences around the world.

297. Roe, E. (1991) ‘Development narratives, or making the best of blueprint development’. *World Development* 19(4).
The scenarios and arguments that drive and sanction much of Third World rural development are often dismissed as myths, ideologies, conventional wisdom or fads. Yet these development narratives persist through time and frequently in spite of evidence learned in the field. Instead of calling for more site-specific learning to overthrow narratives that seem to be blueprints for development interventions across countries, the wiser course is first to examine ways in which these narratives can be improved or superseded. Four case studies how policymakers and practitioners can think more enterprisingly about development narratives specifically and blueprint development generally.

298. Roe, E. (1994) *Narrative policy analysis: theory and practice*, Durham and London: Duke University Press.
Narrative policy analysis applies literary theory to policy analysis. The book aims to demonstrate that structuralist and post-structuralist theories of narratives are exceptionally useful in evaluating difficult problems, understanding their implications, and in making effective policy recommendations.
Assuming no prior knowledge of literary theory, Roe introduces the theoretical concepts and terminology from literary analysis through an examination of the budget crisis of national governments. With a focus on several particularly intractable areas in the areas of the environment, science, and technology, he then develops the methodology of narrative policy analysis by showing how conflicting policy "stories" often tell a more policy-relevant metanarrative. He show the advantage of this approach to reading and analysing stories by examining the ways in which the views of participant unfold and are told in representative case studies involving the Calfornia medfly crisis, toxic irrigation in the San Joquin Valley, global warming, animal rights, the controversy over the burial remains of Native Americans, and Third World development strategies.

299. Rogers, C.R. (1986) ‘A client centred, person centred approach to therapy’. In L. Kutash and A. Wolf (eds.), *A psychotherapist casebook: therapy and technique in practice*. San Francisco: Josssey Bass.

The author argues that a person centred approach is primarily a way of being which finds its expression in attitudes and behaviours that create a growth promoting climate. It is a basic philosophy rather than simply a technique or a method. When this philosophy is lived, it helps the person to expand the development of his or her own capacities. When it is lived, it also stimulates constructive change in others. It empowers the individual, and when this personal power is sensed, experience shows that it tends to be used for personal and social transformation.

300. Rosario, V. (1997) 'Mainstreaming gender concerns: aspects of compliance, resistance and negotiation'. In A.M. Goetz (ed.), *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development*. London: Zed Books.

This article presents an insider's perspective on the workings of the Bureau of Women and Young Workers (BWYW) within the Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE) in the government of the Philippines, and the limitations of the bureaucracy in addressing women's concerns. The author argues that "while a government may appear to be successful in mainstreaming gender concerns in development and may well be seen as a model for gender-responsive planning and policy-making, the situation may be illusory."

The article first reviews the efforts of the bureaucracy to include women in development. Rosario then explains some of the limitations on efforts to address women's concerns. An evaluation of DOLE's efforts concluded that there were three main shortcomings in integrating women into their programmes. The first was budgetary limits. Rosario argues that rather than an absolute limit on resources, the lack of funding for women's programmes reflects the disinterest of policy makers, and that the funding of the BWYW was far below other bureaux in the department. The department also worked through seconding women from other departments, but their duties were not recognised, and so were 'squeezed out' by their normal duties when they were busy. The second problem identified was a lack of sensitivity towards women's issues in the staff. Although staff were willing to ask for accountability around gender issues from their client groups, they were resistant to undergoing any training themselves. Rosario argues that DOLE designs programmes for undifferentiated 'workers', effectively answering men, not women, workers' concerns. The third problem was with undifferentiated data collection. Without data desegregate by sex, monitoring and evaluation cannot be used to measure the differential effective of programme implementation on men and women.

Rosario ends on a positive note by identifying the strategic way that women committed to women's issues used their skills to affect change in the bureaucracy. The official policy of equality for women has opened space for women to pursue changes. They have had effect through negotiation, persuasion and confrontation. Often women's specialist knowledge has been a valuable tool in convincing colleagues to change.

301. Rowley, T.J. (1997) 'Moving beyond dyadic ties: a network theory of stakeholder influences'. *Academy of Management Review* 22(4):887-910.

Recent stakeholder theory development puts emphasis on explaining and predicting how an organisation functions with respect to the relationships and influences existing in its environment. Most stakeholder research has concentrated primarily on classifying individual stakeholder relationships and influences (dyadic ties).This article contributes to stakeholder research by providing a mechanism for describing the simultaneous influence of multiple stakeholders and for predicting the response of

a firm (organisation). The model presented, which incorporates social network constructs (density and centrality) moves beyond the traditional analysis of dyadic ties and considers structural influences and the impact of stakeholders who do not have direst relationships with the local firm (organisation) but who affect how the organisation behaves nevertheless.
Institutional and resource dependence theorists argue that external pressures drive an organisation's behaviour and that these forces come from those who shape institutional rules and those who control scarce resources, respectively. The stakeholder perspective developed by the author is useful for this analysis because it explicitly examines the sources of these external pressures and can consider how the organisation relates to both its institutional and resource based stakeholders. In addition, by examining structural conditions influencing whether a firm (organisation) passively accepts externally imposed constraints or actively pursues opportunities to resist and control external demands, the author emphasises the complementary value of both theories. The analysis offered expands the view of the environment from the organisational set perspective, which concentrates on the focal firm (organisation) and its direct exchange partners, to the broader societal sector view, which includes in-direct relationships and influences. As a result, this perspective provides researchers with a means of examining a wider range of relevant factors influencing organisational interactions and change.

302. Röling, N. and M. Maarleveld (1999) 'Facing strategic narratives: an argument for interactive effectiveness'. *Agriculture and Human Values* 16(3):295-308.
The multiple commons is an important context in a world facing the eco-challenge. The platform for land use negotiation is a perspective concerning the good governance of the multiple commons. Platforms are devices or procedures for social learning and negotiation about effective collective action. They create collective decision making capacity at eco-system levels at which critical ecological services need to be managed. Taking platforms seriously as an option for designing a more sustainable society assumes a belief in the human capacity to engage in collective action. Unfortunately, human thinking about humans is dominated by perspectives that emphasise either technical solutions to given ends, or perspectives that emphasise the selfish nature of human ends. This article focuses especially on the latter: the strategic narratives that have become dominant as society increasingly becomes designed on economic principles. The paper seeks to explain the dominance of strategic narratives and provides a social science evidence for alternative perspectives. It concludes with cornerstones for an alternative narrative.

303. Rugh, J. (1986) *Self-evaluation: ideas for participatory evaluation of rural community development projects*, Oklahoma: World Neighbours.
This practical guide gives some ideas about including people in evaluating rural development projects. It introduces each section with examples from a case study, a health and agriculture project called TAHID. The chapters addresses a key question facing someone involved in a project who wishes to undertake participatory evaluation: why evaluate?; evaluation for whom?; evaluation by whom?; levels of evaluation; when to evaluate; what to evaluate; how to evaluate; communicating the findings and making decisions. Rugh emphasises the value of participatory evaluation for learning by project staff, and places evaluation in a cycle of action and reflection.

304. Saberwal, V. (1996) 'Pastoral politics: Gadi grazing, degradation and biodiversity conservation in Himachal Pradesh, India'. *Conservation Biology* 10(3):741-749.
Two assumptions underlie the current conservation focus worldwide. The first is that democratic governments can restrict human resource use within protected areas, and the second is that human land use for subsistence leads to degradation and is incompatible with the maintenance of high levels of biological diversity. An examination of official policy documents over the past century indicates that Gaddi herders of Himachal Pradesh, northwestern Indian Himalaya, have used political influence to circumvent bureaucratic policies of exclusion and that there is an absence of scientific evidence to support the notion that Gaddi grazing leads to land degradation. Although grazing has profoundly shaped the structure and composition of the Siwalik forests (the Gaddi winter grazing grounds), as demonstrated by transect-based data presented by the author, deviations from supposed « climax » community need not constitute degradation. A growing rather than declining cattle population attests to the regenerative capacities of these forests. Within the alpine meadows grazed by the Gaddi in summer, mean plant species richness increased along transects originating in herder camps and extending 250 m north of herder camp sites. Intense grazing pressure or heavy manuring by livestock bedded at night are likely to be responsible for the observed low species diversity adjacent to the campsite, but the effect is insignificant at the level of the overall landscape. Interviews with herders also suggest the presence of a sizeable, though hunted, mammalian fauna in these high latitude meadows. The author argues that recognition of the difficulties associated with implementing restrictive policies, and the fact that human land use practices need not lead to degradation or to decline in biological diversity, should lead to more inclusive conservation policies within protected areas as well as an expansion of the conservation focus beyond protected area boundaries

305. Sabsay, D.A. and P. Tarak (1995) *La participación vecinal y la gestión del medio ambiente,* Argentina: FARN.
This is a guide developed by an Argentinean environmental institution (Fundación Ambiente y Recursos Naturales) to promote a mechanism for the institutionalisation of participation in environmental action at the municipal level. This mechanism is the Audiencia Pública (public meeting) which has already been institutionalised in a city in the South of Argentina which served as a pilot initiative. This manual was given out to local government authorities, and at the same time workshops were carried out in various localities to train local government staff and contribute to the institution building of local government in relation with participatory development.
The manual argues in favour of participatory democracy as a step forward from representative democracies, and sees the audiencias públicas as a concrete mechanism to guarantee citizen participation. The audiencias públicas are institutions conceived to create a space where citizens can meet with the people in decision-making positions, and thus present their views on the issues that concern them. Both the government and the civil society are given the right to call an audiencia pública, when they feel there is a need for it.
The manual presents a proposal for the regulations needed to institutionalise audiencias públicas within the governmental procedures and describe with detail the different stages of the process from the calling of an audiencia and its celebration to the recording of all interventions and the declaration of the rights and duties of the

participants.
The authors believe that the initiation of a process leading to participatory democracy will have an important effect on the citizens, the government staff and on the relationship between the two. The citizens will become more involved in actions at the local level, with greater ability to influence decisions according to their interests, they will be aware of the need to defend their demands and will become accustomed to acting collectively. The government personnel will gradually become used to the citizen's participation which will challenge their current way of working.
A new type of government staff need to evolve, one which sees itself as "public servers" and not as rigid authorities. These changes should lead to the disappearance of the existing barriers between those who govern and those who are governed. For this to happen, all the actors need to be willing to undergo the necessary changes.

306. Sarin, M. (1996) 'From conflict to collaboration: institutional issues in community management'. In M. Poffenberger and B. McGean (eds.), *Village voices, forest choices: joint forest management in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
A review of Indian experiences with grassroots forest management reveals that effective community groups usually possess some of the following characteristics: high forest dependency, perception of resource scarcity or outside threats, geographical proximity to the forest, prior or current formal or informal rights, presence of indigenous resource management institutions, traditional socio-religious forest values, and strong local leadership. Democratically representative and participatory community institution of forest-dependent, resident villagers are often the most effective organisations for ensuring sustainable management of forests, as opposed to groups established through government directives and projects. Forest departments can benefit enormously in their efforts at improving the current degraded state of India's forests and their long-term management by soliciting joint partnerships with these small, often informal community institutions.
In contrast, the gram panchayat-which has usually been viewed by the government as *the* local institutional vehicle for developmental projects and resource management-has proved to e disappointing for a variety of reasons. In the gram panchayat, most decision-making powers are vested in the elected representatives, while voters have neither the power to recall ineffective or corrupt leaders, nor the authority to responsible assist their representatives to function more effectively. The panchayat representatives, on the other hand, complain of lack of co-operation by their voters.
As a viable alternative, the majority of the autonomously formed forest protection groups in India have clearly defined the roles and responsibilities of both the leadership and regular members. In tribal areas particularly, these are rooted in strong traditions of collective action. It would help the forest department and others in JFM support roles to further study these indigenous, grassroots institutions in order to develop more sophisticated guidelines for new CIs forming in other areas.
To effectively perform their functions in JFM, community resource management institutions must be founded on generic institutional principles, including commitments to equity, autonomy, and participatory decision-making. Given the vast diversity in local resource management traditions and capabilities, expansion of JFM across the country will need to be carefully conceived and loosely monitored. The forest department will need to help and support local communities in developing their own capabilities and solutions to suit the diversity of their situations and concerns.
No centralised decision-making system can unilaterally evolve appropriate interventions, given the complexity of existing human-ecological relationships in

India. Thousands of self-initiated local organisations in Bihar, Orissa, Karnataka, West Bengal, and other states have already demonstrated their ability to practice sustainable forest management based on the principles of equity and grassroots democracy. Instead of attempting to make these CIs conform to standardised, institutional forms imposed from above, the challenge for forest departments lies in listening to and learning from their potential allies in protection and management-the communities themselves. The wealth of experience, local wisdom, and diversity that the nation's rural communities represent will inform the forest department and other facilitators how best to support and strengthen locally-inspired initiatives while also helping to promote the spread of forest community empowerment and regeneration of the forest ecosystem.

307. Sarin, M. and SARTHI (1996) 'The view from the ground: community perspectives on Joint Forest Management in Gujarat, India'. IIED, Forestry and Land Use Programme, Forest Participation Series no.4.
This paper describes locally-derived initiatives developed in response to forest resource scarcities. These initiatives comprise a diverse range of organisational forms and access controls, with group membership consisting of actual resource users irrespective of formal administrative village boundaries. The strength and effectiveness of the groups lies in consensus based, open decision-making with equitable sharing of costs and benefits. Their major weakness lies in the exclusion of women from their functioning, resulting in women's need for forest produce, particularly woodfuel, being overlooked in forest management priorities. This leads to highly inequitable distribution of the opportunity costs of protection between women and men, and puts in doubt the long-term sustainability of their forest regeneration. This case study is more one of a study of collaborative management despite the state, rather than with the state. Villagers do not recognise the Forestry Department and, whilst the Joint Forest Management approach demands the sharing of benefits, villagers do not want to share with the Forestry Department at all. The village forestry groups want the right to organise themselves as they see fit, and authority to honour their responsibilities. The challenge for the Forestry Department is clear: to become responsive to locally-initiated forest management by developing powers of facilitation rather than direction.

308. Sarin, M. (1998) 'Community forest management: whose participation?'. In I. Guijt and M.K. Shah (eds.), *The Myth of Community: gender issues in participatory development*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
The article argues that Joint Forest Management (JFM) places primary importance on forest protection for regenerating timber, neglecting the differential social impacts on men and women. The article briefly explains the gendered nature of access to different resources from the forest. It also gives a brief summary of the JFM approach. The rapid spread of using PRA for JFM has led to three main problems: (i) excessive demands for training mean rapid training with no attention to attitudes and behaviour; (ii) few fieldworkers learn to 'see' who participates in public PRA exercises and who does not, and; (iii) there is an almost total absence of socio-economic or gender analysis in PRA- it does not 'automatically' appear on the agenda.
Sarin presents a case study of an NGO called SARTHI which sought to support spontaneous local efforts to regenerate forests. Local institutions run by men decided to protect forests, excluding women from collecting firewood. They had to travel

further and further to complete the task. Women explained their problem to staff, but in joint meetings with men, were reluctant to raise the issue. As staff kept pushing the gender implications of the protection regime, conflict was raised in the meeting as forest guards attacked women for their behaviour and complaints.
Sarin explains that it took the SARTHI staff months of informal interaction with men and women to discover that women had not simply respected their exclusion from village forests, but rather there had been violent conflicts with forest guards. PRA did not work as it was not used in a context of long-term commitment.
Sarin concludes that JFM approaches must build in attention to gender and socio-economic differences. PRA tools are not necessarily the best means- what is more important is the clarity of staff members in perceiving gender relations and addressing them in their work.

309. Sánchez, G. and L. Sarvide (1993) 'Fortalecimiento institucional: notas para la reflexión'. *Pasos* 5:41-48.
At this time when NGOs and other organisations have become aware of the need to strengthen their institutions, the authors examine the relevance of institutional strengthening (fortalecimiento institucional) and the various factors that come into play when organisations embark in this process. Their analysis is derived from their experience working with different non-governmental and social organisations (in an unidentified country in Latin America) facilitating institution building through workshops, courses, seminars and consultancies.
They refer to the different definitions of institutional strengthening. Some people see it as the implementation of mechanisms for internal control and regulation; others emphasise the amount of resources which an organisation has; others focus on the organisational structure. They also mention various disciplines which provide different approaches to the analysis of institutions. For example, "social psychology" and "sociology of organisations" focus on organisational and group development, while "institutional analysis" provides a socio-political examination, and other approaches emphasise the administrative side of institutions.
According to the authors definition, there are three components of an institution that come into play in the process of building up its strength. First, there is a project which represents the aims, ideals and ideology of the institution. Second, there is a set of social relations between the members of the institution and also with external actors. Third there are a set of material, financial and human resources. Institutional strengthening is the process which aims to find the highest possible coherence between these three components.
They argue that external intervention (i.e. the facilitation of institutional building activities by an external team) is positive as it helps the members of an institution to gain more precise knowledge about the institution's mission, role and objectives. It also allows them to strengthen group work and internal social relations and to identify needs in terms of resources or areas where resources are used inefficiently. However, the authors point out that in various cases they have encountered obstacles and resistance to their initiatives of institutional strengthening as some people feel threatened and are not willing to co-operate.

310. Scarborough, V.S., D. Killough, A. Johnson and J. Farrington (1997) *Farmer led extension: concepts and practices*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
This book focuses on farmer-led extension, drawing on experiences throughout the

world. Over the past decade farmers, non governmental organisations (NGO), governments and donors throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America have been experimenting with a range of approaches to extension based on more locally managed and controlled approaches. These include the "campesino-a-campesino" movement in Central America, "farmer field schools" in South East Asia, "problem census" approaches in South Asia, and information facilitation programmes in Africa. All these approaches promote farmers and other rural people as the principle agents of change in their communities. Farmers are not only key to assessing services provided by professional extensionists and researchers, but also make many of the management decisions and do much of the extension work. Because the recommended technologies and approaches are determined locally, they can be adapted to suit particular needs in the village.

Drawing on case study lessons, the editors of this volume examine the prospects for scaling up farmer led, participatory forms of extension in agriculture and natural resource management. They categorise experiences into:

- those in a "pure" farmer to farmer vein, often found in areas where appropriate government services are almost non-existent, in some areas reaching the status of movement among farmers and rural people
- those very few cases aiming to set up input supply services on a sustainable, priced basis
- those (the majority) that fall into amore of a "farmer led" than pure "farmer to farmer" mode, and are concerned with generating more and better responses from government services. Some of these attempt to transform the public sector from within whilst the remainder seek to do so by generating pressure from outside.
- Scaling up and institutionalising participatory, farmer led extension through transformation of public sector bureaucracies will depend on removing the following constraints:

i) Public sector actors will be faced with new roles and corresponding new skill requirements. The emphasis will be less on technical expertise and more on the capacity to find answers that respond to farmers' requirements; less on teaching and more on joint learning; less on prescription and more on joint diagnosis. Diagnostic skills and more participatory training methods will have to be introduced into the curricula for government staff if they are to succeed in these new approaches.

ii) Changes in the resource allocation patterns of bureaucracies will be required, with less emphasis on the provision of subsidies or inputs, and more on bringing groups of farmers together for joint learning, cross visits and so on.

iii) Change will also be needed in the level of local control over resource allocations. Farmer led extension is unlikely to succeed if decisions cannot be taken without prior clearance from headquarters. Decentralising decision making, and the resources to implement those decisions, is desirable to enable farmers and their organisations to have a larger voice in setting agricultural development priorities.

iv) Farmer led extension gives more power to farmers to determine the public sector agenda for extension (and in some cases also research). This implies a reduction in the power of the public sector itself. Other implications include making government staff reward criteria and assessment procedures more closely dependent on how technologies perform in farmers' fields, and farmers should contribute to assessing performance. These innovations imply significant shifts in the balance of power. The public sector will have to give clear and repeated signals of its willingness to accept such shifts if those seeking to make it more responsive to farmers' requirements are not to be discouraged.

311. Schein, E.H. (1987) *Process consultation volume 1: its role in organization development*. Addison Wesley Organization Development Series 1, ed. E.H. Schein and R. Bechhard, New York: Addison Wesley.

This classic book in organisation development literature gives a general overview of the process consultation approach. Schein defines process consultation as, "a set of activities on the part of the consultant that help the client to perceive, understand, and act upon the process events that occur inn the client's environment in order to improve the situation as defined by the client." (11) The idea is that the client is pro-active throughout the diagnosis of problems, and the formulation of solutions. Rather than creating dependency, the consultant is to improve the client's skills to solve future problems. Process consultation aims to address problems in the daily flow of work activity. Practitioners assume that problems involve human actions and processes, rather than mainly financial or technical dimensions.

In the second part of the book, Schein presents some simplified concepts about human interactions that are useful in guiding process consultation interventions. Many of these insights come from psychology research and counselling. Short chapters address a number of areas of human interaction. The first is communication, starting with questions such as 'who talks?' and 'who talks to whom?'. The chapter also briefly considers styles of communication, and non-verbal communication. The next chapter presents a sketch of the processes involve in building and maintaining a group. Schein presents a view of self-oriented behaviour, and then distinguishes task oriented functions from maintenance functions in groups. The next section considers group problem solving and decision making. He separates this process into two separate cycles: (1) discussion, which includes problem identification, generating proposals, forecasting probable outcomes, and deciding on an action, and; (2) action, which includes planning, and subsequently evaluating outcomes. He also presents six different modes of decision making, from deciding by a 'lack of group response' to proposals put forward by group members, to developing a consensus. The next chapter discusses the process of group growth and development, including an analysis of norms and culture. He puts forward a model of group maturity, with a number of criteria such as having adequate machinery for feedback, adequate decision making procedures, and sharing participation in leadership functions. The book then presents some analysis of leadership, including a typology of leadership styles, all of which reflect the leader's assumptions about human behaviour. Rather than championing one style, he argues that leadership styles should be chosen according to the characteristics of the particular leader, his subordinates, and the particular situation. He presents a chapter on appraising performance and giving feedback. He argues that the process consultant's main role is in managing feedback, and assisting the organisation to improve its feedback mechanisms. Finally, Schein comments on intergroup relations within the organisation. He presents findings from psychological research to demonstrate the ways that intragroup behaviour change when a group is placed in a context of intergroup competition. As the outcome is negative for the organisation as a whole, and it is hard to turn back once intergroup competition has been initiated, Schein argues that conditions for collaboration not competition must be established from the outset.

The next section of the book explains the process consultation approach in some detail, drawing on concrete examples from the author's own experience. The first general step is making contact with the organisation, and defining relationships. The consultant and the organisation must also negotiate their methods and setting for

work. The consultant then begins with ‘diagnostic interventions.’ Schein states that collecting information is itself an intervention in organisational life, as it focuses attention on some topics rather than others, can raise fears about how the information will be used, etc. The process consultant can proceed to intervene more actively in organisational life through what Schein calls "confrontive inteventions." One approach is agenda managing, in which the consultant draws attention to particular issues by posing directive questions. Another is feedback of observations. The consultant may engage in counselling or coaching. And finally, the consultant may engage in ‘structural suggestions,’ proposing particular changes to address problems. Schein presents these as progressively more interventionist, and thus to be undertaken with increasing caution by the process consultant. The more active a role the consultant plays, the more risk there is of losing sight of process consultancy principles. The final stage is for the consultant is to negotiate their exit from the situation, in a way that leaves the option of renewed contact open in the future.

312. Scherler, C., R. Forster, O. Karkoschka and M. Kitz, (eds.) (1998) *Beyond the toolkit: experiences with institutionalising participatory approaches of GTZ supported projects in rural areas*. Eschborn: GTZ.

This is a collection of case studies written and presented as part of the GTZ project on "Critical factors and preconditions for success of participatory approaches in rural areas." It contains twelve case studies from Africa and Asia of projects which have attempted to institutionalise participatory approaches. The case studies are grouped under five main headings: participation in agricultural extension programmes; participation in resource management programmes; ownership for participation in village development; decentralisation and participation, and; participation and organisational development.

In a brief introduction, the editors try to summarise some themes emerging from the case studies. They discuss: conflicting understandings of participation; learning inputs; administrative and political framework conditions; village level facilitation; social and economic differences and interest groups; the role of training; institution building at local level; transfer of ‘standard solutions vs. learning processes; the challenge of broad scaling; and institutional change and organisational development. They conclude with some of the main findings to guide GTZ projects:

· Participation can no longer be understood as a means to ease the project-beneficiary relationship. Supporting participatory approaches means to integrate in the social, political, economical and institutional processes occurring between different stakeholders in projects, organisations, and the society.

· The focus on methods and techniques, be they PRA or other, have to be overcome. The facilitation of change processes at the level of organisations and individuals requires more than isolated training events.

· Participation requires institutional changes beyond the field worker- beneficiary level, if broad scaling is intended.

· Learning and change involves mistakes and errors. How to foster and deal with a self-critical climate of learning in projects and within GTZ should be discussed among staff of the different hierarchical levels.

· Capacity development and appropriate institutional arrangements are essential to institutionalise participation and require corresponding qualifications at the level of GTZ staff. To develop these qualifications, and organisational climate which enhances behavioural and attitudinal change is more important than training events.

· The political dimension of participatory approaches should be addressed more

openly in Technical Co-operation. This implies political backing from BMZ and a clear specification of the role of Technical Co-operation, of individual project and expatriate advisers right from the start.
· We should accept, that there are contexts where participatory approaches are not likely to be successful. This should be given more consideration at political and headquarters level in order not to overburden projects with unrealistic or inadequate demands.
· Technical Co-operation cannot enforce participation. Instead, we have to address our support and contributions to learning processes of partner organisations who have the basic openness to change in this direction.
· The institutionalisation of participation cuts across a variety of areas like organisational development, decentralisation, democratisation, institutional pluralism, gender and poverty reduction. The need for a reinforced interdisciplinary collaboration between sectoral departments at GTZ headquarters and between sectoral departments and country departments is obvious.

313. Scholte, P., S. Kari and e. al. (1996) 'Participation des pastoralistes nomades et transhumants a la rehabilitation et a la gestion de la plaine inondable du Logone, dans le Nord Cameroun'. *Programme Zones Arides* 66.
This case study (Participation of nomadic transhumant pastoralists in the rehabilitation and management of the Logone flood plain in Northern Cameroon) describes and to some extent examines the outcomes of a 1992 study of the impacts of infrastructure on pastoralist natural resource management conducted in Waza-Logone, Northern Cameroon. The pastoral community is comprised of sedentary, trans-humant and non-cultivating 'pastoralists' of the Mousgoum, Peul Fulbé/Arabe Choa and Peul/Arabe Choa ethnic groups, respectively. An exodus of the groups to northern Cameroon, Nigeria, Chad and Central Africa occurred due to the construction of a dam and highly variable rainfall during the period 1985-1994. Conflict over land use increased significantly as did pressure on available resources during this period. Interestingly, certain actors in the region are viewed as partial to different groups, (e.g. veterinary services are perceived to defend the interests of transhumants).
Researchers in the study acted as 'intermediaries' between the pastoralists and the governor in order to raise the problem of insecurity and conflict to the regional level. The paper includes a critique of the project and research process. A flexible approach, precise target groups, extensive preparation, establishment of trust and direct involvement of pastoralists were identified as strengths while the following weak points were noted: length of time required for improvement, gender bias towards males, and project vulnerability due to dependency on current project members.

314. Schoonmaker Freudenberger, K. and M. Schoonmaker Freudenberger (1994) 'Livelihoods, livestock and change: the versatility and richness of historical matrices'. *RRA Notes* 20:144-148.
This article provides three case studies from research in the Gambia and Senegal that demonstrate how various types of historical matrices can facilitate local populations own analyses of how their situation has changed over time and the causes and consequences of that change. Key factors to bare in mind when using these types of matrices are listed in the article.
A historical livelihood matrix was used to show the relative importance of various

activities in the household economy and how these have changed over time, showing in this particular instance that whilst the importance of crops had varied greatly over time the importance of livestock and tree products had remained relatively stable.
In the village of Sinthiane in Senegal a historical natural resource use matrix comparing the situation before a drought that occurred more than twenty years ago and the present time revealed a dramatic reduction in livestock, the result of changing access to land for grazing after harvest. In another instance a historical matrix of coping strategies in times of crisis was constructed in which informants brainstormed the many survival strategies used during periods of extreme hardship which were then plotted on th vertical axis against various crisis periods they identified on the horizontal axis.

315. Schön, D.A. and C. Argyris (1978) *Organisational learning: a theory of action perspective*: Addison Wesley Publishing Company.
Organisational learning occurs when members of the organisation act as learning agents for the organisation, responding to changes in internal and external environments of the organisation by detecting and correcting errors in organisational theory in use, and embedding the results of their inquiry in private images and shared maps of organisation. Three types of organisational learning are described with examples. In organisational single loop learning, the criterion for success is effectiveness. Individuals respond to error by modifying strategies and assumptions within constant organisational norms. In double loop learning, response to detected errors takes the form of joint inquiry into organisational norms themselves, so as to resolve their inconsistency and make the new norms more effectively realisable. Double loop learning may lead to significant restructuring of the configuration of corporate norms. Or it may lead to the invention of new patterns of incentives, budgeting, and control which take greater account of requirements and new circumstances. In both cases, organisational learning consists of restructuring organisational theory and action.
When an organisation engages in deutero-learning, its members learn too, about previous contexts of learning. They reflect on and enquire into previous contexts for learning. They reflect on and inquire on previous episodes of organisational learning, or failure to learn. They discover what they did that facilitated or inhibited learning, they invented new strategies for learning, they produce these strategies, and they evaluate and generalise what they have produced. The results become encoded in individual images and maps and are reflected in organisational learning practice. The quest for organisational learning capacity must take the form of deutero-learning.
A review of the literature on organisational learning is presented. The theories of organisational learning are grouped into six categories based on more or less conventional ways of describing what an organisation is:
- Organisation as group. Organisations are viewed as collections of persons who interact on a regular basis and share a sense of collective identity. The person is a salient element, but there are also group phenomena. When individual learn to interact with one another so as to carry out shared tasks, one can speak of the group itself as learning.
- Organisation as agent. Organisations are seen as instruments for the achievement of social purposes. Although it is legitimate to speak of the collection of individuals who inhabit an organisation at any given time, the organisation is not reducible to them or to their interactions. The organisation is itself a subject which is conceived as sentient, active, intelligent and purposeful. The organisational world is viewed from the

perspective of a manager schooled in the instrumental rationality of engineering.
- Organisation as structure. Organisations are viewed as an ordered array of role boxes connected by lines which represent flows of information, work, and authority. Most structuralists seek to relate people to an abstracted order of positions and relationships in a task and authority structure. From a structural perspective, organisational learning has to do with a change in structure in response to changes in internal and external environments.
- Organisation as system. Organisations are viewed as self regulating entities, as complexes which maintain certain essential consistencies through cycles of action, error-detection, and error correction (organisational learning).
- Organisation as culture. Organisations are understood as small societies in which people create for themselves shared meanings, symbols, rituals and cognitive schemas which allow them to create and maintain meaningful interactions among themselves and in relation to the world beyond their small society. Organisational learning may refer to the processes by which individuals become socialised to the culture of organisation. Or organisational learning , in a deeper sense, may refer to the process by which organisational category schemes, models, images, or cognitive modes are transformed in response to error, anomaly, or inconsistency. Or organisational learning might be taken to signify the process whereby an organisation becomes cognisant of the social reality they have jointly constructed, subject that sense of reality to critical reflection, and seek deliberately to transform it.
- Organisation as politics. Organisations are primarily understandable as interest groups which contend with other interest groups for the control of resources and territory. Organisations are themselves made up of contending parties, and in order to understand the behaviour of organisations one must understand the nature of internal and external conflicts, the distribution of power among contending groups, and the processes by which conflicts of powers result in dominance, submission, compromise or stalemate. Organisational learning consists of the processes by which members of an organisation learn to invent and apply the strategies most appropriate to winning the game in which they are engaged with other organisations. Or organisational learning may be how members achieve the collective awareness of the processes of contention in which they are engaged, gaining thereby the possibility of transforming contention to co-operation.

316. Scoones, I. (1994) *Living with uncertainty: new directions for pastoral development in Africa.*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
This volume shows how many of the core assumptions that provided the basis for range management and pastoral development in dryland Africa have been challenged in recent years. Terms such as "vegetation succession", "carrying capacity" and "land degradation" have come under critical scrutiny. As a result, it is increasingly accepted that many dryland ecosystems do not follow equilibrium dynamics. Instead, such systems are characterised by high levels of temporal and spatial variability in biomass production, highly variable rainfall and episodic, chance events such as drought. This collection of articles examines the management and policy implications of this new ecological thinking for pastoral development in dryland areas. With examples drawn from all over Africa, the book examines the consequences of living with uncertainty for pastoral development planning, range and fodder management, drought response, livestock marketing, resource tenure, institutional development and pastoral administration. In particular, pastoral administration and bureaucracies are challenged to transform their approach to deal with non-equilibrium ecosystems in which

pastoralists must avoid risks by moving herds and flocks to make best use of the heterogeneous landscape; in which they must seek economic diversification to support their livelihoods; and also defend complex rights of access to grazing and water resources.

317. Scoones, I. (1997) 'The dynamics of soil fertility change: historical perspectives on environmental transformation from Zimbabwe'. *The Geographical Journal*, 163(2):161-169.
This paper begins by introducing the current thinking concerning soil fertility management in Africa that holds that without major investments in soil fertility, yield levels will decline and starvation will occur. Some of the underlying theoretical and methodological assumptions embedded within these statements are examined critically, including the assumption that they make of spatial homogeneity and the theoretical assumption that growing populations necessarily cause an increased gap between aggregate resource availability and use.
Whilst not implying that there is no problem of soil fertility in dry land Africa the author states that simplistic assumptions about people-environment relationships tend to ignore more complex, interactive relationships between people and environments, mediated through social relations and institutions.
The paper argues that insights from historical analyses of environmental change potentially challenge some of these assumptions, highlighting issues of non-linear dynamics, spatial heterogeneity and the role of contingent events in precipitating change.
The way in which historical approaches can improve our understanding of environmental transformation and reveal complexity denied in more conventional people-resource arguments is examined by illustrating a series of themes with case study material from research carried out in Chivi and Mazvihwa communal areas in Zimbabwe. A combination of time-series aerial photographs to track land use change between 1939 and 1985, oral histories and personal biographies recorded by local residents, archival sources and time-series data on key factors such as cropping patterns, rainfall levels or livestock populations were used in the research. The importance of using data on environmental transformation from different time-scales is highlighted in the paper for, 'all too often, pictures of environmental change are built up with limited time depth, often making use of inappropriate baselines and indicators . For example, 'snapshot assessments of soil nutrient budgets or erosion risk may be misleading as they may not give a full picture of the dynamics of change
The need to understand event history and legacies from the past and their impacts on the present are also emphasised as histories of environmental change are not linear and major transformations may be the result of combinations of events, acting together. Indeed, it was shown that in Chivi combinations of events at various points over the past century have precipitated major shifts in farming style and, with this, changes in the pattern of investment in soil fertility management.

318. Scoones, I. (1997) ' Landscapes, fields and soils: understanding the history of soil fertility management in southern Zimbabwe'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 23(4):615-634.
Many commentators on African agriculture believe soil fertility is declining to levels where food production can no longer be sustained, thus spelling disaster for the future.
But how accurate are these doomsday pictures? This paper takes a more focussed look

at the issues of soil fertility management using a case study from southern Zimbabwe. An historical perspective is taken which attempts to unravel the range of factors which have influenced the range in soil fertility at landscape and farm levels over the past century.. The story that emerges is not one of terminal decline, but one where some areas have increased in fertility status through active enrichment through management, while others have declined. The role of institutions, both local and external, in mediating the processes of soil fertility change is highlighted through an examination of the patterns of labour organisation, land tenure, government legislation and markets and prices. The resulting story, not surprisingly, is much more complex than the simplistic commentaries so often dominating agricultural and environmental policy debates. The implications of this complexity for planning and policy are briefly discussed.

319. Scoones, I. (1999) 'New ecology and the social sciences: what prospects for a fruitful engagement?'. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 28: 479-507.
This review asks the question: what new avenues of social science enquiry are suggested by new ecological thinking, with its focus on non-equilibrium dynamics, spatial and temporal variation, complexity and uncertainty? Following a review of the emergence of the "new ecology" and the highlighting of contrasts with earlier "balance of nature" perspectives, work emerging from ecological anthropology, political ecology, environmental and ecological economics and debates about nature and culture are examined. With some important exceptions, much social science work and associated popular and policy debates remains, it appears, firmly wedded to a static and equilibrial view. The review then turns to three areas where a more dynamic perspective has emerged. Each has the potential to take central elements of new ecological thinking seriously; sometimes with major practical consequences for planning, intervention and management. First the concern with spatial and temporal dynamics developed in detailed and situated analysis of "people in places" using, in particular, historical analysis as a way of explaining environmental change across time and space. Second, is the growing understanding of environment as both the product of and setting for human interactions, which link dynamic structural analysis of environmental processes with an appreciation of human agency in environmental transformation, as part of a "structuration" approach. Third is the appreciation of complexity and uncertainty in social-ecological systems, and, with this, the recognition of that prediction, management and control are unlikely, if not impossible.

320. SDC (1991) 'Mirror, mirror on the wall: self evaluation (SE) in development co-operation (working instruments for planning, evaluation, monitoring and transference into action (PEMT))'. Bern, Switzerland: Swiss Directorate for Development Co-operation.
The metaphor of the "mirror", constitutes the central theme for this guide to self evaluation [SE] prepared by the evaluation service of the Swiss Development Co-operation [SDC]. The "mirror of SE" refers to "a multitude of tools and methods which provide a critical and constructive analysis of our own activities and their consequences". Unlike external evaluation, a SE is always designed to "illuminate" one's own area of responsibility to help find possible improvements. 18 practical examples of SE are introduced in chapter 2, which are divided into three main groups; Externally initiated SE; SE involving partners; and Autonomous SE - which occurs entirely independently of outside influence (the key case study given in the latter group is the SE deployed in the Federation of Senegalese NGOs in Senegal, 1989). In

chapters 3 and 4 respectively, an "analysis" and "valuation" of these case studies is carried out, with 8 "fundamental questions" providing the framework for discussion [questions include; "what is being evaluated?", "How is success being measured?", "who are the participants?", "how can SE be implemented?"] In chapter 5 the analytical concept of the "wheel with 8 spokes" is introduced as a specific approach through which SE can be conceptualised and put into practice. Although no mention of PRA is made, this guide does provide some relevant and stimulating discussion which is based around the large number of case studies. Certainly, the 56 arguments - or "excuses" - listed on p.32, which "are used to evade an SE" are equally likely to be employed with reference to the use of PRA methods for M&E. (61 pp)

321. Secretaría Ejecutiva del Medio Ambiente (1994) *El Salvador: estrategia nacional del medio ambiente*, San Salvador: SEMA.
This is the National Environmental Strategy for El Salvador. This strategy is the result of a process of participation by national and international consultants, private enterprises, government entities, NGOs, municipalities, local communities and universities. As a background, the document includes a historical account of previous development and environment policies in El Salvador and describes the environmental conditions in the country and the links with poverty.
The strategy itself is divided between various issues/problems, including: deforestation, soil erosion, marine resources, biodiversity loss and pollution. It is relevant that among the mechanisms for implementation of the strategy, there is a space given to community participation and that special attention is put on the role of women.
The following actions are proposed for the achievement of community participation:
1. Establishing mechanisms that link environment departments at the regional level with those at the local level.
2. Establishing community environment committees and promoting programmes for community participation in the environment area.
3. Promoting a programme of information about the environment
4. Participation of citizens in environmental actions
They also identify the following mechanisms to promote women's participation in the protection of the environment within this national strategy:
1. To promote women's access to education, health and wage employment
2. To implement programmes of environmental education for women
3. To include women at all levels of decision making
4. To support women heads of household to obtain ownership of their land
Unfortunately, no concrete actions are outlined in the document to put in practice these initiatives related to participation.

322. Senge, P.M. (1990) *The fifth discipline: the art and practice of the learning organisation*, London: Century Business.
This private sector management-oriented book outlines the requirements for building a learning organisation. Senge describes learning organisations as
Organisations where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning how to learn together.
He argues that there are five 'disciplines' which one must learn in order to create learning organisations:

1. Personal mastery. A process of continually clarifying and deepening our personal vision, of focusing our energies, of developing patience, and of seeing reality objectively.
2. Mental models. Deeply ingrained assumptions, generalisations, or even pictures or images that influence how we understand the world and how we take action. People must learn to identify their internal pictures of the world, question them, and adjust them.
3. Building shared vision. Organisations must unearth a shared 'picture of the future' that foster genuine commitment and enrolment rather than compliance.
4. Team learning. Entering dialogue in which people are able to collectively gain insights they could not alone. This means identifying team dynamics that undermine learning, such as defensiveness.
5. Systems thinking. The 'fifth discipline' that allows for the productive integration of the component parts. This leads to a focus on leverage, small focused changes that have far-reaching effects on the organisation because of the linkages within the organisation and to the outside world.

323. Shah, P., G. Bharadwaj and R. Ambastha (1991) 'Participatory impact monitoring of a soil and water conservation programme by farmers, extension volunteers and AKRSP in Gujarat'. *RRA Notes* 13:127-131.
This article outlines the process taken by the Aga Khan Rural Support Project (AKRSP) in participatory impact monitoring of their watershed management programmes which is based largely on before and after intervention mapping. Maps are prepared by farmers of their fields showing the condition before intervention an then maps are prepared indicating the Soil and water conservation measures carried out. later impact indicators are diagrammed, showing for example, gullies partially or fully filled and reclaimed, new areas brought under cultivation, and crop growth is compared on hid field with untreated fields. Individual farmers maps are aggregated for watershed outlet groups and presentation of these results provides an opportunity for discussion of results and further planning.

324. Shah, A.C. (1993) 'Piloting participatory development the Philippines way'. *Wastelands News* (May-July):19-23.
The author presents experiences from the Philippines in institutionalising participatory approaches to development, taking the example of the National Irrigation Administration (NIA). He argues that there are five key components to successfully entering a process of organisation learning that leads to the adoption of participatory approaches: working groups; pilot projects; community organisers; and process documentation research (PDR).
The article provides a useful, brief, summary of the practicalities of PDR. Shah argues that PDR works best when senior project staff recognise from the beginning that their institutions will need to change to cope with participatory methods. PDR works best over several project cycles, so researchers should usually be willing to commit for three years. The senior PDR researcher should be willing to spend 4-7 days per month in the field in the early days, and the same amount every 2-3 months after that. Shah explores the tricky relationship between project staff and PDR researchers. He argues that if the PDR researchers make transparent explanation of their motivations at the outset, conflict can be avoided. He reports that in the Philippines, there was no significant conflict between PDR and project staff in four projects over 73 months.

The references include documents generated in the Philippines outlining the PDR approach.

325. Shah, A. (1997) 'Process documentation research'. *PLA Notes* 28:14-17.
Process documentation research (PDR) is a tool to help development organisations learn from their experience. It is an open-ended, inductive process that explores the interface between an organisation and the people it works with. PDR takes a dynamic view of project implementation and helps to make projects respond to context-specific requirements. It is especially relevant for those organisations that emphasise the importance of participatory processes.
The paper is based on the endeavour of the Gujarat Institute of Development Research in documenting the implementation of a social forestry project by a leading NGO, the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP).
The PDR attempted to answer a few key questions:
What is the rationale (or suitability) of the specific project in the target villages?
How participatory is the process of implementation?
What is the outcome at the end of critical stages of the project, and why?
The article summarises the seven main steps of the process, and the main themes emerging and lessons learnt at each stage. The main steps are:
1. Understanding the project objectives and the participatory approach adopted by the NGO.
2. Identifying a framework of the key factors and their influence on the participatory process.
3. Recruiting and training the field observers who reflect the field realities.
4. Establishing close rapport and building confidence among the village community.
5. Village mapping and identification of the key factors influencing people's participation.
6. Preparing the chronology of major events.
7. Identification of major issues, discussion with the NGO, and report writing.
Shah summarises some of the key lessons. He advocates starting with strong baseline data, and then starting a 'back and forth' process of validating and expanding the data base. He advocates using a mix of survey and participatory methods. Balance must be struck between keeping a subtle distance from NGO staff while not being too harsh on the project. PDR staff might have to perform a 'backstopping' role, taking an active role in facilitating dialogue between communities and NGO staff.
The article concludes with a list of methodological questions remaining:
· Is it essential that PDR researchers should agree with the objectives, content and approach of the implementing agency?
· Should the implementing agency play a more active role in PDR?
· Should PDR be concerned not only with micro level processes, but regions development?
· Should PDR link events to larger historical and external factors?

326. Shah, P. (1997) 'Participatory village resource management: case study of Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) India', D.Phil., Brighton: University of Sussex.
In the last decade many development programmes have used participatory methods for local institutional development. This study shows that while such methods play a significant role, they alone do not ensure effectiveness, sustainability and scaling-up of development efforts. Using participatory methods and self evaluation by a village

community, this study examines the process, cost effectiveness, impact, and sustainability of a participatory development programme, supported by an NGO, AKRSP (India).

This study shows that the development of a local institution leads to a significant increase in agricultural production and income. There have been shifts in livelihoods from wage employment to enterprise. The Village Institution (VI) has been instrumental in ending exploitation-based livelihoods which depended on traditional patrons, moneylenders and traders. Most poor households have redeemed their mortgaged land. People perceive a significant improvement in their well-being.

By mobilising members' contributions and savings, external resources and credit, and setting up a local network of extension volunteers, the VI has sought financial, functional and structural autonomy from AKRSP. This has also been facilitated by skill development and entrepreneurship at the village level. The VI has been instrumental in stimulating the subsistence economy to become market oriented.

AKRSP supports VIs in three phases. The first involves institution establishment and capacity building. Planning, implementation and programme management takes place during the second phase. The third phase of AKRSP-VI interaction involves networking between VIs, and scaling up the programme and institution development process.

This study illustrates other factors critical in increasing effectiveness and sustainability of development efforts. These include village level processes of group formation and interaction, flexibility of external support, proactive support systems and programming decisions, and local institutions capable of interacting with the external environment. A combination of volunteerism, enterprise, and institution development enhances the sustainability and impact of participatory approaches.

The thesis also provides an excellent example of an impact methodology which combines a number or research methods, and emphasises a holistic approach to defining and measuring impacts. The author provides a detailed explanation of the field methods, including an array of PRA tools, and secondary sources used, and the ways in which differences between the perceptions of different stakeholders shed light on the same issue.

327. Shah, M.K. (1998) 'Salt and Spices: Gender issues in participatory programme implementation in AKRSP, India'. In I. Guijt and M.K. Shah (eds.), *The Myth of Community: gender issues in participatory development*. London: Intermediate Technology.

A participatory development process, by definition, implies that all sections of a community have equal access to, and take part in equal measures in, the decision-making process. In most contexts, however, especially in India, it is not socially acceptable for men and women to share a common public space and women are usually left on the periphery or are not allowed to take an active part in public fora. Given this social constraint, a participatory process implies adopting one or both of the following strategies: (I) changing the existing gender relations, so that men and women can participate equally; and/or (ii) seeking way within existing gender relations to enable men and women alike to have an equal say.

For most development programmes, changing the existing gender relations is not he primary objective. While some projects state their intention to ensure that there is not negative impact on women, and that men and women are able to take part in the development process equally, they rarely have an explicit strategy that describes how the internalised oppression of women will be handled. Several factors contribute to

the lip-service towards gender issues. It is primarily affected by the lack of a working model, which goes beyond the theory of gender and provides ways in which gendered concerns, as dictated by existing context-specific gender relations, can be addressed in implementation. Developing such a working model requires experimenting with new ideas and approaches. It also requires an organisational recognition of its merits, and commitment to provide the opportunities for experimentation. Gender-sensitivity on the part of field staff, who usually need training in appropriate concepts and analytical tools, is crucial. This is a slow process, and management and field staff alike need determination to pursue it, despite the lack of quick and tangible results.
The paper describes the efforts of and problems encountered by an NGO, Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP), India, in its attempts to integrate the concerns of men and women, while supporting local village institutions in managing their natural resources. The organisation supports a variety of natural-resources management projects including: small-scale irrigation, soil and water conservation in micro-watersheds, community forestry, agriculture development, credit (linked to savings), marketing, animal husbandry and biogas. In 1992, AKRSP was working in three districts of Gujarat state: Bharuch, Junagadh, and Surendranagar. The chapter focuses mainly on the experiences from Bharuch district.
The paper includes 'boxes' with brief summaries of gender issues and conflicts as they arose in AKRSP activities. It concludes with a list of preconditions for institutionalising gender concerns in a participatory process.

328. Shah, M.K. (1998) 'Gendered perceptions of well-being and social change in Darko, Ghana'. In I. Guijt and M.K. Shah (eds.), *The Myth of Community : gender issues in participatory development*. London: Intermediate Technology.
This article is based on field work carried out in Darko, a small village in the Ashanti region, as part of a training for Ghanaian researchers involved in a World Bank Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA). The paper stresses the importance of studying the livelihood profiles and their seasonal patterns of both men and women at household level and the importance of not assuming that households are units comprising members who share interests and priorities as this illusionary household image can lead to wrong conclusions. The way in which PRA methods were used to understand the differing perceptions of men and women of well-being and poverty and the differential impact that poverty may have on men and women are described.
Social maps drawn by separate groups of men and women were significantly different, with the men's map having 55 houses, whereas the women's had seventy three. This was discovered to be owing to the fact that traditionally a married couple does not share the same house, with wives living in separate smaller huts, which the men had not included. Moreover, it was discovered later, that neither map showed all the households as nearly all houses shown were compounds and each compound had more than one household (many more that ten.)
These social maps formed the basis of subsequent wealth and well-being ranking by the two groups to enable men and women to analyse their situation and define their perceptions of poverty and economic and social change. Differences emerged in the way that men and women defined well-being. For example, women's criteria for the 'poorest' were related to a state of destitution and the lack of individual entitlements or health related deprivation whilst men's focused on the lack of assets.
Information generated from the wealth-ranking/well-being ranking was used to select sample households for more in-depth analysis of how poverty affected different categories of household and individuals. Livelihood analysis was used to understand

the income and expenditure patterns of different households, the seasonality of stress in livelihoods and coping strategies and individual case studies mapped the changes in an individuals life and the events that led to those changes.
‘ The use of participatory methods demonstrated that gendered poverty analysis throws up essential differences between women and men that influence their development opportunities. The methods proved effective to understand people’s own perceptions of intrahousehold relations and how poverty affects women and men and, ‘provided a far better understanding of the situation and the changes taking place than would have been possible merely by collecting data on externally determined indicators’. The use of participatory methods generated not only quantitative information on the distribution of households according to wealth and well-being but also provided insights as to why and how the households differ’

329. Shah, A. (1998) ‘Challenges in influencing public policy: an NGO perspective’. In J. Holland and J. Blackburn (eds.), *Whose Voice? Participatory research and policy change*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
In the light of experiences in the field of participatory forest management in India this chapter looks at contexts for influencing policy, suggested action plans and strategies for gaining attention of the relevant agency and what to do in the event of a favourable response.

330. Shepherd, A. (1995) ‘Participatory environmental management: contradiction of process, project and bureaucracy in the Himalayan foothills’. *Public Administration and Development* 15:465-479.
Using comparative Asian experience of organisational change, this article analyses the experience of an Indian organisation responsible for environmental management in the Himalayan foothills of Uttar Pradesh (UP) in moving from a standard Indian public sector approach to rural development and environmental management, to a new participatory approach. Successive World Bank funded watershed management project s in the Himalayan foothills were widely held not to have achieved and sustained their full potential in the past, largely due to an absence of effective local management of assets after the projects’ end. On the other hand communities and groups have shown on a small scale a capacity to mange resources in sustainable way. The Government of Uttar Pradesh’s European Union funded Doon Valley Project has been through first phase in which a participatory method of village level planing has been initiated. The article addresses the required changes and constraints involved in this first step of transformation. These include issues to do with organisational structures and procedures, training, gender and other social issues, and the dynamics of organisational change. The implications of a participatory approach are far reaching. The ‘off the shelf’ schemes that Government has offered to individual, groups, and communities in a watershed management as well as other rural development programmes are challenged both by the specificities of the Himalayan environment, and by the adoption of a genuinely participatory approach.. Allowing people to decide how they will manage their hillsides requires an ability to facilitate that process. Facilitators need to have the flexibility and creativity to offer a variety of technical and managerial possibilities such that individuals, groups, and communities can choose what suits them best. Constraints derive partly form the Government’s set procedures and schemes in rural development, and from its advocacy of particular well worn technology packages. Constraints also derive from the way in which the whole project has been handled by Government and the

Commission of the European Union from the beginning, and from the way in which technical assistance has been organised. It is important that governments and donors learn from such experiences so that future participatory environmental management work can have a greater chance of success.

331. Showers, K.B. (1989) ‘Soil erosion in the Kingdom of Lesotho: Origins and Colonial Response, 1830s - 1950s’. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15(2):263-286.
The author, a soil scientist, presents a careful documentation of the way colonial bureaucracies and officers made use of an inappropriate narrative as the basis of a program that greatly exacerbated soil erosion. She challenges the accepted view that soil erosion in Lesotho has been an accelerated phenomenon and that it is the result of "primitive" agricultural practices. In the first section she presents evidence to support the hypothesis that accelerated soil erosion was rare in Lesotho before the arrival of the Europeans in the 1830s and only began to be noticeable in the late nineteenth century. The causes identifies are deforestation for building and firewood, agriculture, increased creation of roadways, introduction of ox-drawn ploughing, and marginalisation of grazing.
The response of the British Administration was to initiate a t widespread anti-erosion scheme involving the building of terraces with outlets and diversion ditches. These were costly and required much adaptation and upkeep over the years of the programme 1963-1955. The terrace design was not successful and the technical problems (accumulation of flood water, breakage of terraces, etc) could not be solved. As a result the erosion potential of the water at specific points was actually increased. The author briefly summarised the relevance of the history and experience of soil erosion and its control in Lesotho: "instead of viewing the Sotho people as negative elements in the landscape, they might more appropriately be viewed as victims of imposed technological interventions. Programmes need not be designed to scold ‘bad land managers’, but rather to help rural people make the best of a degraded landscape". She also notes that an understanding of the environment is essential in order that efforts to control it do not actually magnify the problem or even create new problems.

332. Showers, K.B. and G.M. Malahleha (1992) ‘Oral evidence in historical environmental soil conservation in Lesotho in the 1930’s and 1940’s’. *Journal of African Studies* 18(2):276-296.
This document introduces the concept of Historical Environmental Impact Assessment (HEIA), a methodology for the evaluation of historical interventions in the landscape or the study of projects which were designed, implemented and terminated in the past. An understanding of such projects is important in that they have affected both the landscape and people living in it and activities occurring afterwards need to be seen in the context of these experiences.
Often such evaluations are limited to a to review of project documents but these are often incomplete. This paper argues for the need to also include and compare in such studies qualitative environmental information collected from local residents who depend on and use the landscape and are therefore intensely aware of it and make continuing and detailed observations that can provide a rich database for assessing environmental conditions and change. the author argues that,. ‘there should be confidence in using oral environmental data, even in the absence of confirming written documents’ and that indeed, ‘ in a study of environmental change the specific

locations, the observations and explorations of local people should be seen as preferable to general writings of non-residents - especially if the writers are not natural or environmental scientists'.
The document presents data from a pilot study to test the use of oral history and oral evidence techniques to collect environmental data regarding the effect of the first national soil conservation programme in Lesotho in 30's and 40's is presented. In order to do assess the impact of the programme it was important to establish the extent of soil erosion prior to the programme. Since, no aerial photos exist for the area until the 1950's to provide direct evidence the study relied on interviews with elderly people who had lived in the area during the mid-30's. These revealed that local people appeared not to have been aware of soil erosion as a problem in those days.
However, examination of the documents written by British missionaries of the time provide a very different perception of soil erosion which the article suggests can perhaps be explained by the part of the landscape experienced by and important to each group.. The Basotho when interviewed discussed fields and pastures upon which their lives depended whilst the British officials and missionaries were influenced by the condition of the roads they travelled on and the degradation of the heavily used grounds of mission stations and government camps. (Showers, ' Soil erosion in the Kingdom of Lesotho p 272)
The study also, shows how in the light of local peoples testimony regarding the indigenous monitoring and evaluation process and the people's perception of the British colonial regime, the written historical record of so-called resistance was in fact a rational attempt to correct or prevent the negative impacts of the soil conservation technology on the landscape.

333. Shrum, W. (1997) 'A social network approach to analyzing research systems: a study of Kenya, Ghana, and Kerala (India)'. *International Service for National Agricultural Research Briefing Paper* 36.
The nature and frequency of linkages in developing country agricultural research systems is a concern of policy-makers and research managers for two main reasons. First, research in science and technology requires collaborative relationships as well as effective communication. Second, the material and information resources on which research depends often lie outside the organisations in which projects are conducted.
This paper describes a social network approach to analysing science and technology systems, taking into account the primary sectors involved in agriculture and natural resource management. It outlines a methodology for producing an inventory of the set of relationships that actually occur rather than purely formal, "on paper" linkages, which may or may not be operational. It describes the kinds of information sources that may be generated by such an analysis. Summary results are presented from a study of 137 organisations involved in agriculture and natural resource management in Kenya, Ghana, and the Indian state of Kerala. Organisations include research institutes, universities, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).
Results of the pilot study focus first on internal organisational linkages, then on external linkages and perceptions of the role of linkages in improving research capacity. Findings suggest that Kerala's researchers operate in less bureaucratic, more co-operative organisational settings than their African counterparts. Priorities for capacity building, as expressed by the researcher themselves, were improving links with extension, with international research organisations, and with policy

makers. Workshops, travel, and electronic communications were seen as less important. Although there is a common belief that universities and national research institutes are insular, study results show that the linkages identified between such organisations are predominantly cross-sectoral.

334. Simon, J. (1997) *Endangered Mexico: an environment on the edge*, San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.
The author recounts Mexico's environmental threat from a historical perspective and also focusing on different issues, such as the rural areas, urban problems, PEMEX (the oil company) and environmental problems in the Mexico-US border.
On the last chapter of his analysis, the authors make an interesting analysis of the environmental politics in Mexico. Most relevant is his reference to the creation of the current Environment Ministry (SEMARNAP) and to the background of the current Environment Minister, Julia Carabias.
Simon recounts the institutional and administrative changes that took place in order to create SEMARNAP at the beginning of the Zedillo administration: the environmental prosecutors office (PROFEPA) and the National Ecology Institute (INE) were transferred from the Social Development Ministry (SEDESOL) and the responsibility for water and forests was transferred from the Ministry of Agriculture.
Carabias is described as "one of Mexico's leading environmentalists" who does not have a political vein and is an academic put into a politicians office. This is why according to Simon, while no one doubts her commitment to the environment, her effectiveness as an administrator and politician has been questioned.
Carabias' career as a biologist has been spent investigating sustainable development in extremely poor rural communities. Her personal background and commitment is seen as an important factor which has led to a change in "the rhetoric of environmental protection" in Mexico.
Simon sees the creation of SEMARNAP and the appointment of Carabias as an important step forward in "institution building". Although it is not made explicit, Simon's analysis would guide us to point out the relevance that recent administrative change and the professional and ideological background of the group in charge of SEMARNAP has had in shaping current environmental policy in Mexico.

335. Singh, R. (1995) *Institutionalisation of participatory rural appraisal: an experience of Action Aid Nepal*. Presented at the 'First Nepal Participatory Action Network Workshop', Dhulikehel, Nepal, 21 January 1995. .
The author describes institutionalisation of PRA as the ways in which adopting PRA has affected the behaviour of the staff and organisation. The staff have started using PRA for internal decision making, such as ranking exercises to decide the site for a new office, or asking a candidate in a job interview to draw a diagram in answer to a question. Adopting PRA has led to increased confidence and trust amongst staff members. Staff members are confident that they can participate in analysis of information alongside community members, without help from senior academics. Field staff's increased confidence has been reflected by their increasing inclusion in decision making by senior staff. Relations between community members and staff have increased, notably between children and project staff. Field staff have been empowered to make decisions as they do not feel the need to look upwards for help in analysing information and formulating plans and budgets. Attempts at poverty targeting resulted from the analysis of intra-community differences uncovered through PRA exercises. PRA visual outputs have provided a valuable new type of

documentation used by project staff.
On the negative side, there have been problems as staff have often closed their minds to methods other than PRA for collecting information. There has also been signs of 'more of the same syndrome,' as the same small circle of PRA practitioners has continued to use the same PRA tools in the same way with little innovation.

336. Slim, H. and P. Thomson (1993) 'Listening for a change: oral testimony and development'. PANOS Institute.
The collective voice of any community tends towards generalisations, simplifications or half truths and is dominated by the loudest voices, ' such that the community view will tend to concentrate on the concerns of the wealthy, the political elite and social and religious leaders' ( Cross, N. 1993).
This book examines the use of oral testimony as a method to capture the views and experience of more marginalised groups, such as the elderly, women, ethnic minorities, the disabled and children, who if they are remembered at all, tend to be "spoken for" and often misrepresented. The authors argue that listening to individual testimonies can act as a counterpoint to generalisation, provide an 'important touchstone against which to review the collective version' and allow a much more subtle appreciation of the divisions and alliances within societies.
This book explores the various ways of listening to local people's experiences and in particular the experiences of those whose views are often overlooked or discounted. Included are: life story interviews, family-tree interviewing, single-issue testimony, diary interviewing, group interviews, and oral artistry, such as songs, poems, stories, legends and drama.
The different purposes, emphases and methods used in these techniques of oral history, oral tradition and life stories are explored and described and issues arising from the collection, interpretation and preservation of oral testimony are discussed.
The book includes a discussion of the potential for visual methods to help in the gathering of oral testimony, particularly among groups unfamiliar with the interview form. Of particular interest to this study is a brief discussion in the book regarding the uses of oral testimony for the monitoring and evaluation of development activities. The way in which the inclusion of oral accounts can, 'introduce a wider dimension and correct an almost inevitable bias towards quantitative goals and objectives' is described. By comparing conditions before and after development interventions, in terms of people's subjective historical experience and not simply in terms of the project's data and reports, oral testimony can it is stated play a valuable part in any evaluation or review - and should include the experience of both project workers and "beneficiaries". It is suggested that for large scale and long-term projects that may span decades, a historical testimony-based approach to evaluation may be of particular value. This is partly because when interventions are on such a large scale, the way of life of many inhabitants of the project area can be changed in more ways than the original project designers intended or acknowledged. Examples are provided of how oral testimony can help to pick up the wider impact of such projects and reveal both positive and negative changes that were unanticipated.
A series of case studies where oral testimony has been used are given and finally a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of oral testimony, including the potential misuse, misappropriation or exploitation of people's word and knowledge and the ambiguities and difficulties inherent in evaluating and interpreting individual testimony.

337. Songco, D.A. (1997) *Strategic partnerships through people's participation in local governance*. Occasional Paper No 97-05, The Philippines: Governance and local democracy project (GOLD).
This paper discusses civil society-government relations in the Philippines in the wake of the Local Government Code passed in 1991. It outlines factors that help and hinder the development of partnerships and good governance in a context of historical opposition between state and civil society institutions.

338. Sood, M.P. (1996) *New forestry initiatives in Himachal Pradesh*. Forestry and Land Use Programme, Forest Participation Series No.3, London: IIED.
This paper is written from the point of view of an "enlightened" forest officer in Himachal Pradesh, India. He describes change initiated by certain section at "the top" of the state Forest Department in response to lessons learned from the past 50 years or attempts to resolve its conflicting roles of extension and policing. Sood describes the careful state level preparation for adoption of the Joint Forest Management approach first outlined by the federal government in 1990. And intriguing picture is painted of a Forest Department grappling with the challenges of institutional re-orientation towards collaboration with communities. Slow and sporadic progress is being made in training foresters in relevant skills, and there has clearly been an attempt to institutionalise a system for communication, feedback and information sharing in an otherwise strongly regimented forest service. Forest Departments are far from being monolithic entities. Sood's paper highlights the existence of a range of perspectives and enthusiasms at various levels of the Forest Department and the very real structural impediments- low pay, heavy workloads, etc. - to adopting new ways.

339. Soura, A., D. Boureima and M. Banzaf (1998) 'Supporting local people in their management of natural resources: project for land-use and natural resource management, Burkina Faso'. In C. Scherler, R. Forster, et al. (eds.), *Beyond the toolkit: experiences with institutionalising participatory approaches of GTZ supported projects in rural areas*. Eschborn: GTZ.
This article is an account of a project supported by GTZ called, "Land use and Natural Resource Management in the Sahel of Burkina Faso" (PSB-GTZ) which began in 1989. The project began by funding investments at village level without any participation in their planning. The project created a new working group at the departmental level. The project also adopted a participatory land-use planning strategy, based on the national government method. The article lists the strengths and weaknesses of the project as found by project evaluations. One key finding of the 1994 evaluation was that transhumant pastoralists were being excluded from the process. The authors present two case studies of attempts to integrate pastoralist into the participatory land use planning process. The project has taken several conscious measures to encourage organisational learning: participatory monitoring and evaluation; participatory evaluation of tools and approaches; reflection on the mode of collaboration within the project; informal reflection group on pastoralism in the Sahel of Burkina Faso; and documenting the learning experience..

340. Stata, R. (1989) 'Organizational learning- the key to management innovation'. *Sloan Management Review* Spring:63-74.
In this influential early article, Ray Stata, the chairman of Analog Devices, reflects on his company's experience in attempting to increase their rate of organisational learning. He argues that developing a common understanding of systems thinking in

his company improved the staff's ability to analyse problems and communicate learning to younger staff. The article also describes the use of quality improvement methodology, in which the rate of improvement becomes a key indicator of organisational performance. The company also found ways to materially reward staff for complying to new cultural norms of openness and objectivity, qualities that were thought to enable faster learning. Information systems were altered to change the incentives facing different departments in the company- outdated information systems led them to compete and hide information, rather than focussing on improving performance. The article concludes with a call for more collaborative research between private sector firms and universities to increase the rate of management innovation.

341. Staudt, K. (1990) 'Gender politics in bureaucracy: theoretical issues in comparative perspective'. In K. Staudt (ed.), *Women, international development, and politics: the bureaucratic mire*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Staudt provides an overview of some key theoretical questions around gender and bureaucracies, as well as a brief introduction to the chapters in this edited volume. The author examines the literature on the prospects for bureaucratic movement towards gender redistribution, and finds the outlook grim. Women did not participate in the formation of state institutions. Bureaucracies were constructed around a gender ideology that places women in a subordinate position. The gendered bureaucracy tends to produce gendered bureaucratic outcomes- the substance of what bureaucracies produce, provide, and control tends to privilege men and subordinate women. The gendered construction of the state also raises questions about the way institutions themselves are gendered. The third way in which bureaucracies are gendered is that they are occupied by bureaucrats who are for the most part men, and who have their own gender ideology.
Staudt takes a statist approach, viewing political institutions as actors in their own right. In this case, the personalities and motivations of the people inhabiting bureaucracies matter. Staudt raises the question of what difference it would make to have more women in bureaucracies, and whether or not the women are feminists. She also considers the links between bureaucracies and their constituencies, posing questions about how women's organisations, for example, can influence policy makers.

342. Stayamurty, D. (1995) ''Learning to Unlearn' as a tool to reverse the bureaucratic attitudes: a case presentation on experience with the facilitation approach'.
Two key aspects are identified to the success of a programme: (i) change in bureaucratic attitudes and (ii) organisation of beneficiaries for self-help. Bureaucrats focus on targets, especially financial targets, refuse to see problems through the people's eyes, refuse to listen, and are unconcerned with the needs of the poor. Hence, a need for reversing bureaucratic attitudes. One way is to put officials in an environment in which they become sensitised through learning from farmers/villagers (e.g. through overnight stays in villages). It is important that department heads provide support and role models for such activities. Resistance by officials is possible. The application of PRA/RRA methods to reversal exercises are described, and learning steps listed. If facilitating is to be successful, officials have to be committed to the process and open to villagers' ideas. Organisations in India for which the process would be suited are suggested. The author's personal experience is that the

process changed his personal as well as professional approach to interaction with others.

343. Stiefel, M. and M. Wolfe (1994) *A voice for the excluded. Popular participation in development: utopia or necessity?*, London & New Jersey: Zed Books.
Through the use of dozens of case studies sponsored by the Popular Participation Programme of the UNRISD, the authors of this volume have attempted to draw together the theory and the practice of participation and relate them to the global and national contexts of the 1990s. The book is divided into three parts.
In the first section the concepts of participation are explored. A number of different perspectives or entry points are identified which define research approaches to participation. These are participation as:
a) "encounter" between the hitherto excluded and those in society that maintain or enforce exclusion;
b) "movements" or "organisations" of the poor and powerless;
c) "biography", i.e. the individual participatory experience;
d) "programmes" or "projects" proposed and executed by an external agent (government agency, voluntary organisation, international body) but enlisting target group participation;
e) "a component of national policy" - as a technique for implementing technocratically designed plans, for improving effectiveness of democratic systems, or for mobilisation of populations in a revolutionary shift in power.
f) "anti-participatory structures and ideologies" - an examination of structures that resist or prevent changes in power relations and decision making.
A number of approaches to popular participation that have emerged since the 1970s are explored and case studies are presented in the second section. Three dimensions of the environment in which the excluded try to attain power are explored: efforts by the state; collective empowerment movements; and assistance by interlocutors other that the state. The chapters draw lessons from past experiences. It is suggested that state efforts have their own ends rather than true popular empowerment as their motive and for this reason they are mainly unsuccessful in the long term. The role of interlocutors and allies is discussed, questioning the role of outsiders, and their tendency to be manipulative and paternalistic, but also recognising that most social movements look for outside allies to support their struggles.
The final chapter looks to the future of participation in the changing climate of the 1990s and with the disintegration of the socialist model. The authors express what they view as an unresolved tension between their "hope that something really new and important is happening, that authentic participation of the hitherto excluded is becoming more practicable as well as more self-evidently necessary for the human future; and their exasperation at the recurrence of pseudo-participatory rhetoric, reluctance to confront the full implications of empowerment of the excluded, sluggishness in the study and drawing of operational conclusions from the now abundant material on participatory experiences and anti-participatory structure; and, finally, at the shortcomings of their own efforts to do better".

344. Stockdale and Ambrose (no date) ‘Case study 8 - Community inventory of natural resources, East Kalimantan’.
This article reports on how Daytak farmers in east Kalimantan conducted an inventory of their resources to seek compensation for their losses owing to an industrial

plantation/transmigration project that was causing the clearance of their rattan gardens. The number of clumps, trees or plants of each resource was counted within each farmers fields and then each resource was quantified in the units by which it was sold in the local market. Harvest quantities were estimated by local farmers using their knowledge of past harvests.

345. Swieringa, J. and A. Wierdsma (1982) *Becoming a learning organisation: beyond the learning curve*. Addison Wesley publications.

346. Swift, J. (1994) 'Dynamic ecological systems and the administration of pastoral development'. In I. Scoones (ed.), *Living with uncertainty. New directions for pastoral development in Africa*.. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
The author describes the potential consequences of new ideas about dynamic ecological systems for the administration of development in pastoral areas. The discussion on how the rationale, style and purpose of pastoral administration are now under threat from dynamic ecosystems theory is situated within the broader range of economic and political pressures that are forcing change in pastoral administration.
The high degree of uncertainty in the behaviour of many African ecosystems makes it difficult or impossible to predict the levels of production that the system might yield from one year to the next, or how ecosystem structure may change over time. Systems that demonstrate this type of behaviour are categorised as non-equilibrium systems and the behaviour typical of these systems is called complex or non linear dynamics. The basic premises of non-equilibrium ecological systems theory suggest three general principles to be followed in the design of new forms of pastoral administration. First, the need for great flexibility and diversity in institutional and organisational design to enable administration to track appropriately the dynamic changes which will occur in ecosystem properties. Second, the importance of subsidiarity, i.e. administrative tasks should be carried out as near to the level of actual users of resources or beneficiaries of administration as is compatible with efficiency and accountability. Third, the need to reduce the transaction costs of organising as far as possible in order to obtain a viable transaction benefit-cost relationship. This agenda implies a substantial rethinking of the role of government in the form of a general retreat from current interventionist and managerial roles towards a much more restricted and basic set of roles, including:
i) Providing a legal framework within which a devolved pastoral administration can operate effectively, especially in respect of natural resource tenure; acting as a mediator for conflict resolution and as arbiter of last resort; guaranteeing a level legal playing field and equality of advocacy in disputes.
ii) Providing the appropriate macro-economic framework
iii) Ensuring major public interest services, especially primary education and the control of serious human and animal communicable diseases
iv) Providing minimum technical inputs and support as a contribution to a more indigenously generated process of technical innovation.

347. Swift, J. (1996) 'Desertification. Narratives, winners and losers'. In M. Leach and R. Mearns (eds.), *The lie of the land. Challenging received wisdom on the African environment*. Oxford: James Curry.
The author documents the history of the concept of desertification and argues that it has less to do with science than with the competing claims of different political and bureaucratic constituencies. "Desertification is perhaps the best example of a set of

ideas about the environment that emerge in a situation of scientific uncertainty and then prove persistent in the face of gradually accumulating evidence that they are not well founded".
The desertification story or narrative persisted in the face of rapidly mounting scientific evidence that it was inaccurate and that the policies it suggested did not deal effectively with dryland degradation. The narrative established the right of the winners -national governments, aid bureaucracies and some scientists - to participate in making decisions over dryland resources. There were also clear losers from this narrative: dryland farmers and herders, whose own control over resources was taken away by central planning, land tenure reform, ranches and other good ideas from external bureaucracies and professionals.

348. Taylor, P.J. and F.H. Buttel (1992) 'How do we know we have global environmental problems? Science and the globalisation of environmental discourse'. *Geoforum* 23(3):405-416.
Science has a central role in shaping what count as environmental problems. This has been evident most recently in the success of planetary science and environmental activism in stimulating awareness and discussion of global environmental problems. The authors advance three propositions about the special relationship between environmental science and politics: 1) in the formulation of science, not just in its application, certain courses of action are facilitated over others; 2) in global environmental discourse, moral and technocratic views of social action have been privileged and 3) global environmental change, as science and movement ideology, is vulnerable to deconstructive pressures. These stem from different nations and differentiated social groups within nations having different interests in causing and alleviating environmental problems. The authors offer critical perspectives to anticipate some ways in which global environmental discourse, although powerful, remains vulnerable to dispute and open to transformation.

349. The Hot Springs Working Group (1995) *Local-level economic valuation of savanna woodland resources: village cases from Zimbabwe*. Sustainable Agriculture Programme Research Series, Vol. 3, No. 2., London: IIED.
This study was part of the larger Hidden Harvest Research Programme and assessed the economic value of woodland resources in two villages using PRA methods combined with more conventional economic and ecological methods of qualitative and quantitative information, at both the community and household level.
Changes in resource use, availability and sustainability were all examined in the process of determining their market and non-market values. An analysis of changes on aerial photographs 1972 and 1986 were used to investigate the variation of woodland cover over the period which showed that in Jinga the woodland area had decreased by 12% over the period.
The consumption level of a selection of woodland products used by households of different socio-economic status was assessed by using a focused household survey in the two villages that revealed an enormous variability between households in terms of their consumption levels for all products. A stratified sample of 61 households was selected randomly using the wealth ranking method. Before beginning the household surveys a full checklist of all products being used by households was compiled for each village using flow diagrams, maps and other interviews. However, attempts to collect quantitative information on all flows coming from the woodland resources to households failed because of the difficulty of obtaining detailed and accurate

information through simple recall interviews on products that were collected occasionally and opportunistically. Consequently, the paper describes how data collection was simplified by limiting it to a small range of frequently-used products. In addition a simple capital stock assessment was carried out and inventories of wooden structures, hoes, furniture etc. in the home was made, with estimates of longevity being recorded. A number of biases in the data are discussed including interviewer, interviewee, unit and seasonality biases but in spite of these it was felt that the data provided a broad reflection of consumption patterns by the different socio-economic groupings.

The document also describes how the different resources are controlled, including an historical examination of how resource control patterns have changed overtime and how this has affected the value of woodland products. The value of particular products was examined both in terms of their market value and non-market value and also, how sustainable the different resources are. To determine the sustainability of products it was found important to examine longer term changes in the resource base and assess the degree to which production and consumption balance over the long term. PRA matrix rankings with groups of men, women and teenager groups regarding the abundance of various products over time, followed by discussion, were used to ascertain resource base changes.

Generally auto-ecological responses of species and woodland products to climatic and anthropogenic disturbances were clearly differentiated by all the groups. In one village the three groups provided very different and at times contradictory responses. for example the women's and teenager group suggested that brush fencing material from Acacia spp. was decreasing due to use, while the men's group concluded that is was increasing due to the spread of its seed by animals and anthropogenic disturbance factors. Generally, the men were very pessimistic and blamed everything on recent changes in traditional value systems in the region. However, the paper suggests that this may have been due to a different agenda attached to the exercise. Women and teenager groups tended to attribute change to population change and urbanisation while men blamed resource change on the abandonment of certain rituals.

350. Thomas, D. and M.M. Danjaji (1997) 'Mapping change in time and space: floodplain fishing communities in Nigeria'. *PLA Notes* 30:29-33.

This study of the impact of the Tiga dam since its construction in 1974 on the floodplains of Hadejia-Jama'are demonstrates the use of RRA methods to examine environmental change on a large scale. Most earlier studies had treated the flood plain as a homogenous unit and changes caused by the dams were described as uniform. Moreover, little attempt was made to explore the temporal dimensions of change in the flood plain.

Since no written records exist at the level of detail required the study relied on the recall of flood plain inhabitants for information on environmental and socio-economic change. Twenty seven flood plain villages were selected by stratified random sampling with the stratification based on administrative boundaries, dominant ethnicity of the communities, proximity to main markets and all season roads and distribution of natural resources, such as forests and water.

Environmental change around each village was explored through semi-structured interviews and field visits. In discussions participants were asked if they had perceived any change in the pattern of flooding and river flows in the vicinity of the village that were more lasting than annual variation. The nature and timing of such change was determined using a list of key events in Nigerian history.

Differences in the inhabitants perceptions of changes in the direction and timing of flooding highlighted that the environmental changes caused by the Tiga dam and by drought had not been uniform. Analysis of the information provided suggested that the flood plain could be divided into four main areas of environmental change.
Patterns of environmental change were observed to have interacted with wider economic and technical change through ranking exercises used to determine the relative importance of different economic activities, with reference to two periods: the present (last 2-3 years) and the years immediately prior to the 1972/73 drought and construction of the dam.

351. Thompson, J. (1994) 'From participatory rhetoric to participatory reality: training for institutional transformation'. *RRA Notes* ( 19).
To implement participatory approaches successfully, training in and of itself will have few direct or lasting impacts. It must be part of a broader process of institutional transformation. Organisations must transform themselves from bureaucratic, top-down organisations to more strategic, process-oriented, people-centred and enabling institutions. Organisations must examine all aspects of its programmes and procedures and determine whether they are capable of responding to the needs and priorities of local people.
Donors must shift their practices if they want to make institutional change possible. The key change they must make is away from front-loading capital investment in an attempt to meet disbursement targets, towards allowing time at the beginning of projects to invest in human capital and local institutions.
Training has an important role to play in the process. The training should encourage people to learn to learn, and to take responsibility for their own learning. It should also concentrate on behaviour, attitudes, ad principles, not only methods and techniques.
The paper gives very brief summaries of two success stories. The first is the Production Through Conservation Project in Lesotho. It has had excellent results through making three complementary advances: (1.)it has consulted directly with villagers in a spirit of enquiry, dialogue and participation (2.) it has taken an interdisciplinary approach and (3.) District Agriculture Officers have started reorganising their offices to facilitate the programme, and placed heavy emphasis on training in participatory appraisal.
The second is the Soil and Water Conservation Branch in Kenya. After two decades of ineffective programmes, the SWCB launched the participatory Catchment approach to SWC. Today, the officers trained in the first years are training their own staff in participatory approaches. After five years of field tests, the Branch has been institutionalising its approach. New norms have been created around interdisciplinary teamwork, interdepartmental collaboration, active farmer participation in all phases of catchment planning through documentation of the process, and phased training of staff.
Thompson draws several lessons from the cases about the requirements for transforming public agencies into strategic, enabling institutions:
· A policy framework supportive of a clear role for local people in development
· Strong leadership committed to the task of developing organisational systems, capacities, and norms
· Long-term financial commitments and flexible funding policies from key donor agencies
· Careful attention to and patience in working out the details of systems and

procedures- each involving careful analysis and the negotiation of competing interests and perceptions
· Creative management, so that improved practices can be implemented once developed
· An open, supportive, yet challenging climate in which it is safe to experiment and fail
· A flexible, integrated, field based training programme over a sustained period

352. Thompson, J. (1995) 'Participatory approaches in government bureaucracies: facilitating the process of institutional change'. *World Development* 23(9):1521-1554.
This paper examines why a growing number of government bureaucracies are attempting to develop and integrate participatory research and development approaches into their program activities. Using a conceptual model of the institutional learning and training cycle, it analyses the experience of three large public agencies in Sri Lanka, Kenya and the Philippines which have made significant progress toward building internal capacity to employ participatory approaches effectively and facilitate the process of institutional change. The training of agency personnel in participatory principles, concepts and methods has played an important role in these transformations. Both the model and the case studies reveal, however, that to have a lasting impact training must be viewed as part of a broader process of organisational learning.
The first case study traces the experience of the Rural Development Division (RDD) of the Ministry of Policy, Planning and Implementation in Sri Lanka. The RDD has been working to incorporate Participatory Village Planning (PVP) into all fourteen of its Integrated Rural Development Projects. The approach was piloted in the Badulla district, and has been expanded into other areas.
A second case study is the National Irrigation Administration (NIA) in the Philippines, which is well known for its widespread use of participatory approaches to irrigation management.
The case study most relevant here is the Kenyan Soil and Water Conservation Branch of the Ministry of Agriculture. The agency has developed the Catchment Approach to soil and water conservation. The methods used have progressed from RRA to PRA. Multidisciplinary teams use PRA techniques to conduct co-analysis with communities, which leads to the development of a Land Treatment Plan. A Catchment Conservation Committee (CCC) is formed to implement the plans. The SWCB provides training and technical support over a fixed period, usually a year, to complete the plans. An impact assessment show that the approach is very successful, and is more successful in communities where the process is one of interactive participation, rather than consultative participation. Committees formed through an interactive process tend to persist after the SWCB has withdrawn, and some take on activities in other sectors.
The paper concludes with 10 key elements necessary for institutionalising participatory approaches within public agencies:
1. A policy framework supportive of a clear role for local people in research and development
2. Strong leadership committed to the task of developing learning organisational systems, capacities and working rules
3. Long-term financial commitments and flexible funding arrangements from key donor agencies
4. Better systems of monitoring and evaluating performance, and new mechanisms for

assuring accountability - both to the donors and senior decision makers and to local people
5. Careful attention to an patience in working out the details of systems and procedures- each involving careful analysis of lessons learned from small scale pilot tests, and the negotiation and accommodation of different interests and perceptions
6. Creative management, so that improved policies, procedures, and field practices, once developed, can be scaled-up and implemented effectively
7. An open, supportive, yet challenging organisational climate in which it is safe to experiment and safe to fail
8. Small, interdisciplinary teams or working groups of innovative and committed agency professionals working in collaboration with external resource persons capable of acting as catalysts for change
9. Regular documentation and analysis of lessons for improving practice and building an institutional memory.
10. A flexible, integrated, phased training program over a sustained period of time, involving key actors at different levels

353. Thompson, J. and J. Pretty (1996) 'Sustainability indicators and soil conservation: a participatory impact study and self-evaluation of the catchment approach of the Ministry of Agriculture, Kenya'. *Journal of Soil and Water Conservation* .
The paper summarises a participatory impact study in Kenya. PRA was used in six catchments in different agroecological areas to assess the linkages between the process of implementation and the impacts in the communities. A framework of sustainability indicators developed by IIED was used to organise field analysis and report writing. The impact study was seen by the Ministry of Agriculture as a self-evaluation of the branch's operational procedures, since the results are being used to organise field analysis and report writing.

354. Tiffen, M., M. Mortimore and F. Gichuki (1994) *More people, less erosion: environmental recovery in Kenya*, Chichester: John Wiley.
This volume examines the interactions between people and the environment of the semi-arid Machakos District , Kenya, over a period of sixty years, from 1930 to 1990. In the 1930s the district was considered an environmental disaster with famine relief and food imports needed between 1942 and 1962. Over the sixty years between 1930 and 1990 the population of the district increased more than five fold, however the environment in the 1990 was in a much better condition than in the 1930s. Soil erosion had declined, due to terraces in place to protect arable land, and predictions of a wood fuel crisis were not fulfilled because of a larger number of farmed and protected trees. Additionally, agricultural production per person and per hectare was higher, and new technologies and farming systems had been introduced, responding to better contacts with markets and more sources of information. The study concludes with an explanation of the positive contribution that population growth in low density areas can have on economic and social development, technology change and environmental sustainability, under the right policies.

355. Toulmin, C. (1992) *Gestion de terroirs: le concept et son developpement.* Geneva: UNSO.
Toulmin provides a concise yet comprehensive overview of the Gestion de Terroirs (GT) (land management) concept, including its history, development, limitations and

implications. She attributes the following reasons among others as integral to its evolution in the Sahel:

- decline in soil fertility and increase in soil degradation due to erosion;
- 30% decrease in rainfall from 1931-1960 accompanied by reduced vegetal cover and crop and livestock diversity;
- increasing rural-urban migration in response to creeping desertification;
- decentralisation of the state through transfer of resources to the local level;
- weak performance of large-scale integrated rural development projects;
- lack of clarity concerning rights to land, natural resources and their use;

The focus on local-level resource transfer and allocation operates within three interdependent levels: the technical, socio-economic and institutional. Toulmin identifies the GT approach as participatory and capable of securing the rights of beneficiaries, i.e. local populations, through prioritising villagers and installing competent, permanent and engaged personnel. She identifies a combination of methods to achieve this, including open discussion and debate of NRM issues, election of a village committee, use of PRA/MARP and continuous monitoring and evaluation. Potential and actual difficulties include:

- definition of 'Terroir', i.e. villages may utilise resources (water, forest) from an area larger than the designated 'terroir';
- diversity of physical and social systems;
- local representatives may act un-representatively of the affiliated group;
- sedentary cultivators may perceive the GT approach as a means to increase their control and access to resources at the exclusion of pastoralists.

Finally, Toulmin emphasises the importance of interaction at the local, national and regional levels as a means to ensure the participation of all stakeholders.

356. Treleaven, L. (1994) 'Making a space: a collaborative inquiry with women as staff development'. In P. Reason (ed.), *Participation in Human Inquiry*. London: Sage Publications.

This article records the experience of a collaborative inquiry group formed by women at a university in Australia. The group was convened by the author in order to explore the experience of women with working in the masculinist organisation of the university. The women addressed many questions, such as, what would need to change in the organisation so that more women could feel hat what they did was not so deeply in conflict with the organisation's cultural norms, explicitly in policies and structure, implicitly in everyday practices and procedures? The women created a space for sharing and reflecting on their experience. They met at regular intervals and told stories about their work experiences. Over time, they began to identify patterns in their stories. Action research projects emerged as women developed ideas about what they could do to improve their work situations, such as rethinking their strategies for being represented in committees.

The article contains theoretical material on collaborative inquiry, as well as some detail about the particular process that the women engaged in, and some of the specific outcomes. It is a useful example for someone embarking on the design of a collaborative inquiry project.

357. Tremblay, C.J. (1990) 'Recursos naturales, ambiente y participación popular en el desarrollo local en la Nicaragua Sandinista: caso del proyecto de la cuenca del Río Malacatoya'. *Revista Geográfica* 111(January-June):63-91.

This article reviews the experience of a large-scale project started in 1985 which was

designed to ecologically reconstitute a river basin in Nicaragua during the Sandinista government. This is described as an exceptional experience of popular participation and inter-institutional co-ordination in which the government and the different stakeholders of that area worked together to define the basis for the future development of the natural resources and environment of this river basin. This project allowed for the development of structures and strategies of popular participation in the design, implementation and evaluation of ecological projects linked with support strategies for agricultural and forestry activities.
There is some detail of the organisational structure followed for the implementation and evaluation of the project which allowed for the participation of the different groups. At a governmental level there was involvement from the local government, the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, the Institute for Natural Resources and Environment, the National Development Bank, and the Education and Health Ministries. From the community there was participation from representatives of private producers and co-operatives.
The author emphasises the ideological commitment of the Sandinista government with popular participation as a fundamental factor which ensured the success of this particular participatory initiative. He emphasises the role of the Sandinista revolution as the source of change from the previous dictatorial regime in which all power and valuable resources (including natural resources) where concentrated in a few hands. This was a case of change from below, driven by the massive popular participation in the armed struggle which brought down the oppressive regime.
This particular environmental project is presented as an example of the Sandinista policies that attempted to promote an autonomous and people-centred development which guaranteed the population's control over the countries natural resources. Other general policies pursued by the Sandinistas include: redistribution of agricultural land, establishment of and important network of productive co-operatives, organisation of representative political structures (sectoral and geographical) integrated into the project planning and implementation process, and the recognition of the rights of the indigenous population.

358. Tripp, R. (1997) *New seeds and old laws. Regulatory reform and the diversification of national seed systems*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
This collection of papers focuses on national seed systems and regulations that largely determine access to, use and control over plant genetic resources. National seed systems include farmers' variety improvement and seed management practices along with formal plant breeding and the establishment of public and private seed production enterprises. Seed regulation consists of three separate responsibilities: setting standards, monitoring and supervision, and enforcement. Several contributors to this book argue that innovative regulatory options for national seed systems can take advantage of possibilities for dividing these responsibilities among different institutions. Options for seed regulatory reform must be designed to involve wide participation from various actors in the seed system, addressing the needs of farmers and seed producers. Seed regulatory reform occupies a unique and important position between broad institutional change and specific organisational strategies aimed at scaling up farmer participation in the management of plant genetic resources for food and agriculture.

359. Turner, M. (1997) 'Decentralisation within the state: good theory but poor

practice?'. In M. Turner (ed.), *Governance, administration and development: making the state work*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
This chapter gives an overview of decentralisation, in theory and in practice. It outlines different types of decentralisation, and the arguments in its favour. It then compares the theoretical view with the reality, drawing on lessons from around the world. The author shows that decentralisation faces many problems because of the centralising tendencies which are such ubiquitous feature of contemporary states. National politicians are reluctant to cede power; central bureaucracies resist the delegation of responsibilities; when responsibilities are transferred there is rarely a corresponding transfer of financial resources; and those resources that are available at the local level are often poorly used by inexperienced, ill trained and underpaid field staff. In addition, the socio-economic structures of many developing countries often mean that authentic decentralisation policies (particularly devolution) are likely to be manipulated by local elites that may use decentralised power to strengthen their position at the expense of lower income groups.

360. Turton, C., M. Warner and B. Groom (1998) *Scaling up participatory watershed development in India: a review of the literature*. AgREN Network Paper, No.8, London: ODI.
In recent years watershed management has become the focal point of agricultural and rural development in rainfed areas of India. Central and State governments, donors and NGOs have all been involved in implementing watershed programs with varying degree of success. The majority of the more successful projects share one or more of the following characteristics: (1) they often occur under specific preconditions which are not easily replicable; (ii) approaches to development are resource intensive and cannot easily be 'scaled up' to new areas; (iii) there is uncertainty over the long term institutional and ecological sustainability of rehabilitated watersheds.
This paper discusses the physical, social and institutional context for watershed development. It considers the relationship between micro-watersheds and the wider institutional and policy environment. It highlights the need for the watersheds to be developed on the basis of socioeconomic and biophysical criteria. It warns that in some cases watershed development may not be the most appropriate programme.
If approaches to microwatershed development are to be rapidly replicable then the preconditions for scaling up have to be identified and incorporated into the project design. Ways of working need to be defined which allow the necessary degree of participation for interventions to be planned and function adequately, but at the same time are rapidly replicable. This will entail the creation of new partnerships between central and state government., district administration, *panchayati raj* institutions, NGOs, line agencies and communities and implies fundamental changes in their respective roles and responsibilities.
Many donors and NGOs have been criticised for giving insufficient attention to replicability in their programs; expansion is dependent on replication of a blueprint model in another area. Government programs provide funds far in excess of donors or NGOs and represent a unique attempt to institutionalise participatory approaches to rural development. There is a unique opportunity for all agencies to work together to support improvements in the effectiveness and efficiency of such programs.
Careful monitoring in the coming years will be critical to enable decisions to be made over the optimum allocation of resources in terms of maintaining a balance between expanding coverage, whilst at the same time ensuring that the development process remains equitable and sustainable.

361. Turton, C. and J. Farrington (1998) ‘Institutionalising participatory approaches to rural development: watershed development in India’. London: Overseas Development Institute.

The watershed Guidelines of the Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment represent a unique attempt to scale up and institutionalise participatory approaches to rural development. The authors argue that donors should work closely with the Union and State governments in their implementation and avoid creating parallel delivery systems. At this early stage it is also essential to create "successful and replicable watershed models", which can act as demonstrations, thereby giving momentum to the scaling up process. Careful selection procedures, which include some indication of social unity and co-operation, within a community are essential. Powers to deselect villages are also important.

According to the authors, problems lie not so much as in any shortcomings in the Guidelines themselves as in the capacity at different levels to implement them:

i) At national and state levels, watershed development is not being planned strategically in the context of other rural development initiatives

ii) At the implementation level, funding is insufficient for NGOs to attract and maintain quality staff. Problems in government PIAs relate to inappropriate incentive and reward structures.

iii) At the community level, there is little evidence that weaker groups are participating in or benefiting from watershed development processes.

Moreover, little thought has been given to the sustainability of projects. A clearer vision of future prospects at the community level and stronger support from external agencies (including the banking sector and line agencies) is critical.

The authors conclude that though watershed rehabilitation is an important part of rural development, it is not a panacea. In particular, to provide the poor and women with an equitable share of benefits requires more effort and vigilance than most implementing agencies can currently provide. Future institutional transformation for participatory watershed management will hinge on introducing other measures within a long term strategic perspective, to strengthen social organisation among the poor and women prior to watershed rehabilitation, to augment funds generated by people themselves during rehabilitation by "matching" contributions from government, and to link them to a wider range of economic and social activities, some of which are unrelated to watershed development.

362. Uphoff, N. (1986) *Improving international irrigation management with farmer participation: getting the process right*, Boulder: Westview Press.

In this work on irrigation management, Uphoff briefly develops the idea of bureaucratic re-orientation (BRO), which refers to "changing [a bureaucracy’s] attitudes and practices towards farmers." He argues that it cannot be achieved through ‘orders and indoctrination,’ but must happen through a participatory process. He also argues that it requires policy support:

"BRO should not be viewed as a precondition for establishing farmer participation and organisations for better irrigation management. It does not occur all at once or in a vacuum. It is an evolutionary process, in which demonstrations of farmer competence and conscientiousness can encourage changes in officials’ attitudes and performance-and conversely, changes from the government side can encourage farmers to assume and discharge greater responsibility" (121).

His analysis goes little beyond this brief statement.

Elsewhere, Uphoff considers the reasons why a bureaucracy would adopt participatory methods. He briefly discusses the three main reasons he thinks relevant:
1. Failure of conventional approaches (which assumes that agencies are indeed concerned with 'performance')
2. Resource imperatives
3. Inter-agency competition
Uphoff also states that:
One of the truisms of organisation theory is that organisations tend to replicate externally the kinds of relationships and values they display internally (152).
He does not expand further, or provide any bibliographical references for this point.

363. Uphoff, N., M.J. Esman and A. Krishna (1998) *Reasons for success: learning form instructive experiences in rural development*, New Delhi: Vistaar Publications.
This volume makes a comparative analysis of thirty case studies of successful rural development projects. The case studies, from a variety of sectors and countries, are contained in the volume *Reasons for Hope: instructive experiences in rural development.* In this book, empirical examples from those cases are used to illustrate lessons around themes.
The authors argue for rural development programmes that take a learning process and "assisted self reliance" approach. Programmes should evolve through learning lessons from experience, and be open enough to innovation to deal with uncertainty and change in their political, social, physical, and political environment. The paradoxical phrase, "assisted self reliance" means that development programmes should aim to enable local people to arrive at outcomes of self-determination, self-financing, and self-sustainability.
Leadership plays an important role in the case studies. The authors identify individual leaders as important, but also describe more collective forms of leadership as ingredients for success, when staff throughout organisations work for success.
Chapter Three is devoted to issues of community participation and organisation. The authors document the success of small groups, federated into larger organisations. They compile some lessons about the process of organisation, such as building on local organisational forms, selecting local leaders, rotating leadership, and keeping operations simple and transparent. The authors argue that optimal levels of participation, taking into account the costs of participation to local people, should be decided through a participatory process. They argue that women must participate in programmes, but that local communities should decide whether they should be separate or segregated. Similar decisions are needed regarding other social groups in risk of being excluded, including youth.
The next chapter looks at issues of management, planning and implementation. The authors argue that rural development management requires sharing authority and responsibility with rank-and-file staff members and also with programme members or clients. It requires passing over some roles traditionally played by management. Members and clients should share the programme's goals, and contribute part of its resources as well as contributing to their management. Management should be devolved to local groups, taking into account the optimal division of labour. Incentives are important to gaining local people's interest and commitment. Programmes should strike a balance between standardising roles and procedures where necessary, while leaving room for local variation and innovation.
In a chapter on technology and training, the authors argue for simple technologies that are adapted in co-operation with local people. Organisational forms should be adapted

to technologies through a period of piloting and experimentation. Participatory training around new technologies that allows people to understand why and how they work, and to take control and adapt them, will lead to long term success. Training can also be targeted to improve the skills of local groups in their self-management.
The success stories studied in this volume effectively use information as a management tool. The chapter discusses M&E systems, as well as process documentation research. The chapter gives examples from Thailand and Tanzania of participatory M&E systems that include people in analysing their progress and identifying remaining problems. The chapter also discusses communication strategies, such as using popular media, and farmer to farmer communication networks.
The authors draw examples from the cases about the way that external assistance can aid programmes. Their central argument is that assistance should be delivered in ways that do not divert local initiatives, but support them. They caution against the problems that can be created by pushing too much funding on projects.
A brief chapter examines that way that politics impinges on project success. Support from government authorities can make a difference. The chapter makes brief statements on politics within communities, advocacy roles, and partisan politics.
The concluding chapter presents four criteria that should be the goal, and thus can serve as evaluation criteria, for rural development programmes:

- Resource mobilisation, with the aim of self-reliance and self-sufficiency
- Scaling up and expansion, so that larger numbers of persons can benefit from technical and organisational innovations
- Diversification, so that organisational capabilities are applied to solving other problems in rural areas; and;
- Continual innovation, utilising learning process and problem-solving strategies, with maturing institutional relationships, both internally and externally, that enable rural people to have more control over their situations and futures.

364. Useem, M., L. Setti and J. Pincus (1992) 'The science of Javanese management: organisational alignment in an Indonesian development programme.' *Public Administration and Development* 12:447-471.
Studies of business organisations reveal the importance of combining two elements for mobilising and aligning action in large organisations: informed decision making and contingent incentives. A national development programme in Indonesia tested both elements under exceptionally demanding conditions. The Government of Indonesia ended its subsidy of agricultural pesticides in the late 1980s, and it sought to prepare its large farming population in the use of ecologically based integrated pest management (IPM) methods. With a staff of 2000 trainers by the early 1990s and a curriculum emphasising information analysis and management decisions, the Indonesian national IPM programme created a capacity to train as many as 50,000 farmers per growing season. Existing government training institutions were not designed to create informed managers, nor could extension agents be expected to do so. A new training system emphasising self reliant, practical decision making was therefore created. Creating informed managers required the building of a curriculum that imparted both an understanding of technical issues and a capacity to use the information in making field decisions. This process of information empowerment is based on the assumption that if those closest to the problem acquire and know how to use the information needed to make informed decisions, they will make the decisions, make them better than centrally controlled decisions, and insist on the continuing right to make them. Field studies, trainee surveys and other evidence reveal that,

consistent with national programme objectives (1) pesticide applications were reduced by more than 60%; (2) pesticide use depended more on field decisions, less on prescriptions; (3) small land holders were as likely as large landholders to master IPM techniques; (4) IPM trained farmers experienced no loss in rice yields and significant savings in pesticide expense; (5) IPM trained farmers sought to share the new information and skills with other farmers. Together, informed decision making and contingent incentives provided the organisational foundation for sustainable national change in agricultural methods. Participation was an important organisational underpinning of the Indonesian programme. The experience also implies that participation should be viewed as one component of a set of necessary organisational elements that includes distributed information, improved managerial capacities, and individual and collective incentives.

365. Utting, P. (1993) *Trees, people and power: social dimensions of deforestation and forest protection in Central America*, London: Earthscan Publications.

This book aims to identify the players, processes and policies that are causing deforestation, examines how the lives of people living in or close to forests are affected when rapid deforestation occurs, looks at what is being done in the field of forest protection and tree planting, and considers how social and political factors affect the feasibility of such schemes. Utting argues for taking an integrated view of natural resource management and people's livelihoods. He argues that, "conservation policies and schemes which fail to balance environmental protection and human welfare are likely to result not only in increased hardship for certain social groups but also in forms of social conflict, clandestine activities, non-co-operation or apathy which undermine the possibility of effectively arresting environmental degradation, let alone rehabilitating the natural resource base" (173).

The study makes a comparative, thematic analysis of experiences in Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala.

In Part, I, Utting examines the causes of deforestation in Central America. After setting the context and documenting the extent of deforestation, the book identifies the principal pressures that have led to deforestation, focussing particularly on the way modernisation and survival strategies have put pressure on forest resources. The factors identified include: agro-export development; agrarian expansion; the cattle boom; logging; expansion of export crops; infrastructure development; and fuelwood and urbanisation. The book also identifies key institutional and policy determinants of deforestation, such as military conflict, agrarian reform, economic recession and stabilisation policies.

Part II analyses the breakdown of traditional forest management systems. Utting examines the forces and factors which underpin the breakdown of these systems, and examines what happened to livelihoods, social relations, and social differentiation in communities as a result.

The third part of the book makes a critical assessment of initiatives taken for forest protection and tree planting. One chapter examines the tensions and conflict around the creation of protected areas. Utting also examines the 'project' approach, in which many small scale initiatives, such as reforestation, agroforestry, and social forestry schemes are supported by external agencies. The book also presents two alternate approaches to forest protection and tree planting, involving "radical structural change and grassroots initiatives" (*xiv*).

Utting concludes by arguing that environmentalism tends to be cast in a way that puts nature or profits, rather than local people and their livelihoods, at the centre of

analysis and efforts. Conservation initiatives are often not integrated with local people's livelihood concerns. Conservation policies often fail as they are not situated in a coherent development policy framework. And many agencies fail to support local people in their struggles to protect natural resources. He argues for "the need for a more integrative and socially aware approach to environmental planning and project design" (172). He also stresses the potential of grassroots mobilisation, and the important role external agencies can play in supporting these struggles. He is, however, careful to underline the constraints arising from inegalitarian local structures, co-optation, and ongoing opposition by powerful interests that hamper grassroots initiatives.

366. Utting, P. (1999) *Forest policy and politics in the Philippines: the dynamics of participatory conservation*, Manilla: UNRISD and Ateneo University Press.
This book traces the evolution of forestry policy in the Philippines and examines, in particular, the shift towards "participatory conservation" during the first decade since the overthrow of the Marcos regime. The authors look beyond the headlines and official discourse surrounding "sustainable development" and provide a more realistic assessment of the achievements, complexities and limitations of participatory conservation. Through an examination of various environmental conservation policies, programs and projects this book describes and assesses the trend towards community based natural resource management, particularly in relation to forests and upland areas. The authors identify the role and relative influence of different actors or interest groups in shaping the environmental agenda and the design and implementation of specific environmental protection initiatives. Case studies of participatory conservation on the ground highlight the relevance of social and political variables in understanding success and failure in terms of achieving a better integration of environmental and human welfare objectives and enabling local communities and different social groups to effectively participate in decision making processes that affect their lives. Research has shown that it is not only the more technocratic or authoritarian approaches to natural resources management and conservation that are flawed, but also many policies and programs that carry the "participatory" or "community" based labels.

367. Utting, P. (1999) 'The potential and pitfalls of participatory conservation: an overview'. In P. Utting (ed.), *Forest policy and politics in the Philippines: the dynamics of participatory conservation.* Manilla: UNRISD and Ateneo University Press.
This paper focuses on the complexities, tensions and pitfalls of participatory conservation. It highlights, in particular, the role of social, cultural and political variables in shaping the orientation and outcome of policies, programs and projects associated with this approach. The analysis of these aspects is set in context of discussions and debates that are taking place internationally on the theory and practice of participatory approaches to development and conservation. Seven set of issues are highlighted that are relevant not only to the Philippines but to many countries that are attempting the difficult transition from top down to participatory conservation. The first concerns the way in which participatory conservation has been undermined by narrow, "technocratic" or apolitical interpretations of participation. The second examines the importance of integrating environmental protection and human welfare concerns and objectives in the design and implementation of projects that aim to protect forests and upland ecosystems. A third section looks at the need to address

cultural dimensions in project interventions and suggests that external agencies promoting forest protection projects have ignored such aspects. The fourth highlights the importance of community organisation and mobilisation in a strategy of participatory conservation, but identifies some of the difficulties and pitfalls involved. The role of NGOs in promoting participatory conservation and their achievements and limitations are discussed as separate issue. In an international context where many countries are promoting public sector "restructuring", the next section assesses the implications of administrative reform and decentralisation for forest protection and community based resource management. The final section deals more directly with the politics of participatory conservation, and considers the importance of leadership, alliances and pluralistic forms of political action in a strategy that aims to promote participatory conservation.

368. Utting, P. and R. Jaubert (1999) *Discours et realites des politiques participatives de gestion de l'environnement: le cas du Senegal*, Geneva: UNRISD.
During the past ten years, the environmental discourse and policies of many national and international agencies have undergone significant change as attention has shifted from top down and authoritarian approaches in the field of conservation to community based natural resource management. This publication in French presents three essays that examine the experience of environmental policy reform in Senegal. In the introductory essay, Peter Utting outlines some of the major initiatives that have been taken in relation to participatory conservation in Senegal, and identifies several of the tensions and pitfalls associated with this approach. He notes the significant gap between government or agency rhetoric and actual practice. "Participation" often lacks any real substance, the objectives of decentralisation have been undermined by social divisions and bureaucratic resistance, and certain features of structural adjustment have thwarted conservation efforts.
In the next essay, Evelyne Sylva and Michel Ben Arrous examine the evolution of government policy related to natural resource management. While noting significant progress at the level of consensual decision making and policy co-ordination, the authors question the extent to which policies effectively promote "participation". They also question the sustainability of policy reform, arguing that it has come about largely in response to foreign influences and donor conditionality rather than any national movement or pressure.
In the final essay, Giogio Blundo and Ronald Jaubert assess the implications of decentralisation for natural resource management. Under pressure from the donor community, significant reforms were introduced in the 1990s that have aimed to increase the influence of peasant organisations in local decision making processes. In a case study of an area in central Senegal, however, the authors find that decentralisation has created new sites of power and patronage that have sometimes favoured the misappropriation of resources, clientalism and factionalism. Their analysis shows that the outcome of decentralisation will depend a great deal on the local institutional and structural context where it takes place.

369. Villareal, M. (1992) 'The poverty of practice: power, gender and intervention from an actor-oriented approach'. In N. Long and A. Long (eds.), *Battlefields of Knowledge: the Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Development*. London: Routledge.
By using an actor-oriented approach to analyse the case of two groups of women in Mexico, the author explores the issues of gender, power and intervention. Her

analysis of interfaces and confrontations between actors shows that relations of power are interwoven with other kinds of relations, among which gender relations are crucial. It becomes obvious that gender and power intertwine and feed into each other. She points out that the concept of power is in need of a serious overhaul in order to account for processes such as the struggle over boundaries, the creation of room for manoeuvre and various forms of everyday resistance or even open struggle carried out by the supposedly 'powerless', in this case, women. Within this context, intervention initiatives designed by 'outsiders' to empower the poor or women become a contradiction in terms. An actor-oriented approach rejects the concept of 'empowerment' and calls for the close analysis of people's life-worlds and of their efforts in creating space for themselves and modifying unfavourable power relations.
The author also calls for the need to recognise that even within 'participatory' approaches the 'outsiders' (researches or practitioners) are actors who will perform according to their own life-world, interests and knowledge. It is inevitable that 'interfaces' between 'outsiders' and 'insiders' within development initiatives will involve complex power processes over meanings and interests, even if the 'outsiders' work within a 'participatory' approach. The 'external' agent should come to recognise the modest contribution s/he can make towards the transformation of unequal power conditions.

370. Vlaar, S. and R. Ahlers (1998) 'Gender-blind or gender-bright targeting of projects in Cambodia'. In M.K. Shah and I. Guijt (eds.), *The myth of community: gender issues in participatory development*.. London: Intermediate Technology.
This paper is based on research carried out to see how gender relations are affected by, and in turn influence changes brought about by irrigation development. Gender issues were examined by using PRA techniques and a questionnaire in both a traditional rice-based agricultural system, where no recent irrigation interventions had occurred and also in a location where irrigation had been developed.
The use of wealth ranking in the study revealed how 'understanding household diversity and how households characteristics determining well-being cannot be determined accurately using externally derived criteria and that wealth ranking is an invaluable approach which can contribute to a sharper socio-economic analysis'
Wealth ranking exercises were carried out with about 60 households in each village and revealed that female-headed households are not disadvantaged *per se* as is the common assumption. In fact, the reality was shown to be more complex with female headed households found throughout the strata of socio-economic classes. Whether the female head is a widow, abandoned, single or divorcee influenced significantly their status and access to resources. The well-being of the female-headed household was found to be influenced primarily by: the age of the head, the ratio and number of children, presence of married children, income sources from absent members and the presence of close supportive relatives.

371. Ward, P., V. Scott, J. Hatwiinda and C. Maseko (1995) 'Copper belt urban livelihoods project background research study: a participatory appraisal and preliminary needs assessment in two copper belt informal settlements'. CARE Zambia.
This document reports on a study carried out to provide a preliminary understanding of the nature of people's livelihoods in urban copper belt settlements, the dominant issues affecting these livelihoods and to identify potential lines of action for livelihood improvement.

Various PRA tools were used in the study beginning with transect walks with key informants and community leaders as guides to serve as an ice breaker and to uncover issues for further discussion. Wealth ranking by residents was then used to give wealth ranking profiles from which families representing the different categories were selected. Each of these families was then facilitated to talk about their life and the changes that had taken place in them. As part of these discussions stress calendars were drawn by families to examine the coping strategies they had used between August 1994 and March 1995. These provided information regarding the different ways in which families from different socio-economic groupings had responded to changes.

372. Ward, P. (1997) *Getting the right end of the stick: participatory monitoring and evaluation experiences in rural Zambia*. Presented at the 'International Institute of Rural Reconstruction Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation Workshop', Cavite, Philippines.

This paper presents the experience of CARE in a household food security project in Zambia. The report starts by explaining the attempt CARE has made to become a learning organisation. The author presents a four level typology of learning in organisations. Learning organisations have seven key building blocks:

thriving on change

- encouraging experimentation
- communicating successes and failures
- facilitating learning from the surrounding environment
- facilitating learning from staff
- rewarding learning
- promoting a sense of caring

The article then presents a food security programme in Zambezi, and particularly the efforts made to involve communities in monitoring and evaluating the project. The paper does not clearly link the learning organisation concepts to the specific process of the project.

373. Waters-Bayer, A. (1997) 'Hindsight knows best: experiences with learning groups in an internal research and development project on participatory methods'. Gottingen.

In this report, the author documents an internal research project conducted by GTZ called, "Critical Factors and Preconditions for the Success of Participatory Approaches in Rural Areas," or in abbreviated form, "Learning from Participatory Approaches" (LPA). The project was implemented in 1995-6. The overall objective of the project was stated as follows:

Experience with the planning, institutional and political problems and solutions connected with participatory practice in rural projects of technical co-operation is re-appraised in a systematic learning process and made available throughout the organisation.

Waters-Bayer provides a very frank assessment of the project process, and presents some of the key lessons learned.

The project centred on a series of regional workshops, supported by Steering Committee based at GTZ headquarters. Representatives from projects with some experience in participatory methods were invited to attend the workshops. Much of the responsibility for deciding the process and focus of discussions in the workshops was left to the participants to decide. Workshops were held in anglophone Africa,

francophone west Africa, Asia  Latin America was excluded due to a lack of expressed interest.
Waters-Bayer presents a lengthy list of lessons learned through the project, many of which were learned by making mistakes:
Clarifying aims helps to clarify means.  There was a very problematic tension between HQ's desire to record success stories and disseminate them and the aim of stimulating a learning process about participatory approaches focussed on problem solving.  This created tensions around who would do the research, and what the time frame would be.
Aims defining participants and vice versa. Because the aims were confused, it was unclear who should have been involved.  In the future, more attention should be given to matching the invitations with the aim of the research.
Participation mean negotiating and sharing goals and responsibilities.  There were problems of ownership, between core and non-core steering committee members, lack of high level interest, and between headquarters and regional workshop participants.
Participation and learning require time.  The project was confined to one year because of the funding mechanism, which proved to be insufficient for a learning process to reach fruition.
Reaching targets and creating processes is a constant balancing act.  More attention should have been paid to producing intermediate outputs to give people a feeling of achievement, without writing results in stone.  The LPA should have been embedded in a longer process of change.
Good structuring facilitates participatory learning processes.  The regional workshops did not allow sufficient time for groups to form before placing large responsibilities on them to self-organise.
Co-ordinating networking for mutual learning is a full-time job.  A staff member should have been committed to the process, as existing staff are already pressed heavily for time.
The author offers suggestions as to ways that further learning from participatory approaches can be promoted, at the level of individual projects, between projects close to one another, at regional level, and at supra-regional level.

374.  Watkins, K.E. and V.J. Marsick (1993) *Sculpting the learning organisation: lessons in the art and science of systemic change*, San Francisco: Jossey-Boss.
The authors begin with the question, Why are organisations transforming themselves into learning organisations?  Discussing primarily businesses, they argue that it is a matter of survival for organisations today. Businesses are competing in a very difficult environment.  They also note the changing nature of work, in which jobs requiring little thinking are disappearing.  Work increasingly demand lifelong, continuous learning of individuals.
The article defines learning organisations with a list of common characteristics:

- Leaders who model calculated risk taking and experimentation
- Decentralised decision-making and employee empowerment
- Skill inventories and audits of learning capacity
- Systems for sharing learning and using it in the business
- Rewards and structures for employee initiative
- Consideration of long term consequences and impact on the work of others
- Frequent use of cross-functional work teams
- Opportunities to learn from experience on a daily basis
- A culture of feedback and disclosure

A learning organisation "learns continuously and transforms itself." Learning is integrated with, and parallel to, work.
Learning occurs at all levels:

- Individual
- Group/team
- Organisation
- Larger business units and networks
- Other societal groups
- Customers and suppliers

The authors suggest that there are six 'action imperatives' for the learning organisation:

- Create continuous learning opportunities. The nature of work must change, not just the worker.
- Promote inquiry and dialogue. This is largely about organisational culture around openness and communication.
- Encourage collaboration and team learning. Methods mentioned in the book include: action research, action-reflection learning, and action science.
- Establish systems to capture and share learning.
- Empower people through a collective vision.
- Connect the organisation to its environment. This includes legislators and regulators, competitors, communities, and the physical environment.

Learning organisations may be defined in contrast to non-learning bureaucracies. The authors argue that non-learning bureaucracies have three flaws:
1. Choices about the value and purpose of activities are separate from performance of these activities
2. Learning of members is focused on narrow, specific tasks with routine procedures
3. Feedback about performance is so fragmented that individuals do not really learn how their performance affects the overall task.
The authors describe the process of change in learning organisations:
Change is a cyclical process of creating knowledge (the change or innovation), disseminating it, implementing the change, and then institutionalising what is learned by making it part of the organisation's routine, for example, operating procedures and policies. In learning organisations, the process is facilitated by structures and consciously managed.

375. Watson, V., S. Cervantes, C. Castro, L. Mora, et al. (1999) *Making Space for Better Forestry: Costa Rica Country Study*. Policy that Works for Trees and People 6, ed. J. Meyers, London: IIED Forestry and Land Use Programme.
Costa Rica's forests and people are today at a turning point. The conflicting tendencies of the past - from state-promoted deforestation for agriculture, to absolute protection of forests 'against the people' - are today giving way. Strategic alliances formed between social groups have created considerable political space for policy to achieve an effective balance between smallholder forestry and biodiversity conservation. Making Space for Better Forestry describes how this might be done - bringing accountability and equity to the core of policies affecting forests; negotiating between local and national interests - to shape policy processes that generate real benefits for forests and people.
Abstract from WWW page (http://www.iied.org/ptw/index.htm)

376. Weick, K.E. and F. Westley (1996) 'Organisational learning: affirming an

oxymoron'. In S.R. Clegg, C. Hardy and W.E. Nord (ed.), *Handbook of organisation studies*. Sage Publications.

Learning is an ongoing and implicit feature of the organising process. As organising unfolds, it does so in ways that intermittently creates conditions for learning (learning moments). As organising becomes disorganised, the forgotten is remembered, the invisible becomes visible, the silenced becomes heard. These learning moments, which vary in their frequency, value and duration, are occasions where people can renegotiate which portions of their continuing collective experience they will next forget, render invisible and silence, and which discontinuous residuals they will treat as current meaningful artefacts of culture. To make learning even a possibility, organisation must be reduced and doubt and curiosity must be cultivated. These changes which mix together order and disorder, juxtapose sufficient order to sustain a learning entity and sufficient disorder to mobilise forgotten material and new alternatives. Different organisational forms create different problems for learning. Self designing organisations or adhocracies are particularly good at adapting to changing environments and at innovating in response to environmental demands. adhocracies explore, create, and align with changes but, in embracing disorder with disorderly forms, they risk integrity, a loss of identity, and a loss of lessons learnt from the past that undergird current efficiencies. Bureaucracies embody order and exploit lessons from the past as well as past identities, reaping the benefits of learning curves. Bureaucracy is associated with more mechanical division of labour, more rigid chain of command, clear cut distinctions and technical rationality, qualities that are designed to repress or forget confusing or contradictory qualities. Bureaucracies trade away variation for retention, adhocracies trade away retention for variation. Either form, taken to its extreme, results in a paralysed organisation, unable either to learn or to act. Learning is associated with both establishing routines and accepting disruptive, non routine behaviour in the interests of alignment. Too much of either ultimately results in the destruction of the system. The optimal learning point, whether for the individual or the organisation, is in circumstances when order and disorder are juxtaposed, or exist simultaneously. Such moments represent the intersection of double loop learning (discovery, exploration, proactive learning, revolutionary learning, frame breaking) and single loop learning (exploitation, adaptation, habit formation, deviation reduction, reactive learning, evolutionary learning). The authors argue that the optimal juxtaposition between order and disorder is created not through alternation between the two but through the intimate and continuing connection between the two.

377. Westley, F. (1995) 'Governing design: the management of social systems and ecosystems management'. In L.H. Gunderson, C.S. Holling, et al. (eds.), *Barriers and bridges to the renewal of ecosystems and institutions*. Columbia University Press.

The author examines the organisational implications of the adaptive management of natural resources and ecosystems. Adaptive management is a way of managing in order to ensure that the organisations responsible for ecosystems and natural resources are responsive to their variations, rhythms, and cycles of change and are able to react quickly with appropriate management techniques. The ways in which conventional planning can be an impediment to organisational responsiveness are first described and the following practical suggestions are made for managers wishing to ensure a more adaptive management:

- For management systems to be adaptive to ecosystem dynamics, formal planning procedures should be minimised, or at least treated experimentally.

- Strong ideologies should be treated with caution. Although forging meanings, which are nested and coupled with a more even distribution of authority across the organisation, is necessary for action, these meanings should not be maintained at the expense of diversity.
- * Middle managers should be encouraged to develop symbolic skills and act as integrators between the strategic apex and the operating core. Mechanisms should be designed to ensure strategic conversations across functions and between levels. The more strategies at the top can be influenced by the learning of the bottom, the more responsive the organisation is likely to become. Learning, like action, is a highly social activity more connected to the construction of meaning (structures of signification) than to rules or authority. If organisations, particularly large bureaucratic organisations, wish to increase responsiveness and adaptability, they must harness the learning of the front lines, as opposed to actively inhibiting it.
- Studies of the micro-dynamics of successful collaboration, the origins and types of collaborations, networks and coalitions that have emerged to negotiate complex problem domains suggest the following practical lessons for inter-organisational moves towards the adaptive management of natural resources:
- Although consensus building is critical in the management of successful collaboration, power dispersal is equally important. Actors involved in collaborative efforts must ensure that some equal access to resources is provided, even if this involves designing processes that give higher profile to stakeholders who are weak but important to problem resolution.
- Three different kinds of inter-organisational collaborations are recognised along with their weaknesses. Planning led collaborations, usually based on task forces, roundtables and committees, need careful attention to issue definition to avoid premature closure or alienation of important stakeholders. Vision led networks, associated with the activities of single visionar-ies and their supporters, should be aware that the demands for resources of time and money may exhaust network members. Burn out is common and a visionary is unlikely to be concerned with evolving institutional structures to support his or her ideas. Learning led initiatives, usually made up of social movements, scientific consortia, community forums, do not have a rich resource base, a foundation of action routines and established structures of significance on which to draw on. A crucial challenge is to secure enough resources to survive, often by "piggy backing" on larger institutions.
- Too much consensus and organisation may make the inter-organisational system vulnerable. For the actor in such systems, it is therefore important to resist to much organisation and centralisation. Evidence suggests that it is possible for actors within organisations to manage in such a way that the crises are minimally destructive and the system’s rigidity is not excessive in the face of changing conditions, while the regenerative learning and sense of direction remain strong in the process of organisational change. Balance between organisational change and continuity can be achieved in different ways, through gradual, hidden diversity and sudden shifts, through a rhythm of convergence and divergence resulting from patterns of interaction and creativity, through planned cultivation of diversity. The same process that will allow a social system (e.g. a bureaucracy) to remain resilient will also allow it to transform itself to respond adaptively to the ecosystems and natural resources it seeks to manage: tolerance for diversity, openness to new ideas and information, balance between efficiency and redundancy, willingness to move in new directions while maintaining internal stability. Barren, overly structured organisations create barren, brittle ecosystems and crisis in natural resource management.

378. Wheatley, M.J. (1992) *Leadership and the new science: learning about organization from an orderly universe,* San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
Wheatley draws metaphors from recent post-Newtonian scientific thinking and applies them to organisations. In Chapter 4, Wheatley makes an argument about the 'participative nature of the universe.' Quantum physics finds that the act of observation affects reality. She takes this as a metaphor for the need to involve people in organisations in formulating a vision of that organisation. Picturing the future is an act of creation in itself.
She also discusses scientific thinking about self-organising systems. She argues that allowing for autonomy at a local level with a strong frame of reference can lead to both autonomy and integrity.
She takes another metaphor from self-organising systems. When systems are far from equilibrium, individuals can have a large impact. "Lone fluctuations" can be fed back and amplified through the system, leading to very large change. She argues that systems usually react to disturbances by trying to quell them, but that they get amplified through feedback mechanisms until pressure mounts for change.

379. White, S.C. (1996) 'Depoliticising development: the uses and abuses of participation'. *Development in practice* 6(1):6-15.
Participation must be seen as political. There are always tensions underlying issues such as who is involved, how, and on whose terms. While participation has the potential to challenge patterns of dominance, it may also be the means through which existing power relations are entrenched and reproduced. The arenas in which people perceive their interests and judge whether they can express them are not neutral. Participation may take place for a whole range of unfree reasons. It is important to see participation as a dynamic process, and to understand that its own form and function become a focus for struggle. (Authors abstract)

380. Wild, R.G. and J. Mutebi (1996) 'Conservation through community use of plant resources : establishing collaborative managment at Bwindi Impenetrable and Mgahinga Gorilla National Parks, Uganda'. *UNESCO People and Plants Working Paper* 5.
This document reports on the use of rapid vulnerability assessment and PRA techniques to determine which species of forest products could be harvested and at what rates to be sustainable, as a basis for establishing collaborative management. As part of the process PRA exercises were used to investigate both past and present resource use. The report highlights the importance of carefully sequencing research activities, triangulation and taking time to build trust, especially in such potentially conflictual situations as those of protected areas.
It was found that 'community members sometimes exaggerated or understated certain issues. Where the community had suffered most from the Park they overstated their case with hostility. Where the Park had less impact, they understated the situation to maintain good relations with park staff in the hope of greater dividends. Occasionally misinformation was provided on technical issues, in the hope of a favourable allocation of resources. However, with considerable local knowledge on the parks multiple use team, misinformation was quickly identified and then pointed out in gatherings of the whole meeting in an unthreatening and light-hearted way and as a positive relationship developed these phenomenon were found to decline.
Timelines showing key historical community events and forest history were used in

community meetings at the beginning of the process of working together and provided useful background to the area.
Trends in resource availability in the parishes over time were diagrammed using relative lengths of stick to represent the availability of resources Food availability was done first because of its importance and uncontroversial nature. Graphs of available trees and herbs on the farm and in the forest were then constructed. Community's perceptions of trees often differed from those of the team and one community claimed that they did not know what was now in the forest, not being allowed to go there and they supposed much tree regeneration, hoping for a resumption of pit-sawing.

381. Willmer, A. (1997) 'Participatory gender resource mapping at the household level: a case study in rural Honduras', MSc (Agriculture) project paper, New York: Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University.
This document describes how Participatory Gender Resource Mapping (PGRM) was used as a tool for examining the socio-economic and gender issues affecting livelihood strategies in a Honduran village. Mapping exercises at the household level were used to determine the effects of both inter- and intra household relations on agro-ecosystem management.
Households representing various socio-economic conditions were selected by wealth ranking to take part in the gender resource mapping. In an initial session household members were asked to draw a picture of the habitat found around their homestead, including physical features, plants and animals within their property boundaries. In a follow-up session the division of labour within the household and who had access to and control of the family resources was drawn on top of the map by using lines of different colours to represent different household members. For example, if the initial map showed that goats were kept the researchers would ask who feeds them, are they sold and if so where, who does it and what do they do with income.
This exercise was found to, 'stimulate sharing of information not forthcoming during earlier informal interviews' and through the maps the different needs of families from different economic classes and individual family members could be seen. Equally important was considered to be the spontaneous information that was generated revealing issues that were unknown or unanticipated by the researchers. However, the author stresses that the technique can be complex to explain and needs to be carefully applied to avoid misunderstandings, for example over whether to include only things growing a the time of the map-making, or all things produced by the household. Moreover, the method is time consuming and requires sustained rapport with the households and community within which it is undertaken.
(For a shorter version of this document see *PLA note*s 33 : 17-22 ,'Participatory gender resource mapping : a case study in rural Honduras' by Abigail Willmer and Jennifer Ketzis)

382. Wilson, J.Q. (1989) *Bureaucracy: what government agencies do and why they do it*, United States: Basic Books.
This abstract will excerpt only the parts of Wilson's book that are particularly relevant to the themes of this literature review.
Wilson argues that the attitudes (political ideology, prior experience, professional norms) of civil servants are most likely to influence the performance of their duties when their tasks are poorly defined. He says that the best examples of institutions with room for individual attitudes to affect the performance of tasks are newly created

policy-formulation institutions.

He argues against Merton's position that the structure of bureaucracy influences the personality of bureaucrats in a predictable way (69-70). Studies have demonstrated that American bureaucrats tend to be idealistic, and to value achievement, but are not conformist or cautious. Another American study showed that people in organisations with more levels of hierarchy tended to display the traits of intellectual flexibility and to value self direction and new experiences more than those in less bureaucratic organisations (smaller organisations with fewer levels of hierarchy). He also argues that attitudes do not determine behaviour- incentives may override the attitudes of civil servants in the performance of their duties (51). Thus, "it is possible for organisations to change behaviour without changing attitudes."

Wilson writes an entire chapter on innovation in bureaucracies. He argues that, "We should not be surprised that organisations resist innovation. They are supposed to resist it." He argues that the very purpose of organisation is stability and routine. He reports a civil servant's axiom: "Never do anything for the first time."

Wilson differentiates between innovations, which means redefining core tasks, and improvements in implementing core tasks as currently defined. Agencies accept changes consistent with current core task definitions, and resist changes requiring redefinition of core tasks. He argues that bureaucracies' bias towards maintaining existing task definitions leads them to adopt (hard) technologies without understanding their significance.

He argues that government agencies change all the time, but these changes either affect peripheral tasks, or they are in the form of add-ons. Peripheral changes are often driven by demands from the environment. Sometimes 'entrepreneurs' within organisations make peripheral changes, in part by assuring everyone that the change will not affect core tasks.

Wilson places primary importance on executives (leadership) in understanding innovation. One reason is that executives are principally responsible for reacting to the external environment. He argues that, "Almost every important study of bureaucratic innovation points to the great importance of executives in explaining change" (227). He continues,

It is for this reason, I think, that little progress has been made in developing theories of innovation. Not only do innovations differ so greatly in character that trying to find one theory to explain them all is like trying to find one medical theory to explain all diseases, but innovations are so heavily dependent on executive interests and beliefs as to make the chance appearance of a change-oriented personality enormously important in explaining change. It is not easy to build a useful social science theory out of "chance appearances" (227).

Wilson briefly mentions the question of uncertainty facing executives, and argues that executives tend to seek simplification and more and more information to grant them more control. This often creates perverse incentives for subordinates, leading to much more distorted information but little clarity.

On the question of encouraging innovations, Wilson states that, "the organisational arrangements that encourage members to propose an innovation are different from those that make it easy to implement one, once proposed." He argues that to encourage suggestions, organisations should be collegial, open, and supportive. Yet to implement innovations, it is more favourable to concentrate power in the hands of reform-minded executives who can push change despite opposition. Implementing change often requires creating a new organisation with some autonomy, and retraining or replacing opponents to change. He observes that changes will be subject to 'cost

benefit analysis' by operators:
Tasks that are familiar, easy, professionally rewarded, or well adapted to the circumstances in which operators find themselves will be preferred because performing them is less costly than undertaking tasks that are new, difficult, or professionally unrewarded or that place the operator in conflict with his or her environment (231).
He also argues that the longer an agency exists, the greater the core tasks will be defined in ways that minimise the cost to the operators. This makes changes to the system likely to invoke high costs, and so makes change less likely (232).

383. Wilson, J.A., J.M. Acheson, M. Metcalfe and P. Kleban (1994) 'Chaos, complexity and community management of fisheries'. *Marine Policy* 18(4):291-305.
For several decades, fisheries management has been based on stock recruitment models, leading to policies designed to control the amount of effort and quantity of fish caught. This approach has not been notably successful. It is argued that this problem arises from the complex and likely chaotic structure of fisheries. This attribute of fisheries creates a very difficult and costly information problem, which renders attempts to control the long term numerical abundance of individual species virtually impossible. The authors argue that feasible management must address the relatively stable parameters of fisheries systems-habitat and basic biological processes, and that this demands management attention to the fine as well as the broad scale attributes of the system. Attention to detail at these differing scales implies the need for a layered or hierarchical management structure. The need to minimise information costs also suggests an emphasis on decentralised, community based approaches to management. A review of the anthropological literature shows that such approaches are common in many societies.

384. Winckler, G. and et al. (1995) *Approche Gestion de Terroirs au Sahel: Mission de dialogue avec les projets GT/GR du Club du Sahel au Burkina Faso, au Niger, Mali, 1994-95*, Paris.
In Winckler et al.'s report from the 1994 International Convention for the Struggle Against Desertification (CID), the Gestion de Terroirs (GT) (land management) concept is discussed and critiqued, especially concerning the importance of dialogue and communication between participating institutions. The discussion centres around four areas:
i. project approach and evolution
ii. socio-economic interventions and problems encountered
iii. the role of external constraints
iv. project-specific characteristics
External intervention at the village level is cited as a potential difficulty for the implementation of GT, as well as the actual transfer of funds and decision-making power to beneficiaries. The authors propose a local development approach wherein financial management takes place within an 'intervillage' structure, accompanied by diagnostic aids (MARP) and organisational linkages. A recent case from Niger demonstrated positive social and agricultural impacts, with harvest increases of 40% and women's increased access to land. Winckler et al. conclude the report by declaring a need for: transparency and partnership between the populations and project staff; horizontal and vertical feedback systems; integration of GT into national debates such as decentralisation and land rights issues; and development of the private sector through improved communication.

385. Woroniuk, B. (1997) 'Inventory of mainstreaming gender equality in bilateral development co-operation focused on the environment- Draft'. Stockholm: SIDA for the OECD/DAC Expert Group on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment.
The report documents the efforts of seven donor agencies to integrate gender equality into its environmental programmes. The agencies reviewed included: AusAid, CIDA, NZODA, Sida, USAID, Norad, and DFID. The report reviews efforts at the policy level, examining both environment policies and gender policies. None of the environmental policies makes explicit links with gender issues. Some of the agencies do not include women's equality as a focus of development efforts. Organisational arrangements tend to place gender and environment responsibilities on all staff, with units to support them. Agencies do not have staff who are officially responsible for integrating both policy areas. The report briefly documents the kinds of tools agencies use to attempt to integrate these concerns, including PRA. Agencies should make efforts to increase their capacity to deal with these cross-cutting issues by training staff, commissioning supportive research, and making contacts with women's organisations and sectoral experts.
The report goes on to consider some of the main issues raised by the survey of agency experience. This includes choosing mainstreaming strategies both generally and in the area of the environment. Making linkages between gender equality and environmental sustainability is a second issue. Moving analysis upwards from the community level is a third challenge. Bringing a gender equality perspective to capacity development on environmental issues is a fourth. Fifthly, the report poses the challenge of mainstreaming gender not only by adding-on gender concerns to existing development projects, but by moving towards setting gender equity as the main agenda of development activities. The report concludes with a table presenting the constraints and opportunities for agencies, at the agency, project, and partner level.
Three annexes are attached to the report. The first is a list of references used in the report. The second lists resources on gender and the environment, created by the agencies in the inventory, other agencies, and multilaterals.
Draft copy. Final report to be completed in January 1998.

386. Wright, S. (1994) *Anthropology of organisations,* London: Routledge.
This collection of papers critically examines the way "organisational culture" is used as a tool of analysis and management. It brings together for the first time anthropological studies of the complex ways people make and contest meanings in organisational settings. The aim of the contributors is to help in building institutions for the 1990s which connect with indigenous ways of knowing, and which empower those hitherto excluded from decision making. They focus on three aspects of empowerment- indigenous management, equal opportunities policies, and attempts to empower clients in state institutions.
First, the concept of indigenous management questions the appropriateness of bureaucratic models and universal management systems-seeking instead to connect with indigenous styles of organising. Second, case studies from government, private companies and a union explain the embededness of gender relations, and show how inequalities persist despite widespread change. Finally, the contributors analyse attempts to reform clients' relations with state institutions. By combining a grasp of large scale bureaucratic structures, detailed ethnography of interactions, and analysis of how symbols and metaphors are used, this collection of papers shows how valuable

the anthropological approach can be in evaluating who is empowered by changing organisational culture.

387. Zadek, S., P. Pruzan and R. Evans, (eds.) (1997) *Building Corporate Accountability: Emerging Practices in Social and Ethical Accounting, Auditing and Reporting*. London: Earthscan.
Social and ethical accounting, auditing and reporting (SEAAR) is emerging as a key tool in response to calls for greater transparency in business, and as a means for managing companies in an increasingly complex social, environmental and business environment. This edited volume provides some historical perspective on this emerging field. Introductory chapters outline the evolution of SEAAR, starting by explaining the reason that businesses have started to adopt the practice. Reasons include: clarifying and strengthening values; establishing a baseline to judge change; learning about societal expectations; identifying specific problems; understanding what motivates staff; and identifying areas of vulnerability. The next chapter provides an outline of techniques for social auditing, and offers a set of criteria for judging the quality of SEAAR exercises. After considering future directions for SEAAR, a series of nine case studies, mainly from the private sector, gives the reader an idea of the way SEAAR is implemented in practice. The case studies are written by people involved in the SEAAR process. One case study traces the application of SEAAR to services for elderly people by a municipal government in Denmark. Another case study presents the experience of a government funded service organisation which attempts to support people in finding work, with special programmes for single mothers, and on the job training.

388. Zimmerer, K.S. (1994) ‘Human geography and the "new ecology": the prospect and promise of integration’. *Annals of the American Society of Geographers* 84(1):108-125.
The author first describes the main features of the "new ecology" which emphasises disequilibria, instability, and even chaotic fluctuations in biophysical environments, both natural and human modified. This emphasis on the volatility of environmental change tests the conventional ecological wisdom that depicts nature as tending towards stability or near constant balance. Whilst systems ecology views environments at various scales as systems tending towards equilibrium and homeostasis, the new ecology rejects the idea of persistent stability in environmental systems. The paper then describes the implications of the new ecology for the analysis of biophysical environments in human geography, the most notable of which is a reformulation of certain key ecological postulates (generalised carrying capacity, area-biodiversity postulate, biodiversity-stability postulate). The new ecology is also rife with implications for other disciplines in the social sciences and the humanities that are concerned with biophysical environments. "New ecology" findings offer fresh insights on the importance of heterogeneous conditions in time and space for environmental management. Change, risk, and uncertainty become major considerations for effective environmental management. These conservation goals inspired by the "new ecology" hold special promise for those interested in economic development and social change and, more particularly, in forms of economic development based on the active participation of local people. "Having recognised the limitations of top-down development models, human geographers are examining anew the socio-economic empowerment of local people through democratic participation, decentralised decision making, and economic growth based on local

resources, skills and knowledge. And when local participatory development is united with environmental conservation under the management guidelines of the "new ecology", local inhabitants are, in many cases, most able to identify the spatial and temporal heterogeneities of their biophysical environments and to help plan accordingly"

# References by chapter

| Topic | References |
|---|---|
| Theories of organisational change for participation | 5, 16, 18, 21, 24, 43, 51, 55, 58, 60, 61, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 75, 76, 80, 83, 85, 91, 95, 97, 99, 100, 102, 109, 112, 124, 129, 130, 131, 135, 141, 142, 146, 150, 151, 160, 161, 169, 170, 172, 176, 178, 183, 185, 196, 187, 189, 195, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 207, 213, 218, 224, 232, 233, 234, 238, 239, 240, 242, 243, 250, 254, 256, 261, 266, 269, 271, 272, 275, 288, 293, 301, 306, 307, 308, 310, 311, 312, 315, 324, 330, 335, 339, 343, 346, 351, 352, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 376, 377, 382, 386 |
| Towards learning organisations | 10, 15, 20, 23, 27, 30, 34, 40, 41, 42, 48, 53, 63, 65, 78, 82, 86, 90, 101, 105, 132, 135, 137, 138, 141, 153, 161, 200, 201, 225, 234, 238, 241, 248, 249, 279, 280, 303, 310, 315, 320, 322, 325, 337, 340, 372, 373, 374, 376, 378, 383 |
| Gender and organisational change | 5, 22, 55, 68, 72, 96, 108, 118, 119, 120, 124, 130, 131, 134, 140, 169, 177, 210, 214, 220, 235, 260, 282, 284, 285, 296, 300, 307, 308, 321, 327, 341, 356, 369, 370 |
| Transforming environmental knowledge and organisational cultures | 6, 8, 9, 10, 14, 25, 34, 35, 38, 46, 49, 50, 58, 60, 63, 65, 67, 74, 86, 89, 92, 93, 94, 97, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 128, 135, 140, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 153, 154, 157, 160, 167, 168, 174, 175, 182, 184, 192, 194, 197, 200, 201, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 216, 217, 218, 220, 222, 224, 227, 229, 232, 234, 235, 239, 241, 248, 249, 253, 258, 267, 268, 269, 274, 279, 280, 281, 286, 289, 290, 295, 296, 297, 298, 300, 302, 304, 309, 313, 316, 318, 319, 331, 336, 344, 346, 347, 348, 354, 358, 369, 374, 377, 380, 388 |
| Nurturing enabling attitudes and behaviour | 16, 26, 51, 60, 62, 75, 120, 123, 141, 149, 160, 161, 173, 180, 191, 228, 231, 234, 245, 299, 338, 342, 352, 379 |
| Policies for participation | 4, 11, 12, 13, 21, 22, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 43, 44, 53, 54, 57, 59, 64, 73, 84, 87, 98, 116, 121, 127, 143, 147, 149, 152, 158, 160, 162, 171, 181, 192, 193, 196, 204, 207, 217, 236, 237, 246, 251, 252, 255, 259, 273, 277, 285, 291, 292, 298, 305, 321, 329, 334, 337, 343, 357, 359, 366, 367, 368 |
| Methods for institutional and impact analysis | 1, 2, 3, 7, 19, 25, 32, 37, 39, 45, 47, 49, 52, 56, 63, 71, 72, 73, 74, 77, 79, 81, 88, 92, 93, 103, 104, 105, 122, 125, 126, 132, 133, 136, 139, 144,145, 148, 155, 156, 157, 159, 163, 164, 165, 166, 180, 186, 190, 198, 208, 211, 215, 216, 218, 219, 221, 229, 253, 256, 258, 262, 263, 264, 265, 270, 276, 278, 281, 283, 287, 290, 294, 295, 308, 311, 314, 316, 317, 323, 325, 326, 327, 328, 330, 332, 333, 336, 344, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 355, 362, 370, 371, 372, 380, 381, 387 |

# References by region

| Region | References |
|---|---|
| South Asia | 2, 3, 4, 5, 19, 24, 28, 30, 77, 78, 84, 85, 95, 102, 116, 117, 118, 119, 122, 123, 124, 129, 155, 170, 173, 176, 183, 185, 186, 188, 190, 193, 198, 199, 200, 201, 205, 206, 215, 224, 229, 241, 260, 269, 270, 271, 272, 304, 306, 307, 308, 310, 323, 325, 326, 327, 329, 330, 333, 335, 338, 342, 352, 360, 361 |
| Southeast Asia | 24, 29, 30, 84, 87, 116, 158, 200, 201, 202, 203, 208, 235, 241, 242, 248, 249, 261, 263, 264,281, 300, 310, 324, 337, 344, 364, 366, 367, 370 |
| Europe | 16, 21, 53, 68, 84, 115, 143, 151, 181, 219, 286, 291, 294 |
| Australasia | 7, 9, 10, 34, 49, 50, 195, 194, 235, 290, 356, 385 |
| North America | 16, 84, 115, 135, 175, 181, 182, 217, 235, 280, 289, 298 |
| Central America | 14, 28, 29, 30, 33, 36, 45, 52, 115, 118, 121, 136, 158, 196, 205, 207, 212, 243, 252, 295, 309, 310, 334, 357, 365, 369 |
| South America | 11, 13, 22, 23, 28, 29, 31, 35, 36, 43, 54, 57, 59, 64, 73, 84, 87, 118, 132, 164, 171, 196, 205, 207, 212, 236, 237, 252, 259, 273, 276, 277, 281, 283, 305, 309, 321 |
| North Africa | 12, 26, 38, 40, 67, 74, 118, 149, 159, 235, 281, 355 |
| West Africa | 12, 27, 28, 30, 38, 46, 87, 88, 91, 92, 93, 94, 103, 118, 125, 142, 164, 165, 184, 204, 219, 221, 251, 253, 258, 292, 293, 313, 314, 320, 328, 333, 339, 350, 368 |
| East Africa | 12, 38, 81, 87, 104, 118, 122, 130, 131, 145, 178, 187, 189, 191, 216, 247, 255, 278, 333, 351, 352, 353, 354 |
| Southern Africa | 12, 38, 39, 56, 79, 87, 88, 97, 108, 115, 139, 140, 141, 145, 158, 164, 230, 232, 251, 317, 318, 331, 332, 349, 351, 371, 372 |

# References by subject area

| Subject area | References |
|---|---|
| Agriculture | 11, 14, 19, 23, 25, 35, 36, 45, 76, 77, 103, 108, 122, 141, 144, 154, 159, 166, 169, 170, 205, 208, 216, 222, 241, 257, 278, 281, 289, 310, 312, 333 |
| Conservation | 9, 12, 95, 139, 140, 149, 174, 184, 232, 253, 268, 269, 278, 304, 351, 352, 367 |
| Decentralisation | 11, 31, 53, 57, 64, 150, 160, 165, 171, 236, 252, 259 273, 312, 359, 368 |
| Environment | 6, 19, 22, 25, 38, 104, 192, 209, 210, 211, 252, 305, 321, 334, 357 |
| Forestry | 4, 28, 46, 85, 92, 94, 98, 104, 117, 123, 125, 136, 154, 183, 193, 204, 205, 223, 230, 226, 241, 243, 246, 261, 263, 264, 271, 272, 292, 293, 295, 306, 307, 308, 329, 338, 349, 335, 336, 337, 365, 375 |
| Integrated Pest Management | 25, 58, 80, 175, 177, 267, 364 |
| Irrigation | 76, 123, 157, 200, 202, 203, 241, 324, 352, 362, 364 |
| Land reform | 29, 33, 84, 87, 116, 158 |
| Livestock | 38, 39, 46, 67, 159, 201, 276, 304, 314, 316, 317, 355 |
| Monitoring and/or evaluation | 1, 2, 5, 7, 19, 27, 40, 45, 50, 78, 86, 90, 103, 105, 132, 148, 157, 241, 262, 264, 286, 303, 311, 320, 324, 325, 356, 372, 387 |
| Participatory rural appraisal (PRA) | 5, 37, 61, 62, 63, 77, 104, 112, 133, 134, 148, 152, 155, 156, 160, 162, 163, 164, 170, 173, 179, 180, 186, 213, 221, 242, 253, 261, 312, 326, 328, 335, 342, 353, 370, 371 |
| Soils | 52, 95, 103, 122, 139, 140, 149, 278, 318, 331, 351, 352, 354 |
| Watershed management | 2, 3, 5, 52, 95, 123, 148, 194, 198, 199, 205, 206, 224, 230, 260, 278, 283, 323, 330, 357, 360, 361 |