INTEGRAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN SAN JUAN DEL GOZO, EL SALVADOR

Including Communities, Ecosystems and "Interiority" in the Development Process

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Abstract

In this thesis, I inquire into the successes and limitations of conventional development, and explore alternative definitions and routes to a sustainable development, looking particularly at the community level. I begin with a critique of the conventional development model which, while it has successes, is limited in that it is primarily fed by growth-based economic policies that rely exclusively on instrumental rationality in lieu of self-reflection and communicative rationality. Thus, I address these limitations with a philosophical and practical inquiry into alternative concepts and processes that integrate social equity, economic stability and ecological sustainability, as well as the inner dimensions of transformational change, such as individual worldviews, cultural norms, morals, values, ethics and spirituality. I emphasize that these "inner dimensions" are crucial in moving towards equitable and sustainable societies (as described in integral theory), but have often been left out of the development process. Thus, integral community development arises from combining "critical" alternative strategies (namely, community economic development and ecodevelopment) with the "interiority" of integral studies. I apply this integral approach to local development in the community of San Juan del Gozo, El Salvador, using community-based participatory action research methodology embedded in the complexities of the human psyche, culture and worldviews. Re-conceptualizing "development" requires an expansion of its definition to include the unfolding of human awareness and worldviews, which set the course for a truly integral community development. As "development" expands and deepens to embrace the multi-dimensional aspects of the human psyche and of the community, and as participants in the process move away from egocentric actions to more worldcentric ones, aspects of the development process which are often perceived to be dichotomous, like economic growth and ecological sustainability, will merge.

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Introduction

Walking the streets of Cusco, Peru when I was sixteen showed me a face of the world that I had been largely unaware of until then. No longer could I believe that my life in Canada was "normal" for the rest of the world – rather "normal" on average may be the plight of the street children with whom I played in broken Spanish. Since that time, with many more journeys to, and work projects in, other parts of the world, it now is glaringly apparent to me that the affluence of Canada is the minority. While six decades of economic growth has benefited some, clearly the quality of life for many remains bleak and the health of the environment is in a precarious if not fast eroding position.[1] Indeed, closing the gap between rich and poor and curbing environmental degradation are not among the positive impacts of conventional development, and yet it is becoming increasingly evident that they need to be.[2] In this thesis, I discuss how we can build upon the positive legacy of conventional development, better understand and address its limitations and move toward a more equitable and sustainable form of development.

The process of conventional development has brought unprecedented gains to human society. These gains particularly revolve around and stem from economic growth, since conventional development is underpinned and informed by neoclassical economics and thus has economic parameters as central objectives. This focus on economic growth, production and profit is the defining feature of "development", and within such a model we have indeed managed to create societies where the livelihood needs of the majority are met. With such development came personal wealth, medical and education facilities, infrastructure and technology and so much more that is distinctive of a "developed" nation. Recent World Bank statistics report how children born today in the developing world will live 25 years longer, be healthier, better-educated and more economically productive

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[1] Chomsky, Noam. 1999. *Profit Over People: Neoliberalism and Global Order.* (New York: Seven Stories Press) pp. 19-40

[2] Hettne, Bjorn. 1982. Development Theory and the Third World. (Schmidts Boktryckeri AB: Helsingborg.) pp 39-50

than 50 years ago, and the spread of democracy, infrastructure and technology has endowed people throughout the world new freedoms, services and opportunities.[3]

However, the conventional development model has inherent limitations. Placing economic progress as more important than ecological sustainability, we are now faced with an unprecedented global environmental crisis. To keep economic output high requires that nature be used for building profit (be it through resource extraction, fossil fuel transportation, product packaging or waste disposal). Ironically, since nature's life-supporting services, like the provision of clean air and water, are unpriced and thus do not enter economic equations, their exploitation does not show in economic analysis. A society built around such an economic development theory not only negates the value of ecosystems, but also degrades them. In social terms, economic growth has not been equitably distributed, as the still widening chasm between rich and poor shows.[4] Many statistics underline these more pessimistic trends: a 100 million more people live in extreme poverty than a decade ago, 1 billion go without clean drinking water, pollution of air and water seriously threaten the lives of millions of people, and forests are being destroyed at more than an acre a second.[5] It is increasingly obvious that the emphasis on economic output distinctive of conventional development that supercedes other important parts of society (such as ecosystem health, social equity and qualitative human needs) has little meaningful value in terms of a human or sustainable development.

While conventional economic development falls fundamentally short of realizing sustainable development, the necessity of seeking sustainability in development activities is becoming increasingly evident throughout the world, as

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[3] Thomas, V., M. Dailami, A. Dhareshwar, D. Kaufmann, N. Kishor, R. López and Y. Wang. 2000. *The Qualtiy of Growth.* The World Bank. (New York: Oxford University Press) p XIII

[4] Chomsky, N. (1999) explains "in the eighteenth century, the differences between the first and third worlds were far less sharp than they are today." He goes on to explain which countries developed and which did not, describing the processes of entrenching poverty in some regions and wealth accumulation in others. p. 28-34.

[5] Thomas, V. et al. 2000, p XIII

the voluminous literature on the environmental degradation and the seemingly institutionalized acceptance of social injustice suggest. We discuss, talk and define much of what this sustainable and equitable "development" may look like and how to get there, but we have not actualized these definitions in a systemic way. In fact, many critics of economic globalization question whether we can become sustainable based on current economic policies; the idea being that a problem cannot be solved with the very same approach (or worldview) that created the problem initially. Some social theorists have critically examined current worldviews that gave rise to today's profit-oriented global system. These scholars have found that not only have we overemphasized the instrumental and quantifiable (primarily economic) components of life at the expense of environmental integrity, but also, even more insidiously, we have undervalued and largely de-legitimized other important components like tradition, culture, spirituality, aesthetics and consciousness.

Thus, if we are to become "sustainable" in our development practices, rethinking the paradigm of conventional development is crucial; that is, not to do away entirely with the current development model, but rather to investigate its limitations, extricate the positive attributes and explore alternatives that build on such attributes. Over the past 50 years, environmentalists, academics and development practitioners have been more accurately defining "development" in terms of real human and ecosystem needs, and also looking at viable approaches to realize it. These alternatives suggest that an equitable and sustainable form of development begins at the community level, is informed by ecosystem health and incorporates the more subjective and inter-subjective components of humanity that have been left out of conventional practices.[6] I suggest that a combination of the

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[6] See: Sachs, Wolfgang. *Planet Dialectics: explorations in environment and development.* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 1999); Adams, W. M. "Development and Environmental Degradation". *Green Development: Environment and Sustainability in the Third World.* (London: Routeledge). chapter 5; Béjar, Héctor. (1998) "Community Development and the Latin American Reality: a personal view." *Community Development Journal.* vol. 33, no. 4; Ghai, Dharam and Jessica M. Vivan (eds) 1992. *Grassroots Environmental Action: People's Participation in Sustainable Development.* (London and New York: Routeledge); Goldsmith, E. "Open letter to Mr. Clausen, President of the World Bank", *The Ecologist.* Vol. 15, no 1/2, 1985 *in* Ekins, Paul. *The Living Economy: A New Economics in the Making.* (London and New York: Routledge, 1986.) p 31; Sirolli, Ernesto, *Ripples from the Zambezi: Passion,*

practices and philosophies of development alternatives is needed in seeking such a community- and ecosystem-based holistic development. In particular, three alternative approaches offer various essential components to such a development. *Community economic development (CED)* combines social needs with economic needs at the local level. *Ecodevelopment* extends the development focus to include ecological systems and other species. And *integral development* incorporates, with aspects of the former two alternatives, the fundamental processes involved in fostering transformative change in individual and societal worldviews, namely, self-reflection and introspection and culturally-specific communicative rationality. Taken together, these three approaches offer both the practical and philosophical tenets for truly achieving a sustainable way of life. Below is a brief description of what each approach brings to the process of sustainable community development, and explains how I have integrated them in theory and practice.

Community economic development (CED) is a community-based alternative to conventional development. It is a synthesis of social and economic aspects of development, which takes into account the social needs, such as fair wages, health care, training, education, as well as the livelihood needs. The CED approach includes more than merely economic output and bottomlines, and extends its scope to include other relevant aspects for healthy communities. "Development" in this sense is unlike the conventional forms of development where economic growth was the main goal and reference point. This type of development would have bottom-up rather than top-down governance structures, self-defined rather than stranger-defined goals, production of basic goods with use-value not just export items with exchange-value, and that economic processes should circulate within the territory rather than flow linearly out of the locale, thus enabling local people to generate

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entrepreneurship and the rebirth of local economies. (Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers, 1999); Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, *What Now: Another Development*, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden, 1977; Moffat, I. *Sustainable Development: Principles, Analysis and Policies.* (New York and London: Parthenon Publishing Group, 1995); Sachs, I. (1984) "The Strategies of Ecodevelopment" *Ceres* 17, 4:20-35; and Riddell, R. (1981) *Ecodevelopment: Economics, Ecology and Development; an alternative to growth imperative models* (Farnborough: Gower).

income from their own production. CED and other "people-centered" (rather than profit-oriented) development practices have profound implications in that they,

> "challenge traditional concepts of security, old models of development, ideological debates on the role of the market, outmoded forms of international cooperation. They call for nothing less than a revolution in our thinking."[7]

CED, however, has not traditionally nor explicitly included environmental sustainability. In today's' world of rising pollution, diminishing natural resources and increasing global temperatures, we simply cannot ignore the need to address environmental concerns. Many progressive thinkers over the past 3 decades have pondered the question of how local economic development could merge with ecological conservation. One result of such ponderings is *ecodevelopment*, which merges social, cultural and ecological needs in the development of an ecoregion. Ecodevelopment includes the efficient and innovative use of existing resources, an ethical imperative of improving the conditions of the poorest, and a symbiosis of humans and nature. [8] In other words, development:

> "must make efficient use of those resources [of an ecoregion] which happen to exist in that particular area, and in a way that both sustains the ecological systems (outer limit) and provides the people living there with their basic human needs (inner limit)."[9]

Merging ecodevelopment with CED, where social and economic needs of local people are appropriately placed within an ecosystemic context, we arrive at an ecosystem-based CED. In ecosystem-based CED, human systems are managed and reconstructed through the "development" process to fit into the bounds and limits of the ecosystem, rather than managing or reconstructing the natural systems in which social relations are embedded.[10]

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[7] UNDP. 1993. p 8 *in* Sharon M.P Harper (ed) 2000. *The Lab, The Temple And The Market. Reflections At The Intersection Of Science, Religion And Development.* (Ottawa: IDRC and Kumarian Press) p 50

[8] Hettne, B. (1982), p 93

[9] Hettne, B. (1982), p 93.

[10] M'Gonigle, M. 2000. "A New Naturalism: Is There a (Radical) Truth Beyond the (Postmodern) Abyss?" *Ecotheology, Issue 8.* Janurary 2000. p 33.

While the ecosystem-based CED approach offers a holistic synthesis of cultural, social and ecological needs, its existence or success in society depends on the internalization of the precepts behind the strategy. Says Hettne (1982),

> "Ecodevelopment does not take place in the world today, but according to its spokesmen the world would be a better place if it did. The problem, of course, is how this can be achieved."

Sachs (1974) suggests that education will play a large role in imbuing individual and collective thought with ecological awareness. He mentions that,

> "It is essential to internalize this dimension and thus to change the system of values and predominant attitudes to nature or, on the contrary, to preserve and strengthen the respect for nature that is still a characteristic of certain cultures."[11]

This shift in thinking requires that we examine currently held beliefs and norms, and foster environmental ethics that place importance on ecological integrity. Such ethics are born and cultivated within individuals and perpetuated by changes in cultural norms, and they can precipitate a fundamental shift in society's thought-processes, beliefs and actions. This transformation takes place within the culture as well as the individual, and manifests in social ethics and institutions, economic activities and political arrangements.

Since shifting worldviews give rise to changes in the socioeconomic and political system, many social theorists and practitioners now realize that transformational change in worldviews may set the path to sustainability. Along this line of thinking, some researchers and development practitioners, have sought a strategy for development that would integrate some of the key precursors to such a transformation in worldviews, that is including psychological, cultural and spiritual

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[11] Sachs, I. 1974. "Ecodevelopment", *Ceres.* Nov-Dec, 1974. p. 9 *in* Hettne, B. 1982. p 94.

unfolding into development practices.[12] This approach is not "new" per se – various eastern traditions have used this approach in their country or community's development[13] – but it is new to the Western theory and practice of development.[14] We can call such a strategy *integral development* as it integrates, along with economic, social and ecological needs, the complexity and varied needs of the human psyche and human cultures, and the role of individual values and worldviews. Since these are more "internal" (things that cannot be seen and quantified) aspects of humans, we can collectively group them as "interiority". [15]

Moreover, rather than an egocentric or anthropocentric perspective like the conventional development approach, the integral approach takes a "worldcentric" perspective, where all of humanity and nature are legitimately and essentially part of the development process. All entities have the freedom to "unfold" and develop according to their own inner and outer needs, yet the quintessential importance of *relationship* between these entities in the development of the *overall* system is explicit.[16] Such an approach builds upon ecosystem-based CED, which address social, economic and ecological concerns, to integrate consciousness-raising and social transformation. At the local level, I have called this *integral community development*, in that it offers us an integral approach to development that sincerely addresses economic, social and ecological parameters in addition to psychological and cultural needs, individual worldviews and transformative change. Or said

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[12] Other alternative approaches to development have touched on the need for this spiritual unfolding, as for example, the *Basic Human Needs* of *Another Development* falls in the realm of philosophy and religion, and includes transcendental values. See Hettne, B. 1982.*cit op.* 2, p 86.

[13] Kapur, Promilla. "The Principle of Fundamental Oneness" chapter one *in* Harper, Sharon M.P, 2000. p 7-55.

[14] IDRC recently carried out research in the interface between spirituality and development: Harper, S. 2000. CIDA also held a conference on "spirituality in sustainable development", see Tamas, Andy. *Spirituality and Development. Concepts and Categories. Dialogue on Spirituality in Sustainable Development.* Canadian International Development Agency. June 19-20, 1996.

[15] Wilber, K. 1995. *Sex, Ecology, Spirituality. The Spirit of Evolution.* (Boston and London: Shambala) p 107-108: Wilber describes the term "interiority" as the "interior prehensions" of the outward forms of life, of which I expand on later in the text.

[16] Eckersley, R. 1992."The Ecocentric Challenge to Marxism" in *Environmentalism and Political Theory* (Albany, NY: SUNY) p 91: Eckersly discusses the ecocentric challenge to Marxism, offering insight into what an ecocentric development might look like.

more simply, local development that includes communities, ecosystems and "interiority".

Upon inquiry into the practicalities of *how* we might be able to use an integral approach in development, I found that one solution would be impossible for a world of myriad cultures and contexts. Indeed, much of this type of development is very site- and culture-specific.[17] However, I have pulled out certain general attributes that could be replicable in other contexts and cultures. I took attributes from theories discussed by, for example, Jürgen Habermas on the roles of self-reflection, communicative and instrumental rationality and Ken Wilber on a four-quadrant model of human development.[18] I also drew upon practical examples from past and current attempts at an integrated development, such as from Gandhi's *Sarvodaya* order of village-based development, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Development Model in Sri Lanka and Maureen Silos's work on integral development in the Caribbean[19]. The integral theory of Wilber (2000, 1999, 1996, 1995) has been particularly inspirational in my work, as it manages to tie together Eastern and Western approaches to social theory in a comprehensive and intricately arranged "integral embrace". His work is of immense value for understanding human evolution, and has been applicable in a practical way in my own work in environmental and social issues. I also draw particularly upon the work of Silos (2000) in her theoretical inquiry into how an "integral" development is needed, and how it might operate, in Surinam and the Caribbean. From these bodies of literature – some more philosophical and theoretical, and others more practical – I tease out some of the "necessary" attributes of an integral development and explore how they could apply to current community-based and ecologically-sensitive development practices.

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[17] See Hettne, B. (1982), p 86 on how it is impossible to find a universal definition for *Basic Human Needs* in Another Development.

[18] Wilber, Ken. 1996. *A Brief History of Everything.* (Boston: Shambala); Wilber, K. 2000. *Integral Psychology. Consciousness, Spirit, Psychology, Therapy.* (Boston: Shambala).

[19] Silos, Marueen. "The Politics of Consciousness" *To be published in Kindred Visions.* Shambhala. 2000.

Using my own fieldwork experience in working with community inhabitants towards ecologically and economically sustainable development at the local level, I discuss how these attributes of integral community development can be used. My fieldwork took place in San Juan del Gozo, in Jiquilisco Bay, El Salvador, which is on the southeast coast of the country in an area of mangrove forests and wetlands. I used "integral" participatory action research (of which I describe in more detail in chapters 4 and 5) in collaboration with the Salvadoran environmental organization, CESTA (Salvadoran Center of Appropriate Technology) for nine months during 2000-2002. The methodology, the process and the on-going outcomes of an integral approach to development holds many interesting reflections for communities and societies so in need of truly sustainable and integrated approaches of addressing present-day ecological, social and cultural crises. Regarding the particular dilemma of how economic needs could coincide with ecological conservation, I began to realize that these two aspects of life, which are oftentimes perceived to be dichotomous, *will* merge as "development" expands and deepens to embrace the multi-dimensional aspects of the human psyche and of the community, and as participants in the process move away from egocentric actions to more worldcentric ones.

This topic of an equitable and ecologically-sound development has percolated through my mind since my time in Peru as a teenager – beginning first as persistent yet almost naïve questions of "*why* inequitable, *why* unsustainable?" and then evolving toward a thesis project. Through this research, I deepen my inquiry of where conventional development succeeded and where it is limited, and then explore alternative definitions and routes to a sustainable community development. I begin with a critique of the conventional development model which, while it has successes, is limited in that it is primarily fed by growth-based economic policies that rely exclusively on instrumental rationality in lieu of self-reflection and communicative rationality. Thus, I address these limitations with a philosophical and practical inquiry into alternative concepts and processes of ecological

community development. I suggest that a more comprehensive and effective template may need to integrate not only social equity and ecological sustainability (from CED and ecodevelopment), but also the inner dimensions of transformational change, such as individual worldviews, cultural norms, morals, values, ethics and spirituality. By combining these "critical" alternative strategies (CED and ecodevelopment) with the "interiority" of integral studies, we arrive at an integral approach to community development. I apply this integral approach in a case study community in El Salvador, framing the study on community-based participatory action research methodology and on the integration of the complexities of the human psyche, culture and worldviews. Re-conceptualizing "development" requires our expansion of its definition, careful examination into limitations of conventional development and exploration of the possible routes to overcoming these limitations to successfully arrive at a truly integral community development.

Chapter One: Conventional Development

> *"Development planning has been shaped and influenced by an underlying vision which is fundamental to its spread and subsequent failure. The principal tenets undergirding this vision are that economic development can be engineered through reason and foresight; that rational economic planning and effective control of an entire economic systems are both feasible and desirable; and that centralized knowledge collection and decision-making are both feasible and efficacious in human society."*[20]

> *"The impact of progress turns Reason into submission to the facts of life, and to the dynamic capability of producing more and bigger facts of the same sort of life. The efficiency of the system blunts the individual's recognition that it contains no facts which do not communicate the repressive power of the whole... There is only one dimension, and it is everywhere and in all forms. The achievements of progress defy ideological indictment as well as justification; before their tribunal, the "false consciousness" of their rationality becomes the true consciousness."*[21]

Successes and Limitations of Conventional Development

Proponents of conventional development have much to celebrate at the turn of the millennium. Decades of studying development theories and constructing economic policies have brought the "developed" nation into being. Today, high per capita income, new technologies in communication, production and industry, growth in investment and trade, and modern infrastructure to provide for social needs such as medical care and education are defining attributes of the (economically) developed country. The central tenet of conventional development behind such gains is sustained economic growth, which is deemed necessary for reducing poverty in any nation through "investing more – and more efficiently – in education and health, reducing barriers to trade and investment, dismantling price

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[20] Kamath, Shyam J. "The Failure of Development Planning in India.", chapter 5, *in* Peter J. Boettke. 1994. *The Collapse of Development Planning*. (New York: New York University Press) p 92

[21] Marcuse, Herbert. 1964. *One Dimensional Man. Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Societies.* (Boston: Beacon Press) p 11

controls in agriculture and industry, and reducing fiscal deficits."[22] This growth, managed with appropriate policies, can bring "better environmental protection, cleaner air and water, and the virtual elimination of acute poverty".[23] And indeed, World Bank statistics show that compared to fifty years ago, a greater proportion of the world's population is more educated, has better access to medical facilities, has longer life-expectancy, and is more economically productive.[24] Moreover, the spread of democracy and technological advances bring unprecedented freedoms, opportunities and access to knowledge to many people throughout the world. These aspects of conventional development make up the positive legacy of decades of conventional development work.

In the face of such positive gains in conventional development, there are still some crucial gaps in development theory and practice. Development strategies have historically focussed on the quantity of growth and not necessarily its quality, its distribution or its effects on the environment. While the economy as a whole may "grow" in monetary terms, this growth often by-passes the more qualitative aspects of development, leading to myriad social and ecological concerns. Throughout the world, for example, development policies have favored the elite at the expense of adequate investments in human and natural capital.[25] Furthermore, rather than benefiting local communities, oftentimes conventional development has disrupted local economies, degraded the environment and dismantled or undermined local social structures.[26] Large conventional development institutions (such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank) are indeed designed to re-structure local economies and social infrastructure (no matter how healthy they are initially) to be in line with the economic program of industrialization and liberalization. These structural adjustment programs have, in many cases, led to increases in social problems, economic fragility and ecological degradation in those regions. The statistics of conventional development institutions themselves show that much

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[22] Thomas, V. et al. (2000), p XVII
[23] World Bank 1992. *World Development Report 1992.* p. 2
[24] *Ibid*, p. 2
[25] Thomas, V. et al. (2000), p XIII.

"development" bypasses communities, and instead benefits distant proprietors situated outside of the locality,[27] and leads to increases in environmental deterioration and depletion of natural resources.[28] Thus, although development practices may aim to increase the quality of life by alleviating poverty and addressing ecological degradation, they often act as a creator or perpetuator of social and ecological problems.[29]

From this brief review of conventional development, it can be said that the current process of development is both successful and limited, and that these limitations make it difficult to address the poverty gap and the ecological crisis. Critics (and increasingly even proponents) of conventional development call for the need to pay attention to the *quality* of factors contributing to economic growth and development if poverty is to be reduced, the health of the environment maintained and "a better quality of life attained by all".[30] Many critics go even further to suggest that the definition of "development" be rethought to build upon past successes and avoid previous mistakes of development practices. Knowing that conventional development has both a positive and negative face, we must take a closer look at the theory behind development to better understand its limitations before we begin to redefine and expand its scope.

I begin this exploration of conventional development by looking to the political economic framework in which it evolved. The global political economic paradigm, that not only gave rise to such 'development' but also sets the context for its continued application, has *power inequities* inherent in its design that lead to social and ecological crises. To facilitate discussion, I have divided these power inequities in four categories. First, *power over production and resource extraction*, meaning the enclosure and privatization of land and resources, the widespread use of inappropriate technologies, as well as the transformation of resource flows from

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[26] Ekins, Paul. p 28.
[27] Thomas, V. et al. (2000), p. XIII
[28] Thomas, V. et al. (2000), p 6.
[29] Adams, W. M. p 89

circular patterns (within the community) to linear flows (out of the community to external shareholders). Second, *power over decision-making*, where centralized states and hierarchically designed corporations hold decision-making authority yet do not always operate on behalf of community economic, social and ecological health. And thirdly, *power over wealth accumulation*, which is embodied in the increasing trends of privatization and liberalization of trade and investment and is evident with the increasing gap between rich and poor both within and between countries. It is the fourth category – the inequity of *power over knowledge* – that underlies these other power inequities, in that it prescribes a "way of thinking" that had a large role in causing, and today perpetuating, the social injustices and ecological degradation distinctive of the 20th Century. Understanding this historical political economic context enables us to see the limitations to the current model.

Power over extraction and production

The economic and social complexes of the modern world – including, for example, business conglomerates and the nation-state – were created through the dismantling of the commons and harnessing the fragments for use by a dominant minority.[31] All over the world, there are situations where common pool resources, like fish or forests and now even fresh water,[32] have been appropriated by corporations and governments who use these resources to export or to produce commodities and thus to accumulate wealth. The idea behind the enclosure of the commons was to generate surplus profit that would then precipitate economic development for the nation, be it job creation within the private or public sphere or provision of public goods and services. Enclosing the commons indeed had its intended result, but it also had other effects on society, including changing governance institutions, disempowering local peoples, limiting access to resources

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[30] Thomas, V. et al. (2000), p XIII.

[31] Ecologist, The. "Development as Enclosure" in *Whose Common Future? Reclaiming the Commons* (Philadelphia, PA, Gabriola Island, BC: New Society, 1993) 21.

[32] *Water for People and Nature: An International Forum on Conservation and Human Rights*. University of British Columbia Campus, Vancouver, British Columbia, July 5-8th, 2001.

for an elite group, furthering ecological degradation, and purposefully eroding cultures. All of these effects are interconnected, of which I discuss below.

The rationale of the "tragedy of the commons" set by Hardin (1968) lead to the assumption that there are no local institutional arrangements to mitigate impacts on the resource. While this is true in many cases, perhaps the focus should be on creating (or supporting where possible) such arrangements at the local level, rather than giving management and control of resources to external institutions. The solutions of privatization and the imposition of governmental control that were posed as policy options to common-pool resource management lead to the widespread practice of top-down development planning that ignores local institutions.[33] Says Berkes et al (1989),

> "the social and ecological costs of these practices [privatization, nationalization and top-down planning] have often been tragic in their own right."[34]

Stripping power and control from common-property institutions greatly altered the governance regimes of humanity. No longer were local leaders from the community and accountable to the community, but leaders were supplied from outside the community and had no lines of accountability to its residents.[35] This social disorganization was purposeful and prescriptive of economic progress, yet it has undermined the village checks and balances necessary for healthy ecological and social community processes.

In dividing up the "commons" and putting control over the pieces in the hands of a few, there became a systemic bias in the way that "property" is defined; this bias is made visible when economic development initiatives support large-scale business rather than small-scale entrepreneurs. For example, coastal and deep-sea fishing in New Zealand was largely an "open access" resource until the 1970s when

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[33] Berkes, F, D. Feeny, B.J. McCay and J. M. Acheson. 1989 The Benefits of the Commons. *Nature*, Vol. 340, 13 July. 1989.p 92.
[34] Berkes, F, D. *et al.* (1989), pp 91-93
[35] Ecologist, The (1993) p 21

the survival of certain species became threatened. To deal with depletion of fish species, rather than seeking a win-win solution for all persons involved in fishery, the system was redesigned to ensure the sustainability of only the *commercial* fishing industry in the 1980s.[36] The *noncommerical* fishery – the fishery carried out by individuals and communities – was restricted, even though the local communities had for decades depended on these resources for their livelihoods. This is but one of many examples of expropriation of common pool resources, once used for subsistence production, in favor of creating marketable property and export-oriented production.

The enclosure of land and resources also led to the enclosure of the means of production. For example, ownership of industries is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a smaller number of companies.[37] By enclosing and concentrating ownership of land, resources and production, resource flows changed. Rather than resources being cycled in a circular pattern, where resources were extracted and used within the community to fulfill local needs, they began to flow in a linear pattern out of the communities to urban and industrial centres. This changed the way local people filled their needs and did business. Instead of retrieving or producing products from their communities, they had to rely on imports; instead of having control over prices, they had to compete with other products on global markets; and instead of relying on their own internal resources of skill, personnel and capital, they were affected more by decisions made by company boards in other places.[38]

By viewing the territory as well as the inhabitants as expendable resources for economic exploitation, the process of enclosure has effectively made autonomous

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[36] O'Connor, M. (1994) "On the Misadventures of Capitalist Nature."In *Is Capitalism Sustainable? Political Economy and the Politics of Ecology.* Martin O'Connor (ed.) (New York: Guilford Press, 1994) p 139.

[37] Wright, David H. (1979) *Cooperatives and Community: The Theory and Practice of Producer Cooperatives* (Cambridge, England: Bedford Square Press) p. 1

[38] Wright, D.H. (1979), p 1.see also: Chomsky, N. (1999), p. 28

persons into mere labourers for the global economy.[39] While this may seem harsh to say, one need only to look to "sweat shop" factories in the South for glaring examples. In addition to this, the reorientation of local traditional cultures to fit into the emerging political economy was such that their abilities to change their position in the global economy were curtailed if not made impossible.

> "...Big investors either did not act in the poor people's interest or made it impossible for them to act for themselves, and the result was increasing poverty or increasing inequality or both."[40]

Thus the process of enclosure was also a process of disempowerment, creating and entrenching poverty for many.

Enclosure also purposefully generated unhappiness and discontentment, in the sense of desiring more than can be obtained, which encouraged consumerism to fuel the capitalist economy.[41] In essence, this economy needed laborers, and if a person was satisfied with what he or she had, they had no motivation to continue to labour. Therefore by creating a continual 'want' for more, so too was created a labouring class. This creation of desire for 'wants' that extend beyond 'needs' is distinctive not only of the economic process, but also of conventional development as well. Sirolli's (1999) describes this clearly by offering an example of development in Zambia, Africa:

> "Since they had plenty of fish from the river and game from the bush, the villagers simply didn't need to work more than one day a week.... This was devastating news to the Italian team [of developers].... Then the five experienced Italian men, barely out of their teens, came up with, what they thought, was an original solution to that unusual problem. They got the local men to desire more money by encouraging them to buy what they, having recently arrived there from Italy, had in their possession. These consumer items included

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[39] Ecologist, The (1993), p 21-22

[40] Jackson, E. T. and Y. Kassam (1998) *Knowledge Shared. Participatory Evaluation in Development Cooperation.* (Ottawa: International Development Research Center) p 26.

[41] Ecologist, The (1993), p 22.

> sunglasses, watches, transistor radios, beer, and yes, whisky. In six months, I was told, Chirundu [village] was conquered. Now men would work every day..."[42]

The bottom line of neoclassical economics is that, "all capitals will realize their 'full value' only by their insertion within the sphere of exchange value" or, in other words, insertion into market processes.[43] This explains why conventional development theory underpinned by neoclassical economic theory, has little regard for the value of a subsistence supply of fish and game such as is described in the above example from Africa – a subsistence economy revolves around products with use-value not necessarily exchange-value. This bottom line became the rationale behind enclosing land and harnessing natural and human capital for use in the market, and thus began the conversion of subsistence economies toward market-based economies. Newly converted economies could produce goods for export, but often at the expense of fulfilling their own daily needs.

To conclude, enclosing land and resources, deconstructing local cultures and altering local governance structures, concentrating ownership and management of land and resources in external entities, and harnessing the means of extraction and production for insertion into market processes were all prerequisites for the condition of economic progress. This "progress" excludes local people from decision-making regarding their local region and from management of their own natural resources, and reduces their intrinsic worth to that of labours and consumers.[44]

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[42] Sirolli, E. (1986), p 8 and chapter 1, pp 7-11.
[43] O'Connor, M (1994), p 141

Power over decision-making

By enclosing, dismantling and restructuring the commons, power over decision-making has been relegated to those who are positioned in the (often newly created) governance institutions, be they private or public. Such decision-making processes are inappropriately organized in that, for example, decisions about a location are often made by external actors situated a far distance from the region where their effects will be felt. Local people, who will be affected by these decisions, have little participation in these decision-making processes.[45] Too often, local people become subjects of an externally planned economy and development model, and are left with little control over the future of their economies, social services and ecosystems.[46]

There are both practical and ethical reasons for establishing more participatory decision-making structures. With a top-down method of decision-making, where the people in "higher" positions (i.e. the Executive Director, CEO or key managers) make decisions that will effect people in "lower" positions (i.e. laborers, civilians and local people), individuals are not encouraged nor allowed to share their ideas.[47] Practically, these ideas from people "on-the-ground" could be very effective for the company, organization, developer or manager. More participatory and inclusive decision-making structures allow for a lateral flow of ideas and foster more creativity in arriving at decisions. This is especially true for development, where local people often have crucial knowledge of their own developmental needs and surrounding natural resources. Ethically, there are numerous reasons to shift decision-making to those who bear the full costs of their economic or political decisions. Too often, with conventional development today,

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[44] Ecologist, The (1993), p 22.
[45] Ellsworth, J.P, L. P. Hildebrand and E. A. Glover. 1997. "Canada's Atlantic Coastal Action Program: A community-based approach to collective governance" *Ocean and Coastal Management.* Vol. 36, Nos. 1-3, pp 121-122.
[46] Berry, Wendell. "In Distrust of Movements" *Orion: People and Nature.* Summer 1999, vol. 18 no. 3. p. 15-16.
[47] Wright, D. H. (1979), p 11.

decisions are made from outside the locality, benefits are reaped by these distant decision-makers, and the negative effects of their activities (called "externalities" since they do not have "exchange value" in economic terms) are passed off on other sectors of the society.[48]

The population has grown beyond the capacity of a majority-rule, top-down government to easily represent all interests. This difficulty of assembling all people as one body to participate in decision-making is used to explain why complex decisions in society are made by a small group of political specialists.[49] This is not acceptable to many communities that struggle against decisions made in political centres – decisions that respond to corporate interests and not local interests – especially when more participatory decision-making structures exist.[50]

Looking critically and ethically at top-down decision-making is necessary in implementing development initiatives successfully, fairly and sustainably. There are numerous templates for greater participation in decisions and an obvious need to move in this direction.

Power over wealth accumulation

Enclosing the commons and the means of extraction and production, as well as devising exclusive decision-making bodies, creates a gross inequity over wealth accumulation. The theory of a liberal economy and society describes how self-interested pursuits of profits or capital accumulation can be a win-win game; where people relate to each other merely as a means to their own ends. However, this is

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[48] Berry, W. (1999), p 15.

[49] Barsh, Russell. "The Nature and Spirit of North American Political Systems" *American Indian Quarterly.* (Spring 1986): 186.

[50] See: Jackson and Kassam (1998); also: Erdman, S. and L. Susskind. *Reinventing Congress for the 21st Century. A Blueprint For Bringing Participation And Excellence To American Politics.* The MIT-Harvard Public Dispute Program. New York: Frontier Press, 1997; also: Owen, Stephen. "Land Use Planning in the Nineties. CORE Lessons" *in Environments: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies,* 1998, p 14-26.

largely a myth – the world is full of billionaires and beggars illuminating that while some get rich, others get poor. Says O'Connor (1994),

> "This mythology willfully ignores the full dimensions of human and ecological interdependencies (euphemistically describable as the problem of externality), and the real disparities in access to resources in a materially finite world."[51]

It is evident in the way the growth-oriented capitalism is structured that wealth accumulation is focussed on the minority. In conventional economic enterprises, the sole purpose is to produce profits and benefits for the shareholders, or in other words, those people who put up the capital to run it, not the people who work in it.[52] Thus, while "labour" receives a fixed or limited return (i.e. a wage), "capital" receives unlimited returns through either dividends on their shares or in capital gains. Essentially, employees have neither control over the company nor an equal share of its benefits.

An example of this seen throughout the world is how local subsistence economies, which once produced food and essentials for local inhabitants, shift to export crop economies, which raise profit margins for multinational corporations and external shareholders but do not directly address community needs. The inhabitants continue to labour but it is hard to get ahead because the resources and the profits do not stay in the communities and instead end up with the company's shareholders. While this system of export and trade can be effective and equitable, it has historically come with many social implications. Switching to export crops moves resources out of local communities and into global markets, resulting in a loss of local control over livelihoods and creating the need to import other necessary items. This binds communities to market processes, and they oftentimes suffer at the whims of such processes. At the local and also national level, for example, this breeds dependency on foreign determined prices, on food imports and technology,

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[51] O'Connor, Martin. (1994), p. 138
[52] Wright, D. H. (1979), p 17.

and on foreign aid. Indeed, this movement of resources from the resource-rich hinterlands to economic centres, or from rural communities to the cities, does not enable local populations to maintain their own resource base intact for long-term extractive use. This inequity issue becomes acute when the resources begin to dwindle in rural towns, leaving thousands without livelihoods and jobs, while primarily external entities derive wealth from this shift towards export goods.

In addition to the inequities in wealth accumulation, it is important to also consider what "wealth" is and what role it plays in society. The idea of wealth is defined by the neoclassical economy, where money plays a central role in society and ambition to accumulate is held as a given. Alan Watts (1957), in describing Indian philosophy, eloquently explains,

> "that man is always in danger of confusing his measures with the world so measured, *of identifying money with wealth*, fixed convention with fluid reality. But to the degree that he identifies himself and his life with these rigid and hollow frames of definition, he condemns himself to the perpetual frustration of one trying to catch water in a sieve (my italics)."[53]

Even though "wealth" is perceived differently in traditional cultures, wealth accumulation becomes ingrained as an ideal as these cultures become linked to global economic processes. Many traditional societies had other ways of measuring wealth, through their self-sufficiency, through their cultural pride and through their generosity. Framed in a global economy, however, these measures of wealth do not add up, and the label of poverty and underdevelopment is the result. Says Sachs,

> "In a traditional Mexican village, for example, the private accumulation of wealth results in social ostracism; prestige is gained precisely by spending even small profits on good deeds for the community. Here is a way of life maintained by a culture that

[53] Watts, A. (1957). *The Way of Zen.*(New York: Vintage Books) pp. 41-42.

recognizes and cultivates a state of sufficiency; it turns into demeaning 'poverty' only when pressurized by an accumulating society."[54]

Re-examining the power structures around wealth accumulation, and even the very idea of "wealth", is necessary to bring equity and social justice into economic development practices. Rather than insisting on a culture of monetary wealth accumulation and thus bringing cultures of frugality to ruin, development needs to widen its scope of wealth to incorporate more qualitative values, such as healthy social interactions and equitable relations.

This brings me to the fourth category of *power over knowledge*, of which I discuss in close detail below. This power inequity is in many ways more insidious than the previous three in that it is the basis for our ways of thinking (and thus, in a sense, also our ways of being), and that it underpins much of the other three power inequities.

Power over Knowledge: The Colonization of Objectivity over Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity

Conventional development and current political economic processes have been informed by what critical theorists of the Frankfurt school termed "instrumental rationality" – where the model of scientific practice extended to all aspects of life and became the primary form of knowledge.[55] In this way, reason became the instrument for the domination of human beings and nature,[56] and the defining feature in social and economic institutions. Habermas expanded on the discourse of the critical theorists, criticizing that scientism gained power by restricting other ways of knowing:

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[54] Sachs, W. (1999), p 11.
[55] Or as Weber called it, the *intellectualization* or *disenchantment* of the world. Teigas, D. (1995) *Knowledge and Hermeneutic Understanding. A Study of the Habermas-Gadamer Debate.* (London and Toronto: Associated University Press) pp 4-6.
[56] Teigas, D. (1995), p 14

> "'Scientism' means science's belief in itself: that is the conviction that we can no longer understand science as *one* form of possible knowledge, but rather must identify knowledge with science." [Habermas's italics.][57]

Habermas explained that scientific rationality is biased toward technocratic orientations and promotes the legitimization of political power and domination.[58] The subjective realms of ethics, values and morals, usually decided upon via dialogue, were left out of such legitimization.[59] With scientism, politics no longer aspired to the Greek *polis*, where ethics and politics promoted the cultivation of the virtuous character that could guarantee political wisdom, corresponding judgement and action, and a good and just life for citizens. Rather, the aim was the exact study of political systems, decisions, and whatever other factors could organize a successful political administration of society.[60]

What are the implications of moving away from the ideal of *polis*, of an ethical, moral society? Habermas says in his *The Theory of Communicative Action* how "the crises facing modern society may be explained as the result of a 'one-sidedness' in the rationalization of Western societies."[61] Through placing overriding importance on instrumental rationality and the scientific approach, we diminished the importance of other dimensions of human interaction, namely the subjective and inter-subjective domains of introspection and dialogue. By diminishing the importance of these domains, we also diminished the importance of morals, ethics

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[57] Habermas, J. 1968. *Knowledge and Human Interests.* Trans. Jeremy J. Shapiro (Boston: Beacon) 10 *in* D. Teigas, D. (1995), p 12.
[58] Teigas, D. (1995), p 14
[59] Horkheimer discusses the loss of autonomy of reason in the political sphere describing how ideas about justice, equality, happiness, and democracy supposedly sprang from reason, but reason itself was co-opted by instrumental rationality and became valuable only in the domination of humans and nature. Max Horheimer (1946), *Eclipse of Reason* (New York: Seabury Press), 20.
[60] Teigas, D. (1995), pp 20-21
[61] Braaten, Jane. (1991) "An Outline of Habermas's Critical Theory" *in Habermas's Critical Theory of Society* (Albany, NY: SUNY, 1991) 12.

and values, which ultimately should inform how we use science.[62] Wilber says that the root cause to many of today's industrial catastrophes, such as the destruction of organic culture, displacement of social cohesion and ecological demise, is due to the dominance of objectivity over other important domains; or, in his words, the supremacy of the "it-domain", over the "I-domain" and we-domain".[63] Re-establishing the importance of these overlooked fields may be prescriptive for truly arriving at an equitable and sustainable form of development.

When we know that such "one-sidedness" has lead to problems, especially in development, we cannot seek solutions with the same one-sided approach. Instrumental rationality *is* important in development; it is needed to form social institutions, economic policies and ecological management strategies. But *reliance* on instrumental rationality it not beneficial – it has perpetuated our problems and continuing to use it in an exclusive way will not solve them. Rather, what is called for is the *integration* of instrumental rationality with communicative rationality and self-reflection in development, thus allowing for other ways of knowing to be included in the development process.

By labeling science as objective, rigorous and reliable, other sources of knowledge became less valuable and less reliable. This epistemology was exported to the development field. Along with the gains that the scientific approach provided in development, of which there are many, this also entrenched the concept of knowledge being science and allowed development practitioners to be an authority on the "development" of another culture and ecosystem. This often lead to the erosion of cultures, the application of inappropriate "development projects", as well as the creation of large-scale ecological problems, such as mismanagement of resources, overexploitation and pollution. Yet, faced with these crises, we still insist that they can be solved by instrumental rationality alone – we call for better resource management, more innovative technology, or better land use practices. These are

[62] This is of course my opinion. It puts the question, not whether we should have made an atomic bomb, but whether we should have used it for destruction of other beings.

indeed important in mitigating the effects on the environment. But we also need to fundamentally re-evaluate our approach. Critics in the past and still today reprimand mainstream development of its one-sidedness:

> "Eradication of hunger and poverty is not merely an intellectual exercise of science, technology or economics, but also involves an inner change. To alter the system, it is necessary to alter the paradigm of development, and to take cognizance of the spiritual, of the inner voice, of the ethics and values that promote sustainable development."[64]

Habermas agrees that the paradigm must shift, not to turn away from modernization, but to integrate with the successes of modernity other ways of knowing and operating within society. To do this requires collective reflection on the whole range of values to which society is committed. In his theory, he explains that social reality is constructed through *communicatively rational* action, where participants communicate to reach a rational consensus and mutual understanding through the good use of *validity claims*. These implicitly claim that: (1.) an objective statement is *true*, (2.) a statement is *normatively valid*, based on inter-subjective discourse, and (3.) a subjective statement is said in *sincerity*. Rather than believing the first validity claim (objectivity) is supreme, Habermas says that it is with good use of *all three* of these validity claims that solutions to our myriad social, cultural and ecological problems will be found.

Habermas explains how culture evolves in three "spheres" that correspond to each of the three validity claims: the theoretical sphere of science, the practical sphere of morality and law, and the sphere of aesthetics.[65] However, rather than remain balanced in this evolution taking place in the three spheres, Habermas says

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[63] Wilber, K. (1996), pp 226-267

[64] Chowdhry, K. (1996) *Gandhi: the voice in the wilderness – no more.* National Foundation for India, New Delhi, India. Lecture in Sustainable Development and Environemtnal Series, No. 1, Jun 1996, New Delhi, pp 11 *in* Harper, S. 2000. *The Lab the Temple and the Market,* (Ottawa, International Development Research Centre) p 49.

[65] Braaten, Jane. (1991), p 15-16.

that, in the modern capital state functional, instrumental rationality based on objective science (or the "system") dominates the other parts of life.[66] This "system" that deals with material production, interferes with and distorts the "lifeworld", where communicative activity in the pursuit of knowledge and ethical understanding takes place. Wilber refers to the "system" as the Right Hand Path of monological positivistic processes and empirical forms and the "lifeworld" as the Left Hand Path of interpretive and hermeneutic processes and consciousness.[67] Wilber agrees that we have become one-sided in our approach and calls it the "disaster of modernity", where:

> "All subjective truths (from introspection to art to consciousness to beauty) and all intersubjective truths (from morals to justice to substantive values) were collapsed into exterior, empirical, sensorimotor occasions."[68]

Marcuse (1964) describes how with the process of production in an advanced industrial culture, and the technological (or instrumental) rationality that goes with it,

> "...emerges a pattern of *one-dimensional thought and behavior* in which ideas, aspirations, and objectives that, by their content, transcend the established universe of discourse and action are either repelled or reduced to terms of this universe. They are redefined by the rationality of the given system and of its quantitative extension." (Italics in original)[69]

He goes on to say that such an "operational point of view"[70] has enabled certain "seriously troublesome concepts" to be 'eliminated' by showing how they cannot be

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[66] Braaten, Jane. (1991), p 17.
[67] Wilber, K. (1996), p 86.
[68] Wilber, K. (2000), p 70
[69] Marcuse, H. (1964), p. 12.
[70] Marcuse, H. (1964, p 12-14) describes the "operational point of view" as related to the development of the scientific method, where the "common feature is a total empiricism in the treatment of concepts; their meaning is restricted to the representation of particular operations and behavior.... The Radical empiricist onslaught... thus provides the methodological justification for the debunking of the mind by the intellectuals – a positivism which, in its denial of the transcending elements of Reason, ... serves to coordinate ideas and goals with those exacted by the prevailing system, to enclose them in the system, and to repel those which are irreconcilable with the system."

given an adequate account in terms of operations or behaviours, thus also leading to far-reaching change in all our habits of thought and ways of being. Through this process, "the 'inner' dimension of the mind in which opposition to the status quo can take root is whittled down."[71]

In essence, instrumental rationality based upon scientific discipline became a *monological* discipline that could achieve prescriptive and "scientifically grounded" knowledge that was free of the "impurities" of subjectivity (unjustified directions, biased choices, and partial subjective understanding).[72] Habermas called it the colonization of art and morals by science,[73] Marcuse referred to it as the one-dimensional man,[74] Weber said it was the disenchantment of the world,[75] and Wilber explains it as flatland.[76] Theory uncoupled from practice; objectivity overcame subjectivity, and dialogue became unnecessary in decision-making. Or as Teigas explains, in reference to Habermas's theory:

> "Instead of the introduction of dialogic processes for the solution of practical problems, technology takes over and is supposed to solve the same problems without dialogical agreement. In addition problems and difficulties of everyday life have also been objectified and objectivated, so that they are imagined to be accessible to technocratic solutions."[77]

Smith (1995) succinctly sums this section by describing how the so-called scientific worldview should be recognized not as scien*tific* but scien*tisitic*, and that science be honored,

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[71] Marcuse, H. (1964), p. 10

[72] Habermas uses the term *monological* in contrast to *dialogical*. Teigas, D. (1995), p 21; also see Wilber, K. (2000, 1996). See also: Wilber, K. "An Approach to Integral Psychology". *The Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*, 1999, vol. 31, no. 2 pp 109 – 136.

[73] See: Teigas, D. (1995), pp. 3-22

[74] Marcuse, H. (1964)

[75] See: Weber, Max. (1963) *The Sociology of Religion.* (Methuen).

[76] See: Wilber, K. (2000), (1999), (1996), and (1995)

[77] Teigas, D. 1995. p 22

> "for what it tells us about nature, but as that is not all that exists, science cannot provide us with a worldview – not a valid one. The most it can show us is half of the world, the half where normative and intrinsic values, existential and ultimate meanings, teleologies, qualities, immaterial realities, and beings that are superior to us do not appear."[78]

What, then, of this limited view of "knowledge" or "truth"? How does it manifest in a material way? That is, how has the biased reliance on instrumental rationality influenced socioeconomic processes, political structures and social interactions?

Manifestations of the Bias in "Knowledge" and "Truth"

This bias in the generation of truth and knowledge manifests not only in development process but also in other ways throughout society. With the appearance of rational or positivist science in the Early 17th Century, the role of science was to discover universal, immutable truths, which, once discovered, could be used to predict and control nature.[79] Through this type of science, it was believed that nature could be understood using rational processes alone, brought under control and used for human benefit. As the modern world emerged, rationality and reason were increasingly viewed as the primary source of "true" knowledge – thus knowledge itself became something of the elite and something primarily of the West. No longer were traditional ways "valid" as they fell outside of rationality – they were not perceived as true knowledge.

This, of course, has a historical context, where reason and rationality *did* become efficient and effective ways of controlling nature, increasing production and

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[78] Smith, H. 1995. "Postmoderism and the World's Religions" chapter 30 *in The Truth about the Truth. De-confusing and Re-constructing the Postmodern World.* Walter Truett Anderson (Ed.). p 205

[79] Berkes, Fikret. "Indigenous Knowledge and Post-Positivist Science" (Winnepeg: University of Manitoba, Feburary 1998) 1.

accumulating wealth. However, by restricting access to valid knowledge, a global society evolved where Western ways of thinking and being, the scientific method and technology took superior places to other ways of thinking about and living within nature and society. Although the above description is a simplification of the positivist-rationalist paradigm, it is fair to say that the Western-based scientistic approach has been adopted by, and has dominated, three (inter-relating) areas of society, namely conventional economics, resource management and development, and not always in entirely positive ways.

To begin with, neoclassical economics is rooted in scientific theory, even though the huge economic gains for the minority came with the erosion of ecological and community sustainability. M'Gonigle notes,

> "this [scientific] method has of course been enormously productive, allowing both for the discovery and manipulation of many 'natural laws' and for their manipulation into the creation of useful processes and products upon which has been built modernity's source of wealth."[80]

However, ecological economists today are rethinking the science behind such economic practices. They are among the many critics that are discovering a growth economy is not necessarily based on ecologically sound premises. Not only does such an economy disregard the idea of limited natural resources, but it also runs against the second law of thermodynamics (the law of entropy). While high throughput production defines the neoclassical economy, in the processes of production, specific order is created yet more disorder is created elsewhere.[81] Examples of this are the increase of hazardous wastes, pollution of waterways and soils, and drastic chemical alternations to our atmosphere. This increase of disorder

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[80] M'Gonigle, Michael. "The Political Economy of Precaution" In *Protecting Public Health and the Environment: Implementing the Precautionary Principle.* Carolyn Raffensperger and Joel Tickner (eds.) (Washington DC: Island Press, 1999) p. 7.

[81] For a good discussion of how a productivity-driven economy contradicts the law of entropy see: M'Gonigle, M. (1999), p 15.

poses serious ecological and social implications for a growth-above-all economic policy.[82]

Even in the face of the increasing ecological and social dilemmas largely caused by growth-oriented economic practices, the "science" of economics still retains credibility in an almost dangerous way in society. By primarily using quantitative (i.e. instrumentally rational) indicators, rather than the more ambiguous qualitative ones, economics purports to be a precise science. While it is, indeed, precise in a quantitative manner, human societies are neither governed nor described solely by quantitative economic indicators. Says Schumacher,

> "Quantitative differences can be more easily grasped and certainly more easily defined than qualitative differences; their concreteness is beguiling and gives them the appearance of scientific precision, even when this precision has been purchased by the suppression of vital difference of quality."[83]

He explains further how economics, since it draws on the source of "real" truth, has moved into the very centre of public concern. Modern society has become highly interested in, if not obsessed, with economic performance, economic growth and economic expansion to such a degree that anything "uneconomic" is shameful:

> "Call a thing immoral or ugly, soul-destroying or a degradation of man, a peril to the peace of the world or to the well-being of future generations; as long as you have not shown it to be 'uneconomic' you have not really questioned its right to exist, grow, and prosper."[84]

Even though the ecological, social, and underlying philosophical implications are dire, the answer may not be to turn away from economic growth entirely; rather

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[82] Some economists stress the need for a steady-state economy that accepts a new scientific paradigm – one that reflects the complexity of, and limits to, nature. Steady-state economic processes distinguish between growth and development, and recognize and operate within ecological limits.

[83] Schumacher, E. F. (1973) "The Role of Economics" From *Small is Beautiful* (London: Blond and Briggs, 1973) p 44.

[84] Schumacher, E. F. (1973), p 37-38

some middle ground exists between limitless and limited growth. Says Hettne (1982),

> "The orthodox view of unlimited economic growth as some kind of law must be replaced with historical relativism, i.e. the view that economic growth is a concrete social process with specific causes and preconditions which are liable to change. A general hostility to growth because it threatens the ecological balance must, on the other hand, also be avoided, since there is no point in substituting one myth for another. The road forward consequently goes somewhere between growthmania and ecologism."[85]

In addition to economic theory, resource management is also shaped by reductionism and instrumental rationality. Such management primarily aims to discover how much humans can extract, not how much we can conserve.[86] Rational science lead resource managers, ecologists and biologists to believe in reductionism, where the whole can be understood by examining its parts. It is evident that living things are not the sum of their parts; because everything is interconnected, understanding the whole will not come from looking merely at fragments.[87] While many traditional knowledge systems understand this concept, resource management practices have been dominated by the reductionist scientific worldview, resulting in changes to and destruction of traditional resource management systems. By holding instrumental rationality as credible over other ways of knowing, modern industrial society uncoupled resource management from harvesting, and eviscerated traditional stewardship of resources that previously had

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[85] Hettne, B. (1982), p. 92

[86] Berkes, F. (1998), p. 1

[87] In this statement, I refer to the new discoveries in the study of complexity and chaos theory, as well as quantum theory. See: Bohm, D. (1981) *Wholeness and the Implicate Order.* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul); Capra, F. (1983) *The Tao of Physics: An Exploration of the Parallels Between Modern Physics and Eastern Mysticism.* (London: Fontana Paperbacks); Gleick, J. (1987) *Chaos: Making of a New Science* (Viking Penguin)

united the two.[88] This led to widespread collapse of traditional sustainable resource management practices as well as to denying the validity of other alternative ways of managing resources.

Such drastic changes to traditional resource management also lead to deficiencies in natural resources, increases in pollution and inequitable access to natural resources. As locally-adapted, subtle and complex common-property and local management systems were replaced by government ownership and monolithic scientific management, or made into private property, natural resource depletion has followed.[89] Scientific management that aims to regulate natural resource exploitation

> "has its roots in the utilitarian and exploitative world view that assumes that humans have dominion over nature and is best geared for the efficient utilization of resources as if they were limitless."[90]

Thus, Wilson et al. (1993) describes how resource management failures can not always be blamed on government policies, but on the very scientific concepts on which these ineffective policies were based.[91] In seeing science alone as truth, we have rationalized our exploitation of natural resources and human labor; by equating the scientific process with the generation of knowledge, we undermined traditional and intuitive or experiential ways of knowing.

Finally, current development strategies are informed by rationalism, reductionism and a Western worldview. With this monological way of viewing and acting in the world, the focus is on quantifiable and objective aspects of "development" (such as infrastructure, economic progress, technology or quantifiable indexes of societal health). By legitimating scientific reason, this also

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[88] Walter, E., R. Michael M'Gonigle and Céleste McKay. (2000)"Fishing Around the Law: The Pacific Salmon Management System as a 'Structural Infringement' of Aboriginal Rights" *McGill Law Journal*. Vol. 45, p.263-314.

[89] Berkes, F. (1996) "Social system, ecological systems and property rights." Chapter 5 in *Rights to Nature*. Susan Hanna et al. (eds). Island Press, Washington, D.C. and Covelo, CA, p 103

[90] Berkes, F. (1996), pp. 102-103

[91] Wilson, James A., James M. Acheson, Mark Metcalfe and Peter Kleban. "Chaos, complexity and community management of fisheries". *Marine Policy* 18.4 (1994): 291.

has meant discrediting other cultures and knowledge systems,[92] and even made it difficult for science to evolve beyond its own paradigm.[93] Conventional development practitioners contend that the modes of "development" prescribed by rational science are superior to the traditional methods of "development".[94] The idea of "development" in Western scientific terms was measured in terms of economic growth and monetary values. However, traditional cultures, that had access to land and resources and had values of kinship and community reciprocity, did not have money as a central aspect to the social organization. While these traditional groups lived frugally, they were not underdeveloped in a qualitative sense nor were they poor in absolute terms. It would have been obvious that they were highly developed societies if other development indicators beside money were taken into account. However, development politicians measured their financial situations with other monetary-based societies, and thus defined them as underdeveloped. Unfortunately, most societies throughout most of the colonized world have internalized the scientific- and Western-based development worldview,[95] and with such a narrow view of "development" have not fulfilled social and ecological needs in any meaningful way.

With such a background, development institutions believe technocratic solutions can solve the "problem" of underdevelopment, and scientists and economists became the knowledgeable authorities on economic growth and the development process.[96] With authority over knowledge, where objectivity was valid and "true", conventional development theory did not need to look further at the more "messy" subjective and intersubjective realms of personal introspection, culture and qualitative social needs.

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[92] Munck, R. and D. O'Hearn (eds) (1999) *Critical Development Theory: Contributions to a New Paradigm.* London and New York: Zed Books.
[93] M'Gonigle, M. (1999), p 9, "Not only was precautionary science not embraced, critical science was actively suppressed."
[94] See: W. Sachs (1999), pp 10-11.
[95] de Sousa Santos, Boaventura (1999) in Munck, and O'Hearn (eds) (1999), p 57.
[96] Jackson and Kassam, (1998), p 27.

> "This reductionist approach to knowledge leads most development specialists to become one-eyed giants: scientists lacking wisdom. They analyze, prescribe and act *as if* man could live by bread alone, *as if* human destiny could be stripped to its material dimensions alone."[97]

In summary, for the past fifty years, development has been defined by the West and trapped by the objectivity of the scientific method. This presumed superiority of objectivity and the West as "holders of knowledge" over other knowledge systems set the basis the evolving neoclassical growth economy, conventional resource management practices and mainstream development policies. Authoritative figures that held rational science over other knowledge processes – like economists, resource managers and developers – were valid because they followed reason and a scientific method and achieved quantitative results, namely immense increases in growth and productivity. On the other hand, other ways of knowing were not deemed worthy nor credible sources of knowledge even if they produced outcomes that were more appropriately designed to retain healthy ecosystem functioning or were more equitably distributed (and which were, not coincidentally, more qualitative and subjectively defined). Rather than living within nature or viewing humans as part of nature, the political economy based on monological objectivity internalized the idea of humans being separate from nature, above nature and in a position to dominate nature. It also embraced the attitude of superiority of Western ideas over those of other cultures, setting the basis for not only exploitation and dominance over other cultures, but also the legitimization of such exploitation and dominance.

The way we think greatly influences how we perceive the world and how we act in it. Often, the thought processes handed down to individuals of any society are not ones that we would necessarily choose if we are aware of what those processes entail and what other options we have. History shows us that power over

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[97] Goulet, D. (1980) Development experts: the one-eyed giants. World Development, 8 (7/8), p 481, emphasis in original.

knowledge has greatly influenced us into thinking and acting in certain ways – ways that placed profit and capital accumulation above the need for psychological happiness, social justice and ecosystem integrity. Indeed, the scars of adhering solely to instrumental rationality are seen everywhere today. Conventional development fed by a system that relies disproportionately on instrumental rationality has dominated and polluted most ecosystem types, left millions of people live in dire economic straits and managed to erode numerous cultures with the export of a Western capitalist model.

Turning these processes around to a sustainable, equitable and culturally-appropriate model of development does not mean that we should turn away from instrumental rationality entirely, but it does necessitate addressing the inequities of power over knowledge. That is, expanding the definition and legitimacy of "knowledge" from merely that of objective scientism to include the domains of subjectivity and inter-subjectivity, of self-reflection and culturally-based communicative-rationality. In upcoming chapters, I return to the need to include subjectivity and inter-subjectivity in our ways of approaching "development", especially at a local level.

In conclusion, although there are successes of conventional development, its limitations are also explicit. Scholars, critics, activists and practitioners of conventional development question whether it is founded on a well intentioned, coherent and comprehensive paradigm.[98] Many suggest that it continues to lack not only an appropriate set of navigational principles[99] but also an integrated guiding

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[98] Hettne, Bjorn. *Development Theory and the Third World.* SAREC Report R2: 1992, Stockhom: Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries, 1982; *in* Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), (1996) *Spirituality and Development: Concepts and Categories. Dialogue on Spirituality in Sustainable Development.* (Ed.) Andy Tamas. (Ottawa: CIDA) p. 4.

[99] Summary of the Public Forum on the Report on the World Commission on Culture and Development, Ottawa, 29 Feburary 1996. Ottawa: Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 1996; *in* Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), (1996) *Spirituality and Development: Concepts and Categories. Dialogue on Spirituality in Sustainable Development.* (Ed.) Andy Tamas. (Ottawa: CIDA) p. 4

philosophy.[100] It is clear that the very essence of conventional development, being defined by and tied to the economy, is about power inequities and domination, rather than community-directed and ecosystem-centered development. In fact, it falls short of realizing the latter as it capitalizes on objective aspects of life and denies validity of the subjective and inter-subjective components of human interactions. Finding ways to include these missing components requires that we redefine and seek alternatives to "development". This does not mean that we reject conventional development entirely, but rather that we address its limitations and build upon its successes. This begins with the most basic, yet complex, of questions: what *is* "development"?

[100] Wilber, K. (2000), (1999), (1995)

CHAPTER TWO: What is Development?

> *"Again: we have not been able to create viable models of development, models that correspond to what we are. Up to now development has been the opposite of what the word means: to open out that which is rolled up, to unfold, to grow freely and harmoniously. Indeed development has been in a straitjacket. It is a false liberation."*[101]

> *"In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever-widening, never-ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained at the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units."*[102]

As we have seen, mainstream development processes have not fulfilled their lofty goals of raising the standard of living for peoples of the world via rapid economic progress, turning the "backward" underdeveloped nations onto the track of the developed ones. Rather, we are faced with a yawning chasm between rich and poor in all nations, the widespread erosion of culture at the hands of economic clout and global marketing schemes, and life-threatening environmental problems, all of which resemble very little the purported goal of global prosperity via capital accumulation. Even mainstream development organizations, such as the World Bank and the UNDP are now questioning the precepts behind their development practices, and are beginning to include, at least in rhetoric, other dimensions of human beings, communities and ecosystems, such as meeting psychological, cultural and ecological needs.

In this chapter, I draw on literature that explores alternative concepts of "development" itself, suggesting that "development" be re-defined to include much more than mere instrumental objective outcomes, such as economic profits, to become more equitable and sustainable and to include the more "interior"

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[101] Paz, O. 1972. *The Other Mexico: Critique of the Pyramid.* New York. p. 73 *in* Hettne, B. (1982) p. 117.
[102] Iyer, Raghavan. 1990. *The Essential Writings of Mahatma Gandhi.*(Oxford: University Press) p 348

dimensions of humans.[103] First I discuss what "development" actually is, exploring the more quintessential aspects of humanity. Many alternatives to development suggest that a bottom-up, community-based approach is more effective and appropriate for working in human development. Thus, I discuss why a *community-based* approach is important for equitable and economically sustainable development by examining the concept of "community" as an effective unit of change.

I then give an overview the myriad alternatives to development, many of which agree that including communities, ecosystems and "interiority" is crucial in arriving at an equitable and sustainable development. In particular, I explore the alternatives to development that stem from a "critical" tradition of thought (primarily Western), including *community economic development (CED)*, which merges social and economic needs in a people-centered development, and *ecodevelopment* that suggest development activities must be informed by ecosystem integrity. CED and ecodevelopment link economic stability and social needs with ecological conservation, and place development activities in an ecosystemic context, in what can be called ecosystem-based CED, thus addressing the instrumental failings of conventional development practices. Since the conventional development paradigm focuses disproportionately on instrumental rationality, similarly the "critical" alternatives (that arose to address the inequities of conventional development) focus to a great degree in this sphere as well. However, a third alternative approach, *integral development* integrates worldviews, cultural expression and personal introspection (or what can be generally referred to as "interiority") into a more holistic and meaningful concept of "development".

I discuss how these three particular development alternatives – CED, ecodevelopment and integral development – could merge the myriad aspects necessary for a truly equitable and sustainable development. Taken together, these alternatives give us an effective and integral approach of working towards *integral community development*, where community and ecosystem needs (exterior forms) are

[103] Wilber (1995) describes "interiority" as the aspects of humanity that cannot be observed externally, like psychology, phenomenology, culture and tradition (pp. 121-126)

appropriately met, and the interior aspects of humanity, like psychological and cultural needs, are also addressed. Involved in this, is the expansion of worldviews and actions away from egocentric to worldcentric perspectives in a movement toward a more equitable and sustainable way of living.

Rethinking Development as a Movement to Worldcentrism

In rethinking development, I was saturated with the varied definitions of "development" given by the myriad worldviews today. The field of development originated as a concern of development economists and then rapidly exploded into a giant global enterprise, involving governments, a constellation of international agencies, the private sector and an increasing array of non-governmental organizations.[104] Gradually I have worked my way through this foggy haze of development language to find some clarity in it all beginning first with thinking what "development" actually is.

The exploration of the question *"what is development"* begins with revisiting the values that underpin society. As I discussed in the previous chapter, economic prosperity has taken an almost menacing starring role in development theory and practice, leading to many of the crises facing all nations today. We need to examine our emphasis on limitless growth, competition and reductionism which stem from a worldview dominated by instrumental rationality. If we are always struggling to accumulate more, if we are always aiming to out-do each other, if we are always dividing things into their fragments, we will not solve today's social and ecological problems. Says Daly (1991),

> "If man's behavior should be governed by values of enoughness, stewardship, humility, and holism, then it follows that attitudes of "more forever", *"apres moi le deluge"*, technical arrogance, and

[104] Arbab, Farzam. 2000. "Promoting a Discourse on Science, Religion and Development" *in* Harper, S. (2000), p 167

> aggressive analytical reductionism – all important components of a growthmania – must be rejected."[105]

It is necessary to reflect on what is important in our social environment – perhaps it is not economic progressiveness or non-progressiveness, but rather the degree to which society as a whole helps or hinders individuals in their personal development and growth.[106] Sirolloi (1999) quotes Maslow (1969) saying,

> "Economists... are essentially materialistic. We must say harshly of the 'science' of economics that it is generally the skilled, exact, technological application of a totally false theory of human needs and values."[107]

While material needs are important, they are not the only aspects worthy of inclusion in development. Sirolli (1999) describes how true development is a never-ending process that has to do with first satisfying the basic material needs of people, and then next satisfying the psychological needs. These psychological needs make up the qualitative aspects of life, like health, love, respect and safety, that are not always equated with the mainstream notion of "development".

The development field has undergone various "stages" in the past five decades – from the maximization of growth and the trickle-down effect of the 1950s and 1960s, to the widespread targeted aid strategies of the 1970s, to the idea of sustainable development of the 1980s. From conventional development's lurch through the decades, came an explosion of civil society organizations to fill in the many gaps left by narrow-intentioned mainstream approaches. These civil society organizations had a key role in the direction of development:

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[105] Daly, Herman. *Steady State Economics* 2nd ed. (Washington, DC and Covelo, CA: Island Press, 1991) 48

[106] Huxley, Aldous. 1994. *The Perennial Philosophy* (New York: Harper and Row) 79 *in* Daly, H. (1991), p 47; also Sirolli, E. (1999) , p 19.

[107] Maslow, A.H. "A Theory of Metamotivation: The Biological Rooting of the Value-Life" *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* (1967), vol. VII, no. 2, quoted in Chiang and Maslow, *The Healthy Personality: Readings* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1969) in Sirolli, E. (1999), p 18.

> "...in a little more than three decades, development discourse broadened its range of concern to include such essential issues as growth with equity, basic needs, appropriate technology, the status of women, planning and project implementation as instruments of learning, evaluation, participation, and community organization in people-centered development."[108]

The myriad alternatives primarily carried out by non-profit and non-governmental organizations had a huge impact on the practices and the philosophies of "development". The various alternatives essentially challenge the very structures and assumptions about development held by mainstream institutions in that they realized that "development" was more than capital accumulation.[109] The philosophy of many of these alternatives, for example, calls for development to be "seen as a whole, as an integral, cultural process, as the development of every man and woman and the whole of every man and woman."[110] By examining the ethics and practicalities behind development, these alternatives suggest that development should put first and foremost poverty and human need; that individuals have the right to choose and control their own course of change, instead of top-down development imposition from above. In essence, these alternative development strategies start with the needs, understanding and aspirations of individual people, and work to build and enhance their capacity to help themselves. Yet because there is understanding that other individuals also have the right to do so as well, this is done in an equitable and respectful manner. Other alternatives extend the human-centered ethics of development to other beings and living things. Such eco-centric perspectives entail *identifying* with what is not-human in a way that recognizes its inherent uniqueness and autonomy, while also

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[108] Arbab, Farzam. 2000. "Promoting a Discourse on Science, Religion and Development" *in* S. Harper. (2000), p 168.
[109] Adams, W. M. p 200.
[110] In particular, see discussion on Another Development *in* Ekins, P. (1986), p. 44.

respecting the freedom for all beings and entities to unfold or develop in their own way.[111]

To actualize this type of development described in the above paragraph, we need a transformation in our ways of viewing the world, where our actions are oriented towards respect for other peoples, cultures and species. This transformational shift in thinking and acting is necessary, regardless of which of the many alternatives to development is used. Many civil society organizations working in development or the environment recognize that their project's success largely depends on a shift in consciousness or worldviews of the people involved in the project. For example, when I was in kindergarten, the concept of recycling in the City of Vancouver was only just emerging in some neighborhoods. Today, two decades later, recycling is much more common and widespread, the City has provided infrastructure to manage recycled items and many small businesses arose to address the demand for recycling facilities. This process of recycling has yet to become complete in its scope and various factors inhibit its expansion (such as reluctant institutional changes and high operational/management costs), but a large part of its growth and potential success resides in the minds of individuals, in their worldviews, opinions and ethics.

This little anecdote from my kindergarten days may seem unimportant, but the interesting thing is that *many* examples tell this same tale: from the shifting perspectives of individuals, new concepts or ethics arise which, in turn, affect the societal norms, socioeconomic infrastructure and political agendas. From the success of CED projects to ecological conservation to reductions in fossil fuel emissions, we find the same pattern. What is this pattern that connects such transformational change, and how could we use this pattern in our efforts to arrive at sustainable community development?

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[111] Eckersley, Robyn. (1992), p. 91

As I delved into this question, it became apparent that the pattern toward sustainability involves some kind of expansion of worldviews. In this chapter, I investigate other people's thoughts on the patterns of human interactions in moving towards sustainability. I draw upon the writings of ecocentric theorists from many disciplines as well as scholars in the emerging area of "integral studies".[112] Many of these scholars pose the idea that to become ecologically sustainable and socially-just societies, the expansion of human consciousness and of personal worldviews is necessary.[113]

The idea of consciousness in environmental and social work is not a new idea in the least. Particularly, in Latin America, the evolution of consciousness is a common starting place for social work, and more recently, for environmental work as well.[114] In that region of the world, the commonly used verb *conscientizar* refers to "raising consciousness" or "a dynamic action of awakening"[115] and is a precursor to community organizing, social justice and environmental conservation. This is not only letting people know about a particular issue, like the oppression of landowners or the effects of deforestation, but is also intended to provide them with sources of information, legitimize their own knowledge, and empower and enable them to realize their potential as human beings. It is the awareness or the consciousness of a particular issue that leads an individual to address that issue. As many practitioners in social justice and the environment contend, consciousness-raising is an integral part of social and environmental work, and perhaps a requirement in seeking sustainability.

In addition to the process of *conscientización* in Latin America, there are many other theories on how a more expansive and connected worldview leads to more sustainable actions. I have simplified the many complex theories (primarily from psychological and philosophical studies) to create a practical model for working in

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[112] For an explanation of the scope of "integral studies" see Wilber, (2000), pp 66-73.
[113] See Silos, M. (2000); and Wilber, K. (2000, 1999, 1996, 1995)
[114] Gutierrez, Gustavo. 1973. A Theology of Liberation. History, Politics and Salvation. (MaryKnoll, New York: Orbis Books) pp 81-100

ecological community development. The essence of my truncated theory is that our perspectives must move from an egocentric focus towards a more connected view with the "other", be it a neighbor in the community, other nations, and even other species and ecosystems. This general trend involves various steps which psychologists and other scholars have researched extensively,[116] and which I have generalized for my inquiry into the routes to ecological community development.[117] The process begins when we move away from *egocentric* to *sociocentric* perspectives as people's sphere of concern begins to include more than their immediate self needs, be if for survival or individualistic pursuits.[118] With an egocentric view, individual concern only extends as far as "me and mine"; my self and my family needs and desires are most important. In many aspects, consumer driven capitalist society optimizes on the egocentric view, where competition is the primary drive for achieving. However, in the second phase, with a sociocentric perspective, we care about our group, our people, our community and our society. People-centered development, like CED, embodies sociocentrism and has cooperation, collaboration and teamwork as a driving force. In a further phase, sociocentrism expands to worldcentrism, whereby "you want to know what is right and fair, not just for you and your people, but for all peoples."[119] A worldcentric view includes ecological sustainability, by recognizing that individual actions bear negative consequences for other species and ecosystems. In this way, worldcentrism includes social, cultural and ecological systems.[120] While this is only a brief and much simplified sketch of a

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[115] Gutierrez, G. (1973), p 113.

[116] For a comprehensive view of the Western theory on evolution of consciousness see K. Wilber. (1999), pp 109 – 136. In this, he cites many other researchers of social theory and evolution of consciousness.

[117] These "steps" do not follow a linear progression, rather, "These are not rigid levels, but fluid and flowing waves, with much overlap and interweaving, resulting in a meshwork or dynamic spiral of consciousness unfolding.... There is nothing linear about overall development!" Wilber, (1999), p 111.

[118] Wilber, Ken. (1996), p 183

[119] Wilber, K. (1996), p. 187.

[120] Other scholars use the term *ecocentric* instead of *worldcentric* when discussing such worldviews. However, I have found that in the environmental movement some (many) individuals who have ecocentirc worldviews do not include humans in this perspective necessarily. Preservation groups are such examples, where humans are at times ignored in putting preservation of nature above that of culture or social health. Thus, I will not use ecocentric and worldcentric interchangeably, for worldcentric quintessentially includes both humans and nature without division.

pattern towards more equitable and ecological actions, it offers a possibility for the necessary transformational shift in society in achieving sustainable development.[121]

In describing this pattern towards sustainability, the idea of a "developed nation" or a "developed community" is completely re-defined. If we were to measure *economic* development of nations, perhaps we could say one was more "developed" than another was. However, if we want to look at the *integral* development of that society (which includes many factors such as the physical and psychological health of individuals, the cultural integrity, the social well-being, economic justness and prosperity, and fair and inclusive political arrangements), categorization is more difficult. In this perspective, countries with lower gross domestic products (GDPs) may be much more integrally developed. As theorists of Another Development (an alternative development strategy) noted, "the problem of development is a relative one and no part of the world can claim to be developed in all respects."[122] Thus, my philosophical description above is not intended to be divisive, but rather sets the context for our movement toward sustainable ways of living. Such a description gives meaning to where we are heading as a species on this planet.

Thus, if "development" is not solely the acquisition of economic clout, and rather is re-framed as a movement from egocentric to worldcentric perspectives, where we are better able to understand and act on global social and ecological

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[121] There is another way of viewing the shift from egocentric thought to worldcentric thought. That is, as our modes of production, technological services, economic base and social interactions expand to include the entire globe, so must our worldviews be oriented more universally. Habermas describes how "the system of world society shifts its boundaries so far into its environment that it runs up against limits of outer as well as inner nature." We operate today without recognizing those boundaries, by denying ecological limits, altering socio-cultural identities and by using forces of production that can be used destructively. This has led us to global environmental degradation, the mass globalization of culture at the loss of indigenous cultures and the exploitation of large sectors of society to feed the global economy. Rectifying these harrowing situations begins with the consciousness to understand the dimensions and ramifications of such global processes. Or, in other words, by expanding the boundaries of our inner nature (our consciousness) from egocentric to worldcentric, we will be able see, understand and act upon the social and environmental problems caused by our global interactions.

[122] Hettne, B. (1982), p. 87, *in reference to* Galtung, J. 1977. *Human Needs as the Focus of Social Sciences.* Mimeo, Oslo: Chair in Conflict and Peace Research, Paper no 51, p. 12.

problems and thus move towards sustainability, what are some of the alternative approaches that have questioned, re-defined and re-cast development activities in this movement to sustainability?

Development Alternatives

Increasingly, community leaders, development practitioners and government planners are realizing the limitations of conventional development approaches. There is a growing recognition that many other factors underpin a more comprehensive and successful development strategy.[123] Alternative development strategies widen the scope of conventional practices and include these other important factors in the development process. Based on my research into development alternatives, I have identified three key factors in working towards a sustainable form of development. This alternative development model (1.) has a structure that is community-based or bottom-up, (2.) is informed by environmental integrity, and (3.) includes participatory processes, communication of common needs and worldviews, and awareness- or consciousness-raising. Said more simply, a comprehensive alternative to conventional development would include communities, ecosystems and "interiority". The first two are informed by a "critical" tradition of theory and practice, and largely respond to the political economic inequities of conventional development, and the latter includes the more "interior" dimensions in the concept of development.

Many alternative development strategies see community-based models as viable possibilities for achieving a sustainable form of development – beginning first with sustainable communities, next a sustainable world.[124] There is a growing consensus that sustainable development where community, economic and ecological development variables are all taken into explicit consideration, "must be

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[123] Mathbor, Golam M. (1997) "The Importance of Community Participation in Coastal Zone Management: a Bangledesh Perspective" *Community Development Journal.* Vol. 32, no. 2, p 131

accomplished at the local level if it is ever to be achieved on a global basis."[125] Indeed, since the government often responds to initiatives rather than creates them,[126] community initiatives that seek solutions to some of these fundamental inequalities serve as proof that such solutions are viable – they essentially lead the way not only for other communities but also governments themselves. The main argument for development and management of resources at a community level is that, "local people are more familiar with a given area than are outsiders; they have a broader contextual understanding of the environment; and local participation in sustainable development ensures self-interest without which efforts will likely fail."[127] The empirical results confirm this to be valid, as there are various successful examples of sustained community development and effective local management of natural resources.[128]

However, communities exist within a larger political economic framework that does not always make it easy or even possible for sustainable development at the local level. To assume that a return to such locally-tailored methods of resource management and use will produce sustainable outcomes is not always correct. There are also examples where communities have not managed to develop in equitable and sustainable ways. Therefore, before I discuss alternatives to development, and their possible synthesis, I feel it is necessary to look more closely at whether or not communities are the most effective place to seek sustainable development. We must inquire into *why* community?

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[124] Local Agenda 21 Planning Guide, *An Introduction to Sustainable Development Planning*. International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICEI), IDRC, and UNEP, chapter 1, page 1.

[125] Local Agenda 21, p 1. However this does not preclude action at a global scale. Rather it calls on a joint effort at both levels, especially since many global issues can't be addressed by a locality alone. See: Hediger, Werner. (1999) "Economic-Ecological Modelling and Sustainability: A Guideline" p 22 *in* Mahendrarajah, S, A. J. Jakeman, and M. McAleer. (eds) *Modelling Change in Integrated Economic and Environmental Systems*. (John Wiley & Sons Ltd. 1999).

[126] Wright, D. H (1979), p 7-8.

[127] Berkes, Fikret. 1995. "Community-based Management and Co-management as Tools for Empowerment". Chapter 10. *In Empowerment: Towards Sustainable Development*. N. Singh and V.T. Titi, eds. (Halifax: Fernwood, and London: Zed Books) p. 138.

[128] Mathbor, G. M. (1997), pp. 124-132,

Why Community?

A "bottom-up" approach now held as crucial by many alternative development strategies is not new, in fact is has a longer history than current "top-down" policies. Recently, the failings of the "top-down" structure and "trickle-down effect" of conventional economic development have encouraged the movement towards decentralized "bottom-up" initiatives to counterweight centralized power structures, as well as to expand of the definition of "development" to include more than just monetary growth into the definition of development.

Communities have long-term needs for natural resources, they often possess historic and traditional knowledge about those resources,[129] and often have previously used traditional resource use systems based on customary practices and laws.[130] This cannot be said of external resource managers and developers that live outside the locality, depend upon resources from many other regions, and do not have grassroots knowledge of the resources in question. Because of this unique position, many believe that communities have the incentives to use resources sustainably, and that the benefits they receive through sustainable resource management will enable them to become good stewards of resources.[131] Local resource users are "on the scene", they often posses detailed knowledge of the ecosystem and, in many ways, they are better positioned to enforce conservation laws. Moreover, as they are residents of the area, they will feel the effects of unsustainable resource use first, and thus have a personal vested interest in ensuring effective management for sustainable local economies.[132] Yet, in some cases these assumptions are unfounded; they disregard critical interactions within community social processes as well as with outside political economic players. These missing

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[129] Agrawal A. "'Community' and Natural Resource Conservation" in *Nature, Production, Power: Toward an Ecological Political Economy*. Gale, Fred and Michael M'Gonigle (eds). Cheltenham, Glos.: Edward Elgar, 2000, in press.

[130] VanderZwaag, David. "Law Reform for Sustainable Development: Legalizing Empowerment." Chapter 5, *In Empowerment: Towards Sustainable Development*. N. Singh and V.T. Titi, eds. (Halifax: Fernwood, and London: Zed Books), p 75.

[131] Agrawal, A. (2000)

aspects of the community discourse suggest that perhaps the concept of community-based sustainable development should be examined more closely.

There are many reasons for looking to communities as units of change. One good reason is simply one of scale. For example, the growth-oriented mind-set in today's political economic paradigm is internalized by society today. It is an assumed 'truth' that the global economy should be continually growing even though it is a subsystem of a non-growing system (i.e. the natural world).[133] Thus, to develop a different paradigm, to accept new 'truths', such as a steady-state economy operating within ecological limits and a sustainable form of development, is to turn away from much of what has been internalized by society as a whole. This will be difficult at a global scale, whereas it has been proven possible at an individual and local scale. This is not to say that it isn't possible at the global – indeed it must go that route if humans are to survive – but rather that we should begin at the scale that we can manage, in the realm over which we have influence. Say Matthewson and M'Gonigle, "After all, we all live somewhere, and our communities are the place to begin the quest for sustainability."[134]

Finding an optimal scale of total resource flow relative to the environment and the optimal distribution of those resources can be sought and found at a community level.[135] As the economy becomes bigger, it becomes more complex. At a local scale, however, one can consider the ecosystem that sustains and feeds the economy, and one can visualize a circular flow of resources within that ecosystem. At the local level, possibilities for the deconstruction of a growth-above-all ideology and the construction of a more sustainable and interdependent method of using and distributing natural resources become viable.

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[132] VanderZwaag, D., p 75.
[133] Hediger (1999), p 29.
[134] Mathewson, A. and M. M'Gonigle. (1997) "Eco-Investing: Financing Sustainable Economic Development" *Local Environment*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 158. In reference to ecological economists such as: Daly, H.E. and Cobb, J.B. 1989. *For the Common Good: Redirecting the economy towards community, the environment, and a sustainable future.* (Boston, Beacon Press), p 163
[135] Hediger (1999), p 23.

On the other hand, critics suggest that the concept of community, being a small village linked by some territorial attachment to nature and more able to manage resources equitably and sustainably, is a romantic and overly simplified one. Agrawal (2000) reminds us that some territorially contained groups do not protect or manage resources well, and that these key processes are often left out of discussion on community-based sustainable management.[136] Further, the small-scale aspect of communities may make them inappropriate managers of natural resources and promoters of sustainable development precisely because of their smallness – many natural resources span larger geographical areas than a community could ever hope to have influence over.

Many advocates for local-level development see 'community' as homogeneous and connected to its home region and therefore its inhabitants are believed to have vested interest in the health of other inhabitants and the natural surroundings. The implicit assumption is that communities, as small homogenous groups, are less likely to be consumed by political conflicts stemming from differentiation among members. A similarity in ethnicity, religion, caste or language is believed to "further co-operative solutions, reduce hierarchical and conflictual interactions, and promote better resource management. Outside the community conflicts prevail; within, reigns harmony."[137]

This idea of the cooperative, harmonious community is true in some cases. In a sense, all communities are intentional, imagined communities, where shared characteristics breed common interests and common identification. This orientation to common-goals and shared interests makes communities more able to strive for sustainable resource use and development.[138] This connectedness in terms of objectives could enable the community to go beyond individual and selfish desires and to promote co-operative, participatory decision-making within communities.

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[136] Agrawal, Arun. (2000)
[137] Agrawal, A. (2000)

For example, many traditional institutions evolved within communities to regulate the methods of resource-use and types of resources collected. These institutions serve the common goals of a sustained resource base in the community, thus sustainable livelihoods.

While the cooperative community ideal has proven to be true in some regions, there are also many communities that do not bespeak such peace, cooperation and harmony. For example, shared objectives and communal norms can also promote destructive resource use and development practices[139] and local institutions can only entrench these norms further. Moreover, many traditional communal property regimes and institutions were dismantled by colonial empires, leaving communities dependant and disempowered.[140] Many of these communities do not have the institutional and social capacity to undertake the self-regulatory measures that they once did. While some communities have retained and cultivated their own abilities, such as social pressure and cooperative action, that are effective in prescribing and enforcing rules of conduct, in other communities these are not always present nor effective.

Thus, local resource users have the potential and, sometimes, the motives and means to act collectively for sustainable resource management and healthy local economies, but this is not always the case. The history and traditions of a particular community are very important in fostering collective action. If there is no cultural background of self-regulation and stewardship ethics, locally based sustainable development is much more difficult to find or cultivate.[141] Considering some communities do not have this background or their ethics have been eroded by outside influence, it is wrong to assume communities are able to cooperate and self-regulate regardless of the socioeconomic changes that may have undermined their capacity for such activities. However, it is equally wrong to assume centrally-

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[138] Arawal, A. (2000)
[139] Arawal, A. (2000)
[140] Berkes, F. (1996), p 94
[141] Berkes, F. (1995), p 143 *in* Singh, N. and V. Titi. (1995).

planned development is superior in these cases. Whether the values of stewardship, the local institutions, and the capacity of cooperation has been retained or eroded in any given community, the cultural contexts and traditional systems that gave rise to such characteristics are important. In fact, the cultural and historical factors underlying current or previous institutional arrangements are key to the success of community development or communal management today.[142] Says Horowitz,

> "A respected local authority structure and a cultural framework that includes beliefs, morality, and a sense of community are often more important factors in determining patterns of behavior than are laws created and enforced by a distant central authority."[143]

For the reasons discussed above, it is incorrect to assume communities can become sustainable simply because they are communities.[144] For example, recently many researchers and development practitioners are recognizing that "community" may not be the full answer to sustainability in and of itself. Rather, these researchers and developers recommend focussing on institution-building and community empowerment, as well as livelihood security, as an essential component of re-harnessing the potential for sustainable resource use and management at the local level. In addition to natural and human-made capital, Berkes and Folke call for a third dimension - cultural capital (i.e. social and institutional processes) to make community development viable, equitable and sustainable.[145] Indeed, many researchers have suggested that a combination of property-rights and management

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[142] Berkes, F. et al. (1989), p 93.

[143] Horowitz, Leah Sophie. "Integrating Indigenous Resource Management with Wildlife Conservation: A Case Study of Batang Ai National Park, Sarawak, Malaysia. *Human Ecology*. Vol. 26, no. 3, 1998.

[144] Ruddle, Kenneth. "The context of policy design for existing community-based fisheries management systems in the Pacific Islands" *Ocean and Coastal Management*, 40 (1998) 123. In his conclusion, Ruddle (1998) discusses how "traditional community-based management systems are not an automatic Godsend to fisheries managers." This is also true of local development practices.

[145] Berkes, F and C. Folke. 1994. Investing in cultural capital for the sustainable use of natural capital" pp 128-149 in A. M. Jansson, M. Hammer, C. Folke and R. Costanza, eds. *Investing in Natural Capital*. Island Press, Washington D.C. in F. Berkes (1996), p 91

regimes, both at the state and community level, might be better that any single regime in terms of sustainability.[146]

However, combining community efforts with governmental efforts is not always possible. Even if the community is interested in steering their own development in a sustained way, many domestic economic policies undertaken by the state make this difficult by focussing more on private industry and import substitution than small-scale agriculture and local production. With communities that had such traditional self-regulatory, sustainable mechanisms for natural resource use, "changes in property rights through Western-oriented management, from communal control to private ownership or state control, have disrupted social self-regulatory mechanisms that once ensured sustainable practices."[147] Indeed there are many examples of natural resource depletion or deterioration as a result of government management or privatization replacing the self-sustaining traditional communal property systems.[148] Unfortunately, rather than learning from and re-building these self-sustaining systems, centralized management systems, which have not been all that successful themselves in achieving sustainability, are rarely receptive to learning from local-level management strategies.[149]

This dichotomy between state and community is not beneficial for local people or governments. Articulating where the state and the community can unite is key in sustainable development initiatives. In fact, many advocates of a grassroots or popular economy at the community level see the role of the state and of the community movement as complementary, where social, political and economic power must be combined in a coordinated manner. Hildebrand (1997), for example, suggests that rather than perpetuating the either/or scenario, community-based

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[146] Berkes, F et al. (1989), p 93.
[147] Berkes, F (1995), p 138, *in* Singh, N. and V. Titi. 1995.
[148] Berkes, F (1995), p 143, *in* Singh, N. and V. Titi. 1995.
[149] Berkes, F. (1995), p 143, *in* Singh, N. and V. Titi. 1995.

initiatives represent a new form of partnership and power sharing between government and community-based organizations. [150]

While it may be possible to dissolve the state/community dichotomy, communities must face pressures from outside their nation-state as well. In addition to domestic economic policies that, at times, run amok to community initiatives, macro economic policies touch even the smallest community today and often throw monkey wrenches into even the best-laid local plans. With price fluctuations determined by external factors, with subsidies given more to large-scale investments rather than small-scale endeavors, and with the inescapable fact that local goods must compete with imported goods, many community development strategies are prone to failure. Indeed the question of competition is a difficult one. While it is good that community initiatives take into consideration their members not just profit, this fact makes it difficult when in competition with purely capitalist, profit-oriented enterprises.[151]

In essence, it is all too easy to believe that 'community' is the place where sustainable development is most feasible without understanding the complexities of this social unit. Three specific factors are key in discourses about communities. First, communities, like the rest of society, have stratification inherent in their social makeup.[152] They are also made up of multiple actors with diverse interests, and oftentimes there is a hierarchical power structure within the community that cannot be ignored or romanticized away. Thus, recognizing and working with the heterogeneity and stratification of community actors and interests, and fostering the social capacity for cooperation and equal participation within this social structure is essential for community-based programs. Secondly, rather than suggest that state activities always fail and community initiatives always work, a combination of both is probably most ideal. For example, the Salvadoran cooperative movement believes

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[150] Hildebrand, Lawrence, P. "Introduction to the special issue on community-based coastal management." *Ocean and Coastal Management.* Vol. 36, nos. 1-3, p 1, 1997.
[151] Jacobs, Kenneth. "Leftist Entrepreneurs in Central America" *Socialist Review* pp 19-25.

that, "...state power is a necessary element to build the social and economic power of the popular sectors, and to neutralize the coercive power of the propertied class."[153] Finally, communities are not islands of harmony within a chaotic sea – they must be understood as smaller units embedded within the whole: they are not immune to external political economic processes. They possibly have a stronger ability to unite, cooperate, and strive for shared goals, especially in terms of sustainable development; however, they exist in the global political economy and must seek ways to carve out a niche within this.

Having said this, in many cases community-based initiatives for development are extremely successful. Examples of such local development activities are voluminous.[154] While community is not necessarily the answer to all nor a stand-alone solution, to achieve sustainability we must begin somewhere, and in neighborhoods, villages, communities and small towns are possibly the most effective starting points.

Including Communities, Ecosystems and "Interiority"

After thinking about what development actually is and discussing why we should consider communities as the venues for alternative models of development,

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[152] Agrawal, A. (2000)

[153] Jacobs, Kenneth. pp 19-25.

[154] For further reading see: Ketilson, L. H, Murray Fulton, Brett Fairbarin and June Bold. Climate for Cooperative Community Development. Report to the Federal/Provincial Task Force on the Role of Co-operatives and Government in Community Development. Centre for the Study of Cooperatives, University of Saskatchewan. (University of Saskatchewan: October 1992); Morrison, Roy. *We Build the Road as We Travel.* (New Society Publishers, Gabriola Is., BC: 1991); Erftemeijer, P.L.A. and A. Bualuang. Participation Of Local Communities In Mangrove Forest Rehabilitation In Pattani Bay, Thailand: Learning From Successes And Failures. Paper presented at the "2nd International Conference on Wetlands and Development", Dakar, Senegal, 8-14 November 1998; Moffat, David., Magnus N. Ngoile, Olof Linden and Julius Francis. 1998. The Reality of the Stomach: Coastal Management at the Local Level in Eastern Africa. *Ambio. 27;* Smith, A. H. and F. Berkes. 1993. Community-based use of mangrove resources in St. Lucia. *Int. J. Environ. Stud. 43;* Cunningham, Susan. A Raindrop Cleans the Wetlands. (On-line article about Yadfon's bottom-up approaches to conservation and restoration of mangroves).
http://www.changemakers.net/journal/98octorber/cunningham.cfm; *Yadfon's Way: Thailand's*

the next question is *how* this can be undertaken. In other words, if the community is a desirable place to respond to the systemic limitations of conventional economic policies and development practices, and to work toward a equitable and sustainable form of development, how is this to be accomplished?

To answer this question, I draw on two bodies of literature that are normally quite disparate, although through my research, I have found them to be complementary. The first body of literature is that of community-based economic development and participatory approaches to social and environmental work. This is rooted in the critical thinking of the 1950's, where people began to worry about economic power inequities, social injustice and ecosystems. Most of these "critical" alternative approaches[155] are part of an immense area of theory and practice which focus on external economic and political causes of underdevelopment, namely colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism, neoliberalism and globalization.

Even though these critical approaches provide us with many alternative ways of structuring our sociopolitical groups, managing economic systems and addressing ecological instability, I suggest that, for two reasons, they are not comprehensive in their approach to sustainable community development. To begin with, since these alternatives arose to address the instrumental failings of conventional development, which as we saw in the previous chapter primarily operate in the sphere of instrumental rationality, these critical approaches often also focus primarily on the instrumental (objective, observable, empirical) sphere of life. They aim to address the inequities of the "system" (to use Habermas's terms), and they do this well (as I will discuss shortly), but often at the expense of explicitly and adequately addressing the "lifeworld" of psychological and cultural needs.[156]

Community Forest Project: The Fishers That Rescued The Sea. On Mangrove Action Project: Sustainable Development Alternatives for Mangrove Forests: http://www.earthisland.org/map/sstal.htm

[155] I call these "critical" alternatives since they, at some point, where based in a critical tradition of thought, such as Marxism, Socialism, the Left, critical theory and the various labor, social justice and environmental movements.

Secondly, I suggest their scope should expand to address the larger societal change necessary for the alternative approaches to take root in a meaningful way. On the one hand, the critical alternatives are innovative and creative, have been implemented slowly in various parts of society and are now even being incorporated into the rhetoric of conventional development organizations. However, on the other hand, these approaches still sit largely outside of the current status quo, restricting them to the fringes of development work.[157] As Sachs (1996) explains that the message repeated by politicians, industrialists and scientists is that, "nothing should be done (the dogmatic verson) or can be done (the fatalist version) to change the direction of the world's economies are taking" and "alternatives *to* development are blackballed, but alternatives *within* development are welcome."(my italics)[158] The global political economy that informs much of the decisions made by governments and industry, leaves little space for unconventional approaches. Perhaps, along with the rise of alternative development paradigms, we need a concurrent ethical transformation of society as a whole; the fabric itself must change to make room for the newer pieces within it.

This brings me to the second body of literature, which is much more philosophical and addresses how we could expand alternatives to development to include the "interior" dimensions and how a systemic shift may occur to make room for such a holistic approach to development. This approach is called *integral development* as it encompasses the "exterior" aspects of social systems that critical alternatives brought to the table yet also the "interior" psycho-cultural dimensions that conventional development and also much of the critical alternatives missed. Silos, whose work is based in the Caribbean yet has implications for many other regions, says:

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[156] Wilber, K. (1995), p 123-126

[157] Hettne, B. (1982), p 94; see J. Mander and E. Goldsmith. *The Case Against the Global Economy and For a Turn Toward the Local.* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1996) p 253-293

[158] Sachs, Wolfgang. "Neo-Development 'Global Ecological Management'" *in* J. Mander and E. Goldsmith. *The Case Against the Global Economy and For a Turn Toward the Local.* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1996) p 245

> "I want to bring these dimensions into the discourse on Caribbean development because I believe that a neglect of the psycho-cultural aspects of Caribbean underdevelopment and how these relate to its peculiar economic and political institutions has contributed to a very limited and one-sided understanding of the reasons for the persistence of poverty in the region."[159]

Framed this way, community development includes the psychological and cultural aspects of development that use hermeneutic methodology and pay attention to the subjective and inter-subjective aspects of the human condition.

I must emphasize here that the critical approaches to development are important in re-framing development to include communities and ecosystems in a meaningful way. It is not that these alternatives *intended* to miss the psycho-cultural components of development, but they were designed to respond to the power inequities of the Western-dominated paradigm of conventional development. They focussed on ways to address power inequities by transferring power from the powerful to the powerless. However "power" in a conventional development paradigm is defined in material terms where economic growth is upheld as central. As Silo's work shows, the discourse on development should expand to include not just the visible power inequities (i.e. material and economic) but also the invisible, namely the conditioned and colonized way of thinking in primarily instrumentally rational terms.[160] Therefore, I am not saying that the critical approaches have no value – indeed they are immensely valuable in addressing political economic power inequities. But rather, I suggest that we should be aware of their boundaries and limitations in that they were designed to respond to the inequities of social systems (all "exterior" and observable). Generally, they did not intend to address the bias towards instrumental rationality, which excluded the "interior" domains (dialogical, interpretive and subjective) that also play a crucial role in human development.

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[159] Silos, Maureen. (2000) *cit op 19.*
[160] See Silos, M. (2000)

Fortunately, these alternatives are not necessary locked into this approach and system of thinking; they could and should expand (and increasing are expanding) their scope to include subjective and inter-subjective dimensions in development.[161] In fact, as I will discuss further in this chapter, there are various critical alternatives that have, or are verging on having, an integral strategy for working in development.[162] In fact, what is necessary in addressing and moving beyond the power inequities described in Chapter One, is a blend of the components of critical development alternatives with those of integral development. I suggest that we include the valuable aspects of critical alternatives and expand their scope even further with an integral approach.

Thus, I begin this section with a discussion of how communities and ecosystems can fit into development through merging CED with ecodevelopment in an ecologically-based CED. Then, I will then discuss how integral development builds on ecosystem-based CED to include the "interior" components of human development. Finally, I will discuss the need to frame "development" in a social transformation where social ethics expand to include the environment in a meaningful way (i.e. move from egocentric to worldcentric perspectives).

The "Critical" Alternatives: Towards an Ecosystem-Based CED

The alternatives to the inherent power inequities of conventional development are many and varied, and spread over decades of extensive research and practice in alternative development models. In the following I focus on two approaches – community economic development and ecodevelopment – to arrive at a model of "development" that includes communities and ecosystems in its scope and practice.

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[161] In fact, many of these alternatives include, at least in theory, a more integral approach (even though practically they may not carry it out) and that all are poised to encompass a more "integral" approach.

[162] For example, the Participatory Action Research methodology that I used in my own research was definitely the progressive end of the spectrum of critical approaches, of which I will discuss in Chapter Five.

Throughout the 1960s, "community development became an alternative proposal to... the capitalist ideas of private property and to the feudal ideas of the upper classes."[163] In Latin America in the 1970s, Paulo Freire introduced a method of consciousness-raising and popular education to make rural communities aware of power inequities, and ready to organize to change such a situation.[164] This type of community-based development was, and still is, emphasized by non-governmental organizations and other advocates of sustainable development. Currently, at the local level there are many examples of community-directed and community-based initiatives that alleviate poverty, disempowerment and underdevelopment. This is done by merging economic development with social needs, also known as *community economic development* (CED).

Community economic development (CED) has been a vehicle for putting into practice community- and people-centered development for more than four decades. CED has not only been a grassroots initiative to give space and meaning to 'community' in the global market economy, but it has also been a governmental policy to mitigate negative impacts of business on communities.[165] It aims to address the real social and economic needs of local people, as compared to the often inappropriately articulated 'needs' posed by the neoclassical economy. This includes, not only material benefits, such as income, but also more qualitative social needs, like training, education, employment security, job satisfaction and health care.

> "By situating economic development in the larger political context of who controls what, CED aims to overcome social barriers such as illiteracy, poverty, unemployment and the leakage from the community to outsiders of natural and monetary capital resources."[166]

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[163] Béjar, H., p 287.
[164] See: Freire, Paulo. 1970. *Pedagogy for the Oppressed.* (New York: Herder and Herder); and also: Gutierrez, Gustavo. (1973), p 91.
[165] Mathewson, A. and M. M'Gonigle. (1997), p 157

CED aims to address the very power inequities definitive of the global political economy discussed above. It has two main goals: (1.) to increase the economic resources available to the community, including land, trained labor, capital, and managerial expertise and (2.) increasing the control over these resources to ensure that they provide the maximum long range benefits to local residents.[167] CED works within existing local governance structures and fits into cultural contexts and knowledge systems, rather than imposing new systems on top of current ones. In certain situations, new organizational mechanisms are established to ensure that resources, expertise, investments and money are redirected back into the community thus creating wealth locally rather than externally, in what is referred to as the "multiplier effect".[168] CED creates an atmosphere of inclusion where workers are not only merely workers, they are also beneficiaries and part owners.[169] Rather than being directed by capital investors and rather than the benefits leaking out of the community into external pocket-books, the production system is oriented to take direction from, and reap benefits for, the worker/owners. Decision-making in CED is therefore designed to be participatory and inclusive. Furthermore, the notion of wealth is oriented to include more than just money: many cooperatives, for example, provide health care, education and training for workers as well as family members.

Both CED theory and practice incorporate the shift toward more sustainable and equitable economic and resource-use policies, and CED principles address the power inequities discussed previously.[170] They include *equity* and *participation* among community members in decision-making, in planning, and in access to resources and benefits of CED initiatives. CED principles place importance on *community-building* to foster inclusion, understanding and respect, as well as *cooperation and collaboration* to encourage linkages among communities and across

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[166] Mathewson, A. and M. M'Gonigle. (1997), p 157-158

[167] Greenwood, W. A., S. Haberfeld, L.C. Lee. *Organizing Production Cooperatives: A Strategy for Community Economic Development.* (Berkeley, California: National Economic Development and Law Center, 1978) p 2

[168] Greenwood, W.A. *et al.* (1978), p 3.

[169] Wright, D. H. (1979), pp 16-27.

regions. *Self-reliance and community control* are also integral aspects of CED, in order to reduce dependency on external economic interests and build on local capacity and resources. Furthermore, social and economic health is ensured through *capacity building* to encourage skill acquisition and development of supportive institutions, and through *diversification* of the economic activities to address varied community needs. Finally, *appropriate indicators* are used to monitor and evaluate CED progress through community-derived quantitative *and* qualitative measures.

CED principles are put into practice in various forms. There are a variety of organizational structures, like community development corporations, collectives and cooperatives. In addition to addressing social needs, like health care, education and training,[171] these organizations intend to revitalize economic development within the community,[172] with alternative financial systems, like revolving loans and peer lending circles and microcredit funding initiatives. This type of finance aims to re-circulate money within the community and build social capacity for a sustainable economy. Revolving loans and peer lending circles are based in the community and structured such that the group of borrowers also approve and monitor each other's loans, providing a source for continual advice and creating a support network.[173]

Historically, CED has not incorporated ecosystem health into its social and economic objectives. However, a move in this direction for CED practitioners is a natural progression, especially considering our growing perception and knowledge of "community" in a more holistic, less anthropocentric sense, and considering the growing ecological problems worldwide. Today, many communities seek livelihoods that meet their social and economic needs while maintaining ecosystem health. Ghai and Vivian (1992) describe how local livelihood requirements necessitate the conservation of the resource base, and furthermore, that the local

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[170] The following discussion of principles is taken from the BC Working Group on CED at: http://www.sfu.ca/cedc/gateway/sharing/principles.htm

[171] See: Wright, D. H. (1979); also: Case, J. and R. C. R. Taylor *Coops, Communes and Colletives: Experiments in Social Change in the 1960s and 1970s.* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979)

[172] Greenwood, W.A et al. (1978), p 3.

[173] Mathewson, A. and M. M'Gonigle. (1997), 162.

participation in environmental management is the key to its success.[174] Many ecological economists posit that the total "economy" is actually an ecological-economic system where non-human sectors (i.e. ecosystems) and human sectors (i.e. the economy) are inextricably linked.

> "This is based on the premise that the environment and economy cannot be separate, but must be considered as interdependent parts of a complex, dynamic system."[175]

For most rural communities, their economy is very obviously tied to the land: economic prosperity is measured in the fertility and productivity of the environment.[176] It has been suggested, therefore, that CED should include both economic development *and* local resource management in order to reverse the downward spiral of poverty and environmental decline.[177] Indeed, CED needs a strategy based in community *and* ecosystem values to create a self-sufficient economy.

This need for a sustained resource base clearly makes economic sense. However, from a deep ecology or traditional ecological knowledge viewpoint, recognizing and respecting other life-forms, not in terms of their use for humans but for their autonomous existence is also important. Debunking the rational scientific myth that humans are separate from nature and can dissect and know, or dominate and manage, nature is a vital shift in thinking if we are to establish sustainable societies. Indeed, it is a prerequisite for the survival of many other species as well as our own survival. Thus, expanding the notion of 'community' to include non-human communities – or understanding humans *as* nature, not separate from it – is a necessary progression if we are to abate destruction of our natural life-support systems.

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[174] Ghai, Dharam and Jessica M. Vivian. (1992), p 12-15
[175] Hediger, W. (1999), p 19-22
[176] Durning, Alan B. *World Watch Paper 92: Poverty and the Environment: Reversing the Downward Spiral.* November 1989. pp 41-42
[177] Durning, A. B. (1989), p 42.

Moving from a primarily anthropocentric definition of 'community' to a more holistic definition that includes other non-human species is not a far leap for CED.[178] CED is already more oriented than mainstream economics to begin making this key shift in perspective, especially since it is better able to account for the hidden externalities such as the unpriced environmental and social goods and services. Moreover, coupled with our knowledge of ecosystems today, the limitations to defining community in purely anthropocentric terms are becoming obvious.[179] By merging ecological economics and community development, CED takes on a new meaning and takes on new approaches of ensuring sustainable development at the local level. Ecosystem-based CED facilitates economic development within social *and* ecological means by encouraging lower levels of resource throughput, value- rather than volume-based production, small rather than large business, and local rather than long-distance benefits.[180]

Some discourses on CED today include ecological as well as social and economic aspects of development. For example, the BC Working Group on CED has drawn up a Statement of BC Principles:

> "CED is a community-based and community-directed process that explicitly combines social and economic development and is directed towards fostering the economic, social, ecological and cultural well-being of communities and regions."[181]

This Working Group for CED describes how the *integration* of the social, economic, cultural *and* ecological dimensions in a holistic manner is essential for CED initiatives and for healthy communities. Thus, their CED principles describe the need to *live within ecological limits*, to recognize the need for healthy local, bioregional and global ecosystems in having social, cultural and economic well-being.

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[178] This seems like an immense leap for many people. However, as communities find that their economies depend on healthy ecosystems, this expansion of CED to ecological sustainability may be *necessary* to meet economic concerns.

[179] Burda, Cheri and Michael M'Gonigle. (1999) "Tree Farm... or Community Forest?" *Making Waves*, vol. 7, no. 4, p 18.

[180] Mathewson, A. and M. M'Gonigle. (1997), p 157

[181] See BC Working Group on CED.

This blend of economic development, social justice, and ecological conservation at the local level can build upon *ecodevelopment.* In the late 1970s and early 1980s, *ecodevelopment* evolved along with other alternative strategies[182] to include, with the social and economic equity, the inter-relationship between natural ecosystems and socioeconomic processes.[183] This became the precursor to sustainable development later in the 1980s and 1990s. It merged the need for economic equality, social harmony and environmental balance to be prescriptive of all development activities, and it required an essential shift in moral commitment as well as fundamental changes to institutional structures.[184] Ecodevelopment takes as a starting point an ecoregion, and frames all activities with this ecological perspective. Such a strategy combines cooperation, social needs, economic equity and sufficiency (all distinctive of CED) with ecosystem needs in an *ecosystem-based community economic development* (e-CED).

The term "ecosystem-based CED" refers to a method of carrying out community development in a way that meaningfully respects the natural ecosystems in which these human systems fit. As with ecodevelopment, this takes the ecosystem as the bounded space within which human interactions and structures are embedded, and then working within these ecological constraints in development work. Framed in such a way, ecosystem-based CED re-designs "development" to include communities and ecosystems.

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[182] Particularly with *Another Development. Another Development* was described by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (1975) and is a model of development that is needs-oriented, endogenous, self-reliant, ecologically sound and based on inclusive, participatory social structures. [182] Another Development encourages the plurality of development patterns to respond to a complex world. It takes into consideration both material and non-material needs of a people, begins at the heart of each community or society, and fosters self-sufficiency within the locality or nation. Further, it puts into practice ecological principles and adjusts the social structures to put power over decision-making into the hands of those that feel its effects.

[183] Moffat, I. *Sustainable Development: Principles, Analysis and Policies.* (New York and London: Parthenon Publishing Group, 1995) p 10. See also, B. Hettne. (1982), p. 89-94.

[184] See Sachs, I. (1984), pp 20-35, and Riddell, R. (1981)

Ecosystem-based CED does well in addressing the first three power inequities described in Chapter One, namely power over production and resource extraction, power over decision-making and power over wealth accumulation. However, as I said in the previous chapter, it is the *power over knowledge* that underlies the other power inequities. In seeking a comprehensive model for community development, we have to expand the boundaries of "knowledge" hemmed in by instrumental rationality, to include the other spheres of life, namely the domains of subjectivity and inter-subjectivity. Paying explicit attention to these "interior" dimensions is key in community development.

"Interiority" in Community Development

Mitigating the negative effects of neoliberal policy on communities and ecosystems, which is a key goal of critical alternative models, is noble and necessary work. However, as Silos (2000) says,

> "There is therefore almost no attention paid to the political-epistemological and philosophical underpinnings of neoliberalism."

Rather than receiving uncritically the epistemology of European knowledge, and thus reproducing cognitive domination, alternatives to development must envision "development" as a multidimensional process including material, emotional, mental and spiritual aspects, and embedded in a deep ecological awareness and culture-specific methodology.[185] Within a multidimensional framework, integral community development can respond more appropriately to the complex needs of individuals and communities.

In challenging the epistemology of conventional development, an integral approach puts importance on the "interior" dimensions of development – dimensions that often give rise to visible social and economic structures. Indeed, changes in sociopolitical structures and the economy occur *first* in the shifting values

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[185] Silos, M. (2000)

of society; transformation in values is a precursor to the systemic and material changes involved in sustainable community development. Worldviews, for example, arise according to our different cultural contexts and individual reflections and have a key role in the creation of social and economic institutions and the technological base of society. Thus, integral development gives space for self-reflection and dialogue on worldviews, knowing that they underpin the observable sociopolitical and techno-economic structures in a society.

To facilitate my description of including "interiority" in development processes, I will briefly discuss some examples of integral development. After reviewing the critical literature on development, I found some alternative strategies had an integral scope, at least theoretically, if not practically. For example, *Basic Human Needs* (BHN)[186] focuses on the subjective qualitative needs that are context specific and sensitive to history and culture, and it is unique in that it, "is a qualitative concept that partly falls in the realm of philosophy and religion. It covers also transcendental values and is relative with respect to different cultures."[187] However, I found that the Rural Development Model of Mahatma Gandhi offer us some of the most innovative (theoretical and practical) examples of integral development.

Gandhi, who lived in the deeply entrenched politics of a colonial empire, stood up in the defense of social justice, ecological integrity, democracy, ethical conduct and bottom-up rural village development. The effects that this one man had on the nation in terms of defining a sustainable and equitable development process based on a indigenous way of thinking about the world is still today inspiring, not only for India but also for other nations. Although his context was

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[186] The *Basic Human Needs* (BHN), was one brand of a broader approach called *Basic Needs Approach (BNA)*, an alternative that came out of the 1970s and re-cast development to be the development of human beings not of *things*. Theoretically BNA was divided in two – Basic Material Needs (BMN) and Basic Human Needs (BHN) – and different traditions and interests have adopted BNA, using it for very different ends. BMN, for example, forms part of the conventional mainstream tradition of growth models, and is based on the objective quantifiable needs of all human beings, while as you can read above, BHN was used in addressing the qualitative aspects of human development.

[187] Hettne, B. (1982), p. 86.

very different to ours today, we also share many similarities. For example, Western-exported epistemology and rampant economic globalization today is a form of neocolonialism. It provokes widespread aspirations for industrial and technological progress and a consumer culture, resulting in extensive social injustice, culture malaise and environmental demise, similar to the effects of colonial rule in India. Thus, to study Gandhi's theories and practice today is as timely as it was in the days of English rule in India, and definitely instructive in terms of integral community development.

The philosophy and work of Gandhi has inspired many alternative models of development already discussed, namely a decentralized, bottom-up approach that included a collaborative and non-coercive economy that addresses social, cultural, ecological and institutional needs of local people. To repeat this in detail would be redundant, as we have seen that ecosystem-based CED carries with it many of these same principles. However, Gandhi's approach encouraged other ways of viewing and operating within the world, outside of the "credibility" of instrumental reason handed down by Eurocentric knowledge systems. Not only did his approach re-design the sociopolitical and economic structures of society (all of which fall in the instrumental sphere of action), but also included the sphere of self-reflection and dialogue on shared values, ethics and worldviews.

Gandhi recognized that there must exist a fundamental shift in ethics and morals that, in turn, inform our actions and create new political, economic and social structures. To this he gave great attention, and perhaps it was one of the most effective components of his entire approach.

> "Gandhiji wanted modernization and reconstruction but he was of the opinion that side by side with economic development and progress proper emphasis should be laid on promoting ethical and spiritual values in life."

In a lecture addressed to the up-and-coming economists at the Muir Central College of Economic Society in 1916, he posed the provocative question as to whether

economic progress clashes with real (moral) progress, suggesting that it did unless attention was explicitly paid to morals and ethics.[188]

It was his attention paid to ethical and spiritual dimensions of human life that made Gandhi's work special. His entire approach was grounded in the need for self-examination with the purpose of evaluating and orienting one's actions to the welfare of others. This encouraged people to look at themselves and their places in society in different ways, and emphasized how "great" actions for the village or society were not ego-based actions. In this way, he promoted a type of rural development that did not aim to capitalize on individual gains but rather took into consideration the poorest of the poor, marginalized groups, women and the environment.

Today, conventional and alternative thinking on development has incorporated much of Gandhi's theories, and has led to an increasing concern for people, not only their economic and social needs, but also to their cultures, values, traditions and, especially, worldviews. Yet, even though ethics and spirituality are so central to the worldviews held by the vast majority of the world's inhabitants, the premises of development theory (of conventional and of many but not all critical alternatives) are almost entirely oblivious to the spiritual dimension of human existence.[189] Smith (1995) comments that since much of modernism and postmoderism focus on social considerations at the expense of ontological ones, the "vertical dimension" – that is, the way religion or spirituality produces a sense of empowerment and inner wholeness in individuals – is underplayed or entirely ignored.[190]

If we are to arrive at a "sustainable" development, our approaches need to integrate the worldviews (often fed by ethics, spirituality and/or a "vertical

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[188] Gandhi, M.K. "Economic and Moral Progress" lecture given December 22, 1916 *in* R. Iyer (1990), pp 93-101

[189] Arbab, F. 2000. Chapter 4. *in* S. Harper. (2000), p 169.

[190] Smith, H. (1995), p 209-210

dimension") of human beings in the development process. Gandhi believed that self-reflection on individual worldviews and action for the welfare of all (both of which are intimately related to ethical and spiritual values) are two crucial ingredients in sustainability. These two crucial ingredients actualize the evolution away from egocentric perspectives to sociocentric and then worldcentric ones, where individual intentions and actions are evaluated to see if they affect positively or negatively other humans, groups, countries, species or ecosystems. Taking the experiences of Gandhi in his work in rural development in India as well as other examples from Sri Lanka and the Caribbean, and drawing on my own experiences in integral community development in El Salvador, I suggest that this shift from individualistic thoughts to concern for the rest of the community, other humans, species and generations is important in arriving at ecosystem-based CED. In fact, the process to get to such an all-encompassing perspective, moving from egocentric to sociocentric to worldcentric, would naturally give rise to a sustainable and equitable form of local development, or more precisely integral community development.

This suggestion immediately brings many more questions to mind. What are the nuts and bolts of facilitating this process? What are some practices that could be effective? *Why* is it that a community would be better able to extend its concerns for social health to that of ecosystem health? This may not be true of all communities, nor all groups of people. What were the prerequisites or the process of moving from a limited definition of "community" (egocentric, anthropocentric, ethnocentric or even ecocentric[191]) to a more worldcentric definition, one that included other humans, groups, species and ecosystems as well? How does this re-frame the role of development practitioner? With a better understanding of these processes, community inhabitants, community development practitioners and action researchers (as well as international development organizations) could be better

[191] I include "ecocentric" in these limited definitions of "community" because, from my own 6 years experience in the environmental movement, I have seen that while many environmental practitioners may hold a pseudo-ecocentric perspective, they also aim to promote their own agendas (that are often

equipped in seeking sustainable communities. I explore these questions in the following two chapters.

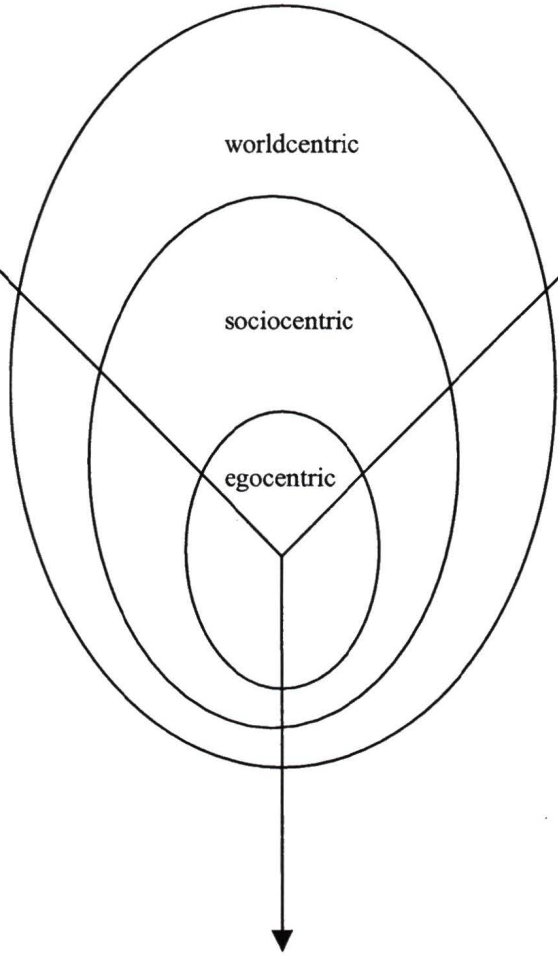
ego-based) and some also see their "community" as limited to those with like-minds, not the whole of society and nature.

***Communicative action*:**

The social appropriateness, the mutual understanding and the inter-subjectivity of intention. For example, the cooperative approach of seeking common solutions, objectives and goals, and the shared values and morals upon which social institutions and the techo-economic base are built.

***Self-reflection*:**

Self-reflection on individual roles in the community, society, environment and world. Includes enabling or empowering individuals. For example, fostering introspection, personal growth, self-esteem and capacity.



***Instrumental action*:**

The quantifiable, measurable aspects of development such as economic and ecological parameters (i.e. the economic feasibility and ecological management and conservation) and the political and institutional arrangements necessary for development (i.e. the community councils, communal development associations, cooperatives, community credit unions).

Figure 1a: The Three-Sided Approach to Integral Community Development

The three concentric circles of egocentric, sociocentric and worldcentric describe the expansion of perspectives involved in the movement towards sustainability that an individual, community or society goes through to think and act in more equitable and ecologically-sensitive ways. The three sides describe an "integral" approach to development, where self-reflection, communicative rationality and instrumental rationality are all integrated in a more holistic methodology. The three sides and the expanding awareness play important roles in integral community development. (This is adapted from Ken Wilber's "all quadrant, all level" integral theory as described in Wilber (2000, 1999, 1996, 1995).

CHAPTER THREE: Integral Community Development

> *"The political-economic system of market capitalism that created colonial domination has not changed its inner workings; domination is still very much a part of its* ***modus operandi****. Therefore I have the historical obligation to continue the struggle [for freedom from oppression]. But this time I have to take the struggle beyond the fight against the external dominator to a fight against the internalizations of the dominator that have made us in so many respects dependant. I hope my work... will make a viable contribution to freedom and sustainable development..."*[192]

> *"... it was a developmental evolution beyond simple formal operational rationality, a move beyond instrumental and ego-centered rationality into dialogical, dialectical, intersubjective reason, carrying with it a unifying of opposites and a reconciliation of fragments."*[193]

In this chapter, I discuss both the philosophy and technique of seeking integral community development. First, I draw on the theories of Habermas and Wilber, both of whom suggest that an integrated three-sided approach is necessary in understanding and working within human systems (Figure 1). This integrated approach takes into consideration (1) individual subjective perspectives or introspection, (2) cultural inter-subjective perspectives or communicative rationality, and (3) scientific objective perspectives or instrumental rationality. I discuss the importance of such an "integral" approach to community development, and I explain how this entire methodology must be rooted explicitly in a transformational shift from egocentric to sociocentric to worldcentric actions. In the third section of this chapter, I discuss examples of integral community development, namely Gandhi's Rural Development Model, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka and studies in the Caribbean on transcultural and transdisciplinary development. Finally, I suggest that by imbuing the "critical" alternatives to development (particularly ecosystem-based CED) with the components of integral methodology and rooting them in a transformational change toward a worldcentric

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[192] Silos, M. (2000)
[193] Wilber, K. (1995), p 507.

perspective (distinctive of the examples from India, Sri Lanka and the Caribbean), we could arrive at integral community development.

The three-sided approach to integral development

As explained in chapter one, modernity erred in putting blind belief in objectivity while gravely underestimating the value of subjectivity and inter-subjectivity. This precipitated the domination of economic progress over psychological and cultural needs, ecological health and perhaps most insidiously, over cognitive processes. Many scholars see this to be one of the key reasons for, and continuation of, the cultural erosion, social injustice and ecological degradation that we witness today.[194] To address and abate these problems requires that we re-access the domination of instrumental reason in our society, and particularly in "development", and that we include other ways of viewing, and operating in, the world. Habermas calls for the need to investigate the epistemological foundations of the sciences and then for the rehabilitation of the social sciences in their communicative and reflective components. Both Habermas and Wilber offer us a way to integrate *communicative rationality* and *self-reflection*, or culture and psychology, in analyses and practices of "development".

Wilber (2000, 1999, 1996, 1995) examines closely what is necessary for integrating these other components in society.[195] He explains that this move away from the monological domination of instrumental rationality (what he calls the "monological gaze") is really a move beyond modernity, or "going postmodern" (in a constructive sense). Following his transcend-and-include format for evolution and development, he explains,

> "...To transcend and include modernity – or rational-industrialization – would mean, for the *transcend* part, that we have to (1) be open to

[194] I refer to these scholars throughout this chapter, particularly K. Wilber (2000), (1999), (1996) and M. Silos (2000)

[195] Wilber, K. (2000), (1999), (1996).

> modes of consciousness that move beyond mere rationality, and (2) embed them in modes of techno-economic structures that move beyond industrialization. In other words, a change of consciousness embedded in a change of institutions. Either one alone will not work.... Both rationality and industry will be *included* as well, but now as mere components in a more balanced, more inclusive, more integrated stance that will incorporate – and limit – rationality and industry. What we might call sustainable rationality, sustainable industry."[196]

The transformation toward "sustainable rationality, sustainable industry" would mean finding a new worldview, set in a new techno-economic base. Finding new worldviews includes re-evaluating the concept of self in the community or society and in nature. This self-examination would lead to new behaviors and actions. Reflecting on the self, engaging in dialogue to decide upon mutual needs and shared values and acting in collaboration would, in turn, lead to re-envisioned socioeconomic institutions and political organization. Wilber (1999) uses a template to describe this theory which includes "the interior and exterior of the individual and the collective" in an "all quadrant, all level" conception. The four quadrants correspond to important dimensions of life:

> "Individual consciousness (Upper-Left quadrant) is inextricably intermeshed with the objective brain and organism (Upper-Right quadrant), with social systems and environment (Lower-Right quadrant), and with cultural setting, communal values, and world views (Lower-Left quadrant)."[197] (Figure 1b)

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[196] Wilber, K. (1996), p 70
[197] Wilber, K. (1999), p 127

The **UPPER LEFT** quadrant covers the inner-individual aspects of human consciousness, as studied by developmental psychology, in both it's conventional and contemplative forms.	The **UPPER RIGHT** quadrant covers the outer-individual aspects of human consciousness, as studied by neurology and cognitive science.
The **LOWER LEFT** quadrant covers the inner-collective aspects of human consciousness, as studied by the sciences of culture: cultural psychology and anthropology.	The **LOWER RIGHT** quadrant covers the outer-collective aspects of human consciousness, as studied by sociology. Also includes sociopolitical, economic and ecological systems.

Figure 1b: Ken Wilber's Four Quadrant Model used as a theoretical tool in understanding human biological and social systems (right-hand quadrants, "exterior") and their psychological and cultural correlates (left-hand quadrants, "interior").[198]

The Upper-Left quadrant includes the entire spectrum of human consciousness, from bodily sensations to mental ideas to soul and spirit. The Lower-Left includes the values, meanings, worldviews, ethics that are shared by any group of individuals and that form the basis for "culture". Since the Upper and Lower Right-Hand quadrants deal with objective, empirical forms (such as biology, social systems and institutions, political economic arrangements and technology), these four quadrants can be reduced to three. Wilber describes the three spheres as, "the aesthetics of 'I', the morals of 'we', and the 'its' of science, or the *Big Three*."[199] These three correspond directly with Habermas's three spheres of social evolution that I discussed in chapter one: the spheres of aesthetics, of morality and law and of science. Both Habermas and Wilber, among others, call for a more integrated approach, where the three spheres are given equal weight, rather than putting emphasis almost entirely in the realm of objective science/instrumental rationality.

When we include the realm of consciousness and culture in the development process, where values that underlie social institutions and political economic structures are reflected upon and negotiated not assumed, no longer can "development" be an objective application of a process defined and delineated by neoclassical economics and neoliberal ideology. Rather, "development" transcends

[198] see: Wilber, K. (2000), (1999), (1996).

the prevailing reductionist, eurocentric and materialistic definition and becomes an organic process that takes psychology and culture seriously.[200]

Moving from Egocentric to Sociocentric to Worldcentric

In addition to integrating all the quadrants, or more simply the *Big Three*, Wilber suggests we must also integrate all the *levels* of development within each quadrant (thus making up his "all quadrant, all level" model). He explains how modernity not only collapsed the Left-Hand quadrants of art and morals into those of monological science, but it also disqualified any existence of "spirit", or of the higher realms of human development (or in Smith's (1995) terms, the "vertical dimension"). This may not be well received by non-believers in the concept of "spirit",[201] especially if their paradigm is still one in which truth and knowledge are

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[199] Wilber, K. (2000), p 64

[200] Silos, Maureen (2000). Note that to transcend also means to include. Thus, the positive attributes of a materialistic point of view will not be cast aside altogether, but rather, integrated in the transcending theory and practice. Wilber describes this phenomenon in general, saying that its "being" is preserved but its exclusivity and partiality negated in the process of transcendence and inclusion. See Wilber, K. (1995), pp. 51-54.

[201] For clarification here, I should discuss in more detail what I mean by "spirit". The concept of "spirit" has undergone numerous re-configurations through the ages, compounded by the difficulty of explaining a post-rational "experience" with rational language. While historically natural law heralded an eternal, transcendent God at the top of its hierarchy, postivist, modernist and postmodernist thought rejected this conception: "God is dead. And we have killed him." However, I do not think that "spirit" should be discarded, and that it has a place in society albeit in perhaps a revised form. That is, neither as an anthropomorphized "God" which is often appropriated by organized religions, self-interested dominator hierarchies of faith or dogmatic fundamentalism (M'Gonigle, 2000), nor as the "new-physics web-of-life one-with-Gaia self" which purports to be "spiritual" even in its hypocritical and dualistic approach (Wilber, 1996). Rather, "spirit" need not be framed as *either* transcendence *or* immanence (in other words, *absolutism* or *relativism*), but rather includes both in that it utterly transcends the world and utterly embraces it (as is described in the non-duality of Eastern traditions, particularly Buddhism, Taoism, Hinduism and Zen) (Wilber, 1995). "Spirit", in this sense, includes all wisdom and all ascent towards a higher entity or higher evolutionary aspiration (taken alone this is the "transcendental God" of the world's religions) *and* it includes the Source of all manifestation expressing compassion and Goodness through and through (taken in and by itself, this embodies the "God" of Nature and of Immanence). (Smith (1995) describes how, "Both absolutism and relativism have bright and shadow sides. The virtue of the Absolute is the power it offers the soul; its danger is the fanaticism into which the power can narrow. In the case of relativisim, *its* virtue is tolerance, and nihilism is its danger." On the topic of immanence versus transcendence, Gandhi (1946) explains, "...it is immaterial if some worship God as a Person and some others as a Great Power. Both are right, each in his own way. Nobody knows what is intrinsically right and nobody is likely ever to know. The ideal, to be an ideal, must forever remain out of reach. All the other forces are static, while God is the Life Force, immanent and at the same time transcendent.") In addition to transcendence and immanence, "spirit" also includes the

equated with objective, measurable science. However, it is an interesting hypothesis with even more interesting implications.

I have three main reasons for reflecting on the concept of "spirit" in community development. Firstly, it is evident to me, and many others will contend, that much of the world operates with a worldview that includes "spirit". This is especially the case in the community in El Salvador where I carried out my thesis fieldwork. When working in community development, one does not need to be a part of the same spirituality or religion that the community is part of, but one does need to respect the indigenous belief system and context.

> "The sociologist ... must be open to the possibility that the religious symbols that define the identity of a human community have a transcendent referent; and that the sociologist's own secular presupposition is a Western cultural product rather than a universal truth."[202]

Baum describes how even though one may not believe in such a transcendent referent, when working in other social systems, one cannot hold secularism as a definitive interpretation of the universe.[203]

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timeless "Nondual Ground" which is present in and as every single being (what is referred to as *Emptiness* in Zen philosophy, or *Suchness* in Buddhism) (Wilber, 1995). This is hardly more than a superficial glance at complex ideas that warrant much more description, but it orients the reader to what I mean by "spirit". Dr. Rosina Wilshire (Manager, Gender and Development Program, UNDP) describes it perhaps in a more accessible way:

> "To me, spirit is pervasive, ever-present, vital and powerful force of love. It gives life to all individuals, and to all that is our world. It does so in an environment that is whole, harmonious, timeless, fully conscious, that is all-knowing, loving omnipotent and non-judgmental. Spirit is the antithesis of ego, which perceived itself as separate, vulnerable, time-bound, the 'little me'... I see spirit as whole, finer than, but encompassing, the material." (Wilshire, R., 1996)

Any concept of "spirit", be it what I described above or not, filters differently through the diversity of cultures, historical moments and geographic spaces, and is hardly coincident with, nor bounded by, any single spiritual path or religion (Smith, 1995). Call it God, Allah, Brahman, Rigpa, the Great Father, the Creator, the Tao, the Source, the Ultimate or the Divine, "the term is not important; it is the truth that lies behind it... being connected with one's soul is a connection to God [of any name] – an attunement with the wisdom and knowledge of the universe." (Dialogue on Spirituality in Sustainable Development, 1996.)

[202] Baum, Gregory. "Solidarity with the Poor". Chapter Two; *in* S. Harper. (2000), p. 81; refers to the work of Robert Bellah on the topic of spirituality, science and development

[203] See the discussion on Weber and his response to formal rationality and spirituality in S. Harper. (2000), p 81

Secondly, when development takes place in a spiritually-oriented community, it will essentially include its belief-system. Moreover, since the belief-system is of the local culture, the community should be a participant in development work to ensure that their cultural and spiritual context is included. For example, Denis Goulet (1971) contends that cultural and religious dimensions should be part of integral development, and explain that this is why the local community should have a participatory position along with technical experts in development activities, decisions and responsibilities.[204] Baum explains further,

> "Although Western science plays an important role in such a [development] project, the symbolic meaning and creative energy to make the project work must come from the culture and the religion of the local community. Any new attitudes or practices must find roots in the dynamic elements of the community's own tradition."[205]

My third and greatest interest in the idea of "spirit", and the one which I expand on here, is in the transformation away from ego-based decisions toward more socially-just and ecologically sustainable decisions. In our inter-personal interactions the value of perceiving (or aperceiving)[206] "spirit" becomes visible, where full awareness (or mindfulness) is cultivated and where "spirituality helps people create a sense of connectedness".[207] Indeed, our "beingness" as humans is intricately bound up in and defined by our relations, with each other and with other beings, and this "shared beingness" is essentially a spiritual recognition.[208] By recognizing that we exist as *beings-in-relation*, the way we interact changes: rather than wresting

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[204] Baum, G. *in* S. Harper. (2000), p 81; Goulet, D. 1971. *The Cruel Choice: A New Concept In The Theory Of Development*. (New Yrok: Athenaeum) pp. 362.
[205] Baum, G. *in* S. Harper. (2000), p 82
[206] M'Gonigle, (2000, p. 13), aptly describes how spiritual immanence is "not a truth that one can ever really 'know'; one can only 'aperceive' it" and continues that "the reality of a spiritual immanence that cannot be comprehended by rational or material means, but can only be aperceived by the community that live with it."
[207] Dialogue on Spirituality in Sustainable Development. (1996), p 6
[208] M'Gonigle, M. (2000), p. 27

power over other beings, awareness of, and respect for, our relatedness prioritizes a reverence for balance with them:

> "If we exist in relation, then the very fact of that relational existence dictates not a good life of the separate self, but an involved life of respect for the wholeness of that other which breathes life and consciousness and meaning into our self."[209]

Acknowledging that humans exist as beings-in-relation, and that our actions, thus, be informed more by respect than by personal gain, sets the context for the movement away from egocentrism toward worldcentrism. This requires deep self-reflection and self-examination in terms of the role one plays in the social group, the ecosystem and the world, and thus, begins the evolution away from egocentrism. This movement towards worldcentrism may be promoted by acknowledging and infusing "spirit" in everyday actions (such as in the work of Mahatma Gandhi) or perceiving reality with "vision-logic" and acting from that perception (based on the integral theory of Wilber and analysis by Silos, of which I will describe momentarily.)

Through his life, Gandhi grounded both his theory and practice in a worldcentric approach. His worldcentric vision came from the concept of *sarvodaya*, or welfare for all, as well as the concept of *satyagraha*, or truth and love. He urged the people of India to examine themselves and their actions to see if they promote or retard the welfare of others. He explained the shift from egocentric actions (what he called the "brute nature") to more expansive actions happens through *satyagraha*,

> "[Those who have never known *satyagraha*]...if challenged, they would say 'what do we care though the whole universe may perish so long as we guard the family interest?'... When men and women have gone a stage further, they would extend the law of love, i.e., *satyagraha*, from the family to the village. A still further stage away from the brute life is reached when the law of *satyagraha* is applied to provincial life, and

> the people inhabiting a province regulate their relations by love rather than by hatred. And when as in Hindustan we recognize the law of *satyagraha* as a binding force even between one another as brothers and sisters, we have advanced a stage further still from the brute nature."

Through following *sarvodaya* and *satyagraha*, Gandhi believed that recognizing "spirit" or "soul-force"[210] and expanding one's sphere of concern for others are *necessary* for creating a sustainable nation of India and beyond.[211]

Expanding one's sphere of concern for others is distinctive of a worldcentric perspective. Such a perspective extends from rationality to transrationality, or "vision-logic" as Wilber (1995) explains. Beyond formal-operational rationality (as described by Piaget[212]), which is essentially a problem-solving stage, there is a further stage, called "dialectical", "integrative", "creative synthetic", "integral-aperspectival", or what Wilber calls (and in this paper what I call) *vision-logic.*[213] As a way of viewing the world, vision-logic enables one to respond to the increasingly complex and closely interrelated problems, at a national, regional and global scale. Thus, "where rationality began the *worldcentric* orientation, vision-logic brings it to a mature fruition..."[214] Silos, in her analysis of integral development in the Caribbean notes that,

> "Our current, often fragmented, ways of understanding the world will not be sufficient any longer. To comprehend the scope of the problems, but also of the possibilities for creative transformation and transcendence, we need a more complex mode of knowing than the current instrumental rationality of modern science, characterized by

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[209] M'Gonigle, M. (2000), p. 27

[210] Based on my readings of Gandhi's philosophy, his definition of "spirit"or "God" is similar to that which I describe above. See: Iyer, R. section X "*Satya* – Absolute and Relative Truth", pp 222-236

[211] See: Khoshoo, T. N. 1995. *Mahatma Gandhi. An Apostle of Applied Human Ecology.* (New Delhi: Tat Energy Research Institute).

[212] Cowan, P. 1978. *Piaget with feeling.* New York: Holt. *And* Piaget, J. 1977. *The essential Piaget.* Eds. H. Gruber and J. Voneche. New York: Basic Books *quoted in* Wilber (1995), p 258

[213] Wilber, K. (1995), pp 158-264.

[214] Wilber, K. (1995), p 259, in this passage he refers to the overlap in his own theories on worldcentrism and vision-logic with that of Habermas. Further, Wilber explains, "Vision-logic can

> disciplinary fragmentation and increasing specialization. That is why I think a full development of rationality... is not enough. The mindset has to be pushed to more comprehensive modes of knowing, such as vision-logic."

With this new cognitive capacity comes a new perception of self-in-the-world, where one need not know precisely what befalls another on the opposite side of the globe, but rather that there is recognition that the needs and aspirations (as well as the struggles and hardships) of one are shared by many. This new perception of self in a "wider world of others" infuses action with awareness, respect and caring.[215] It is with this expanded awareness that "sustainable development" has meaning.

The intersection between spirit, worldcentrism and vision-logic, and sustainability is discussed in some academic, activist and philosophical circles today. The International Development Research Centre (IDRC) recently carried out a comprehensive research project on the crossroads of science, religion and economic development in their book *The Lab, The Temple, and The Market* (2000),[216] and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) held a conference on spirituality and sustainable development in 1996.[217] It is increasingly more common to open conferences on environmental issues with a prayer or blessing, and the topic of ego-based perspectives versus more connected and compassionate perspectives in addressing ecological degradation is common in personal discussions between environmental activists.[218] Other philosophers and spiritual leaders say that a spiritual perception of life leads to a worldcentric perspective – where concern and

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hold in mind contradictions, it can unify opposites, it is dialectical and nonlinear, and it weaves together what otherwise appear to be incompatible notions..."Wilber, K. (1995) *cit op 15*, p 185.

[215] See K. Wilber (1995), pp. 184 –192 and 258 – 264 for a complete discussion of *vision-logic*.

[216] Harper, S. (2000).

[217] Tamas, A. 1996. "Spirituality and Development: Concepts and Categories", *Dialogue on Spirituality in Sustainable Development*, CIDA. June 19-20, 1996; also CIDA. (1996).

[218] The International Conference *Water for People and Nature* held in Vancouver, BC on July 5-8, 2001 opened with a prayer from an elder of the Musquem First Nations Band. Regarding the movement away from egocentric perspectives, I draw on personal discussions with activists in the Witness Project (a collaborative outdoor awareness-raising program between the Squamish First Nation, the Roundhouse Community Center and conservationists held in Sims Creek valley, British Columbia), as well as conversations with my colleagues from El Salvador and Bolivia.

compassion extends to the environment and all other groups of people – which would, naturally, lead to sustainability.

I will return to the topic of a worldcentric perspective later in the chapter. However, first I will focus on how we could link the three spheres of objectivity, intersubjectivity and subjectivity in arriving at sustainable community development. Could integration of these three components of social change take place in communities, and would it lead to an ecologically-based form of local development? I also explore how this three-sided or integral approach might apply to ecological community development work by looking at some examples that embody this approach.

Instrumental rationality is necessary but should not be exclusionary.

While I have discussed the problems with relying solely on a formal rational or purely objective worldview, I must also emphasize that the instrumental rationality and the scientific method that arose during the Enlightenment are crucially important. The "dignity" of modernity was the ability to differentiate science, morals and aesthetics (or "it", "we" and "I"), and this differentiation led to enormous beneficial gains.[219] Democracy arose from the differentiation between self (I) and culture (we), where each individual had a vote that was not subsumed by the dominator hierarchy of the church or state. The feminism and anti-racism movements grew out of the differentiation between mind (I) and nature (it), since biological characteristics were differentiated from intrinsic human worth. And the differentiation of science (it) from culture (we) allowed for the immense discoveries in physics, medicine, biology and technology, areas of study that were finally freed from the dogma of the church or the state. These advances have allowed for huge scientific leaps as well as immense restructuring to our cultural perceptions, economic processes and social institutions. I do not overlook these gains.

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[219] Wilber, K. (2000), p 69-70; Wilber, K. (1996), p 125.

However, while the differentiation allowed for such advances, the downfall of modernity was that it did not integrate these three domains and, rather, tended to disassociate them.[220] This disassociation lead to what Habermas and Wilber called the "colonization" of consciousness and morals by objective science, as we saw in Chapter One.

While we have historically disproportionately relied on instrumental reason and need to balance this approach, instrumental rationality does play an important role in the development process. Instrumental reason seeks to fulfill economic, social and political needs through various types of infrastructures, designs and arrangements. I have already outlined many of the alternatives for these arrangements put forth by alternative development theories. Among other things, most of the alternative theories call for a self-sufficient economy, for equitable social institutions and for ecologically-sound resource management.

With any alternative development strategy, the sustainable use of instrumental rationality is needed for realizing integral community development, or in Wilber's words "sustainable rationality, sustainable industry". As our history shows, using objectivity in a dominating way will not enable us to achieve sustainable development. Only in balance with the other two "spheres" of human life (the subjective and intersubjective) can instrumental rationality be used in a healthy and sustainable manner in community development. Thus, the solution to over-emphasizing objective instrumental means is not to turn away entirely from science and wholly embrace self-reflection and culture, but rather to integrate these three domains in a more balanced approach. It is necessary to draw upon the positive outcomes of modernity particularly of differentiating the three domains of "it", "we" and "I", while also recognizing the need to integrate them as well.

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[220] See Wilber, K. (2000), pp 66-73 and Wilber, K. (1996), pp 123-131.

Including communicative rationality and self-reflection in development.

Discussing the concept, the direction and the process of development with other inhabitants, citizens or the concerned public rarely has a place in conventional development. Says Habermas,

> "The formal arrangements of formal democratic institutions and procedures permits administrative decisions to be made largely independently of specific motives of the citizens. This takes place through a legitimation process that elicits generalized motives – that is, diffuse mass loyalty – but avoids participation."[221]

This lack of communication and participation disempowers citizens to partake in the social construction of values and morals, as well as political and economic structures. Indeed, the solution for "underdevelopment" is conceptualized as a universally valid recipe for economic growth and happiness as prescribed by neoclassical economics, and involves removing institutional and structural obstacles to the free flow of capital and goods. [222] Such a prescription includes, for example, the privatization of property, the virtual elimination of government regulation of the economy and the introduction of free-trade policies, but it does not include discussion on whether this approach is "right" for the particular context, culture, ecosystem or tradition. Such a non-communicative and non-participatory method purports that the sphere of objectivity can make decisions without including the sphere of communication and mutual understanding. Yet, participation in the development of society is crucial, especially when the outcomes of decisions will effect both decision-makers and local people.

Today, this lack of communication and participation is seen as intergovernmental economic institutions, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) or the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) negotiate free trade legislation that will allow corporate interests to supercede even governmental

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[221] Habermas, J. (1973) *Legitimation Crisis.* Trans. Thomas McCarthy. (Boston: Beacon Press) 36
[222] Silos, M. (2000)

constitutions.[223] Their rationale is that it will boost economic growth, which will be good for the quality of life of citizens. Yet, there is evident concern posed by the public that this is not the case; that rather than promote the quality of living, it will merely boost the profit margins of large multinational corporations and their shareholders. This concern is hardly given space to be voiced, let alone the concerns incorporated meaningfully into the institutions' legislation.[224] The FTAA protests in Quebec City in April 2001 will suffice as an example to the lack of communication and mutual understanding on this issue: a chain-link fence and rows of riot police stood between the concerned public on the "outside" and the bureaucratic negotiators on the "inside". The process was built upon the instrumental rationality of free trade and not upon the communicative rationality of deciding whether or not free trade is beneficial for society at large. This is, unfortunately, the norm for many political economic issues today.

Some development institutions accept that fostering communicative rationality through participation or consensus processes greatly enhances the outcomes of development. This is particularly the case with alternative development strategies and in terms of community development. In the mid 1990s, a National Task Force on Consensus and Sustainability was established by the [Canadian] National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy to promote, develop and use consensus-based processes in achieving sustainability. In the process of this work, they found "that a consensus process could develop the cooperative working relationships and innovative solutions necessary to achieve sustainability."[225] They continue to say how:

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[223] Shyrbman, Steven. *Water for People and Nature* conference (2001)

[224] To demonstrate this, while public concern devolved the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) it has resurfaced in other legislation, such as in the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) in the WTO. Public concern had a token place in discussions, that is, enough for the MAI to be dissolved in its previous form, yet the concept of the MAI clearly remains a part of economic globalization regardless of the concern from the public. S. Shyrbman. (2001)

[225] Cormick, G., N. Dale, P. Emond, S.G. Sigurdson and B. D. Stuart. 1996. *Building Consensus for a Sustainable Future: Putting Principles into Practice.* National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy. p. 1

> "Achieving sustainability is not primarily a technical or scientific challenge – although there is much to learn about how ecosystems work and respond to human activity. Nor is the challenge merely to manage our resources more effectively although there is much room for improvement in that, too. Rather, it is about dealing with people and their diverse cultures, interests, visions, priorities, and needs. .... It is through consensus that the 'people' differences can be addressed, understood, and resolved within the context of the best technical and scientific information. And it is through building consensus that we develop a collective commitment to manage scarce resources wisely."[226]

The National Round Table laid out ten underlying principles to building consensus that make up an important base for community development in many contexts. These ten principles include having voluntary participation that is inclusive, flexible and designed by the participants. Such a process respects diverse interests where participants are accountable for these interests to their constituents. Finally, the process is carried out within time limits and decisions made through consensus are implemented and monitored.[227] This methodology and process offers an effective way to build collaboration and mutual understanding in community development. This creates a space for, and gives validity to, inter-subjective dialogue. This expands the base on which development decision are made – no longer are decisions for development activities and options informed solely by quantitative economics or scientific criteria. Rather, in addition to drawing upon empirical science, a diversity of opinions, ideas and perspectives are heard as well.

In addition to including communicative rationality in development, we need to include the reflections on, and perceptions of, "self" in both society and nature.[228]

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[226] Cormick, G. *et al.* (1996), p 3

[227] Cormick, G. et al. (1996), p. 7-103.

[228] Often communicative rationality and self-awareness are interrelated: the inter-subjective understanding shared among people through the communication process often lead to greater self-consciousness. See "The Critical Theory of Jurgen Habermas", chapter 5 p 182-183, *in* Wuthnow, R.,

By fostering self-reflection, individuals can better understand their current and potential role in effecting positive change in their community or society, as well as their individual impact on the environment. Social change always begins with the individual, since the individual re-creates society through everyday interactions.[229] Thus, community development often begins with empowerment of individuals through reflecting on their role in the community and coming together to discuss their opinions, needs and aspirations.

Self-empowerment, consciousness-raising and individual capacity-building are cornerstone components of integral development approaches. When individuals think about their role in the community and their impact on the surrounding environment, they are able to see both their negative and positive effects. Through self-examination and consciousness-raising, people are much more interested in coming together to find solutions to problems or to perpetuate positive attributes of current actions. Coupled with capacity building, empowered individuals can play an immense role in the community's development process.

Moreover, development practitioners in Sri Lanka say that through meditative practice, individuals are not only motivated and mobilized to act for the development of the village, but it also helps in precipitating the transformational change towards a connected and compassionate (in other words, worldcentric) perspective. According to Ariyaratne, director of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, the key to social change lies in every individual; "only through inner transformation can the outside world change."[230]

Conventional development has greatly diminished the importance and place of self-reflection in the development process. While this lack of self-reflection may

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J.D. Hunter, A. Bergesen and E. Kurzweil. *Cultural Analysis. The Work of Peter L. Berger, Mary Douglas, Michel Foucault and Jurgen Habermas.* (Boston: Routeledge and Kegan Paul).

[229] Work on the "unconscious dimension of the social" offers empirical examples of how individuals re-create the society around them. See: Leledakis, Kanakis. 1995. *Society and Psyche: Social Theory and the Unconscious Dimension of the Social.* (Oxford: Berg Publishers) 191-195

[230] see http://www.foundation.novartis.com/sarvodaya_movement.htm.

be beneficial for a capitalist system to keep laborers working to fulfil their unquestioned desire for possessions, it is pathological for the society in that fewer individuals are included in decision-making and governance. If they do not think their voice plays a role in their own future, they no longer reflect on what their opinion might have been, let alone do they offer it.

Instrumental rationality, based on scientism, has obviously taken the front seat in most of our political economic processes today, especially in those relating to "development". If critics are correct in saying that many of our problems today are a result of such "one-sidedness", we must integrate these three domains of self-reflection and communicative rationality with instrumental rationality. Integrating these three spheres on a national or global scale is entirely necessary but quite daunting, especially when the effects of centralized decision-making are not explicitly seen and often purposefully hidden. The immense ecological footprint of a city, for example, goes largely unnoticed by the inhabitants within it; the consequences of buying clothes made in "sweat shop" factories are certainly not included in marketing campaigns.

Integrating the three spheres at a local level, however, seems more tangible. In a community, people *do* talk about their common future; residents *can* see how they effect their neighbors and the environment; inhabitants *can* see that the economy is linked to the ecology. Community development can, and in many cases does, honor the three spheres of objective truth, inter-subjective justness and subjective introspection while also moving away from primarily egocentric perspectives to more worldcentric ones. In the following section, I explore how this integration can occur at a local level.

Examples of Integral Community Development

At the end of Chapter Two, I gave a brief example of where "critical" alternatives to development included (theoretically) an integral model (with the Basic Human Needs approach) and also introduced the work of Mahatma Gandhi in integral rural development. In this section, I expand on some examples of community development work that used or uses a more integrated approach with an overarching objective of social transformation toward worldcentrism. The examples I chose to discuss in this limited space offer us a template for working in integral community development. They include Mahatma Gandhi's village-based development based on a Sarvodaya Order and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, and Maureen Silos offers a further analytical example of addressing underdevelopment in the Caribbean with an integral approach.

Mahatma Gandhi described and embodied a model of sustainable development that offers an excellent alternative to the capital-intensive, industrial development of the West. The entire approach integrated the three spheres of individual consciousness, communicative processes and instrumental rationality, and this technique was deeply rooted in fostering a worldcentric perspective that would, in turn, inform all further activities in societal interactions. His life and work gives us a valuable template for sustainable development at the community level. Rightly so, the social-justice and environmental movements have adopted or been influenced in part by his approach and philosophy.

Gandhi essentially restructured the concept and practice of "development" away from what colonial rule dictated to be more culturally appropriate. This involved integrating the sphere of objective structures (institutions, the economy and governance) with the spheres of culture and self-reflection. In terms of the former, he envisioned a local political economy based on participatory decentralized governance and community-based economic self-reliance. He believed that a bottom-up decentralized approach (called *swaraj*) would be the best route to Indian

development since, "India is in villages, if villages perish, India perishes".[231] With this in mind, he said that each village would be a republic or *panchayat* and would have its own powers, and while it would be self-governing and independent, it would also engage in a "free and voluntary play of mutual forces" with its neighbours and from the world. [232]

He focussed economic processes around the village, suggesting that economic self-reliance would allow villages to be self-sufficient and independent of the colonialist economy. He called the concept of self-reliance *swadeshi* and explains that:

> "It should be intolerable for all thinking Indians that our raw materials should be exported to Europe and that we have to pay heavy prices therefor. The first and last remedy for this is *swadeshi*. ... When *swadeshi* pervades the country, everyone will be set a-thinking why cotton should not be refined and spun and woven in the place where it is produced, and when the *swadeshi mantra* resounds in every ear, millions of men will have in their hands the key to the economic salvation of India."[233]

In terms of the spheres of introspection and communicative rationality, Gandhi made explicit the link between self-transformation and social transformation, and this formed the crux of the struggle for independence, justice and rural development. *Satyagraha*, the study of the self, played a key role in self/social transformation. It drew attention to the role of self-examination as well as to communication and mutual understanding between peoples.

> "This method of self-transformation [Gandhi] called *satyagraha* and it was characterized by an earnest desire and effort to make truth, non-

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[231] Khoshoo, T.N. (1995), p 66
[232] Iyer, R. (1990), p 347
[233] Iyer, R. (1990), p 365.

violence and justice pervade every aspect of one's personality as well as inter-personal interactions."[234]

Linking the forces of truth (*satya*) and non-violence (*ahimsa*), the practitioners of *satyagraha* were empowered to liberate themselves from injustice. "The aim of the *satyagraha* struggle was to infuse manliness in cowards and to develop the really human virtues, and its field was the passive resistance [against injustice]..." True *satyagrahis* were able to re-envision an independent India that engaged all sectors of society in the village's or country's own development, and imbued people with respect and care for nature, rather than its exploitation.

The core of Gandhi's concept of "development" was *sarvodaya*, or "welfare of all". *Sarvodaya* is the full manifestation of a worldcentric approach, where the "greatest-good-of-all" principle replaces ego-based or selfish priorities. [235] The practice of *sarvodaya* is done through non-violence, or *ahimsa*, and holding the ideal of *yajna*, or any act (thought, word or deed) done for the welfare of others. Gandhi makes it clear that "'others' embraces not only humanity, but all life",[236] thus his theory and practice absolutely includes respect and care for the environment.[237] Moreover, the *sarvodaya* is keenly aware of social marginalization and its effects; thus it promoted equal rights to women and the poor.[238] This worldcentric vision and practice offers us a replicable template for community development elsewhere.

In summary, Mahatma Gandhi's entire philosophy re-cast the practice and goal of "development". He agreed that modernization and economic progress have a role in development, but purported that they should go along with promoting collaborative, ethical and spiritual values in life.[239] Thus, the Gandhian Model of

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[234] Palshikar, V. 1998. "Gandhi – a model of alternative thinking" *In Report of the workshop: Cultural Values and Sustainable Alternatives*, December 1997, Bangalore, Alliance for a Responsible and United World; Pipal Tree, Bangalore, India, p 15 *in* S. Harper. (2000), p 39-40.
[235] Iyer, Raghavan. (1990), p 376
[236] Iyer, Raghavan. (1990), p 379
[237] see Khoshoo, T. N. (1995)
[238] Harper, S. (2000), p 40
[239] Misra, R.P. 1989. *Gandhian Model of Development and World Peace.* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company) p 193

Rural Development reoriented planning to address the felt needs of the poorest of the poor, concentrating on villages and villagers. This model envisaged that governance should be bottom-up not top-down; goals should be self-defined and not stranger-defined; production should be aimed at basic goods to fulfill basic needs with use-values, and not at non-basic and greed-oriented luxury goods with exchange-value; the process of production should be by masses and not through mass production; and the whole approach should be pluralistic and not singularist.[240] He dared to think and act outside of what colonial domination prescribed, and created communities (or also called ashrams) to enact his alternative theories. His work greatly influenced Indian economic and political policy during and after Independence as well as numerous civil society organizations and communities throughout the world.[241]

One example of a Gandhi-influenced model of community development that is also rooted in Buddhist development philosophy is called the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka.[242] It combines the Buddhist principles of loving kindness, compassion, joy and equanimity with Gandhian-inspired grass-roots work that addresses the needs of rural populations. The aim of the Shramadana Movement is to

> "...encourage every individual to work towards double liberation in the Buddhist sense: freeing one's mind of its limitations, and liberating the community in a non-violent way from unjust socio-economic

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[240] Misra, R.P. (1989), p 192-193

[241] However, Nehru, the first president after Independence, began to follow neoclassical economic policies and mainstream development processes. Most presidents since then have similarly followed the conventional model. This is common trend in most countries (including and particularly in Latin America, of which I will expand on in the following chapters), as the world undergoes economic globalization. Just because it is a common trend, however, does not mean that it is a correct one. Analysts explain how the "so-called free-market miracle" agenda, which makes these countries "darlings" of large development financial institutions (like the World Bank) and other international investors and which precipitate removal of tariffs and widespread privatization, may stimulate economic growth, yet little of these tangible benefits actually reach the ordinary people. See ECN – The Economist. March 22, 1997. Volume 342. Issue 8009.

[242] Kapur, P. 2000. Chapter 1 *in* S. Harper. (2000), p 41.

conditions by doing community work, by sharing, and by participating in the holistic development of the community."[243]

The process of development in the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement integrates the three spheres of consciousness, culture and empirical forms. Individuals set to work to create and build a rural infrastructure, such as preparing and tending agricultural lands, building and staffing schools and medicinal facilities and communal meeting centres. People are encouraged to share, to converse with each other and to perform constructive activities together without considering the differences of class and caste. This fosters the principle of equality and mutual understanding. Finally, since "the key to social change lies in every individual", Sarvodaya aims to "awake" loving kindness, compassion, the joy of living derived from making others happy, and equanimity through meditative work.[244]

Today, over 8,600 villages in Sri Lanka are part of a movement to integrate the three important dimensions of community development.[245] The country has better social indicators (such as infant mortality and literacy of women, etc) than practically all developing countries with a similar level on income.[246] Gandhian Rural Development and Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement for community development point the way towards a truly integral community development. Our next question should be *how* we can replicate such inspiring models in other parts of the world.

Maureen Silos has also asked this question. She contends that,

"the new conceptualization of development and liberation will also recognize that development is a multidimensional process including

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[243] see: Gangrade. K. D. *Gandhian Ideal Development and Social Change. (Theory and Practice)* (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre) pp. 17-18 for a discussion about how the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (being a *swaraj* society at the grassroots) aids in liberating local communities and filtering upwards to free an entire nation from the shackles of economic globalization.

[244] See http://www.foundation.novartis.com/sarvodaya_movement.htm.

[245] Kapur, P. 2000. Chapter One *in* Harper, S. (2000), p 41

[246] See http://www.foundation.novartis.com/sarvodaya_movement.htm.

> material, emotional, mental and spiritual aspects, as analyzed in Wilber's model of the compound individual."[247]

She goes on to say how a multidimensional and integral understanding of development must be embedded in a deep ecological awareness, must have a transcultural perspective and must draw upon varied disciplines.[248] Her use of Wilber's four-quadrant model (described at the beginning of this chapter) in underdevelopment in the Caribbean suggest that Caribbean social science can finally begin to envision "development" from their own cultural and psychological perspective, not from the standpoint of the capitalist elite. Or, in her words,

> "Our history of colonialism, which was not only a system of economic exploitation, but also profoundly a system of psychological and cultural domination, cannot be ignored in favor of a model of economic development that is based on the myth of a white, middle-class, individualistic, profit maximizing, rational economic man as the principal actor."[249]

These examples from India, Sri Lanka and the Caribbean are inspirational in their theory and practice. To further this inquiry into *integral community development*, I now turn to my research in a case study community in El Salvador.

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[247] Silos, M. (2000)

[248] In Silos (2000) *cit op 19*, she explains how Wilber's work provides an organizing framework for such a transdisciplinary integration.

[249] Silos, M. (2000) *cit op 19*.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Integral community development in San Juan del Gozo, El Salvador

In this chapter, I describe my work in "integral community development" in a coastal community in Jiquilisco Bay, El Salvador. As an introduction, I discuss national development policies and review El Salvador's history of development policies. Coupled with current day environmental and socioeconomic issues, it becomes clear that there is a need to better include communities, ecosystems and "interiority" in development processes and largely the means to do so. Then I describe my methodology, explaining the study region of Jiquilisco Bay. I continue with a detailed overview of the community including its social, economic and cultural situation, based on my first set of data collection. Then, in the following chapter, I describe in more depth the process of working towards integral community development with two focus groups, drawing on my second set of data.

Background to Development in El Salvador

El Salvador, one of the smallest countries in Central America, is the second most environmentally degraded country in the Western Hemisphere (after Haiti) and has experienced one of the most violent civil wars in the region. Yet, within this history of ecological demise and social struggle, El Salvador has tried other alternative models of "development". Many of these alternatives stemmed from liberation theology, community empowerment and popular education theory, and many were imbued with socialist ideology. The results of such experimentation with alternative models include the shift in land tenure from private owners to communities, the formation of cooperatives throughout the country and the tradition of community organizing distinctive of rural areas.

Regardless of this attempt to work with such alternative models, however, a decade after peace accords current economic policies are more aligned with the capitalist industrial model of development that denies space for communities and ecosystems in the development process. [250] *Why* the country turned away from the more alternative development models proposed during the civil war of the 1970s and 1980s toward conventional economic development policies, has played on my mind throughout my time in El Salvador. After searching the literature in El Salvador for some clue as to why this shift occurred, I finally found a discussion on the topic in a public education resource.[251] It explains that the Peace Accords after the war did not contemplate a new economic model. In the *socioeconomic* chapter of the Accords, the Preamble explains that the discord in political economic ideologies of the government at the time (*ARENA*, right-wing party) and the *Frente* (FMLN, left-wing party) were not the objectives of these Accords.[252] The new political situation after the Peace Accords and the end of armed resistance opened new spaces to seek changes in the social and economic structure, yet instead of taking up that opportunity, the government never actually intended to re-evaluate the economic model.[253] Rather it sought to mitigate the social costs of structural adjustment, investigating no further into new, more equitable and sustainable models.

Thus, following the neoliberal agenda, through the 1990s, the country oriented its national economic development policies to that of free-market capitalism. This included the reduction and simplification of import tariffs, elimination of export tax and of restrictions on foreign investment in place of further incentives for investment, alignment with the GATT and the WTO, and

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[250] For a description of current Salvadoran economic policy, see Centre for Intercultural Learning. *El Salvador, An Introduction*. (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Foreign Service Institute) pp 137-147, 2001

[251] Aguilar, José Victor. 1999. El Neoliberalismo. (San Salvador, El Salvador: Asociación Equipo Maíz, 1999) p 57-58.

[252] Aguilar, José Victor. (1999), p57-58.

[253] Aguilar, José Victor. (1999), p57, p57-58.

liberalization of price controls.[254] This went with a process of dollarization and privatization of banks and pensions, electric energy and telecommunication services.[255] Proponents of such conventional development contend that these steps must be taken to increase in growth and, in turn, growth will translate into a higher quality of life.

However, according to UNDP Human Development Report for El Salvador for 2001, the shift to more conventional economic development policies has a negative side as well as the touted positive one.[256] For example, the country has had a growth rate of 4-5% a year since the war, which ended in 1992, yet this growth has not been equitable.[257] It has been focussed in certain sectors, such as financial services and textile factories ("maquilas"), which have grown at an average annual rate of more than 10%, while the agriculture and livestock sector (the most important sector for generating employment) had an average rate of 1.2 %.[258] Moreover, the inequality in income distribution remains one of the most pronounced in the world where 20% of the most rich receive 18 times that of the poorest 20%.[259] Today, while foreign investment has increased, minimum wage is lower than what it was in 1996.[260]

Moreover, the UNDP report laments the contradiction that while the country is considered one of the most economically liberal, it is infamous for its intense level of violence and crime that has converted the country into one of the most violent and insecure in the world.[261] This violence has been a phenomenon over the last decade, that is, *since* Peace Accords and (perhaps not coincidentally) over the same time period that these economic measures were taken by government. Many civil

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[254] Rodriguez, William Adalberto Pleitez, (Ed.) *Informe Sobre Desarrollo Humano: El Salvador 2001.* Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, PNUD (San Salvador: PNUD, 2001). pp 10-11
[255] Rodriguez, W. A. P. (Ed.) PNUD (2001), pp 10-11
[256] Rodriguez, W. A. P. (Ed.) PNUD (2001), pp 1-4.
[257] Rodriguez, W. A. P. (Ed.) PNUD (2001), p 11
[258] Rodriguez, W. A. P. (Ed.) PNUD (2001), p 11
[259] Rodriguez, W. A. P. (Ed.) PNUD (2001), p 2
[260] Rodriguez, W. A. P. (Ed.) PNUD (2001), p 1
[261] Rodriguez, W. A. P. (Ed.) PNUD (2001), p 3

society organizations concur that establishing definitive peace in the country requires abandoning the neoliberal economic model, which currently affects the majority of the population.[262]

Clearly there has been economic growth, but it has not actually "trickled down" to the ordinary folks of the nation.[263] Indeed, the "zealous embrace of free-marketry", with the reduction of tariffs, privatization of banks and pensions, the establishment of "maquiladoras" (or commonly known in the West as "sweat-shops") and the flood of foreign investment (particularly from South Korea and Taiwan), has made the "fat cats fatter, while the poor – over half of the populace – have grown poorer.[264]

In addition to these socioeconomic issues, El Salvador is a country plagued with environmental problems that stem from decades of overexploitation of natural resources, a twelve-year civil war and high population density.[265] Colonialism had adverse affects on Salvadoran forests. By the 1800s, even with a low population density, the demand for lumber and smelting, the burning and clearing of forest for livestock grazing, and the extensive cultivation of indigo took a heavy tool on the natural forests of the country.[266] In the 1900s, the population and export-oriented industries greatly increased, leading to a continuous expansion of commercial crops, such as sugar cane and coffee. By the 1950s and 1960s, huge regions of land were cultivated for cotton at the expense of the ecosystem and the local inhabitants who could no longer subsist on that land.[267] In the face of wide spread cash crop cultivation, small farming families were forced off fertile lands, and had to cultivate

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[262] Aguilar, José Victor. (1999), p58.
[263] ECN – The Economist. Volume 341. Issue 8009. March 22, 1997.
[264] ECN – The Economist. *Ibid.*
[265] Arene, Alberto, "La Nueva Estructura de la Tenencia de la Tierra y la Necesidad de una Nueva Oportunidad al Desarrollo Agropecuario en El Salvador." *in* Romeo Maeda and Stefan Roggenbuck (Eds.) *Situación Agraria y Cooperativismo en El Salvaodr"* (San Salvador: Imprenta Criterio, 1995), p. 9
[266] Daugherty, Howard E., Charles A. Jeanneret-Grosjean, and H.F. Fletcher. (1979) *Ecodevelopment and International Co-operation: Potential Applications in El Salvador.* Joint Project on Environment and Development, no. 6. CIDA and the Advanced Concepts Centre Department of the Environment. Ottawa. p.29
[267] Daugherty, et al. (1979), p 30-31

ecologically sensitive mountainous soils, resulting in further deforestation and erosion. At this time, only 10 % of the country retained original forest, and the population was climbing. During the 1980s, the civil war caused much ecological damage from the military's 'scorched earth' policies and use of napalm defoliants.

In recent years, industrial expansion and overpopulation has perpetuated the ecological damage of previous decades.[268] Today, 90% of the rivers are contaminated, possibly due to the fact that no Salvadoran city has an effective sewage treatment plant, and the country's future drinking water supply is a source of grave concern.[269] As the second-most deforested country in the Americas, less than 5% of forest cover remains, with only 3% original forests are standing.[270] More than half of all the energy expended in the nation comes from wood (that is, more than hydroelectric and petroleum combined) which creates problems of air contamination as well as further denuding forest stands. In urban areas, air pollution is the leading cause of death for children under five years, with approximately 0.9 metric tons of industrial carbon dioxide emissions per capita.[271] 77% of the soil is eroded and have productivity problems, especially in the northern region where excessive forest clearance, steep slopes and overused soils have led to serious soil deterioration.[272]

The adverse effects on the environment impact the social and economic sectors, in an unfortunate positive feedback loop. The government's focus is directed more towards maintaining low environmental regulations to attract foreign investment (which is believe to boost quality of living) than to up-grading environmental protection. Yet, the UNDP report indicates that the lack of research

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[268] For an overview of environmental situation in El Salvador during the 20th century, see Alvarenga, Luis (ed.) *Econciencia, Revista del Centro Salvadoreño de Tecnología Apropriada, CESTA.* "La Herencia del Siglo XX en la Ecología Salvadoreña" (San Salvador: Hivos, 1999), pp.13-23.

[269] PNUD, *Índice de Desarrollo Humano 1994: BCIE. Subprograma Regional de Preservación del medio ambiente. In* Fundación Nacional para el Desarrollo (Funde). 1997. "Crecimiento estéril o desarrollo: Versión Popular." *Bases para la Construcción de un Nuevo Proyecto Económico en El Salvador.* p 50-51; and ABC-CLIO, World Geography 2001 *in* Centre for Intercultural Learning. *El Salvador, An Introduction.* (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Foreign Service Institute) p 77.

[270] ABC-CLIO, World Geography 2001 *in* Centre for Intercultural Learning. *El Salvador, An Introduction.* (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Foreign Service Institute, 2001) p 15, 77.

[271] ABC-CLIO, World Geography (2001), p 15, 77.

and development of appropriate technologies, of more effective legislation and regulatory measures for environmental protection, as well as the lack of an ecologically-minded culture to effectively conserve the environment constitute considerable barriers to development that meet social and economic needs.[273]

In spite of the country's history of civil strife, social injustice and ecological deterioration, Salvadorans have boldly experimented with more equitable social, political, economic and (in some cases) ecological structures. Civil struggles in El Salvador began with the indigenous peoples resistance during colonial times, which culminated in a massacre of 30,000 people in 1932 called La Mataza, and continued with the civil war during the 1970s – 1980s, which addressed the gross injustice of land and wealth distribution. Immediately after the peace accords in the early 1990s, many of the social structures and political economic arrangements were re-thought. During (and just after) the war, people were open to alternative models for development that included individual consciousness-raising, community organization and local economic alternatives, with interest, according to Torres-Rivas and Gonzalez-Suarez (1994) in decentralization and strengthening of rural communities.[274]

The cooperative movement played a particularly important role in re-designing land ownership and in community development schemes. Ideas for cooperative organizing first arose via the Catholic Church to address extreme poverty and disempowerment – two legacies from colonialization which were further entrenched by the establishment of export-oriented industries based on cheap labor from the landless peasantry. As inequities in power and land ownership became more and more evident in El Salvador, the Church entered more visibly into discourses on worker's and people's rights. Under the ideology of liberation theology, priests, such as Father Rutilio Grande, began to work towards

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[272] PNUD, *Índice de Desarrollo Humano* (1994), p 50-51, and ABC-CLIO, World Geography (2001), p 77.
[273] Rodriguez, W. A. P. (Ed.) PNUD (2001), p 3

> "a community of brothers and sisters committed to building a new world, with no oppressors and no suppressed, according to God's plan."[275]

This plan included comprehensive community development initiatives and the formation of cooperatives and credit unions.[276]

Addressing power inequities and poverty eventually led to the civil war in the 1970s, and served as an impetus to further promote cooperatives as community-led development initiatives. During this time, the Farabundo Marti National Front (FMLN) focussed on building these alternative development models with the belief that,

> "building economic power within civil society can include both building a strong cooperative sector as well as promoting other forms of associative community enterprise."[277]

Agrarian reforms designed during the final years of the war included, along with land redistribution, the establishment of hundreds of co-operatives in the countryside. Phase One of the Agrarian Reform in 1992 transferred ownership of 472 properties (of lands over 1235 acres) into cooperatives, which included 8% of all peasant families, roughly 31,000 coop members.[278] By May 1993, there were 1,494 rural cooperative associations with over 71,000 members.[279]

Today, however many cooperatives suffer under the weight of debt-repayment and the need for better organizational capacity. Many of the cooperatives formed during the Peace Accords were extremely financially strapped, yet they were required to pay the government the total cost of expropriated lands,

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[274] Torres-Rivas, Edelberto and Mirta Gonzales-Suarez (1994) *Obstacles and Hopes. Perspectives for Democratic Development in El Salvador.* Democratic Development Studies, International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development. San Jose, June 1994, p 59.

[275] Berryman, Philip (1984) *The Religious Roots of Rebellion.* (Maryland, NY: Orbis) p. 152.

[276] Steele, Harvey (Pablo), S.F.M. (1986.) *Winds of Change: Social Justice Through Cooperatives. Evaluation of Cooperative in Latin America and the Caribbean.* Cooperative Resources. (Hantsport, Nova Scotia: Lancelot Press Ltd.), p. 150: In 1966, the Credit Union Federation was formed, in 1969 the first co-operative law was passed and in 1970 a government institution opened to promote co-operatives.

[277] Steele, Harvey (Pablo), S.F.M. (1986), p 19-20

[278] Mena, David. (1993) *"Lograra el sindicalismo un proyecto propio?"* Tendencias No. 23, September, El Salvador. p. 18 in Torres-Rivas, and Gonzales-Suarez. (1994), p 154.

government funded improvements, livestock, machinery and so on. Although they were given a 20-30 year period to do this,

> "A consultant's report to American International Development (AID) pointed out that as of November 1984, 95% of the cooperatives lacked the financial resources to pay back their debts (then totally around $800 million); in fact, three-quarters of them lacked the resources just to keep up with the service payments"[280]

According to Browning, by 1982, 28 cooperatives had been abandoned with another 21 in danger of abandonment.[281] In recent years, development practitioners note that some cooperatives in the department of Usulatán are looking to sell their land to be able to pay off this debt,[282] which would put them in a position of disempowerment and landlessness once again.

Even though some cooperatives are floundering in debt-payments and lack of institutional support, the Salvadoran cooperative movement clearly has an important role in sustainable community development. Increasingly, cooperatives are receiving financial and capacity-building support from nongovernmental organizations as well as some state programs, to carry out this role. Moreover, cooperatives are in key position to connect with the emerging northern organic and fair-trade markets, again underlining their role in community, and even national, sustainable development.

In addition to the cooperative movement in El Salvador, another particularly distinctive Latin American alternative to conventional development that was prevalent throughout the civil struggles of the 1970s up until today, was liberation theology, which linked the need for cultural and social justice with that of locally-

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[279] in Torres-Rivas, and Gonzales-Suarez. (1994), p 60.
[280] United States, House 1985b: 284 *in* Brockett, Charles D. (1988) *Land, Power and Poverty. Agrarian Reform Transformation and Political Conflict in Central America.* (Boston: Unwin Hyman), p 160.
[281] Browning (1983) "Agrarian Reform in El Salvador" Journal of Latin American Studies, 15 (2) 399-405 *in* Brockett, (1988), p 164.
[282] Rafael Vela Nuila, Salvadoran Center for Appropriate Technology (CESTA) and Brigette Pinnard, Oxfam-Quebec in San Salvador. Personal communication, 2000

based resource stewardship. Liberation theology replaced the notion of "development" with "liberation", and rejected globalization of Western culture, with its focus on competition and individualism in place of cooperation and contemplation.[283] Liberation theologians also advocated the creation of a regional, low-scale economy, based largely on local resources, relying mainly on local skills, and serving primarily the local people.[284] Today, many civil society organizations that work at the community level combine alternatives to development, such as the formation of cooperatives for social and economic security and community-based resource use, with the ethical and cultural components of liberation theology.

In conclusion, the nation's dominant economic policies do not adequately address community or ecosystem needs – the gap between rich and poor remains and the degradation of the environment continues. Yet, its history of civil struggle as well as its alternative practices and philosophies in development, particularly the cooperative movement and liberation theology, offer some possible alternatives for sustainable and equitable local development. In El Salvador, there is an apparent *need* to carry out a type of development that includes communities, ecosystems and "interiority", and there is largely the *means* by which to do this. Indeed, it is an interesting place to explore the methodology and process of integral community development.

Methodology and Intent

I designed my thesis research in a participatory, community-directed and "integral" manner.[285] Since such an approach is not, as of yet, described by other

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[283] See Gutierrez, Gustavo. (1973) And: Baum, G. Chapter 2 *in* S. Harper. (2000), p 62.

[284] Baum, G. Chapter 2 *in* S. Harper. (2000) *cit op 7*, p 62-63.

[285] For background on the theory and practice of participatory and community-directed methodology, I drew upon the following: Whyte, W.F. (ed) 1991. *Participatory Action Research.* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications); Margoluis, R. and N. Salafsky. *Measures of Success: Designing, Managing, and Monitoring Conservation and Development Projects.* (Washington, D.C. Island Press); and Jackson and Klassam (1998). For analysis of my qualitative data, my reference materials included: Dey, I. 1993. *Qualitative Data Analysis. A User-Friendly Guide for Social Scientists.* (London and New York: Routeledge); and

theorists, I tried a combination of *participatory action research (PAR)* methodology with an "integral approach". That is, an approach that integrates the three domains of self-reflection, communicative rationality and instrumental rationality (based on Wilber's model of the "Big Three", see chapter three) and placed within a movement towards worldcentric perspectives. In my research, the integral approach was implicit, set the context for and informed the more specific and explicit activities of PAR. Taken together, I refer to this methodology as "integral PAR".

As some readers may point out, in many ways PAR already encompasses an "integral approach", with self-reflection, communication and participation as well as instrumental action as three strong pillars of the methodology. However, thinking of PAR in terms of an integral framework helped me to visualize and pay attention to the other subtle dimensions of the research, namely the complexity of the human psyche, the place of spirituality and religion, and the richness of the cultural context. In this way, the integral approach was less of a specific "methodology" as it was a guide for me in using the (more specific) PAR.

With integral PAR methodology, participants reflected on their individual roles within focus groups, the community as a whole and even the surrounding environment. The methodology fostered a space for discussion on common needs, shared ethics and a group vision, for collaboration to answer their pertinent questions and problems, and for deciding upon a course of action to address these problems. Integral PAR also enabled participants to identify the appropriate instruments (social, economic and ecological) for carrying out their intended projects. In this way, not only were we studying a model for integral community development, but also embodying this model through active work; to some degree testing its strength from the word "go".

Krueger, R. A. 1998. *Analyzing and Reporting Focus Group Results. Focus Group Kit 6.* (London: Sage Publications).

I coupled my research with a NGO called CESTA (The Salvadoran Center for Appropriate Technology) to root the research in practical and necessary environmental work in El Salvador, and to ensure continuity of the project once I had left. CESTA had plans to work in the region before my research began; thus my findings are helpful for their work in the area. Since the research was also work, I made sure that my methodology was serving both purposes. This dual-objective was evident in the procedures I used throughout the study. For example, entering the community not only allowed CESTA staff to explain who they were and what plans they have for the area, but also allowed me to introduce the concept and scope of the research which, in turn, would facilitate further work in the community by CESTA.

I worked with the "EcoMarino team" in CESTA which was comprised of four people with experience in environmental issues, community development and social work, one of which was my research assistant.[286] Rafael Vela Nuila particularly assisted my research when it was possible throughout my time there, especially helping to facilitate the initial meetings in the community and some of the key final meetings where "next steps" were discussed with the focus groups. My research assistant, Concepción Yesenia Juarez, worked part-time with me from September 2000 to January 2001 and was also studying in social work at the university level. The participatory action research methodology enabled her to put into practice much of what she was simultaneously learning in university. Her presence in the study was invaluable, as she showed me the cultural norms in rural areas through her actions and behavior, helped facilitate meetings, took notes during interviews and group discussions and de-briefed with me on a regular basis, which enabled us to cross-reference our results. In 2001 and 2002, Sofía Baires, Rosibel Acosta Cantón and Hamish Millar helped with data collection and with the two focus groups. The relationship with CESTA was a key component of the research, of which its importance cannot be understated.

[286] For the remainder of this paper, when I refer to "us" or "we" in the research process, I am referring to the CESTA EcoMarino team, including all or some of these individuals, as well as myself.

The study was designed in three phases. In the first phase of the project, I and my research assistant carried out house-by-house open-ended interviews which were purposefully designed not only to gain knowledge of the socioeconomic, ecological and political issues in the community, but also to build trust between CESTA and the community inhabitants. In the second phase of the project, we began two sets of focus group discussions with the local women's council and the community fisherfolk to identify their main issues of concern in terms of community development and to seek actions to address such issues. These groups were identified based on the needs and interests of the community as well as how CESTA could best address community and environmental concerns. During the third phase, we collectively reflected upon the previous focus groups, visited other communities working in development and conservation, and then decided upon a course of action by which the focus groups, and the community as a whole, could address their issues and further their own development process.

I was a participant-observer throughout the three phases, noting my own perspectives, role and activities and also those of the other participants. Oftentimes, pertinent data for this research came when we were not engaged in an organized interview or a formal focus group, but rather when we paid casual visits, when talking to a store owner or fish merchant or when we conversed late into the evenings. Sometimes in private conversations, individuals would share with me their personal reflections on the family, community or development project.

Each component of the methodology played a key role in the success of the research. The introduction to the community via the local councils was a very important step in learning about the community leadership dynamics as well as meeting the leaders. The house-by-house interviews were key in forming trust bonds, in learning about the inner workings of the community, and in hearing opinions and perspectives of the inhabitants. The focus groups and exchanges

allowed us to collectively go deeper into the fundamental issues plaguing the community and seek home-grown solutions to these issues.

Problems in Data Collection:

I have encountered some problems in data collection during the fieldwork. To begin with, I specifically designed my interview process to be open-ended. Thus, while the interview covered the same categories,[287] interviewees had free range on how they wanted to answer, some simply answered the question briefly while others embarked on a monologue of 20 minutes. While this unstructured, qualitative approach had many benefits, it also had drawbacks. It was beneficial in allowing people to freely expand on any topic and it did not back the interviewee into a limited answer. It was also important in making the interviewee comfortable; through creating an atmosphere of conversation rather than interrogation, the boundary between interviewer and interviewee was greatly reduced.

However, such a qualitative process, although systematic, can produce gaps in the data collected. For example, when some people may not have mentioned some things while others elaborated grandly on that particular point, the lack of comment of that topic could be due to various things. Perhaps they do not have an opinion on it, or maybe they do not know much about it, or it is even possible that they consider the topic obvious or a "given" which does not warrant discussion. Furthermore, the data collection tools regarding resource use drew upon the local knowledge of the fishery and of other resource extraction activities – I was not counting fish caught or carrying out transects to estimate numbers of iguanas hunted. While this was not the purpose of my study (i.e. it was not a science-based research project), it meant that much of the resource use data was also very

[287] See Appendix 1

subjective. This high degree of subjectivity made it difficult for data analysis in an empirical sense.[288]

Some other problems associated with data collection were due to my nationality. Many times, when I was alone in the community, people would ask me for money or assistance, and yet would not ask my Salvadoran colleagues for such things. While I understood why this occurred, considering the economic poverty of the community, it worried me, as I am sure to some degree it biased my data in that interviewees may have been more inclined to expose their economic fragility in hopes to eliciting some type of charity.

Furthermore, during the month after the earthquake on January 13, 2001, my research slowed considerably. Not only because CESTA and I were helping earthquake victims, but also because the community itself had other concerns outside of the work we had been doing before the quake. In fact, I had scheduled more exchanges to facilitate idea-sharing among other coastal communities, but due to the earthquake and the many aftershocks, most of these exchanges could not be carried out.

Study area

The Jiquilisco Bay Region

My field research took place in Jiquilisco Bay, which is located on the central-eastern coast of El Salvador in the department of Usulután (Figure 2a, 2b). It is a region of islands, wetlands, estuaries, turtle-nesting grounds, and extensive mangrove forest.[289] There are 5 municipalities in the Jiquilisco Bay region (Jiquilisco,

[288] More science-based research coupled with this qualitative, community-directed research could mitigate some of this ambiguity, which is what CESTA has planned for the region in the next 3-5 years.

[289] The area of mangrove forest is 14,267 Ha: Programa de los manglares de El Salvador, Secreteria Ejecutiva del Medio Ambiente (SEMA) 31/Enero/1995, p. 1

Puerto El Triumfo, San Dionisio, Jucuarán and San Francisco Javier), with approximately 86 communities scattered throughout; most of which subsist on natural resources from the ecosystem, are economically impoverished and isolated from state interventions in the development process. A cursory look into the ecology of Jiquilisco Bay, the current state of the environment, the local socioeconomic conditions and the history of the region, shows the apparent need for integral community development.

For such an environmentally degraded country, Jiquilisco Bay is indeed a national treasure in terms of its natural ecosystems. The Bay has a variety of ecosystems, including the coastal marine habitat, wetlands and estuaries, and patches of sub-tropical forest (Figure 2c, 2d). It is also home to the largest mangrove ecosystem (14,267 hectares) in the country, with five mangrove species – 'mangle' (*Rhizophora racemosa*), 'sinchuite' (*Laguncularia racemosa*), 'istatén' (*Avicennia nitida*), 'madresal' (*Avicennia bicolor*) and 'botoncillo' (*Conocarpus erecta*)"[290] – as well as a diversity of invertebrate and vertebrate fauna.[291]

Mangroves are fragile and highly specialized ecosystems that play a key role in the coastal environment,[292] yet throughout the world they are endangered by various human activities. Jiquilisco Bay is no exception to this trend, even though it is considered ecologically diverse in view of numerous other grave environmental problems elsewhere in the country. Colonialization brought ecosystemic changes to Jiquilisco Bay, with environmentally damaging economic activities such as livestock grazing, cotton agriculture and salt production that left the land bereft of its sub-tropical forests and much of the soil polluted with the heavy use of pesticides and fertilizers.[293] Today, industrial agriculture, large-scale salt production, industrial

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[290] Secreteria Ejecutiva del Medio Ambiente (SEMA) (1995)

[291] "Educaccion Ambiental Para la Proteccion del Ecosistema Manglar" Asociación Biologas para la Educacción Ambiental y el Desarrollo Sustentable. PANKIA – Boletín Informativo JBLL" AÑO XVII, número 3, Julio-Septiembre 1998

[292] Secreteria Ejecutiva del Medio Ambiente (SEMA) (1995)

[293] Yanes Paredes, Jose Benjamin, Nohemy Elizabeth Ventura Centeno, Miguel Conzalo Salazar, and Tomas Alberto Chavez Rosales. 1991. *Diagnostico de la Situación de los Manglares en El Salvador.*

fishing, aquaculture, tourism, mangrove harvesting and the lack of adequate mechanisms for water and forest management impact the mangrove ecosystem negatively.[294]

Tenure over the majority of mangrove forests in El Salvador is held by the State, and administration of these forests is the responsibility of the National Center for Natural Resources (*Centro Nacional de Recursos Naturales*).[295] However, these regulatory bodies lack sufficient funds and personnel to carryout effective research and management responsibilities. Laws relating to mangrove protection are included in the Constitution of the Republic of El Salvador (*la Constitución de la Republica de El Salvador*), the Forest Law (*Ley Forestal*), and in the Rules for Establishing Salt-Production and Marine Aquaculture Operations in Salt-Forests (*Reglamento para el Establecimiento de Salineras y Explotaciones con Fines de Acuicultura Marina en los Bosques Salados*). The Forest Law explains that harvesting wood from mangrove forests without permission and converting mangrove forests into agricultural land are serious infractions.[296] However, law enforcement is difficult considering the lack of appropriate research into mangrove exploitation, limited personnel and inadequate management. Coupled with economic fragility in the region, it is not surprising that a major threat to the mangrove ecosystem is the incremental daily extraction of mangrove timber by local people.

The mangroves of Jiquilisco Bay are threatened by the very people that depend on them.[297] The Biologists Association that works in Jiquilisco Bay describes how marginal economic activities of poor communities affect the stability of mangroves and other ecosystems and yet these very ecosystems are the source of

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Universidad de El Salvador, Facultad de Ciencias y Humanidades, Dept. de Biologia. Confederación Universitaria Centroamericana (C.S.U.C.A). (San Salvador, Enereo de 1991), pp 45-46.

[294] Secreteria Ejecutiva del Medio Ambiente (SEMA) (1995) *cit op 296.*. And: PANKIA (1998)

[295] Yanes Paredes, J. B. *et al.* 1991. pp 38-43, 50.

[296] *Ley Forestal.* Article 61 and 62, as described in Yanes Paredes, J. B. *et al.* 1991. p 39.

[297] PANKIA (1998)

their family income.[298] The lack of economic alternatives and environmental awareness result in daily incremental destruction of the areas' natural capital, as well as the further instability of local economies.[299] Effective ways, then, to address the problem of mangrove ecosystem degradation at the local level, include addressing the socioeconomic needs of communities within an ecological framework.[300]

Merging economic development with environmental conservation is necessary to address poverty and ecosystem destruction in Jiquilisco Bay especially considering that the communities are so closely linked to the surrounding ecosystems. Precisely because of this close link, the communities of Jiquilisco Bay are in opportune positions to develop sustainable livelihoods. During the final years of the civil war, the lands of Jiquilisco Bay were re-distributed and divided among cooperatives. These local cooperatives have given the community members effective tools for developing in a socially-just, economically stable and ecologically sensitive way. Cooperatives have, as their founding principles, equitable participation in decision-making and organization, just distribution of profits, fulfillment of social needs for cooperative members and their families, and (increasingly) sustainable management of natural resources. Cooperatives in Jiquilisco Bay play an important role in facilitating the move toward sustainable economic, social and ecological systems at the community level.

The role of cooperatives in sustainable development is recognized by both governmental and non-governmental agencies that offer many of these cooperatives technical, institutional and capacity-building support. In Jiquilisco Bay, there are some governmental programs for health care and education, infrastructure support and ecological conservation, but the NGO presence is more prominent in the region with poverty alleviation projects, ecological conservation and restoration and

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[298] UNIDAD ECOLOGÍA SALVADOREÑA (UNES) "Campaña de Educacción e interpretación ambiental: En las Islas de La Bahía de Jiquilisco Para la Protección del manglar" *Ecología Salvadoreña.* Epoca No. 3, No. 20, Septiembre – Noviembre 1998. pp. 21-22.
[299] UNIDAD ECOLOGÍA SALVADOREÑA (UNES). (1998), pp. 21-22.

natural disaster relief. Indeed, NGO presence in rural areas throughout the country, including Jiquilisco Bay, has increased since the war, and their support of cooperatives, community development projects and sustainable development is visible throughout the region.

This influx of NGOs is an interesting historical trend that can bring with it positive as well as more negative results. The communities of Jiquilisco Bay have long been burdened with common problems which can give (and historically have given) rise to a self-empowered process of relying on their own means for finding solutions. However, there are other situations where this is not the case; rather than seeking home-grown solutions, community members wait for outside assistance from the government and/or, more commonly, from NGOs. While some NGO projects have been positive, others have been ineffective and have only reinforced dependency on foreign and outside assistance. On the other hand, some community groups, community councils and cooperatives have been organizing themselves, not only to solve their own problems, but also to be able to work better with NGOs once they arrive; to use support from NGOs to augment what they are already working on themselves.

In summary, in Jiquilisco Bay, there is evident need to re-conceptualize community development, taking into consideration the area's environmental situation, the ecosystem-dependant economies, a cooperatively organized social structure and the influx of NGO projects. Many of these communities are in prime positions to re-think and re-direct their development process in new, possibly uncharted but more equitable and ecological directions. Whether these communities wait for top-down development planning from either the government or NGOs, or whether they address their own development in a community-directed pro-active approach, linked in part to governmental/non-governmental support, remains to be seen. My thesis presupposed the latter might be more effective over the long-term

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[300] Yanes Paredes, J.B. *et al.* 1991, *cit op 300,* p 51, and PANKIA (1998)

and, in a case study community, I explored what a process toward such integral community development might look like.

Case Study Community: San Juan del Gozo[301]

Coastal ecosystem conservation is one of CESTA's four areas of work, and their marine eco-center is located in Jiquilisco Bay. Thus, the organization was interested to begin working with the community closest to their eco-center, which was the community of San Juan del Gozo. San Juan del Gozo is distinctive of the communities of the Jiquilisco Bay region, according to socioeconomic indicators and the condition of its surrounding environment, and thus serves as an appropriate choice for a case study. Thus, after much discussion, we decided that my research would take place in this community.

I spent 9 months in San Juan del Gozo, from September 2000 to February 2001, and then returned in November 2001 until the end of January 2002. The first phase of interviews and introductory meetings took place from September until the middle of November 2000. The second phase began during that time and continued until I left in February 2001, and resumed when I returned to the community in November 2001 until January 2002. The third phase took place from November 2001 to January 2002.

There are 154 families in the community with a total population of 1124 inhabitants made up of 320 women, 238 men, 286 girls and 280 boys.[302] Approximately half of these children are under the age of 14.[303] 134 families have a

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[301] Calling San Juan del Gozo a "case study" seems to shed my relationship with the community in a cold light. However, such a label is intended to explain its pivotal role in understanding and responding to the needs, concerns and issues in communities throughout Jiquilisco Bay and beyond.

[302] These statistics were taken from a report of a project carried out in the community by a coalition of NGOs including USAid, CLUSA, and CHF (of which I describe shortly) called *Proyecto MIRA, Mitch Integrated Reconstruction Activity. Plan de Emergecia Local*, Caserío San Juan del Gozo, Cantón San Juan del Gozo, Municipio de Jiquilisco, Departamento de Usulután. 13 de Octubre del 2000.

[303] Information gathered by Rosibel Acosta Cantón, social promoter with CESTA, in an interview with José Abner Nochez Vela, the community health promoter.

male head of the household and 20 have a female head.[304] We conducted interviews with 15 % of the families in the community, interviewing 23 families – a total of 38 interviews with 16 men and 22 women in the community – about the social, economic, ecological and political aspects of their community. (See Appendix 1 for a more detailed description of the questioning route.) I also conducted interviews with key informants (Appendix 2). Below I give an overview of the community, based on the general categories included in the interviews, as well as drawing on my observations in the community, the debriefing sessions with my assistant and the CESTA team, and the trends that emerged from the interview process.

Biophysical Aspects

San Juan del Gozo is located on the peninsula of San Juan del Gozo in Jiquilisco Bay, in the Department of Usulután (Figure 2b). It is bordered to the north by the mangroves of Jiquilisco Bay and to the south by a lagoon (also called San Juan del Gozo) that is surrounded by mangroves and extends south-east to the mouth of the Lempa River (Figure 2c). The Pacific coast is situated approximately 3.5 km to the south of the community. The land between the bay and the open ocean is largely cultivated, with minimal residual patches of forest cover (Figure 2d).

Access to and from the community is via dirt road that is often flooded during the rainy season from a town called San Marcos Lempa situated near the highway to San Salvador (Figure 2b). Public buses pass by San Juan del Gozo at 6 am going to San Marcos Lempa and return to the community in the late afternoon (2 – 4 pm). It is possible to also access the community via a town further east on the peninsula called Isla de Méndez and from there by motor boat across Jiquilisco Bay to the nearest large town called Puerto Triumfo. Merchants and other inhabitants use both routes, although the former route is more common.

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[304] Proyecto MIRA, (2000)

Background of inhabitants

The community was heavily affected by migrations during and after the civil war. Just over half (53%) of the interviewees were born and raised in the community, and approximately 47% came to the area during or after the war. Of those that migrated to the area, 53 % of immigrants came during the war and 46 % came after, and they came to San Juan del Gozo because a family member or spouse lived there. Approximately 41% of the community's original inhabitants emigrated temporarily during the civil war due to heavy violence and civil insecurity in the community and region. Some left for up to 11 years to live in Guatemala or even farther afield, others moving for only a few years or a few months to communities that were less heavily affected by the war.

In the 23 families interviewed, there was an average of 5.4 children per household, depending on the age of the husband and wife, with older parents having 7-10 children.

Infrastructure and Social Services

The housing conditions in the community are basic. Approximately one third of the houses are adobe with tiled roofs and a mangrove timber frame. Others are made of cement blocks with metal sheet roofs that were donated as part of international aid projects. After Hurricane Mitch, more international aid money came to the area, and one project from a Spanish NGO (which I describe below) helped to provide families with new brick houses raised on cement stilts with corrugated sheet metal roofs. Almost all houses have an adjoining bathing house, latrine, kitchen and dish washing area. Inhabitants in the majority (but not all) of the houses cultivate plants – including ornamental flowers, medicinal plants and

food plants like beans, corn, radishes and bananas. Approximately 25% of the houses are equipped with electric energy.[305]

Most houses have a well as their source of drinking water, and some wells have been equipped with pedal-powered mechanisms to retrieve water via previous donations from USAid and Care International. According to the Community Health Promoter, 47 % of families treat their water with chlorine, but in 9 months in the community, I never saw this being done.

There is no solid waste collection in the community, and the main way to dispose of garbage is to burn or bury it [photo]. There is often garbage in the streets, which eventually is gathered together and also burnt.

There are no medical facilities in the community except for a Community Health Promoter, José Abner Nochez Vela, who has a minimal amount of medicinal supplies and some basic training in health care. The nearest *Unidad de Salud* (health unit) is in *La Canoa* community to the west, which is a 2 hour walk or a half-hour bus ride, or the *Isla de Méndez* community, which is a 3 hour walk or a half-hour trip via car if it is possible to hitch a ride (Figure 2b). The nearest hospital is in the city of Jiquilisco, which is a 2-hour bus ride from the community (Figure 2b). The most common sicknesses in the community are respiratory infections, conjunctivitis, fungal skin infections, diarrhea and intestinal parasites.[306]

[305] Taken from."Taller *Socialización de Resultados de Diagnóstico Rural Participativo con Enfoque de Género*" Proyecto Agua, SACDEL, 1999.

[306] Information gathered by Rosibel Acosta Cantón, social promoter with CESTA, in an interview with José Abner Nochez Vela, the community health promoter.

Education

The community has one school from preschool to grade nine, with 210 students (104 boys and 106 girls).[307] The Director of the School explained that 10% of students drop-out because some fathers underestimate the importance of education, and rather, see that incorporating the children in manual labor for the family (such as fishing, agriculture and taking care of livestock) is better use of their time. Drop-outs occur during the months of May to August, the important months for planting crops, particularly corn. The school statistics verify this trend: the average attendance in grade one is 30 students, but this figure greatly decreases to 4 students in grade nine. This decrease is also due to the migration of older students to urban schools in, for example, Jiquilisco.[308]

There is a Communal Association for Education made up of 5 members (four men and one woman), that meet once a month to find ways to improve the education facility, such as raising consciousness on the importance of education and soliciting a new teacher from the Ministry of Education.[309]

Culture, Religion and Spirituality

The culture of the community is a blend of the Spanish influence from colonial times, remnants of the region's indigenous heritage and characteristics of Salvadoran rural life. These three factors gave rise to their language, customs, diet and aesthetic preferences, as well as the orientation of daily life around the family, in relationships in community and in use of the surrounding natural resources.

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[307] The following discussion of the community school is taken from my own observations and interviews with school teachers, as well as from an interview that my collegue Rosibel Acosta Cantón held with the Director of the school, Mario Ernesto Paz.

[308] Key informant: Digna de Jesus Andrade.

[309] Taken from an interview by Rosibel Acosta Cantón, CESTA, with Hernan Gonsalez, President of the School Council (*Consejo Directivo del Centro Escolar*) in San Juan del Gozo, August, 2001.

The family makes up the core of traditional customs. There are usually children playing around the house, and they are often present during meetings. Children help their parents, usually with the girls taking on some of their mother's work of washing, cleaning and cooking, and the boys cutting firewood, taking care of the domestic animals and going fishing with their fathers. Young adults get married and have children early in life, with the exception being for those that leave the community for post-secondary education. For recreation, the men play soccer and the women pay visits to their neighbors in the late afternoons.

Much of the culture of the community is also formed by its connection to the surrounding land. The fisherfolk, for example, spend hours carefully weaving *atarayas* (fishing nets), dry and salt the fish and shrimp, walk out to the lagoon at sunset with their long poles and bag of supplies, and banter warmly to each other on the moonlit lagoon. The farmers in the community have another set of customs, of rising early to tend their crops and returning early afternoon along the dusty road together. The people that collect shellfish and other mangrove species have yet another set of customs; they can be seen every few days, coming back from the mangroves with baskets full of clams and crabs on their heads and then moving through the community in the afternoons selling these products. So different is this rural culture to that of Salvadoran urban culture, that visitors from San Salvador have to culturally adjust almost as much as I had to initially coming from Canada.

Families are socially linked together via the local cooperatives and the church. Cooperatives, as I will explain shortly, have had a crucial historical role in uniting the community in a common vision. Although cooperatives are primarily oriented to fulfill economic objectives, there is an important social and cultural component. Through the cooperatives, people access training and capacity-building workshops, and the institution creates a venue in which the beneficiaries collaborate in decision-making and problem solving.

The church also offers a social dimension for inhabitants. There are two Evangelist churches in the community called *Asemblea del Dios* and *La Luz Verdadera*. The religious groups play a large role in the community: followers of *La Luz Verdadera* attend church every day at 4 pm, and followers of the *Asemblea del Dios* attend church for all day on Sunday. Religion enters everyday conversations with people giving thanks for good health or fortune, and sometimes philosophizing and sharing stories about spiritual experiences. Moreover, the church provides a space for other communal activities (for example, the women's group uses the church as a venue when making *tamales* for fundraisers) and offers social and material support (such as providing donations and food provisions) when needed.

Religion evidently plays a key role in community life. In response to the postmodern dismissal of religion, which is so ubiquitous in the West today, says Smith (1995),

> "...They [postmodernists] simply assume (they do not argue) that religion does more harm than good. That this runs counter to social science functionalism, which holds that institutions don't survive unless they serve social needs, is conveniently overlooked, but the deeper point is that the vertical dimension – the way religion feeds the human soul in its inwardness and solitude – gets little attention."[310]

Through the research I came to understand that, in San Juan del Gozo, religion plays both a social function as well as offers a "vertical dimension" to life, as church attendance, communal religious activities, prayers and conversations about spirituality contest. It is no small coincidence, for example, that the women's group chose as a name for their cooperative "Fuente de Jacob" (Jacob's Source) with an obvious ecclesiastical root. Later, when they were requested to change the name of their cooperative (for administration reasons), they chose "La Visión" (The Vision), again with a spiritual undertone. (Finally, it was changed again to La Visión Femenina [The Feminine Vision], because another cooperative already had the name La Visión.)

History of community: cooperatives and community organizing structures

The community of San Juan del Gozo was formed in approximately the 1930s and was called "Hacienda San Marcos". At this time, one single landowner owned the entire lower section of the Lempa River (Figure 2e). A wealthy man, Don Chaves, bought from the previous owner the section of this property that included San Juan del Gozo because he was interested in the lagoon next to the community. He exploited the shrimp and fish products from this lagoon for years, employing local people to fish for him in return for some surplus from their catch.

During the civil war that hit the region of Jiquilisco Bay particularly hard, Mr. Chavez sold his lands and the lagoon to the Land Bank which then, during the first phase of agarian reform, divided up the land into properties of four *manazanas* (Figure 2d). At the time, there were only 44 families in the community, as many other families had migrated to more secure areas of the country. The residents that remained, as well as the ones that gradually began to return, began to organize into cooperatives, with help from two different cooperative federations. The cooperative *Oro Blanco* formed with assistance from Independent Cooperative Association of Agrarian Production (*Asociación de las Cooperativas Productivas Agrarias Indepentientes*, ACOPAI) in 1979 and the cooperative *Brisas del Mar* formed with support from Salvadoran Federation of Cooperatives (*Federación Salvadorena de Cooperativas*, FESACOA) in 1988. These properties were divided between cooperative members which, at first, were awarded the land as a loan from the Land Bank (*Banco de la Tierra*). Later, however, the lands were bought by the European Union (*Union Europea*) and distributed by the Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transfer (*Instituto Salvadoreno de Tranferencia Agraria*, ISTA) to cooperative members, who received legal status as owners of these lands.

At that time, individuals interested in joining the cooperative had to attend training in cooperativism, have a *cedula* for personal identification and be committed

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[310] Smith, H. (1995), p. 209.

to work cooperatively with the group. The only cost to the cooperative members for this shift in land ownership was the cost of drawing up the legal contract.[311] This membership awarded them with property in the community for housing and either a four *manzana* piece of land to cultivate (called a *parcela*, valued at 5 thousand *colones/manzana*) or communal ownership of the lagoon (i.e. rights to fish and management responsibility). After becoming a legalized institution, no more members were allowed to join the cooperatives. However, cooperative members can (and do) rent and/or sell access to land or water resources to people that are not beneficiaries. Rent for rights to fish is 100 *colones*/month plus two days of work for management of the lagoon.[312]

Today, the two cooperatives form the backbone of the community economy and the community's organizational structure. In November 1999, the cooperative *Oro Blanco* stopped operating as an active cooperative, and instead a council called the Communal Development Association (*Asociación de Desarollo Comunal* or ADESCO) was formed in its place. The idea of the ADESCO was to unite the community with one leadership body and to better organize the community, especially when working with outside NGOs. While the leadership of *Oro Blanco* has changed, the cooperative members still benefit economically from being members of the cooperative as they still own the land awarded to them during the cooperative's inception. *Brisas del Mar* continues to play a central organizing role in the community, particularly with lagoon management and decision-making.

Local Leadership

The community has three governing councils. The Communal Development Association (ADESCO) plays a governing role for the entire community, as I mentioned above. In September, 2000, a Women's Council formed to give women representation in community decisions. Previous to the creation of this council, women had a minimal role in community development. A third governing council

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[311] Proyecto MIRA, (2000), p. 3.
[312] Focus Group meeting with fisherfolk, January 16, 2002.

is made up of the leaders of the *Brisas del Mar* cooperative, which is now responsible for decision-making, governance and management of the community lagoon. All of these councils are elected in a democratic manner, where general assemblies are held where candidates are nominated and each community member (for the ADESCO and women's council) and community member (for the cooperative *Brisas del Mar*) is able to vote for the nominated candidates.

In interviews, it became apparent that local people had mixed opinions about the ADESCO. Of the 27 interviewees that talked about the ADESCO, 33% said that the ADESCO made decisions with others in mind, while 37% said that it was primarily focussed on helping it's members; 15% said the ADESCO was well-organized and followed-through on their initial intentions, while 15% said the opposite. 42.30 % of the comments made regarding the ADESCO were positive comments, referring to its fair decision-making, inclusion of others and good organization, while 57.70% were more negative comments, saying that the council doesn't make decisions with others in mind, is not inclusive, is selfish and/or is poorly organized.

Since the women's council formed only a month into my time in the community, people had not had a chance yet to see how it operates not to form an opinion about the council.

Of the 14 interviewees that discussed *Brisas del Mar*, 71 % thought *Brisas del Mar* was well-organized, fair and inclusive leadership body. 21 % thought the council was well-organized and followed-through with initial intentions and only one person thought the opposite.

Nongovernmental Organizations

In addition to the local governing bodies, there are also other institutions working in the community. This includes some governmental agencies, but the

presence of non-governmental organizations is more common in the entire region of Jiquilisco Bay, as I explained above. The following is a brief description of the institutions (mostly non-governmental, some governmental) that worked in the community in 2000 – 2001 (only two continued to work into 2002).

The *Cooperative Housing Foundation* (CHF) is a non-profit organization with funding from USAid via Project MIRA (aid relief for Hurricane Mitch) that works in 10 regions of El Salvador in environment, housing, schools, small infrastructure, disaster preparation and agriculture. In San Juan del Gozo, CHF established 35,000-tree nursery and 70.3 hectares of fruit species like mango, avocado, orange, as well as coconut and cashew nuts (as part of a comprehensive organic agriculture project contracted to CLUSA (see below). It also contracted Partners of America to carry-out a disaster preparation program. CHF has a three-year vision, in which the families will have food from the trees, income in times of economic insecurity and reforestation of the surrounding environment. It also managed the reforestation of mangroves around San Juan del Gozo (from October ending in December, 2000) in a 30 hectare area (contracted out to *CONDECOSTA*, a national NGO). This mangrove planting initiative not only provided 80 community members with employment, 60 % of which are women, but also raised consciousness about the importance of mangrove forests and the necessity of reforestation.

Another non-profit organization called the *Cooperative League of the United States of America* (CLUSA) is working in San Juan del Gozo via a contract from CHF. CLUSA works in various municipalities that suffered negatively during and after Hurricane Mitch, and in May 2000, CLUSA began in San Juan del Gozo. It worked with certain community farmers to plant cashew trees and sesame crops on private land, manage these crops organically, seek organic certification and help with the commercialization and marketing. It provided various planting materials (like seedlings and seeds), organic fertilizers and pesticides, as well as training workshops to educate participants on organic agriculture. CLUSA also connected

the organic producers with markets, and San Juan del Gozo harvested their first crop of sesame seeds in December, 2001.

Another NGO called Consulting and Training System for Local Development (*Sistema de Asesoría y Capacitación para el Desarrollo Local*, SACDEL) also worked in the community with a contract from CARE International on a project called "Proyecto AGUA". SACDEL is affiliated with the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (MAG). SACDEL used, for example, MAG workbooks in a "sustainable agriculture" workshop series held with certain community members on how to design their farm, conserve fertile soil and incorporate agroforestry into traditional farming methods. The objective of this initiative was to help community members plan and manage their agricultural lands in a sustainable manner. SACDEL gave workshops in the community about self-sufficiency, organic agriculture and reforestation of damaged areas.

The Biologists Association (*Asociación Biologas*) is a government-affiliated association that also worked in the region of Jiquilisco Bay, including San Juan del Gozo in developing an environmental education and management of natural resources project.[313] It established a 4,000 *manzana* demonstration area in which dry forest species were planted. This work was done by community volunteer help, of which 40% were unemployed local people. It also raised awareness for more energy efficient stoves to save firewood and for supporting mangrove conservation. Furthermore, it helped in the restoration of 6,000 *manzanas* of mangrove areas and planted 5,000 mangrove seeds of the species *Avicennia germinans L* and *Laguncularia racemosa L.*[314]

Since 1999 and continuing into 2002, the Spanish non-profit organization called Integral Community Development Association (*Asociacion del Desarrollo Integral Comunitaria*, ADIC) has been constructing homes for people that lost their

[313] PANKIA (1998)
[314] PANKIA (1998)

dwellings during either Hurricane Mitch or the earthquake in January and February 2001. It has proposed an idea to work more directly with local people, particularly with women, in the future.

The Salvadoran Women's Movement (*Movimiento Salvadoreno de Mujeres*, MSM) began working in the community in September 2000. They formed a women's council (or *directiva*) in September 2000 and carried out a mangrove reforestation project in September to December 2001. During the mangrove reforestation, they provided employment to community members with a daily salary of 35 *colones* ($ 6.80 CDN). They continue to work with the women's council into 2002.

In addition to the NGOs described above, USAid, CARE International, and European Union have also carried out international aid projects in the community in the past. The most noteworthy was that of European Union (*Union Europea*), which was instrumental in the transfer of lands from Land Bank to the cooperative members and the construction of block cement houses, as I previously mentioned.

92% of all interviewees received some form of aid or assistance from one or more of the various NGOs in the area, participated in training workshops from NGOs, or were employed by NGO projects. Only 2 families that we interviewed had received nothing from NGOs other than the initial transfer of land that took place during the formation of the cooperatives.

Family Income and Expenses

I include this short section on income and expenses in the community to set the context for the following section on income-generating activities. It was difficult to gather information on daily or annual income, perhaps because it is a personal topic or because families do not keep written records of their income over the months of the year. I interviewed 20 people from three different income-generating

groups – fisherfolk, women and poorer families – who all unanimously agreed that the average daily income was approximately 35 *colones* ($6.86 CDN), making average annual per-capita income in the community is $1976.5 CDN.

However, annual incomes vary between sectors and change over the seasons, with some income generating activities earning much more than others (Table 2; I will explain in the next section more about each of these income-generating sectors). When compared to the annual per-capita incomes of other urban and rural areas in El Salvador, it becomes apparent that the community's average annual per-capita income is substantially lower than that of the regional rural average and in some sectors, like the fishing or fish vending sectors, it is slightly higher (Table 3).

This income must cover the basic family food and household needs, children's school supplies, transportation, medicine, electricity (if the household has it) and (for some families)[315] rent for fishing in the lagoon. According to the interviewees, the income of 35 *colones*/day ($6.86 CDN) is not sufficient to meet all their expenses; rather, a daily salary of 100 *colones*/day ($19 CDN) would be sufficient. When their income does not cover their expenses, they have to either seek alternatives to meet their needs or endure such situations. For example, people use medicinal plants to cure illnesses when there is no money to leave the community to visit a doctor or buy medicine in the community stores. Or, when there is no money to buy food from the stores, families rely on whatever they catch in the lagoon or gather shellfish from the mangrove.

All interviewees explained that food and household goods are more expensive to buy in the community than in urban markets because products have to be imported to the community from urban areas. For example, eggs cost 1 *colon* each, and interviewees explained that often with a family of 5 – 7 people, they buy and consume approximately 20 eggs in 2 days, which costs the family 120 *colones* ($23.53 CDN) every two weeks. Other costs over a two week period include a sack

of corn for making tortillas costing 140 *colones* ($ 27.45 CDN) and 10 pounds of beans costing 50 *colones* ($9.80 CDN). Transportation in and out of the community costs between 18 *colones* ($3.50 CDN) to San Marcos Lempa (the nearest urban area to the community) or 30 *colones* ($5.88 CDN) to Usulután (where the hospital, banks and other services are located) (Figure 2b). Other expenses include approximately 50 *colones*/month (or $9.8 CDN, depending on use) for electricity and 100 *colones*/month (or $19.61 CDN) for rent to fish on the lagoon. Some expenses, like medicine, are emergency items and vary according to need.

Socioeconomic condition

The socioeconomic processes in the community today are influenced by, and indeed, founded upon a resource-rich natural environment. The community members use three different ecosystems that surround the community including the mangrove forest, the dry-land forest and the coastal marine habitat (Figure 3a, 3b). The importance of the mangroves for the local economy cannot be overlooked: 43% of all income-generating activities depend on the mangrove forest ecosystem either directly (working in reforestation with NGO projects, fishing in lagoon, collecting mangrove shellfish or cutting mangrove) or indirectly (selling fish and shellfish) (Figure 3a). Most families collect fallen branches for firewood and some harvest wood from the mangrove for construction and reparation of houses (Figure 3b). All lagoon-users and fisher merchants, and their families, rely on the mangrove to nurse the shrimp and fish in the lagoon (Figure 3b). Some people collect various shellfish from the mangrove forest itself, such as clams and crabs.

The dry-land forest and coastal marine habitat are used less by the community, but are still important (Figure 3b). Community inhabitants collect firewood and occasionally medicinal plants from the patches of dry-land forest, and they also hunt wild species like iguanas and armadillos. Community residents use

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[315] I explain below the situations when rights to fish the lagoon are rented.

the coastal marine habitat for collecting turtle eggs, but for lack of access to appropriate fishing gear, do not fish in the open ocean (Figure 3b).

Because of the close ties between the local economy and the environment, the health of the socioeconomic conditions in the community, in turn, impacts the health of the local environment. Moreover, various historical factors influence the current socioeconomic situation in San Juan del Gozo, such as the migrations of inhabitants in the past 10 years, the land tenure system created after the civil war, and the influx of development money from the NGO sector. In this section, I discuss how the social and economic processes in the community were formed, in what way they currently operate and how they are linked to the surrounding ecosystems. Then I discuss how the community's socioeconomic problems affect the environment.

A) Cooperatives – economic and social importance

As I explained above, the two cooperatives in San Juan del Gozo play an important role in the social and economic fabric of the community. Both of these cooperatives are split between land and water: while some members are recipients of small *parcelas* (acreage for agriculture), others are owners-users of the lagoon. These two income-generating activities – fishing and agriculture – form the basis for the community economy (Figure 4).

The lands distributed to cooperative members are located on either side of the community (Figure 2b, 2e). On the *parcelas*, families grow food for their own consumption as well as for sale within and outside of the community. Farmers crops vary depending on the location and soil quality of the *parcela*, as well as the farmer's access to seeds or credit to buy seeds. Crops include corn, beans, radishes, tomatoes, avocados, potatoes, cucumbers, coconuts, plantains, lemons, mangos, watermelon, sesame and cashew seeds. During the season when iguana-hunters burn the land to flush out iguanas (December to February), farmers clear the bush

that circumnavigates their *parcelas* to make ensure the fire does not pass onto their crops.

The harvest from these crops are consumed in the household (especially corn and beans) or sold in the community (particularly tomatoes and potatoes). Some of the harvest is used for sale in the community stores, outside of the community in the markets of San Marcos Lempa and Jiquilisco, and more recently, even in international markets. The cultivation of sesame and cashew seeds is part of the organic agriculture project with the NGOs CHF and CLUSA. In 2000, the sesame seeds were sold to organic buyers in the United States for almost twice as much as an inorganic crop would (285 *colones*/sack instead of 150 *colones*/sack ; $55.88 CDN versus $29.41 CDN) and in another three years, the cashew trees will produce nuts for market in the US.

The fisherfolk fish on the 90 *manzana* lagoon, with a surrounding area of 358 *manzanas* of mangrove forest that extends to the Lempa River (Figure 2b, 2e). The lagoon is actually human-made and was created during colonial times with a raised 50-meter border that separates the lagoon from the adjoining mangrove forest and inflow/outflow gates at one end. The shrimp and fish come from the open ocean, via the brackish water of the Lempa River, through the channels of the mangroves and enter the lagoon through inflow/outflow gates. The fisherfolk fish at night, from dusk until (at least) midnight or (at the most) the early hours of the morning, depending on the quality of the fishing.

They catch shrimp throughout the entire year. The quantity of shrimp caught per person is good during the rainy season (May until August) (6 pounds/day), is minimal during the dry season (from September to December) (1.5 pounds/day) and improves slightly in the hot season (January until April) (3 pounds/day)(Figure 5a).

The fish caught include *sambo* (*Dormitator sp.*), *bagre* (*Gallichthys sp.*), *Liza* or *chimbera* (*Mujil sp.*), Robalo (*Centropomus sp.*) and *lucerna*. In May to August the fisherfolk catch *sambo* and from June to July they catch *lucerna*, but these species only make it to the community lagoon during the *movimiento* during these specific months (Figure 5a). The *movimiento*, or "movement", refers to the higher tides six days just prior to and just after the new and full moons, and in August is especially high due to it being the peak months of the rainy season.[316] Sometimes these species can be fished only for two days at these particular times, and the catch is 24 pounds/trip. The *bagre* species is caught all year round (in much smaller quantities) and the *chimbera* from May until October.

The lagoon-users sell the shrimp and fish to merchants in the community, who then prepare and preserve the products and sell them in local and regional markets (Figure 5b). After the fish and shellfish have been processed, the price increases. Raw shrimp are sold to community fish merchants for 10 *colones*/pound ($ 1.96 CDN/pound) and shrimp that have been dried and salted are sold for 15 *colones*/pound($ 2.94 CDN/pound); fish are sold raw for 2 *colones*/pound ($ 0.39 CDN/pound) and for 4 *colones*/pound ($ 0.78 CDN) after being dried and salted. When the catch is minimal and not worth taking it to market (for example, from September to April when they catch no fish and only 1.5 pounds of shrimp per fisherperson a night) the seafood is not sold and instead augments the household diet.

These two primary economic activities have socioeconomic effects that percolate through the rest of the community. When corn is harvested, some women make tamales and *ejote* (corn on the cob), which they then sell in the community or in local markets of San Marcos Lempa. The same is done with watermelon and other vegetables. When the lagoon is producing a lot of shrimp and fish, other

[316] Key Informant interview with Luis Alfonso Matinez, secretary of *Brisas del Mar* council, January 16, 2002.

community residents (again, mostly women)[317] buy, process and re-sell these products within and outside of the community.[318] Thus, by looking at Figure 4, it may appear as if the economic base is reasonably diverse, but most income-generation essentially comes from two areas – small-scale agriculture and fishing – that leave the community in a precarious position in terms of socioeconomic stability.

These cooperatives also serve a social role in the community. The cooperative structure in El Salvador is based on the belief that when people organize and unite together in a common objective, they themselves can solve socioeconomic (and in some cases also ecological) problems. As a group, cooperative members in San Juan del Gozo can, and do, solicit assistance or consulting help from government agencies for resource management, capacity-building and training. The cooperatives also provide development and aid organizations access points to the community. That is, rather than having to organize community groups with which to work, NGOs can work directly with the already existing cooperative organizations. This facilitates meetings, training workshops, collaboration and community planning, and other activities that are part of development and aid projects. CLUSA and CHF, for example, worked with *Oro Blanco* and *Brisas del Mar* in the organic agriculture project giving a series of workshops on organic agriculture methods, commercialization and marketing of the products and certification, and SACDEL also held sustainable agriculture/agroforestry workshops with representatives of the two cooperatives.

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[317] I discuss the tendency for women to sell the products of men's labor in a section on gender differences in income-generation below.

[318] The markets for these products are scattered throughout the region: from the community to San Marcos Lempa (the main town by the highway that is the entrance into the communities of the Bajo Lempa), Puerto Triumfo, Jiquilisco, Usulután, Zacatecoluca, and even as far as San Salvador.

B) Supplementary Economic Activities

Since the lagoon often has a low production of fish and shrimp, and since landowners must wait for harvest time before income can be generated, many individuals supplement their income with other activities (see Figure 4). These activities include harvesting mangrove wood for construction or reparation of houses, hunting two types of iguanas, *Iguana Verdes* (*Iguana iguana*) and *Garobos* (*Ctenosaura similis garobos*), *cusucos* (armadillos) and/or turtle eggs (from two sea turtle species: Olive Ridley [*Lepidochelys olivacea*] and Leatherback or [*Dermochelys coriacea*]), and collecting shellfish from the mangrove such as crabs (*punches* [*Ucides occidentalisI*]), clams (*curiles* or *conchas* [*Anadara tuberculosa*]), blue crabs (cangrejo azul [*Carismoa crassum*]) and *jaiba* (*Callinectes toxotes*). These economic initiatives are often seasonal and opportunistic: turtle eggs can be found in the rainy season (from May to October); *garobos* are hunted or flushed out of their habitat by burning in the dry season (from December to February), and mangrove species are opportunistically obtained when necessary. These supplementary activities make up 13% of economic activities (Figure 4) and are especially important for families that are not part of either cooperative and are without land or rights to fish (see below).

Harvesting mangrove timber for construction constitutes 1% of income-generation (Figure 4), although most families use mangrove wood for cooking and for local housing construction. Hunting iguanas and turtle eggs make up 5 % of income-generating activities in the community, and are a source of food for families in times of scarcity (Figure 4). *Garobos* are usually consumed by the family or sold in the community for 50 *colones* each. Turtle eggs are rarely consumed in the community and almost always taken to regional markets. Turtle egg hunters sell turtle eggs to one of the principal fish merchants in the community (Ana del Amira Amaya) who then travels to markets in San Marcos Lempa and Usulután, and has a connection from San Salvador who comes to Usulután to buy from her. The price is 12 *colones*/dozen ($ 2.35 CDN) and up to 24 *colones*/dozen ($ 4.70 CDN) out of

season. The *curiles* or clams are sold in the community for 15 *colones*/basket (60 *curiles*/basket) and, according to key informants, collecting *curiles* is at least a stable source of family income, even though it is not large (approximately 45 *colones*/week, or $ 8.80 CDN).

These supplementary economic activities offer a source of income and/or food in times of need. Since there is neither regulation nor management, some of these activities are both economically and ecologically unstable. Inhabitants know that cutting mangrove trees is illegal, but continue to use mangrove for repairing and building houses and for fuel. In 1989, the National Center of Natural Resources (*Centro Nacional de Recursos Naturales, CENREN*) estimated that 24,000 coastal families depend directly on mangrove forests either for obtaining forest products or for collecting mangrove species for consumption, suggesting a similar trend in Jiquilisco Bay. Over the past decade, with a growing population and few alternatives for housing materials or cooking fuel, this number has increased and mangrove deforestation at the local level is a major concern.[319]

The iguana species and turtle species are threatened or endangered and their populations are diminishing. According to a study done in 1994, in 5 of the 10 markets in San Salvador both species of iguana are sold; in 25 visits to the markets, the researchers found 650 *iguana verdes* and 1,500 *garobos*.[320] The study reports that these iguanas are also sold in Nicaraguan and Honduran markets for pets and for food.[321] The *garobo* is listed as a threatened species on CITES and the *iguana verde* is listed as endangered.[322] The Olive Ridley sea turtle is also endangered on the CITES list, and is also sold in Salvadoran and Nicaraguan markets.[323] In the 5 markets in San Salvador, a total of 7,500 eggs were found. The study concluded that of all the

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[319] PANKIA (1998)
[320] "Reporte del Trabajo de Campo: Estado Actual del Comercio Local de Fauna Silvestre Vertebrada, en el area metropolitana." Juan Pablo Dominguez, Universidad de El Salvador. Fac. De Ciencas Naturales y Matemática. Escuela de Biología. Julio, 1994, p 10
[321] *Ibid.* p.10
[322] *Ibid.*
[323] *Ibid.*

wild species found in the markets, the reptiles made up the largest sector, representing 66% (or 4,390 individuals) of the total. [324]

In addition to threatening their survival, the practices to hunt these species are often damaging to the ecosystem. For example, hunters in search of *garobos* and iguanas burn the land to flush out these species, not only affecting the intended burn area, but also the surrounding areas that include small forests and agricultural land. Soil quality is a concern for small farmers, and they are becoming aware of the connection between burning and soil fertility. For example, in the SACDEL workshops about sustainable agriculture, participants learned how the soil in their *parcelas* was not very fertile because the soil loses its nutrients when the iguana hunters burn the land.

Out of all these supplementary income-generating activities, collecting invertebrates from the mangrove forest seems to be the most sustainable. The methods of gathering shellfish from the mangrove include wading through waist deep water at low tide and collecting the clams that burrow into the mud between the mangrove roots or collecting the crabs that live on the trunks and roots. Extracting these species is not regulated either, but has less impact than collecting iguanas and turtle eggs. The methods are less damaging to the ecosystem and do not negatively affect other economic activities, and there are few people in the community gathering such species. On the other hand, perhaps the effects of extracting these species in an unregulated manner are simply not as visible as the incremental logging of mangroves, widespread burns, declining iguana populations and suffering soil fertility.

C) Gender Difference in Income-Generating Activities

Looking at the differences between genders in income-generating activities (Figure 6 and 7, Table 1), the majority of fisherfolk are men although some women

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[324] *Ibid.* p. 11

also fish. Fishing in the lagoon makes up 23% of income-generating activities done my men (Figure 7) while fishing makes up 7% of income-generation done by women (Figure 6). However, the majority of fish merchants are women (selling fish makes up 8% of women's income generation, and selling turtle eggs 2%, Figure 6). Both men and women work in agriculture, which comprises 12 % of work done by men and women, see Figures 6 and 7). Men primarily collect wild species and cut mangrove (13%, Figure 7), while women collect shellfish species from the mangrove forest (7%, Figure 6). However, sometimes husband and wife work together to gather shellfish from the mangroves, especially *curiles* since they are more difficult to collect.

Some families have small family businesses in the town, which are operated by women. These include a corner store (4), a corn-grinding mill (1), a tortilla stall (1), a *papusería* (food stall for *papusas*, which is traditional Salvadoran food) and a bread shop (1), and make up 7 % of income-generating activities by women (Figure 6). Also, many women supplement their personal or family income with domestic businesses like selling cheese, milk, *tamales*, cut watermelon slices, chicken sandwiches, and other such goods, comprising 7 % of women's income-generation (Figure 6).

While these income-generating activities are important for women in the community, not all women have these opportunities and these activities do not offer economic security for those that do. For example, selling fish products is a good source of income, but it is only accessible to some women in the community; only 5 of the 22 women we interviewed are fish merchants. Generally, women primarily work in the household and augment the household income where possible. My findings in San Juan del Gozo are congruent with other studies done in the department of Usulután, where

> "women work the most in domestic service, and in the other categories (agriculture, industry, service, commerce and others) the men have higher employment than the women. [mujeres trabajan lo mas en

servicio domestico, y en las otras categorías (agricultura, industría, servicios, comercio y otras) los hombres tienen empleo mucho mas alto que las mujeres.]"[325]

D) Families Without Land or Rights to Fish

There are approximately 20 families that aren't part of either cooperative. These families don't have land in the community to cultivate nor rights to fish in the lagoon, and thus their socioeconomic situation is difficult. I interviewed 20% of these families and discovered that the reason for their exclusion from the cooperatives is partly due to the migrations that were so prevalent during and after the civil war. Two of the families I interviewed, for example, emigrated to San Juan del Gozo *after* 1989 and did not become beneficiaries of either cooperative. One family migrated to Guatemala for 11 years during the war, and was left out of the cooperative formation and distribution of land. The other family is part of a cooperative in La Tirana community, 2 km south from San Juan del Gozo (Figure 2c), but due to an extremely high level of civil violence during and after the war, they migrated (along with all other residents) from La Tirana to other, more secure communities. Now in San Juan del Gozo, they are without land, rights to fish or work. In some cases, the reason for the exclusion from land or lagoon ownership is circumstantial; for example, one woman from San Juan del Gozo sold her *parcela* when her husband died to be able to build a house and sustain her daughter and grandchildren.

Their income-generating activities are divided up into the following areas: renting monthly rights to fish in the lagoon, collecting shellfish from the mangroves, hunting armadillos and *garobos*, turtle eggs, and brick laying and/or construction work. Most of these families also took advantage of the short-term employment

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[325] Elaborado en Base a Datos del Censo 1992, DIGESTYC *en* Prediagnóstico Del Municipio de Jiquilisco, Departmento de Usulatán. Secretaría de Reconstruccion Nacional. Julio 1995.

provided by NGO projects, particularly the mangrove reforestation by CHF in 2000 and MSM in 2001.

One family that collects *curiles* from the mangrove explained that husband and wife gather these clams every 6 days, collect 3 baskets daily worth 15 *colones* each, and thus make 45 *colones*/week. While 100 *colones*/week would be a more appropriate wage for their family of 7, she explained that this work is at least stable.

E) Influence of NGOs in Community Economic Development

The recent influx of money, technical expertise and presence from outside nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (both national and international), have opened various economic doors for the community. Some of these projects are designed to have long-term impacts of the community economy, and others aim to offer employment on the short term (and aim to fulfill other social and ecological goals on the long term). Of the former category, CLUSA's organic agriculture project, which involves the cultivation, certification and marketing of organic sesame seeds and cashew nuts, makes up 12% of income-generation in the community, and has helped diversify economic initiatives in the community (Figure 4). The mangrove reforestation project carried out by CHF in late 2000 also provided important employment in the community on a short-term basis.[326] Over a period of two months, the mangrove reforestation project employed 80 community members for 2 months of planting with a daily wage of 33 *colones*, which, at the time, was the leading source of income for families (17% of income-generation, Figure 4).[327] Taken together, these two projects comprise 29% of income-generation for the community, which is more than any other economic activity (Figure 4).

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[326] In November – December 2001, the Salvadoran Movement for Women also carried out mangrove reforestation and offered short-term employment to community members, who were paid 35 *colones*/day. This, like reforestation with CHF, was a short-term contract, yet provides the community and surrounding ecosystem with other direct and indirect benefits in social and ecological terms on the long term.

[327] Three days wage out of every fifteen days were categorized as "volunteer work", or as the project manager's phrased it, "work for the environment".

Employment provided by NGOs is an important source of income for women, taking these two projects as particular examples. Of the 80 employees in mangrove reforestation with CHF, 60 % were women and 40% were men, and this was the leading source of income-generating work for women (19%, Figure 6). Cultivating organic sesame seeds and cashew nuts make up 15% of women's income-generating activities (Figure 6). Taken together, reforestation and organic agriculture comprise 34% of income-generating activities for women (Figure 6), but only the organic agriculture will continue to provide income on the long-term.

That NGO employment (in this case, from mangrove reforestation and organic agriculture projects) is the leading income-generating activity in the community and is particularly important for women tells us two things. Firstly, the fact that community inhabitants, particularly women, readily take up work opportunities provided by NGOs, points to the need for secure employment in the community. And secondly, considering the fact that many NGO projects offer employment on *short-term* contracts and, like in the case of mangrove reforestation, can become the main source of income generation during the administration of the contract, this does not bode well for the long-term sustainability of the community. Unless, of course, securing long-term employment for community inhabitants is an objective of the development project (like in organic agriculture) or meeting social and ecological needs are long-term objectives with indirect benefits for the community economy (as in the case of mangrove reforestation).

Socioeconomic problems, and their effect on the environment

The community of San Juan del Gozo is reliant on a healthy ecosystem. The local economy is inseparably tied to the area's natural resources: 83% of income-generation relies on the surrounding terrestrial and marine ecosystems (Figure 4).[328]

[328] The remaining 17% of income-generating activities which are not linked to the environment include: renting land, operating store, family member living in the North, working in the city,

Generally, it appeared that the community perceives the importance of the environment. The environment was explicitly mentioned by 42% of interviewees, and over half of those interviewees said that conservation of the environment is important.

Adults and elders in the community would often discuss what the environment surrounding the community used to be like. In the formal interviews, of the total comments made about the environment, 20% explained that the area had a healthier environment in the past, when there were fewer people and less strain on natural resources. Often more informal discussions would lead into a conversation about whether or not their children and children's children would experience the same animals and plants that they do today. In these dialogues, we learned about the natural history of the surrounding ecosystems (which areas had been forested and which other species of birds and animals had lived there) and learned how the ecosystem changed over the past 50 – 100 years. But even more importantly, such comments showed us that these people understood the concept of sustainability, whereby the natural environment is kept in a state such that future generations can also enjoy its natural resources and aesthetic beauty.

These results regarding environmental awareness are not entirely surprising, considering the Ministry of the Environment recently conducted an awareness-raising campaign in the area, carried out workshops and have incorporated some aspects of environmental awareness into the functioning of the community school. Moreover, since CESTA is a well-known environmental organization in the country, this fact may also have elicited certain responses from interviewees.

However, whether there is such awareness or not becomes a mute point when the community inhabitants *must* carry out certain income-generating activities to feed their families even though those activities also damage the ecosystem. Even

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working out of town, working as a caretaker, selling domestic goods, and having a marginal income (i.e. no work at all) (Figure 4).

though the environment plays a crucial role in the local economy, much of the current environmental degradation is due to the instability of the local economy. This paradox, of local people incrementally destroying that which sustains them, is a problem seen in many resource-based communities. Of all comments made in reference to the environment in the interviews, 30% made an explicit link between ecological damage and economic insufficiency. Understanding this link, discussing better resource management of the lagoon and seeking to stabilize or diversify the local economy to relieve stress on natural areas became points of exploration in the focus group discussions, which I describe in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Seeking Sustainable Solutions – Focus Group Discussions

In San Juan del Gozo, because of the close link between the economy and environment, addressing community economic development is necessary for moving towards ecological sustainability. Organizational capacity, communication and collaboration are also key components of community development. Thus, in the focus groups, we began exploring some of the problems viewed as crucial by the community, which included social, economic and ecological issues, and we also created the space for communication, collaboration and visioning via the focus group structure. Through the discussions, we identified community-directed and community-based solutions responding to the principal concerns of each focus group.

Key Problems

Firstly, the lagoon is the key community economic resource, and the community is reliant on the lagoon for the economy to run. When there is low production in the lagoon, the effects are felt not only by the fisherfolk, but also the fish merchants and families. Since the redistribution of land after the war, the quality and quantity of lagoon production has diminished (Figure 8a, 8b).[329] When the lagoon was owned and operated by Don Chaves, they only fished during "el movimiento" (i.e. over the 6 days of high tides during the full and new moons), filled their boats with shrimp in 4 or 5 throws of the net, and caught 300 *quintales* each month. (1 *quintal* = 100 pounds). Fewer people fished during the civil war, primarily because there was a smaller population in the community, and in only 1-3 hours they would catch 100 pounds (approximately 120 *quintales* a month). After the formation of the cooperatives and distribution of land, lagoon production fell due to the return of inhabitants (and, thus, the growth of the local population) and the

disorganization of the fisherfolk. At this time, they caught around 80 *quintales* a month and there was no regulation of the fishery, but it retained a high production. The lowest production occurred during and after Hurricane Mitch in 1998, when the Lempa River swelled with water and flooded the surrounding area thus eroding the border of the lagoon and silting the water and mangrove habitat. At that time, there was scarcely any fish or shrimp to be caught, and the majority of people had to hunt armadillos, iguanas, mangrove fauna and turtle eggs to meet their needs while the production of the lagoon remained low. Today, production has increased since Hurrican Mitch (they now catch approximately 48 *qunitales* in the rainy season and 60 *qunitales* in the summer), but the fishfolk explained that low production of the lagoon is still a problem.

There are various explanations for low lagoon production at a regional level, such as the contamination of Jiquilisco Bay and estuaries with agricultural pesticides that adversely affect shrimp and fish. The industrial shrimp fishing vessels in the Bay and the near-shore zone exceed the number allowed and violate the protected near-shore zones, thus adversely affecting the "accompanying fauna" of the mangrove and negatively affecting the artisanal fisherfolk.[330] Such boats have advanced technology and they are almost impossible to compete with; as a result, artesanal fisherfolk have suffered enormous reductions in their catch and income.[331] Although it is apparent that these external threats must be further investigated and addressed, this was not a focus of the lagoon-users during my time in the community. However, via continued support from CESTA (which also works at the national and international levels and has experience in advocacy and campaigns) perhaps the fisherfolk will press for more appropriate management policies for shrimp vessels, or at least a study into their impacts on both shrimp populations and artisanal fishing.

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[329] The following discussion about the changes in the fishery since the 1930s is based on a focus group discussion with *Brisas del Mar*, December 19, 2001.
[330] Yanes Paredes, J.B. *et al.* (1991), p 45.
[331] Yanes Paredes, J.B. *et al.* (1991), p 45.

At a local level, the fisherfolk have identified various reasons for the low production, including the low border of the lagoon, ineffective resource management, lack of organization among the fisherfolk and excessive amount of fishing by too many people. The border of the lagoon, which was eroded during Hurricane Mitch, is now not high enough to retain the fish and shrimp. During the rainy season, invariably the level of water floods the border and many shrimp and fish escape. This is a frustration for the fisherfolk who end up taking home 1.5 pounds of shrimp in an entire night, from which they earn only 15 *colones* (or $2.94 CDN).[332] According to the three different groups in the community (fisherfolk, women and poorer families), it is difficult to feed an entire family on this daily income (see discussion above on income and expenses). The effects of low production also touch other people in the community, not only the fisherpeople's families, but also the fish venders and the storekeepers. Thus, the border of the lagoon and the diminishing production become problems for the entire community for large sections of the year (particularly September to April) (Figure 5a, 5b).

Although the lagoon plays such a key role in the community, it never had a single organizing body. Six years ago it had a Lagoon Shrimp-Fishing Committee (*Comité camaronero La Laguna*) made up of 20-30 people who were not a legal institution but worked together to manage shrimp and fish production. [333] This committee put in place rules that restricted fishing during the day and prevented the use of destructive fishing gear, like drag-nets and dynamite.[334] Today there is no such unifying, locally-based institution, largely because the 80 owners of the lagoon are divided into three groups: some of which belong to *Brisas del Mar* cooperative or to *Oro Blanco* cooperative, and some that belong to no cooperative at all.[335] Thus, while the Directive of *Brisas del Mar* cooperative has taken on the role of organization of lagoon-users, not all the lagoon-users belong to this cooperative and

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[332] Key Informant, Luis Alonso Martínez, Secretary of *Brisas del Mar* cooperative.
[333] SACDEL"Proyecto AGUA": Taller "Socialización de Resultados de Diagnóstico Rural Participación con Enfoque de Género", 2000.
[334] Focus Group discussion, January 17, 2002.
[335] Key informant interview, Don Raul, November 1, 2000

thus collaboration and organization of the fisherfolk is compromised.[336] However, the members of *Brisas del Mar* council encourage all lagoon-users to participate in assemblies and decision-making regarding resource management, and the council along with other fisherfolk have recently declared their commitment to better manage the lagoon just as the Lagoon Shrimp-Fishing Committee did in the past.[337]

However, even with good intentions, the president of *Brisas del Mar* explains the difficulties that the council faces in solving specific key problems in the lagoon – like the border being too low and the diminishing production – are made more acute because there is weak organization among the fisherfolk. He said while they need money to raise the border of the lagoon, he also knows that organization is crucial: "What we need more than anything is that the people organize. [Que necesitamos mas que todos es que la gente organiza]".[338] This was further discussed by the fisherfolk focus group where they explained that they are not necessarily limited by materials or funding but rather they are limited by their own capacity to organize and collaborate. This is especially important if and/or when a concerted effort is needed to advocate better fishing management policies and enforcement of the industrial shrimp industry. To address local problems, like the border needing maintenance, often the necessary materials are found locally, but it the group lacks internal organization to carry out the work.

This leads into the third problem in the community, which stems from the first two described above. The fisherfolk are very dependent on the lagoon for income. Thus, even with the intention to work collaboratively to seek better resource management initiatives, actually carrying out these initiatives is difficult because they rely on the lagoon for daily food. For example, although many good ideas were discussed in focus group discussions regarding sustainable resource management, it is difficult if not impossible to implement considering the lagoon

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[336] Key informant interview, president of *Brisas del Mar*, Oscar William Duran Martínez, October 18, 2000

[337] Key informant interview, treasurer of *Brisas del Mar*, Samuel Rivas, January 17, 2002

forms the base for the most of the community economy. Thus to restrict fishing is to essentially cut off families from their sole source of income.

In addition to the problems stemming from low production of the lagoon, another problem embedded in the socioeconomic fabric of San Juan del Gozo is the lack of economic opportunities for certain sectors of the population. In particular, while it may seem like there are economic opportunities for women looking at Figure 6, but these opportunities are limited to certain women in the community (i.e. the established fish merchants) and tend to be irregular and supplementary activities, not a secure and stable source of income.[339] The number of women willing to take up short contract work from NGO projects and the predominance of NGO employment in the percent distribution of women's income-generating activities contest to the absence or fragility of other employment for women in the community. As one woman explained during a Focus Group discussion with the Women's Council, for many women in the community, the *canasta* (basket) is empty – there is nothing in the community economy for women – and this makes it difficult for women to maintain the family and household.

Finally, in San Juan del Gozo it is the surrounding environment that suffers the effects of an unstable economy, as mentioned previously. Due to economic need, people collect firewood and wood for construction from the mangrove; even though most of them are aware of the laws protecting the mangrove ecosystem, they need these natural resources until replacements are available and/or affordable. Low lagoon production pressures people to augment the family income by hunting wild animals, many of which are threatened or endangered. While the residual patches of forests provide habitat for wild species, the very methods of hunting iguanas endanger the remnants of forest cover and soil fertility. The link between the environment and the economy is implicit and, through the research process, became more explicit as community members (particularly those in the focus

[338] Key informant interview, president of *Brisas del Mar*, Oscar William Duran Martínez, October 18, 2000

groups) explored the interface between a thriving economy and a healthy ecosystem.

There is no simple, easy solution to these interrelated and multifaceted problems, but through the research, we arrived at some actions that placed the community in a position to begin solving them. By working with the two different focus groups, we were able to approach these problems from different angles. The focus group discussions shed insight into the community's key concerns and their homegrown solutions, and, placed within an integral approach, posed a possible methodological approach for integral community development. In the following section, I explain the findings and the actions that came out of the focus group discussions.

Fisherfolk Focus Group: facing complexity with ideas and collaboration

We decided to form a focus group with the fisherfolk, considering the central role of the lagoon in the economy and its links to ecosystem and community health. The council members of *Brisas del Mar* were the leaders of the lagoon and were eager to begin solving some of the problems with lagoon production. The focus group was comprised of the council (made up of 6 men) yet sometimes our discussions also coincided with an assembly meeting of fisherfolk (between 20-35 participants). The focus group activities included discussions of pertinent issues and possible solutions, site visits to the lagoon, a community mapping activity and participatory evaluations. The process enabled the fisherfolk to discuss, visually depict and reflect upon the history, current state and concerns for the community lagoon – including the traditional ecological knowledge, current ecological and economic problems and the avenues to finding solutions to these problems.

During the focus group discussions it became clear that there were three overarching and interrelated issues of concern regarding the main problem of low

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[339] Focus group discussion with Women's Directive, November 15, 2000.

lagoon production.[340] First, the lagoon border had been eroded during Hurricane Mitch and now allowed the shrimp and fish to escape from lagoon. Secondly, the fisherfolk were not well organized, which further compounded the problem of low production. And thirdly, the lagoon-users fish every night throughout the year, which doesn't allow the fish and shrimp to grow very big. Although the quality of the catch is low, the fisher-people take what they can get out of necessity, thus entering a cycle of further reductions in the quality and quantity of the catch.

Throughout the focus group discussions, the fisher-folk posed various solutions to the problem of low production. They suggested that the fisher-folk:

- collaborate in fixing and raising the border of the lagoon to boost lagoon production,
- improve their organization to increase participation, motivation and collaboration in problem-solving, and
- restrict the use of the small sized nets and restrict fishing for a short period of time to increase the size and quality of the catch.

Working together, we moved the discussion of these solutions into action.

The fisherfolk suggested that we seek financial support from the NGO ADIC to raise the border of the lagoon that would coincide with the collaborative "in-kind" support (primarily of labour) from the rest of the fisherfolk. Thus, the *Brisas del Mar* council and CESTA collaborated in writing a small proposal to ADIC to solicit their financial support in fixing the border of the lagoon. To address their interest in improving their internal organization, CESTA staff and I arranged a workshop on organization given by a distinguished non-profit group in El Salvador well known for their community workshops.

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[340] The fisherfolk had two other issues of concern that we did not work on during the focus group discussions, but they are important to note here nonetheless. The lagoon is slowly filling with mud from erosion of nearby agricultural lands, and this has become a worry to the fisher-people. They have proposed to dredge the lagoon to remove this additional soil and deepen the lagoon, but recognize the necessity of an environmental impact assessment as well as a technical analysis of the problem. Secondly, agricultural runoff from the neighboring properties affects one corner of the

To restrict fishing for a certain period of time and to restrict the use of small nets was more difficult to put into action. These two strategies are a great beginning for working towards sustainable management of the fishery. However, even though most fisherfolk are curious to see whether a fishing restriction would indeed boost the quantity and the quality of the catch, they cannot commit to a complete restriction on fishing, considering the pivotal position of the lagoon for the subsistence economy. For this same reason, they restricted the use of the very small sized net but had to still allow the use of the small sized net considering the ubiquitous economic dependence on the resource.

CESTA staff, my research assistant and I attempted to suggest other economic alternatives, which could provide the economic security necessary to carry out their sustainable management ideas. We invited an indigenous man from Costa Rica to meet with the focus group and explain his community's experiences with the dual objective of raising iguanas for food and also maintaining the population for conservation purposes. CESTA staff also discussed other CED ideas, such as a turtle egg nursery, a small-scale aquaculture project and ecotourism. The fisherfolk seemed interested in these ideas, but they were more interested in receiving technical support for how they could undertake sustainable management of their fishery.

A year after carrying-out these actions, we evaluated their outcomes in a participatory manner, of which I describe further below.

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lagoon and is toxic to the fish and shrimp. This was mentioned only once during an assembly, and warrants further investigation by the *Brisas del Mar* council.

Women's Focus Group: a cooperative with a common future.

As I mentioned above, the Women's Council had just formed when we arrived in the community and it seemed like a natural progression to continue working with this group of six women. My research assistant and I began by meeting with the group and proposing the idea and objectives of the focus group discussion, which was to help them identify and solve some of the key problems affecting the community in general and the women in particular.

The women's key concern was that there were no stable work opportunities for women in the community, which indirectly affected their families. I should make clear here that, although my data shows that there are indeed sources of income for women as depicted in Figure 6, the women in the focus group explained that these sources of income were opportunistic, unstable and simply non-existent for some women in certain socioeconomic sectors. This was by far the women's main concern and, thus, following the participatory action research methodology, we began exploring together their ideas to improve the local economy for women.

Initially, the women were interested in carrying out small income-generating activities, such as creating a hairdressing salon or a bakery for deserts and sweet breads. After they discussing their options further, they agreed on three initiatives that could be economically viable for many women in the community, including:

- Soliciting land to create an artisenal fishing lagoon. The land they had identified was an area of salt-resistant shrubs, which is flooded by brackish water during the rainy season. It backs onto the mangrove forest and thus, if made into a lagoon, it would allow fish and shrimp species to enter the lagoon with the tides, where the women would then fish for them (Figure 9)
- Obtaining credit to buy and raise livestock, particularly cows. This would also include soliciting land, because the *parcelas* of land distributed in the final years of the war are too small for a large herd of livestock.

- Developing an ecotourism project in the community and the surrounding area. This was talked about between CESTA and the women throughout the research.

The women considered and discussed which of these four (the three listed above and the initial idea) were feasible considering the experience and the resources necessary to carry them out, and their potential reach in the community. Upon reflection, they decided to combine the ideas of an artisanal shrimp lagoon and an ecotourism project. The two initiatives could blend well together, considering that they could operate a small restaurant beside the lagoon for fresh seafood dishes, they could reforest the area surrounding the lagoon, and offer bird-watching canoe trips into the mangroves that border the property. Also, these ideas were the most feasible, since they have experience in fishing and mangrove reforestation, some women already have fishing nets, and the project could provide work for many women in the community.

After deciding on the idea of the fishing and ecotourism lagoon, they thought about and discussed what they needed to do, learn, obtain or solicit to carry out this idea. Their strategy included the following objectives:

- Form a women's cooperative,
- Solicit land for their fishing and ecotourism lagoon,
- Improve collaboration and organization of the cooperative,
- Seek financial support for the project for the material resources and equipment, and
- Solicit technical studies for the construction, production and management of the lagoon and for an environmental impact assessment.

The women collaborated with CESTA staff and me on these objectives.

The first step in working towards their goal was to form a cooperative. The cooperative would serve various functions. It would create a structure in which the women could become organized and collaborate in a common vision, and through

which they could seek training and financial support. Furthermore, as a cooperative, the women had a chance of receiving the land in question from the Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transference (*Instituto Salvadore™o de Transferencia Agraria*, ISTA).

CESTA staff and I investigated the process of forming cooperatives and solicited assistance from the state institution responsible for the formation of cooperatives, called Asocicación Agropecuaría, to educate the women on cooperatives. The following year (2002),[341] we solicited the Salvadoran Institute for the Formation of Cooperatives to continue training the women in how a cooperative functions and to formally legalize the cooperative. At the end of February, 2002, the women's cooperative was formed and legalized.

To solicit the land in question for the creation of the lagoon, my research assistant and I investigated the possibilities for obtaining the land and met with representatives from the ISTA. Later, we arranged meetings between ISTA representatives and the women in the community, where the ISTA employees explained the process of obtaining land. Then, the vice-president of the women's council, CESTA staff and I collaborated on a proposal to ISTA to solicit the land, which we presented to ISTA in January 2001. Receiving this land was contingent on their formation as a cooperative, and the land was held for them until their legalization in February 2002.

To help strengthen the women's cooperative, CESTA staff and I included the women in the workshop on organization given by *Equipo Maiz*. CESTA continues to reinforce collaboration and organization among the members with a series of workshops scheduled for February to August 2002 to build the social and organizational capacity of the women.

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[341] The process of legalizing the cooperative was set back by 6 months due to complications within the state departments in San Salvador, however during this time, CESTA continued to work with the women's cooperative, helping them to further plan their vision, keeping their confidence high, and giving workshops on ecotourism and the environment.

To seek financial support, the women decided they would like to connect with organizations that could help financially. They have formed a relationship with MSM for assistance in project planning and funding. I also put together a booklet on how to seek funding and facilitated a discussion on a possible source of funding from the Global Fund for Women (GFW), a Foundation based in San Francisco that supports women's initiatives in developing countries. CESTA staff is working with the women on a short proposal to the GFW.

For the technical studies and impact assessment, CESTA staff and I researched the free-of-charge state services for these some of this work, as well as the necessary environmental impact assessment that must be done by a private consulting company. In their funding proposals, they are seeking funding for these feasibility studies.

Discussion and Participatory Evaluation of Focus Groups

In evaluating this research project, I compiled quantitative as well as qualitative indicators. In terms of the former, this included the more visible outcomes, such as newly formed social structures, numbers of community meetings and workshops held, number of participants to those meetings, invitations to municipal meetings regarding development, increases in lagoon production, more access to income, and so forth. In terms of the latter, we did participatory evaluations with both focus groups,[342] where we reflected on our proposed objectives as well as the impacts that are less visible, such as the ways we feel about the future of, or development of, the community, our families and ourselves. In the following, I combined both quantitative and qualitative evaluations.

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[342] Fisherfolk: Luis Alonso Martínez, Juan-Roberto Rodriguez, Jose-Roberto Hernandez, Samuel Rivas, Jose Guadelupe Garcia Flores, Jose-David Esquiel. Women: Digna de Jesús Andrade (president of women's council), Rosa Telma Flores de Zetino (vicepresident of women's council),Delmi del Carman Villarta de Palacios (secretary of women's council), Edith Andusol Plineda (treasurer of women's council, fish merchant), Graciela del Carmen Rivas (vocal of women's council).

Both groups realized that improving the community economy would be beneficial for their families, and would relieve stress on natural ecosystems. For the fisherfolk, this meant improving their current source of income: the production of fish and shrimp in the community lagoon. Improving production would be a multi-step process, and through the research, we began this process by fulfilling some of the focus group's proposed objectives. By co-writing a proposal to ADIC, the fisherfolk, CESTA staff and I put together the rationale, background and needs for raising the border. ADIC recently rejected the proposal to help at this time, yet the proposal is already written and able to be re-sent to other potential foundations. Perhaps more importantly, through the discussions and proposal writing, the fisherfolk began to collaborate in planning how they, themselves, could begin fixing the border: they are now generating money and labor for work on the border from all the lagoon-owners and the individuals that rent rights to fish monthly. This collaboration is partly due, explains the Secretary of *Brisas del Mar*, to the improvement in the organization of the fisherfolk over the past year (late 2000 – early 2002), "[the fishfolk] have improved their organization, they are meeting more and are more united. (*Ha mejorado la organización, estan reuniendo mas, estan mas unidos.*)"[343] The number of participants that came to (often impromptu) meetings in December 2001 and January 2002, numbering a minimum of 12 up to 20 participants, verifies this statement.

While the management plans for the lagoon remain theoretical, they are still discussed at length. The focus group explained that the old Lagoon Shrimp-Fishing Committee that folded six years ago, is now re-organizing with many of the same committee members. While I had hoped to encourage the fisherfolk into exploring *other* CED options to further diversify and take the pressure off the lagoon, I realized that they had their own long-term vision for resource management of the lagoon. The president of the *Brisas del Mar* explained to me that a large number of fisherfolk also had planted organic cashews and sesame seeds this year. When these families

were able to harvest and receive income from that project, possibly in 3-4 years, the lagoon-users could begin instituting restrictions on fishing and on nets used. The NGOs working with them on this (CHF and CLUSA) had, essentially, already done a comprehensive CED project with them that allowed the fisherfolk enough financial security to plan upwards of 5 years in advance.

These outcomes of the research may describe, on the one hand, a group of fisherfolk well on their way towards addressing their own problems and creating sustainable fishery. Yet, on the other hand, there are still many more problems to solve and much frustration and self-doubt. They explained their need for technical assistance on *how* to manage the resource sustainably, with environmental studies into the causes of low production, as well as for funding to put into action many of their ideas for the lagoon. Also, this group is not immune to the pressures of poverty seen throughout Jiquilisco Bay, which often leads community members and cooperatives to sell their properties to large landowners once again. When I returned to San Juan del Gozo in 2002, I was shocked and saddened to hear that the idea of selling the lagoon is being discussed by some of the lagoon-owners. While this is exactly what the PAR methodology intended to avoid, I realize that it is a symptom of their socioeconomic situation, and represents opinions held by the minority of lagoon-users. On the other side of the spectrum, others adamantly disagree, knowing what the implications of such an idea are, namely unsustainable resource use and further poverty for their children. In our last meeting, one fishermen explained that through the work with CESTA and I, he understands that,

> "You do not come with bills [money], but instead with thoughts and ideas, with knowledge. Money is not worth anything, sometimes. What is more valuable is the knowledge of how to improve community development. (*Ustedes no vienen con billetes, sino con el pensamiento, el conocimiento. No vale nada el dinero a veces, que vale mas es el pensamiento de mejorar el desarollo comunitario.*)"

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[343] Samuel Rivas, Secretary, *Brisas del Mar*, January 17, 2002

For the women, the situation was different, since they did not have a stable and reliable source of income to begin with. One major outcome through the research process, they decided to organize, form a cooperative, and begin a small-scale fishing lagoon with an ecotourism project that could employ 40-50 women in the community. Not only did they form the cooperative, but have also begun the process of acquiring land and building the social and organizational capacity of the group. The president of the cooperative also participated in a week-long exchange to Guatemalan communities doing ecotourism to better understand the concept.

The *process* with the women was as important and successful as the end product, both of which have helped the women build the necessary self-confidence and capacity to do community development work. Where previously they had had no leadership position and few opportunities to express their opinions or feedback in terms of their own community's development, the participatory action research gave the women a space to become leaders, to share their ideas and plan for their children's future. They suddenly had the opportunity to bring together women to discuss their common problems and identify solutions. While these types of meetings began just with the focus group, gradually within the first three months, the women's council was holding larger assemblies with other women in the community and were invited to meet with municipal government representatives in December 1999. Their meetings with ISTA representatives, the training received from Asocación Agropecuaria and INSAFOCOOP in cooperative formation and functioning, and the networking with other communities and NGOs helped to build confidence and empower members of the group. The fact that they had formed a cooperative, had collectively defined a CED goal and had solicited a piece of land in which to carry-out their objectives – all just within a year – is indeed a success.

Like the fisherfolk, there were also some frustrations in the women's focus group. Two of the members of the women's council explained that they were disappointed to have not had support from MSM after this organization formed the council in September 1999, and they expressed gratitude that CESTA was able to

work with the council almost immediately after it had formed.[344] Various women explained that they were frustrated with the slow process of legalization of the cooperative, the need for better sharing and communication within the group and the lack of support from the men in the community. Now as a legal cooperative, they hope to better share with each other and to be able to demonstrate to the men that women too can organize cooperatively and address their own concerns.

After a few months of work with the two groups, I wondered whether addressing CED would indeed merge with environmental conservation. Although it was hard to quantify this merging, I did note the various conversations held with individuals or with the groups where they brought up environmental issues. Two fishermen told me that if they had better production in the lagoon or better sources of income, they wouldn't have to hunt iguanas and *garobos*, armadillos or turtle eggs. The women mentioned the environment often in informal meetings and focus group discussions and planned to reforest mangrove trees around their prospective fishing lagoon. Further, they legalized their cooperative as a multi-use cooperative so that they could incorporate not only a small restaurant but, more pertinent to the issue of environmental conservation, small bird-watching tours on the lagoon. At such an early stage of both these groups, it is hard to say whether their CED initiatives will become sustainable on the long-term. However, I can say that they are incorporating ecological awareness into their CED projects, which has the potential to work towards conservation as well as income-generation in the future.

In the year 2000, CESTA, their northern partner the Gaia Project of BC and I collaborated in writing a proposal to the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) for a three-year climate change adaptation program in Jiquilisco Bay that has community development as a integral part of the program. In writing the proposal, which was later funded for a three-year program in the region, we drew upon much of the background information on the socioeconomic and ecological

[344] Digna de Jesús Andrade (president of the women's council) and Edith Andusol Plineda (treasurer of women's council and fish merchant).

needs in the area from the research in San Juan del Gozo. With funds from this grant, CESTA has begun developing a Marine Eco-Center (600 meters from the community) which will become a community-based resource and training center, not just for the fisherfolk and women, but other community inhabitants throughout the region. These outcomes essentially build upon "participatory action research" at a grassroots level in San Juan del Gozo, and extend it to an even broader reach, addressing the needs of other communities and ecosystems in Jiquilisco Bay.

CHAPTER Six: Some Fundamentals of Integral Community Development

Faced with ecological devastation and local economic instability, both of which are not being adequately addressed by State programs, the need for local communities in El Salvador to seek sustainable local development is acute. Their struggles for land equity, for economic and social justice and for a sustainable existence, have often resulted in people organizing and cooperating for mutual benefits at the community level. Today, many academics, NGO practitioners and local people in El Salvador know that small-scale production, less throughput of resources, value-added initiatives and community governance structures are indeed more sustainable in ecological as well as economic terms. Moreover, the cooperatives and communal governing associations formed during and after the civil war play an important role in this evolution toward sustainable production where economic goals, social issues, cultural needs and ecological objectives are intermeshed. While there is still much more work to do to ensure sustainable livelihoods in both economic, social, cultural and ecological terms, there is a communal need and interest in seeking these local solutions.

The crux of achieving such "sustainable livelihoods" lies in merging economic needs and ecological conservation. Through the research, I began to realize that these two seemingly dichotomous requirements of community life *will* merge as development work expands and deepens to include the various layered and complex aspects of a community, and as participants move away from egocentric actions to more worldcentric ones. Working with such an integral, multi-perspectival approach means addressing economic needs and sociopolitical institutional arrangements, such as securing livelihoods and creating participatory decision-making structures. It also means addressing the more subjective and inter-subjective aspects of development, such as encouraging self-reflection, raising self-

esteem, building individual and group confidence and capacities, and improving organizational skills and communication.

The process of self-reflection is particularly important yet happens organically and intermittently; there are neither guarantees that participants will self-reflect nor that these reflections will be of use to the community. On the other hand, self-reflection can be a precursor to the expansion of one's sphere of concern from egocentric needs to concern for the entire community or region. The particular religious traditions in the community may facilitate the introspection process, or they may not. By whatever route, when concern expands to a wider concentric circle (i.e. sociocentric and/or worldcentric), often the role of individuals in the community as well as the role of humans in the ecosystem are re-thought. With these more expansive perspectives, the need for mutual understanding of each other's interests, values and needs, and collaboration in a common vision is evident. Moreover, with a worldcentric perspective, individuals can identify more clearly the links between community socioeconomic health and environmental conservation. Indeed, through the participatory approach, it seemed that individuals were more able to link community development with environmental awareness, as they reflected on their individual roles in the community, on what ecologically destructive activities would mean to their children, their economy and the environment, and on how they could collaborate to effect positive change in their community.

Thus, what I have found through this research is an expanded and deepened concept and process of development. Conventional development defines "development" in *primarily economic* terms, based on an instrumentally rational worldview. Integral development, on the other hand, includes economic needs with social and ecological needs in the sphere of instrumental rationality, as well as includes other qualitative and subjective factors necessary for healthy communities that fall into the other spheres of an integral model. This type of integral development begins to illuminate the false boundaries between the environment

and humans, linking the two on a philosophical and practical level so as to stimulate ecologically sensitive actions and promote a sustainable economy. Acknowledging that essential human needs greatly overlap and that the natural and human worlds are not separate are two components of a worldcentric perspective. With such a perspective, community members are better able to envision equitable and ecologically-based actions.

Using participatory action research embedded in an integral approach offers a useful template for arriving at integral community development. In the following discussion, I center a discussion on integral community development around our work in San Juan del Gozo, but with broader implications for community development in more general terms.

Instrumental Action: Social Institutions, Ecological Studies and Technical Know-How.

I began my study acknowledging the successes and failings of conventional development and then expanding the range of "development" activities to better include communities and ecosystems. The necessary "instruments" for such ecological community development include revolutionized social institutions (both in local designs and receptivity of these designs by state institutions) and ecologically-based resource management linked to a community-owned and -operated economic activities. These instruments are part of a locally appropriate type of development which addresses not just the economic needs, but the interrelated social and ecological needs of communities.

In San Juan del Gozo, both focus groups (fisherfolk and women) recognized that their immediate needs were economic – the fisherfolk needed to increase their production from the lagoon and the women needed sources of work – yet they both recognized that the improvement in the local economy depended on well-organized

and collaborative social institutions as well as on healthy ecosystem function. In El Salvador, cooperatives are a key mobilizing force behind securing such social and economic needs, and increasingly also *ecological* needs. In fact,

> "...cooperatives in general, should not be viewed as societies helping their members only, but should be considered as tools for social change and institutions for community development."[345]

Indeed, cooperatives can and do contribute to long term community development. Cooperatives offer their members various opportunities and services not necessarily given by state or international institutions that address not only economic insecurity, but also social and ecological needs. In an economic sense, cooperatives enable small producers and operators to pool together their products for sale in local and national and in international markets. In doing so, these small producers can better secure prices in a fluctuating market economy. Furthermore, by organizing collectively and democratically, members own part of the cooperative venture, and thus have access to surplus earnings. For individuals beginning an economic initiative, there is reasonable access to loans and credit for start-up costs via the cooperative.

In terms of social services, a cooperative provides its members with training programs as well as continued education for family members. Moreover, by being a participatory association, cooperatives create a climate in which its members are included in decision-making. In a cooperative, many decisions are made internally and inclusively, and the structure is democratic. Thus, local inhabitants, who feel the effects of resource decisions the most acutely, have control over the cooperative's economic activities, rather than decision-making power being held by corporate shareholders that live outside of the ecosystem and community. Participation in the decisions and functioning of the cooperative enable members to build the social capital necessary for a fruitful and sustained cooperative venture.

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[345] Chaves, Fernando. (1960) "The Cooperative Movement in Latin America" (a paper presented by) Dept. of Social Affairs, PAN American Union. (Washington) p. 8

An ecological mentality is not always explicitly included in "community development" strategies like cooperative management, yet cooperatives have excellent potential to address ecological deterioration. Rather than regarding "community" in purely anthropogenic terms, "community" can also be defined more holistically, thus including non-human residents of communities as well.[346] This broader conception of "community development" includes the ecological systems as well as social, economic and political aspects. Such an approach is both spatial and temporal - it includes the retaining the ecosystem integrity for both human and non-human inhabitants as well as for the future generations that depend on the ecosystem. For example, as cooperative members make decisions for their local region, they have a vested interest in operating in a sustainable way to ensure long term access to natural resources for their own kin. This is in contrast to transnational corporations (TNCs) who extract resources from distant regions, yet are not accountable to the local populations in their methods of extraction or production. Instead, they heed direction and advice from their foreign shareholders that generally want to see large profit margins, not necessarily long-term sustainable practices for local communities.

In San Juan del Gozo, the presence of two cooperatives that formed during the civil struggles of the 1980s, have enabled the community to better organize and distribute equitable access to local resources, mitigate negative effects on natural resources and develop sustainable management strategies. The cooperatives *Oro Blanco* and *Brisas del Mar* were instrumental in re-distributing land to its members, where each member now owns of up to 4 *manzanas* of agricultural land or communal ownership of the lagoon. Recently, civil society organizations worked with the cooperative members to address their myriad economic, social and ecological needs, with a comprehensive organic agriculture project that included capacity-building, education and training, and organic certification and marketing. This project is among the increasing number of cooperatives that are filling the

growing socially conscious demand for 'fair trade', 'organic' and 'green' consumer items. This demand has created a new niche for cooperatives and enables them to sell their fair trade and organic products in international markets.

The council of the cooperative *Brisas del Mar* has sought ways to manage the shellfish and fish resources more sustainably and it has improved the internal organization of the fisherfolk that previously impeded success in resource management. Although there were organizational difficulties immediately after the war, the council of the cooperative has had a historical role in encouraging collaboration between lagoon-users to address their key issues of low production in the lagoon and equitable access. This involved limiting the fishing times to the night (rather than day and night) and restricting the use of ecologically destructive fishing gear (drag-nets). The council during the year 1999 – 2000 organized the fisherfolk into four groups of twenty to ensure that each individual gets a fair chance of fishing in the most productive parts of the lagoon. The group recognizes that the volume and rate of fishing (i.e. all 80 lagoon-users fishing every night throughout the year) makes it difficult for the natural resource to replenish itself. Through the cooperative structure, they discuss extensively the need to restrict fishing or the use of certain fishing nets to allow for the rejuvenation of the fish stocks.

The newly formed women's cooperative, which formed out of the women's focus group during the research, immediately linked economic with social needs. The members of the focus group were eager to form a cooperative and increase participation in their planning and activities, and discussed at length the role of organization and collaboration in the cooperative's potential success. Similarly, they recognized how the success of their proposed artisanal fishing lagoon depended on the mangrove ecosystem for providing habitat for shrimp larvae and fish, also noting how the mangrove forest would provide bird habitat and perhaps provide ecotourism opportunities.

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[346] Burda, Cheri and Michael M'Gonigle. (1999), p18.

When working for their own development, the community members immediately recognize that social and ecological needs are necessary components to a healthy local economy. Community-based social institutions, in this case cooperatives, can greatly aid in fulfilling social needs, devising ecologically-sound resource management strategies as well as ensuring equitable local economic activities. *Brisas del Mar* is struggling to balance economic dependency on the lagoon with implementing a resource management strategy, and this is not an easy task. Yet as a cooperative, they have identified and prioritized possible strategies and are working on finding ways to carry out such strategies. The cooperative structure has only enhanced this process.

All of these important instruments in community development – the cooperative institution, resource management strategy and equitable economic activities – are underpinned and informed by common needs, shared values and agreed-upon ethics. These underlying factors *give rise* to instruments of development like an equitable social organization, a healthy local economy and an intact ecosystem. Or, in other words, these shared values and ethics are the seeds from which the observable institutions, strategies and activities grow.

Conventional development historically did not recognize the importance of such fundamental components of the development process and focussed primarily on building infrastructure and boosting economic growth. Often such projects failed in reaching their intended results. In San Juan del Gozo, even some of the more "critical" alternative development projects seemed to fall into the fallacy of a materialistic/instrumental approach, believing that a new infrastructure or more money would cure underdevelopment ills. Addressing material needs is extremely important, but working *only* with a materialistic approach, based primarily in the sphere of instrumental rationality, is like making a tree (political system and economic infrastructure) without first enabling the root system (of culturally-based values and shared ethics) to be established. Undoubtedly the tree will not grow. On the other hand, building social capacity and cultivating the space for participation

and mutual understanding enable individuals to unite and collaboratively seek solutions and meet material needs, according to their particular cultural context.

Fostering mutual understanding between individuals and groups

In any community, each individual or group has its own set of interests. The common problem of any community or society is that these interests often clash, resulting in a decision-making process that seems to circumnavigate the concerns and interests of a particular sector. A "win-win" scenario is ideal, but difficult to realize. The nature of the focus groups allowed participants to explore commonalties and hear each other's differences. Ideally, in an open, inclusive and respectful forum, participants could begin to understand each other's interests.

Carrying out focus groups in a participatory manner helped to create the space where ideas were respected, listened to and considered. In considering these varying perspectives, the group could arrive at a solution that might meet the interests of the individuals involved. Arriving at such a mutual understanding can be difficult. At first, for example, the women's focus group discussed how their first objective was to help their own families, and they suggested initiatives that extended only as far as 3-4 individuals. However, as we reflected on the community's situation, on the common needs and aspirations of the residents, the women saw that many others shared their own family's struggles. They began to seek an initiative that would address their *shared* needs and fulfill their *common* values. The fisherfolk, perhaps because they had worked collaboratively for longer than the women, seemed to understand each other's needs well. For example, during the focus groups and assemblies, we discussed the common needs and methods of addressing low lagoon production, and although this was a grave problem for all fishfolk, it was particularly difficult for the poorer members of the group. Thus, they often turned down resource management options that would not address the shared needs of all lagoon users.

Thus, through the focus group, we made the links and saw the commonalties between individual's values, interests and needs and encouraged the creation of initiatives that would address these communal needs. The focus groups took place in the sphere of communicative rationality, with "we" language, to use Wilber's (1995) term, but the initiatives that came out of the focus groups manifested in the sphere of instrumental action, with new social structures and with proposals to facilitate better resource management (all "it" language). With the women, this resulted in the formation of a cooperative and an idea for a fishing lagoon that would include upward of 50 women and their families. With the fisherfolk, we held a workshop on organization to help in improving collaboration and communication of the fisherfolk group, as well as collaboratively writing a proposal to improve the border of the lagoon. This connection between "we" and "it" language underlines the necessity of working in both spheres in addressing development needs.

In summary, through the focus groups, we built social capacity through collaboration and participation, and also added to the mutual understanding of common needs and aspirations between group members. The women saw how an initiative with a broad scope and a cooperative organization could benefit many individuals and address common interests. The fisherfolk knew that they could not settle on decisions that did not address everyone's needs, and they knew that by improving their internal organization further, their collective energies could overcome and solve shared problems that were too big for individuals to address alone. Moreover, the process of engaging in dialogue over shared interests manifested as observable "instruments" to address their common concerns: in this case, collaborative and well-organized social institutions, and finding funding and techniques for better resource management.

Encouraging self-confidence and self-reflection

I intended the focus groups to be useful to the *individual* participants in various ways. I aimed to encourage individuals to participate in the focus group

discussions, to offer participants opportunities to build their own individual capacity and self-esteem and to reflect upon individual roles within the focus group, the community, the surrounding ecosystem and more broadly the world. According to de-briefing sessions with my research assistant and the participatory evaluations, these more subtle aspects of the focus groups were, in some ways, the most beneficial to participants.

Coming together as a focus group, where participants offer each other their sincere opinions and perspectives, is difficult. What facilitates entry into such a group is self-esteem and self-confidence. Few participants in the focus groups came with high self-confidence (including myself) but through the process we sought to give encouragement and support to each other and to build confidence working as a group. We did this various ways. First, the nature of the focus group was open, inclusive and respectful. Everyone listened to each other's ideas in a way that encouraged them to share verbally in a group setting. Many of these ideas were discussed and different ideas offered, but never were ideas critiqued in a negative manner. This allowed participants to trust in the participatory nature of the focus group, and also elicited many more ideas.

Secondly, we gave individuals responsibilities that would help them cultivate their own capacities. Oftentimes, these responsibilities were new, challenging and somewhat fearsome, yet given such new positions in the group and community, the individuals involved were eager to try and learn. Digna de Jesús Andrade, the president of the Women's Council, for example, was nervous about her public-speaking role, the task of keeping track of important facts and dates, and other aspects of leadership. Yet, every time we had a meeting with government representatives, other NGO workers or other women in the group, she took on her new challenges and surpassed even her own expectations.

My research assistant and I facilitated the process of forming a cooperative and seeking land tenure for the artisanal fishing lagoon by arranging meetings in

San Salvador, gathering information and bringing this information back to the groups. However, in addition to this, we also pointed out that certain avenues for solving the community's problems were also open to them. For example, we co-wrote the proposal to the ISTA and encouraged representatives from the cooperative to come to the office with us, so that they could be involved in the process and gain confidence meeting with (in this case) a government official. Also, I described fundraising strategies to the women's cooperative, explaining that certain foundations only fund directly to women's groups, not via intermediary organizations like CESTA. At one meeting, Digna said that it was great that I was there to do this research and have these meetings in San Salvador, or "to knock on doors" for the women's group. I said to her that, indeed, it was an important part of the work, but that through the focus group, they would begin to knock on these doors, that I was "passing on the ability of knocking on doors". In fact, passing on the skills and confidence required to "knock on doors" was the essence of the participatory action research itself. By my last month in the community, the Women's Council was holding meetings with the other cooperative members, conducting meetings with land-tenure representatives from ISTA and interacting confidently with the Asociación Agropecuaria. While CESTA still "knocks on doors" for the group, especially in terms of finding financial and technical support, the group is engaged in the process and building their own individual and organizational capacity in doing so.

Finally, through the focus groups, I encouraged participants to reflect on their individual role within the community. Rather than listening to the group complain repeatedly about a certain problem, I asked them how they, as individuals, could begin solving it. I found that oftentimes, I would pose a question one week, and when I came back the following week, participants had mulled over the question and came up with unique answers. The importance of this self-reflection and self-examination is linked to communicative action described above, and the importance of both cannot be overstated in the process of integral community development.

In summary, through the process, individuals built their own capacities, confidence, self-esteem. This new capacity and confidence brought unprecedented actions: they began taking leadership roles during assemblies, approaching institutions and government representatives with more self-esteem, and began seeing their individual place in the community differently. Rather than being subject to the ebb and flow of community prosperity, participants began to see that they had a role in the process and could effect positive change in that newly found capacity.

Deep self-examination, where individuals re-think what role they play in the community, society, environment, or even the world is the beginning of the transformative shift from egocentric perspectives towards more worldcentric vision and action. These perceptions, worldviews and values have an essential role in informing individual action, and must not be left out of the development process. With the participatory action research rooted in an integral approach, we made room not only for self-exploration and reflection, but also fostered the shift in perspective from egocentric to worldcentric visions.

Community Visioning Without Ego: Moving Toward Worldcentric.

Through my observations and participation in the research, I noticed how participants moved from egocentric to sociocentric to worldcentric viewpoints. It is difficult to describe what "worldcentric" means compared to "egocentric", and even more difficult to quantify these categories. This may not be necessary or desirable, considering these terms describe general trends, not pigeon-holes, and this transition is neither linear nor cleanly delineated. Keeping that in mind, I did notice trends in how perspectives changed over time. The focus groups, particularly the women, began with a more egocentric perspective (where individual family and self needs were most important), becoming more sociocentric in scope (where others in the group were considered), and eventually discussing ideas from more of a worldcentric view (which is, essentially, broader in respect for other beings and their

needs). The ability to do community visioning without an egocentric or ethnocentric perspective greatly aids the process of achieving sustainable community development.

During the first phase of the research (including the interview process, the introductory meetings with the community councils and even some of the initial focus group meetings), I heard many comments that embodied an egocentric perspective, where the needs of "me and mine" are put before the collective needs of the group or community. When I began working with the focus groups, I heard a lot of participants saying how "my family needs a stable supply of food" or "I need secure income". The women's focus group initially were interested in improving their own families with CED initiatives that would include a few women without including other families, let alone the poorest families in the community. While these needs are very important, if they are not coupled with the awareness that others also have similar needs, such an ego-based or individualistic attitude will not promote collaborative action. For example, the past fisherfolk councils (previous to the current council of *Brisas del Mar*) promoted individual actions not collaborative ones, and did not develop resource management strategies to ensure that all lagoon-users had a fair share of the resource and to protect the viability of the resource. This kind of attitude was inequitable in that some fisherfolk, for example those using drag nets, would gather more fish than others, and also unsustainable in that the entire fish stock was at risk of being overexploited and depleted. This kind of attitude embodies the "tragedy of the commons" phenomenon, where in looking out for oneself, the communal resource base is overexploited.

The egocentric tragedy of the commons is oftentimes linked to economic poverty. Some families in the community, for example, are compelled to hunt and kill iguanas, turtle eggs and armadillos because of economic need. While on the one hand, some of these activities may have been culturally-based, on the other hand, many younger hunters knew that the species were more and more threatened by such activities. During various interviews, *garobo* hunters told me that they knew

the *garobos* were threatened by extirpation but they are compelled to hunt them because their families are poor. For another example, the area is infamous for civil violence, where thieves would steal from NGO workers who work in the community. This kind of activity was done because the thieves needed money for their families. Interviewees did not say whether or not this money indeed went to the families or whether it was spent on beer. Regardless, such a thing does not help the community as a whole. In fact, robbing the very people coming to help the entire community, had consequences for the rest of the community and for other communities in region – again, a tragedy of the commons.

I understand *why* many individuals hold an ecocentric perspective – it seems almost natural to look out for one's own. However, I do not believe that it will lead to mutual understanding or collaboration, which are needed in the process of securing more sustainable future for the community.

However, as I worked with the focus groups, I began to see the transition from an egocentric perspective to a sociocentric one. The women, particularly, began thinking more broadly in terms of possible CED initiatives. Suddenly, they were talking about how "we have to think about the other families in the community", "we should include families without land or rights to fish" and "we need to find a CED initiative that includes as many women as possible". From these perspectives arose the idea of a women's cooperative and a communal artisanal fishing lagoon. I witnessed further examples of a sociocentric perspective when the women's group expressed frustration with the robberies on the road, not only because it affected them and their families but also because it affected so many other families and nearby communities with the risk of NGOs possibly leaving the region due to violence.[347] Also, the women's group, fed up with bickering between community councils suggested that a better strategy would be to support each other,

[347] In both of the proposals that I have helped write for this region, we have included civil violence as a major risk that *could* impede the project success. The NGO ADIC, who has been working there since 1999, explained the danger of violence in the region. I do not know if the risk of violence has

rather than argue with other councils and undermine each other. And finally, they began suggesting how they could learn from and share with other groups, both within the community and with neighboring communities.

The leaders of the fisherfolk were faced with a huge problem of low production in the lagoon, yet perhaps because they had been working cooperatively for longer than the women had, they were thinking and acting with a sociocentric perspective when I entered the group. Rather than believing that individuals should fight harder to take home a larger portion of the communal resource, the group sought solutions that would increase production for all lagoon-users. Oscar Willian Duran Martínez the leader of the fisherfolk, told me how "we [the fisherfolk] need to organize better to be able to deal with any other problem" and that "we are nothing if we are not organized". During the lagoon assemblies, the group decided on a fair way of partitioning the most productive part of the lagoon so that all the fisherfolk would catch a similar quantity of fish and shrimp. In deciding on other ways to manage the low production of fish, they posed ideas for a restriction on fishing or on the size of nets. (Using larger sized nets does not catch the younger fish and shellfish and thus enables them to continue growing.) However, the final decision on these ideas always took into consideration the poorest fisherfolk, the ones without other sources of income. Said Don Oscar regarding the decision to restrict the fishing nets to a few sizes smaller than the largest, "we are poor, but there are others that are more poor, we should think of them". Furthermore, because the impact of a fishing restriction would be too difficult for the families that relied entirely on the lagoon for income, the group also decided *not* to restrict fishing altogether until the fisherfolk could secure an alternate source of income.

The women's focus group was quick to begin thinking for the entire group, with a sociocentric perspective, and the fisherfolk were already functioning in this way when I arrived. This type of sociocentric perspective incorporates the idea of

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stopped other NGOs from working in Jiquilisco Bay, nor if any have actually discontinued projects because of it.

participation and better organization, the philosophy and action of cooperatives, the interest in uniting the group and uniting the community, and the concept of re-circulating power to disenfranchised sectors. It is a key component in integral community development.

While some individuals were thinking and acting with a worldcentric perspective when I met them, others seemed to be moving in that direction during my time in the community. The fisherfolk began to discuss resource management plans with a worldcentric perspective that included not just people but other species as well. Particularly, they discussed how managing the resource well would help other fisherfolk as well as the fish: "we could leave the poor little shellfish alone to grow bigger, if we had a 'no fishing' time period for the lagoon [and this would raise production for the fisherfolk]." In the final few focus group discussions, the women expressed their fear that with the continuing deterioration of the environment, their children will not experience nature like they had experienced in their youth. They also spoke about how the mangrove forest around their lagoon creates habitat for birds, and they spoke about how they could reforest and protect this ecosystem. Both the women's group and the fisherfolk group were very much interested in linking with other local, national and international groups, showing a recognition of other peoples with similar concerns, needs and resources. The hunting of turtle eggs, iguanas and *garobos* continued, but the turtle egg hunters wanted to work with CESTA to make a turtle egg nursery for turtle conservation and some of the iguana/*garobo* hunters recognized the animals' intrinsic right to life. Finally, many individuals during interviews as well as participants of both focus groups showed interest in and approval of organic agriculture especially in that it is better for the soil, surrounding environment and future generations.

A worldcentric perspective occurs when the link between humans and "others" (other humans, nations, species, ecosystems, etc.) is evident and the human society acts accordingly (e.g. acts equitably in social terms or more appropriately in ecologically terms). Worldcentrism does not require comprehensive knowledge of

other groups or regions and their struggles; this *may* help, but as the immediate access to information in the north shows, often this does *not* necessarily result in a worldcentric perspective. Rather, what is needed for worldcentrism is the awareness that we are *beings-in-relation* and the respect for other humans, species and ecosystems with which we relate. Many individuals in both focus groups, as well as individuals in the community, spoke and acted with such a perspective – one that I believe is a precursor to ecologically-based CED.

Reviewing Development Work in Jiquilisco Bay

The vestigial remnants of failed "development" projects scatter the globe like embarrassing scars. Neoliberal development institutions, particularly the World Bank and the IMF, have tended to project materialistic and capitalistic "development" goals onto local cultures and traditional resource management system, leaving debt, poverty and ecological demise in their wake (although some projects now are theoretically incorporating a more community-based focus). Even "critical" alternative models may not intend to focus on material/instrumental end products over more qualitative outcomes, but these models often fit their development programs into limited and materialistic results-based funding requirements that may not recognize the value of qualitative gains in a more integral model. Over the past few years, San Juan del Gozo received aid and development projects from NGOs on all points of the spectrum of development work (from conventional to "critical" alternative to integral strategies), all of whom have varying ways of addressing poverty and environmental degradation. As a participant-observer in the community, I reflected on what types of development actually had effective results. What makes for effective and locally-appropriate "development work" on the long term? Is an "integral development" approach most effective?

Although there has been much "development work" done by NGOs in San Juan del Gozo, not all of this work has had lasting or community-wide positive

effects; some of this work has been ineffective and potentially damaging. However, amongst the more recent support from NGOs, various initiatives have had positive effects for the socioeconomic and ecological situation in San Juan del Gozo. Positive, that is, in the sense that the project fits into the local cultural and social norms, incorporates an educational component that builds local capacity, uses appropriate scale technology that does not compromise the ecosystem, and that the benefits are equitably shared. I feel it is important to reflect on why some development projects encompass such attributes in their projects and elicit such positive outcomes to better understand how such development work can be replicated.

One of the more beneficial development projects in the community came from funding via the USAid MIRA project, administered by Cooperative Housing Foundation (CHF) and contracted out to Cooperative League of the USA (CLUSA). CHF and CLUSA worked in unison in a mangrove reforestation and an organic agriculture program in the community. CHF was in charge of the mangrove reforestation in Jiquilisco Bay, which provided work to 80 individuals of the community (60% of which were women) and instilled respect for the ecological importance of mangroves in the community. CLUSA has started and continues to manage the cultivation of organic cashew and sesame seeds on local producers' *parcelas* (plots of land). The project included much of the population: the cashew trees were planted first on 40 *manzanas*, including 31 men and 13 women as beneficiaries, and later, sesame seeds were planted on the same *parcelas* and included *other* producers (thus the beneficiaries included 27 more men and 15 more women).

Throughout this initiative, CHF and CLUSA gave training workshops in organic agriculture, production and use of organic fertilizers and pesticides, organic certification and markets. Furthermore, CLUSA helped in identifying organic markets internationally and facilitated the certification process for the crops. The identification of organic markets for these products, as well as the training in the organic cultivation and certification process, is a long-term investment for San Juan

del Gozo in environmental as well as socioeconomic terms. Finally, although women and gender were not a focus for CLUSA, the project was structured as an "open call" to be involved. Approximately 30 – 35 % of the participants in the planting of organic sesame and cashew crops were women.[348]

The beneficiaries of this project received technical training, learned about the importance and the practicalities of organic agriculture, secured international markets for their crops and will thus have income over the long term. Unfortunately, not all development projects in the community were this complete or successful.

Projects by other NGOs gave assistance or direct aid, but did not manage to effect positive change over the long term. Often this objective was never built into the project in question – it was intended as a "bandaid" not as a transformative solution. In other situations, it was due to a lack of foresight on the NGO's part. For example, many families in San Juan del Gozo received a composting toilet from CARE International or from USAid, but do not use it or do not use it correctly. The importance for avoiding water contamination or even the process of how water becomes contaminated, were either not passed on to the family members, or not understood. Either way the NGO is responsible to include education and capacity-building for recipients for why and how to use the new technologies.

For another example, during my six months in the community, a Spanish NGO called Asociacion Desarollo Integral y Comunal (Association of Integral and Communal Development, ADIC) were building houses in the community for families that either did not have a house, or for those whose houses were badly damaged during Hurricane Mitch. The housing construction was a pseudo-collaborative effort (where the inhabitants provided part of the labor and ADIC the management and materials) and indeed gave many houses to many families in need.

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[348] Interview with Project Coordinator, Juan Marenco, CLUSA, October 9, 2000

This is, of course, a good thing. However, after the earthquake in January 2001, again various buildings were damaged or fell, and I could not help but consider how education and training on *how* to build strong houses out of *local materials* (preferably adobe, not mangrove timber) may have been a more productive project for the long-term. Interestingly, after I expressed my condolences to Don Oscar for his caved-in roof after the earthquake, he said, "oh, yes, we lost the house. So, when are we [the fisherfolk focus group] going to met again, everyone is eager to begin work again." I realized then that, in the question of their lagoon, he (and possibly others) were not waiting for a hand-out from an NGO to fix their problem in the lagoon, but rather, there was value in the organization and collaboration in seeking solutions to their common problems.

A third example was the feminist organization called Movimiento Salvadore™o de la Mujer (Salvadoran Women's Movement, MSM). They arrived in the community in September and, in one meeting, orchestrated the formation of a women's council in a hierarchical format, with ridiculously little participation and minimal explanation as to why the council would be of use to the women. When they did return, three months later, it was to meet with the ADESCO (made up of all men) not with the newly formed women's council. While meetings with the ADESCO is proper protocol when beginning work in the community, they took away the credibility of the Women's Council by not including them. It *could* have been an effective way to validate the Women's Council rather than undermining the council and putting in jeopardy the sincerity of their own "feminist" mandate. Moreover, while the social structure of a council is important, the organization and capacity of council members are what really give meaning to the structure. Perhaps building the social capital was a further objective of MSM in the future, but in the half year I worked in the community, they had not returned to meaningfully work with the women on building this social capital.

Clearly MSM was bounded by its own limitations in funding (distinctive of many NGOs) and this translated into ends-oriented, fast-paced, culturally-

inappropriate and inadequate project implementation. This example underlines my point on how, due to a knowledge system that gives credibility to quantitative results and external authorities and not to qualitative processes and local people, or perhaps due to funding restrictions from more conventional foundations, even well intentioned "critical" alternative models can fail to integrate the more subjective and inter-subjective domains that are crucial in meaningful community development.

The last three examples are distinctive of the many NGOs that have worked throughout Jiquilisco Bay and El Salvador, focussing primarily on giving aid, assistance or infrastructure to the inhabitants. While the end product of such work is visible – one can see the donated water pumps and composting toilets from CARE and USAid, the brick houses built by ADIC and the council formed by MSM – this aid-oriented development also runs the risk of creating dependency in local inhabitants. Rather than uniting together, analyzing the problems, and acting to solve them, inhabitants will wait for organizations to arrive and give them material objects or social structures – things they may not understand they need, perhaps may not even need or could construct on their own. Often, what communities require more than money and objects, is the organization and social capacity to effect their own changes and seek their own support. By focussing on material observable outcomes (like aid, assistance and infrastructure) and going no further, the community may have short-term gain, but perhaps no long-term solution.

Having said this, I do see the place for aid and relief work (especially after natural disasters), but ideally this work would be coupled with more community-directed development. As the ADIC's housing project came to an end, they began to work more collaboratively with some women planting small gardens around houses. To work more directly with the people, particularly the women, was always the intention of the Coordinator of the program. In fact, she was also aware of the

dependency on assistance that development and aid organizations had created in the community over time.[349]

In sum, in thinking about previous and on-going community development projects in San Juan del Gozo, I propose that those development organizations that are working with a three-sided approach are most effective. That is, those that take into consideration the spheres of instrumental action (of infrastructure, resource management strategies, employment and economic needs), of communicative action (of education, capacity-building, organizational strengthening) and of self-reflection (self-empowerment and introspection). The organic agriculture project by CLUSA/CHF met the concrete or instrumental needs of the community, that is, an economic initiative with organic certification and markets for their products. Yet, their education and on-going training workshops for farmers and community members ensure that the community reflects on and communicates their common needs, ecosystem health and the needs of future generations. These workshops provided the space for on-going reflection and dialogue into what were the core values that underpin the economic initiative, namely agriculture that meets their economic needs as well as retains ecosystem integrity over the long-term.

Working with a three-sided or integral approach in community development seemed to be more effective in the community of San Juan del Gozo. In the case of CHF and CLUSA, this meant collaborating *between* NGOs to integrate the varied needs of the community (or what happened coincidentally between MSM and my research). With the aid and relief projects by CARE International and ADIC, the work often created dependency not empowerment, and was thus less effective than if they had included the other dimensions of integral development. While in many

[349] As development practitioners or environmental conservationists, it is important to remember that the varying groups work in the same context and, while NGOs operate differently depending on their particular mandates, local inhabitants often see them as one and the same. Thus, if some NGOs set a precedent that is unhealthy, the following NGOs to the area will have to contend with that precedent. On the other hand, if the precedents set previously create an atmosphere of collaboration and idea-sharing, this will greatly facilitate the work of other NGOs in the future.

cases development aid and assistance are very much needed by community members, this aid should not disempower the people from seeking and obtaining their own solutions but rather facilitate them to identify and solve their own problems. Following a methodology of integral community development would indeed help in this process.

The Role of Development Practitioner

Having reviewed the development work done in San Juan del Gozo, and come to the decision that an integral approach may be most effective in long-term community development, what is the role of development participants and practitioners? To work towards integral community development, not only signifies a revolutionized methodology of carrying out "development work", but the roles of development participants and practitioners change. Rather than the practitioners coming to administer "development" or aid, it becomes a participatory process that is informed by the context and culture of the ecosystem and community. This re-frames the work from being a top-down to a bottom-up process. Thus, the development practitioner is as much a participant as a facilitator in the process of development.

Moreover, this type of development integrates the three important dimensions of humanity; rather than focussing primarily on quantifiable outcomes, the domains of culture and self-reflection are also equally considered. Thus, development aims to cultivate an atmosphere of collaboration and inclusion for discussing and mutually understanding the worldviews, values and ethics that underpin decisions related to sustainable community development. A further aim is to foster inner self-reflection and cultivate social capacity within individuals to enable them to join community development activities in a meaningful way. By working with an integral approach, it is more feasible to explore alternative designs for community development, such as community-based decision-making, socially equitable institutions and ecologically-based economic activities.

I must mention here that to carry out only *one* of these three is not "bad": in fact, specific work in these individual areas is necessary. Working in the first dimension, for example, usually includes economic analysts, resource managers, conservation scientists and institutional design. The second is often social work, cultural studies, dispute mediation or facilitation in multi-stakeholder discussions. And the third is in many ways the realm of psychology, consciousness-raising and spirituality. This is all very important work. However, to arrive at integral community development, practitioners must integrate the three dimensions in some way. This doesn't mean that a practitioner must be part psychologist, part dispute resolution expert, part economist and part scientist. But, it does mean that to be effective, the integration of the three dimensions has to be given some attention even if it is just in acknowledging the importance of each or if it is forming a partnership with other more specialized development practitioners.

Through the focus groups in San Juan del Gozo, we immediately recognized the *observable needs* of the community were employment and income-generation, better natural resource management and collaborative social institutions (like cooperatives or a smoothly functioning fisherfolk assembly). Yet, we began working at a more fundamental level to ultimately meet the observable needs – beginning first with the communication to mutually understand the concerns, objectives and interests of each participant, and encouraging self-reflection on the role of individuals in the group, community and world. While the CESTA staff and I were not resource managers, economists, social workers or psychologists, we drew on all these fields in a multiperspectival approach. Certainly, for more specific goals, like an ecological study of the shellfish fauna in the lagoon or for an economic analysis of fishing production, the community may need an external scientist or economist. But, such a scientist or economist could not address the more fundamental aspects of community development, like personal introspection, community visioning, and building equitable community-based social institutions. Rather, in the framework of integral community development, where individuals were empowered and the

group worked collaboratively with a common vision, the community members could identify where outside help was needed and how they could solicit it.

In integral community development, the participants and practitioners also foster the move away from egocentric perspectives to more connected sociocentric and even to worldcentric viewpoints. A development practitioner, action researcher or community leader can only encourage or foster this process with no guaranteed outcomes, yet it may happen organically as development takes place in the three dimensions, as we experienced in our work in San Juan del Gozo. Moving away from an egocentric perspective must take place as much in the practitioner as in the participants. In fact, in intervening in the process of community development, the external practitioner has an immense responsibility to work without an egocentric/ethnocentric perspective and a more connected and respectful worldcentric one. To this end, Majid Rahnema says,

> "My personal, sometimes bitter, experience has taught me to be so cautious in this respect as to perceive intervention as an act bordering on the sacred. What right do I have to intervene in the life of another, who I don't know, when I have only a personal, egocentric impression of his or her reality? .... The most significant quality [of intervention] is to be open and always attentive to the world and to all other humans... *Attentive* implies the art of listening, in the broadest sense of the word, being sensitive to what is, observing things as they are, free from any preconceived judgment, and not as one would like them to be, and believing that every person's experience or insight is a potential source of learning. Such an attitude is basically different from that of experts of highly paid consultants who generally act on the basis of a series of certainties coming from their 'knowledge' or 'professional experience'. .... [Such 'authorities'] seldom realize that they do to others what their all-powerful egos, with their seductive and manipulative tricks, do to them. Intervention should therefore be

envisaged only in the context of a constant exercise of self-awareness..."[350]

This continual check-and-balance in the practitioner is very important. Following PAR methodology, I attempted to carry out self-reflection on a regular basis, to reflect on my assumptions, approach and effects, which I would then feed back into the research process. In fact, the PAR methodology holds many valuable tips for integral community development.

"Integral" Participatory Action Research Methodology - does it work?

I tried to use participatory action research (PAR) within an integral framework and oriented toward a worldcentric vision in this fieldwork. I discussed at length the integral approach and worldcentrism, yet I have some observations on the PAR methodology as well. I describe my observations below as well as a brief discussion on the procedures taken with the focus group discussions.

Firstly, truly undertaking PAR means that the participants define the goals and objectives of the study. However, with my particular project, I posed the larger overarching, or general, questions relating to community development and conservation of mangrove habitat, while the participants moved the direction of the study to meet their specific questions and concerns. In a sense, I gave the framework from which the research sprung and the participants filled in all the points in between. Thus, although I created the research project, I had to be careful not to feel possession of this project, so as to allow the participants ownership over the process and results. This somewhat detached perspective on "my" research project was at times challenging, but always necessary.

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[350] Rahnema, M. 1997. "Signposts for Post-Development" *Revision: A Journal of Consciousness and Transformation*, 19 (Spring), pp. 8-9 *in* S. Harper. (2000), p 170-171

During the fisherfolk focus group sessions, for example, rather than discussing alternative sustainable community economic development (CED) possibilities (which was my initial objective), the participants were more concerned with better managing their existing source of income in the community, i.e. the community lagoon. Although I had heard this concern in the first month (September) it wasn't until a few months later (December) that I finally let go of my initial objective with this sector.

This brings up the second key component of the methodology, already emphasized by Rahnema above: the need to truly listen. I found with the fisherfolk group, when I let go of my initial objectives, I was able to actually listen openly to what their acute concerns and issues were. By doing so, I gave them the space to take their ideas for correcting their concerns through the research process. This emphasis on perfecting listening skills may seem unnecessary, but it cannot be stressed enough.

Therefore, two key (and closely connected) components to PAR that I encountered during this fieldwork, and that I would recommend to other students, were (1) the loosely held attachment to the research scope so as to truly include others as participants in the process, and (2) the listening skills that enable participants to share and use their thoughts, ideas and concerns in a beneficial way.

Thirdly, as probably many community development practitioners know, it became apparent to me immediately, that the pace and culture of the community was very different from my own. This is not only due to my nationality, but it was also due to the rural-urban cultural differences found in most countries today. This realization – that things could neither move at my speed nor in the ways I was accustomed to – was an important step in my integration into the community. Having said this, there are also many aspects of any culture, in this case Salvadoran culture, that do not cultivate participation or inclusion. I found it necessary to

respect the culture, but also maintain my own ideals on community development research/work, in this case participation and inclusion.

One of the best examples of this happened within the first two months of work. I was initially nervous about entering the community via the local councils, thinking that perhaps by first approaching the political elite it may isolate us from other sectors of the community, depending on the internal community politics at play. However, CESTA colleagues explained to me that meeting first with the community leaders was protocol for beginning to work in the community. Upon reflection and more time in the community, I realized that this was indeed the correct way to link with the community *leaders*. However, it was the family interviews in phase 1 that were much more beneficial in connecting with community *inhabitants*. By going to their houses, families could share some of their personal stories, introduce their children, ask us questions and discuss their worries or thoughts, thus forming a trust bond between themselves and us (myself and research assistant). I found it to be rare that other outside practitioners (primarily NGOs), or even the local leaders, actually visited and listened to the community inhabitants in their house. Thus, not only did this follow my ideals of participatory and inclusive action research, but also created a feeling of friendship between CESTA and the community, which in turn will be a benefit in their future work in the area. Thus, in this situation, it was crucial to hear and heed the cultural norms but also important to not abandon other ideals that may not have originated in that culture but could fit into it well.

The focus group discussions in Phase 2 and 3 were important components of the research that deserve mention. We chose the two groups – the newly created women's council and the fisherfolk of the community lagoon – based on the "problems" mentioned during previous meetings and interviews, as well as their contribution to the local economy and their potential at linking community economic development with environmental conservation. As it turned out, these were the groups that CESTA staff had the capacity to work with over the long term.

The focus group discussions were designed to create the space and atmosphere where the participants could reflect on some of their key issues of concern. I would oftentimes have already heard one of the groups' major concerns, having a relationship of on-going communication with the leader of the fisherfolk and the leader of the women's council. Thus, in preparation for the focus group discussions, I would take one such concern and propose it as an initial topic to reflect upon. However, from there, the participants would direct the rest of the discussion, even posing their own questions for further critique.

I found that this initial structure, in terms of a broad question or general issue, was useful to the participants. For some of them who had never had an opportunity to share in this way previously, the discussion could be quite intimidating, especially for some of the women. Therefore, having a general question to refer to seemed to make them feel more comfortable in that they were not expected guide the entire discussion on their own. The fisherfolk who were used to discussing things at length in their meetings, also made good use of my initial question. Oftentimes a slight structure allowed the group to return to the initial idea or topic when other topics began to take the central stage. That is, these tangential topics were noted, but the group was able to move on with the initial question, not dwelling on the other topics that emerged.

In other focus group discussions, we had no predetermined structure and would simply bounce around ideas and brainstorm together. This occurred more frequently in the later focus group discussions, when we had formed the necessary trust bonds and felt more comfortable with each other. Although much less formal, sometimes taking place outside under the stars at night, for example, they were crucially important for both the cohesiveness of the group and for catching the array of ideas that flowed during such relaxed meetings.

Finally, I cannot overstate the importance of self-reflection as action researcher/development practitioner. The weekly reports I wrote to myself about my perspectives, feelings and comments on my role as researcher as well as debriefing with my research assistant on our work, gave me the space to reflect on what we did, with what assumptions, and how it could have been better. We also did on-going participatory evaluations with the women's focus group that was important for each participant's own self-reflection. These entailed de-briefing previous activities and focus group discussions, to better understand what helped or hindered the process, and how they could improve on these in the future.

The PAR methodology was not intentionally designed to facilitate a integral/worldcentric approach to community development. However, I found that embedding PAR in an integral framework worked well for encouraging introspection and self-empowerment, for individual and group capacity-building, for facilitating participant-directed dialogue, and for encouraging the transformational shift away from egocentric perspectives toward worldcentric ones. This process was effective in San Juan del Gozo, and is potentially replicable in many other contexts, cultures and environments, precisely because it takes direction and derives meaning from each particular context, culture and environment. It possibly holds the key to an ecosystem- and community-based form of development that also includes the psycho-cultural situation, traditional norms and individual worldviews.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

In this research paper, I sought to expand the limits of conventional development and include communities, ecosystems and "interiority" in the development process. I discussed the power inequities inherent in the global political economy and re-envisioned a "development" that meaningfully includes social and ecological needs and integrates the complexity of psychology and culture. I set this expanded concept of development in a movement away from egocentric perspectives to more worldcentric ones – a process that, to some degree, includes an expansion of worldviews and consciousness. While this seems complicated, to say the least, I suggest that such an "integral" approach to development is needed.

The rationale behind exploring a new concept and process of development stems from the fact that conventional development, while it may not be faulty in and of its own parameters, is limited. In seeking economic growth and prosperity, the global political economy (which sets the context for and informs conventional development) perpetuates power inequities in production and resource extraction, decision-making, wealth accumulation and, perhaps most dangerously, knowledge. This system does well in a quantitative economic sense, but is limited in social, ecological and qualitative terms.

To address these limitations requires a shift toward more economically equitable, socially representative and ecologically sound development, as many critics of development suggest. As I found in my research, the process to such a development must include the expansion of worldviews within individuals. This idea is not new to development work. In the tradition of *conscientización* in Latin America, which describes a "dynamic action of awakening", people become aware not only of the material forces which inhibit or facilitate their development, but also enable them to use their own knowledge system to affect development. I have described this dynamic awakening as a concentric expansion of awareness that

moves from purely "self" needs to "group" needs to "world" (i.e. humans and environment) needs; or, in other words, from egocentric to sociocentric to worldcentric perspectives. Placing development in such a process towards worldcentrism, the concept of a "developed nation" is completely changed. Such a fundamental change in the concept of development requires a new set of guiding principles and approaches. Of the many alternatives to conventional development, what could provide such a framework?

Critical alternative development theories untethered "development" from its primarily economic objective to include other equally important factors to life. Many such theories concur that development should be directed by community needs and values, thus addressing social as well as economic needs. Increasingly, with our growing awareness of environmental deterioration, many critical alternatives suggest that community-directed development be based in an ecosystemic context, where human systems respectfully fit into, rather than dominate, natural systems.

These critical alternatives (particularly ecodevelopment and ecosystem-based CED) do well in addressing the first three power inequities mentioned above. However, in order to also address the fourth inequity – power over knowledge – we must recognize that our concepts of "knowledge" and "truth", and our ways of knowing, are tied to a Western, scientistic and material worldview which misses important aspects of the human condition, the world and our ways of perceiving our place in it. Thus, in the search for a broader concept of "development", we must also expand our limited view of what is valid knowledge and what is valid "truth". This brings in qualitative, subjective and interpretive aspects to development – of ontology, culture, worldviews and spirituality – in what I refer to as "interiority". The emerging field of "integral development" illustrates an approach that integrates the importance of these inner dimensions with securing material needs in development activities.

Thus, a broader concept of "development" would be one that is community-directed, ecologically-based and integral in its scope, or what I have called integral community development. In integral community development, the boundaries of "valid knowledge" embrace not just primarily the sphere of instrumental rationality, as is distinctive of conventional development, but also communicative rationality and introspection. Thus, while this approach *definitely* aims to secure livelihood needs in a material, social and economic sense, it does not *confine* the idea of development to material constructs (i.e. better economy, improved infrastructure). Instead, development becomes a process of awakening, of awareness raising and of the expansion of worldviews, which in turn feed back into the success of the more material components of development. In integral development, the material and the immaterial (or outer and inner, "it" language and "we"/"I" language) are very much inter-linked – to disregard one is pathological; to consider both is mutually supporting.

I attempted to carryout many of these theoretical ideas of integral community development in my fieldwork in the community of San Juan del Gozo. In this community, the need for economic security is acute and certainly makes up a key part of community development. Meeting economic needs also means sustaining ecosystem integrity, since the community is so closely linked to its surrounding ecosystem. Understanding the inherent connection between environmental and economic needs is one thing, but manifesting an "ecological" community economic development is quite another. Since economic and environmental objectives are often seemingly at odds, how do these two sets of objectives merge?

Through the research, I found that in merging economic and environmental concerns in development, "interior" dimensions are very important, particularly communication, mutual understanding, cultural appropriateness and self-reflection. For example, in San Juan del Gozo, when faced with complex problems that warrant immediate attention (like extreme economic poverty for the women or low production in the lagoon for fisherfolk), community inhabitants must first organize

to be able to seek solutions to these problems. The quality of this organization comes from the degree to which individuals relate to one another and understand each other's (sometimes congruent but often dichotomous) concerns. In the community, mutually understanding diverse concerns and having a common vision enabled participants to build capacity, collaborate, agree upon and work towards solutions.

Respecting varied concerns and identifying a common vision does not just happen overnight – it often requires introspection on the role an individual plays in the community and surrounding ecosystem. This inner reflection is pivotal in how individuals view and operate in the human and natural environment, affecting how one interacts with others in social institutions as much as in the surrounding ecosystem. This interface between *self* and "*other*" is where local sustainable and equitable development is found. When individuals recognize they are not self-contained objects alone in their own personal orbits, but rather exist as beings-in-relation to all that is around them, their ways of viewing the world and living in it change. It is in this shift in consciousness away from egocentrism that the merge occurs between economic and ecological objectives.

Thus, considering the importance of "interior" dimensions in securing economic and environmental needs in local development, we took various routes in addressing concrete problems in San Juan del Gozo using the "integral" participatory action research methodology. One route was the focus group discussions that created a space for communication of varied needs and collaboration for common goals. This route ran concurrent with fostering self-reflection – a more implicit route that is neither guaranteed to be effective, nor easily encouraged or promoted. However, this introspection played a large role in bringing people to the focus group discussions with respect for other inhabitants and other species in the ecosystem and interest in seeking solutions that would meet all their diverse concerns and needs. Better understanding one's relation to others in the community and environment, and using mutual understanding and

communication to collaboratively seek solutions, enabled participants to seriously address their objective concrete needs. These three routes were key for an integral community development in San Juan del Gozo.

Exploring the concept and process of integral community development in a participatory manner was valuable to the community of San Juan del Gozo in their own path of development. What we learned together has potential value in other communities of El Salvador and even suggests that the most economically "developed" nation may benefit from such an integral approach.

Coda

Sometimes I wonder how far I have come since the days in Peru as a teenager, puzzling over the reasons for, and solutions to, poverty and ecological deterioration. Perhaps I have read more books, learned more theories, worked with open ears and with my hands in the soil for longer, but I still feel small in the immensity of the global problems facing all of us today. I am not alone. For so long, humans have attempted to address the conundrums of "underdevelopment" and ecological devastation, yet outside of some isolated success stories, we have few meaningful solutions to these pressing issues.

In my on-going search for more meaningful solutions, I suggest that perhaps we need to re-evaluate our epistemology in addressing "development", and also integrate the question of ontology in development activities. Our ways of perceiving the world and understanding our place in it has profound implications for how we then act. As long as there are egocentric perceptions of self-in-world, there will be more poor and more rich, with greater distance between, as well as further ecological collapse. Where there is worldcentric awareness of "self" as a being-in-relation, respect and consideration for others follow, thus sowing the seeds for a truly sustainable, equitable and qualitative development. Orienting development as a movement away from egocentrism, therefore, holds the possibility for "development" to extend past just a stockpile of material wealth and infrastructure to what it really is: an ever-unfolding process of awakening, of respect for other beings which share this world, and of actions that stem from such an awakened respectful state.

In the rush to become "developed" in an economic and conventional manner – a rush that seems to consume most of the world today and that seems to diminish

the importance of the truly existential and meaningful aspects of "development" – we must recall the words of Rumi:[351]

"Someone who goes with half a loaf of bread
to a small place that fits like a nest around him,
someone who wants no more, who's not himself
longed for by anyone else,

He is a letter to everyone. You open it.
It says, *Live.*"

[351] *The Essential Rumi*. 1995. Translations by Coleman Barks with John Moyne. (San Francisco: HarperCollins) p. 64

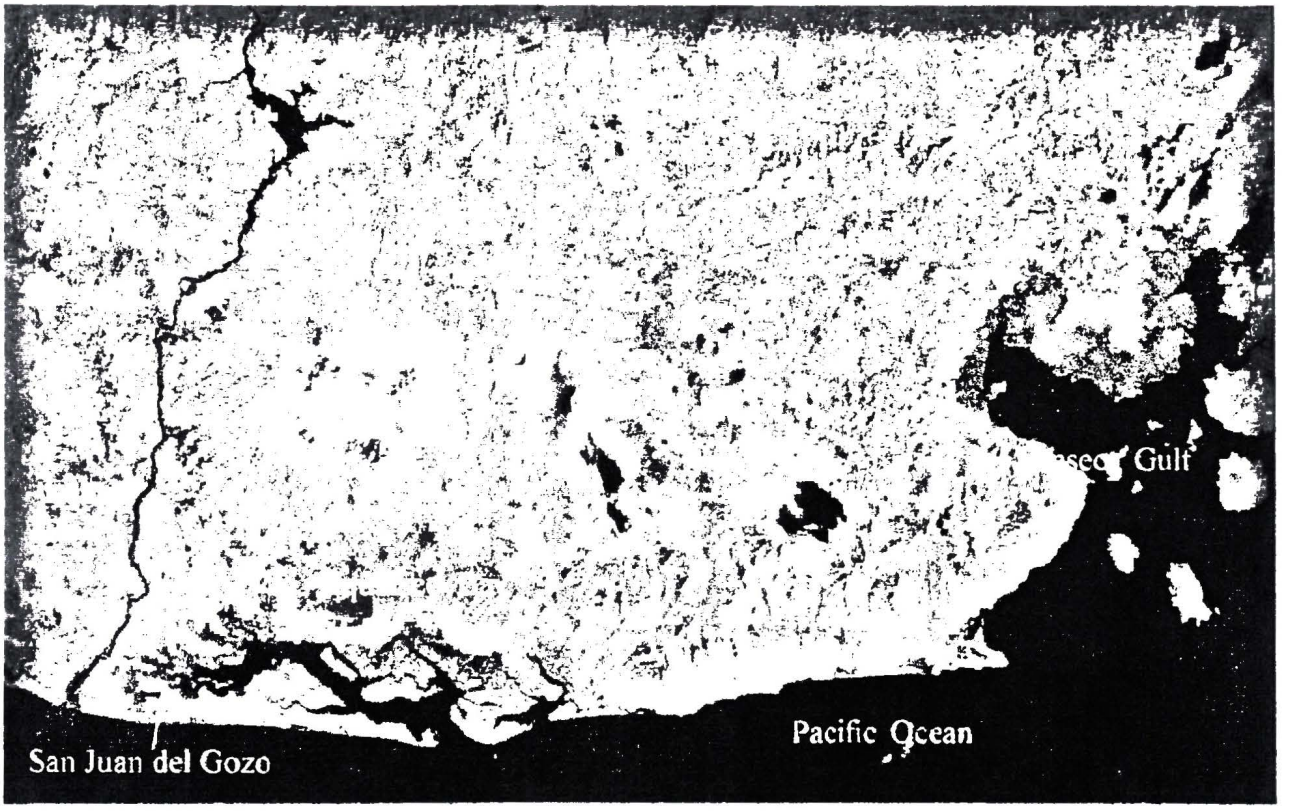


Figure 2a: Satelite map of south-east coast of El Salvador, including the region of Jiquilisco Bay and the community of San Juan del Gozo.

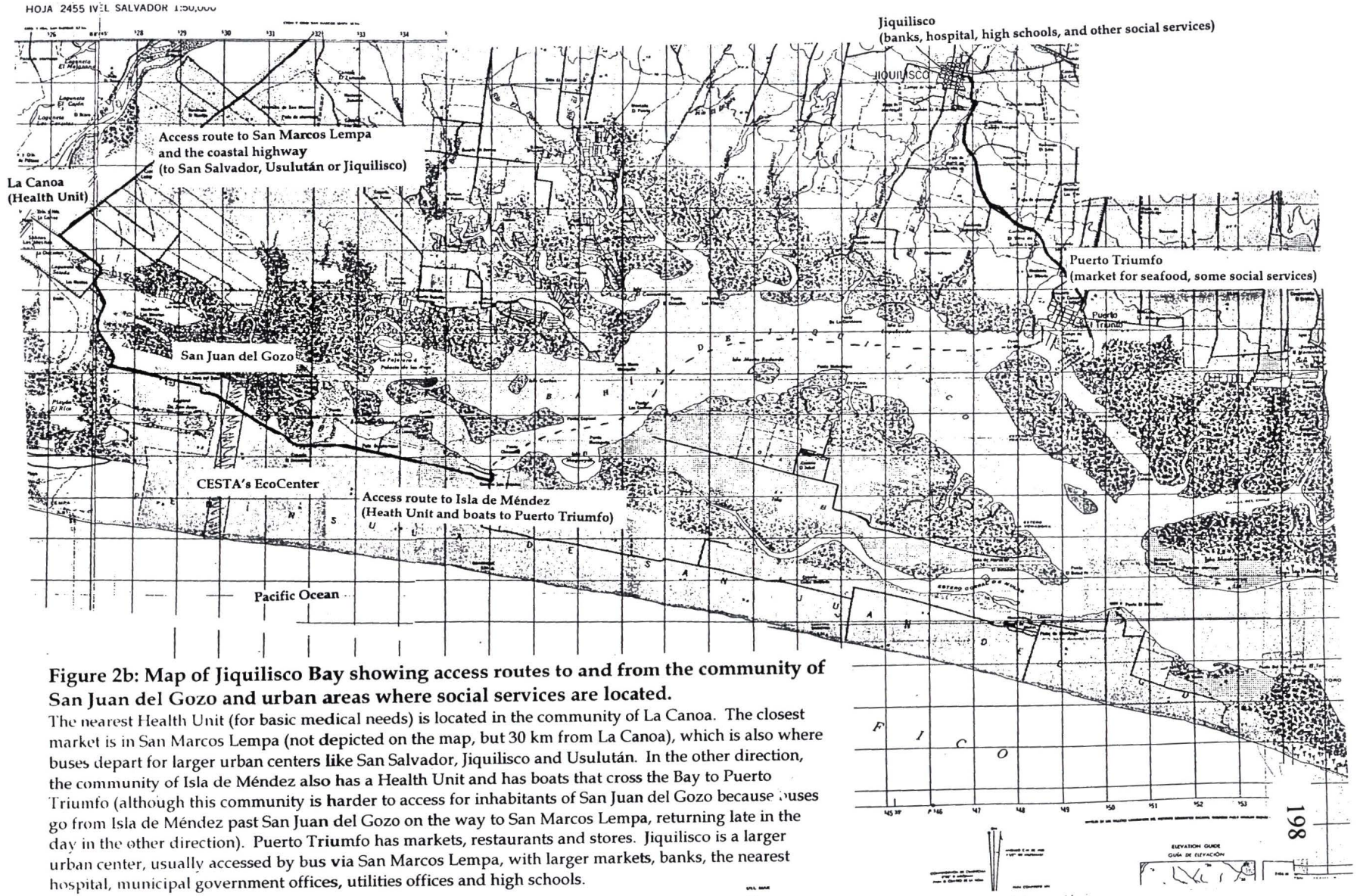


Figure 2b: Map of Jiquilisco Bay showing access routes to and from the community of San Juan del Gozo and urban areas where social services are located.

The nearest Health Unit (for basic medical needs) is located in the community of La Canoa. The closest market is in San Marcos Lempa (not depicted on the map, but 30 km from La Canoa), which is also where buses depart for larger urban centers like San Salvador, Jiquilisco and Usulután. In the other direction, the community of Isla de Méndez also has a Health Unit and has boats that cross the Bay to Puerto Triumfo (although this community is harder to access for inhabitants of San Juan del Gozo because buses go from Isla de Méndez past San Juan del Gozo on the way to San Marcos Lempa, returning late in the day in the other direction). Puerto Triumfo has markets, restaurants and stores. Jiquilisco is a larger urban center, usually accessed by bus via San Marcos Lempa, with larger markets, banks, the nearest hospital, municipal government offices, utilities offices and high schools.

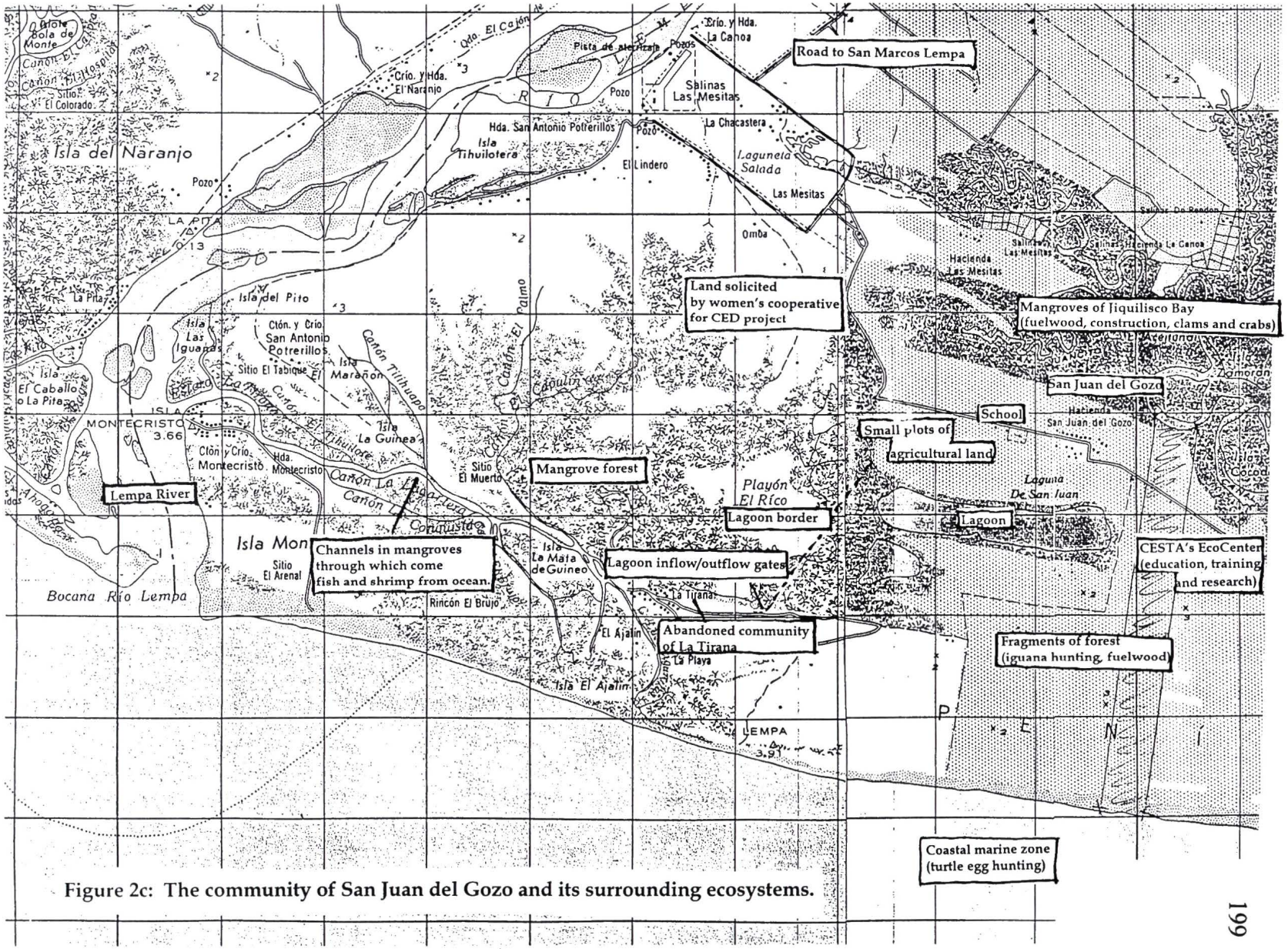


Figure 2c: The community of San Juan del Gozo and its surrounding ecosystems.

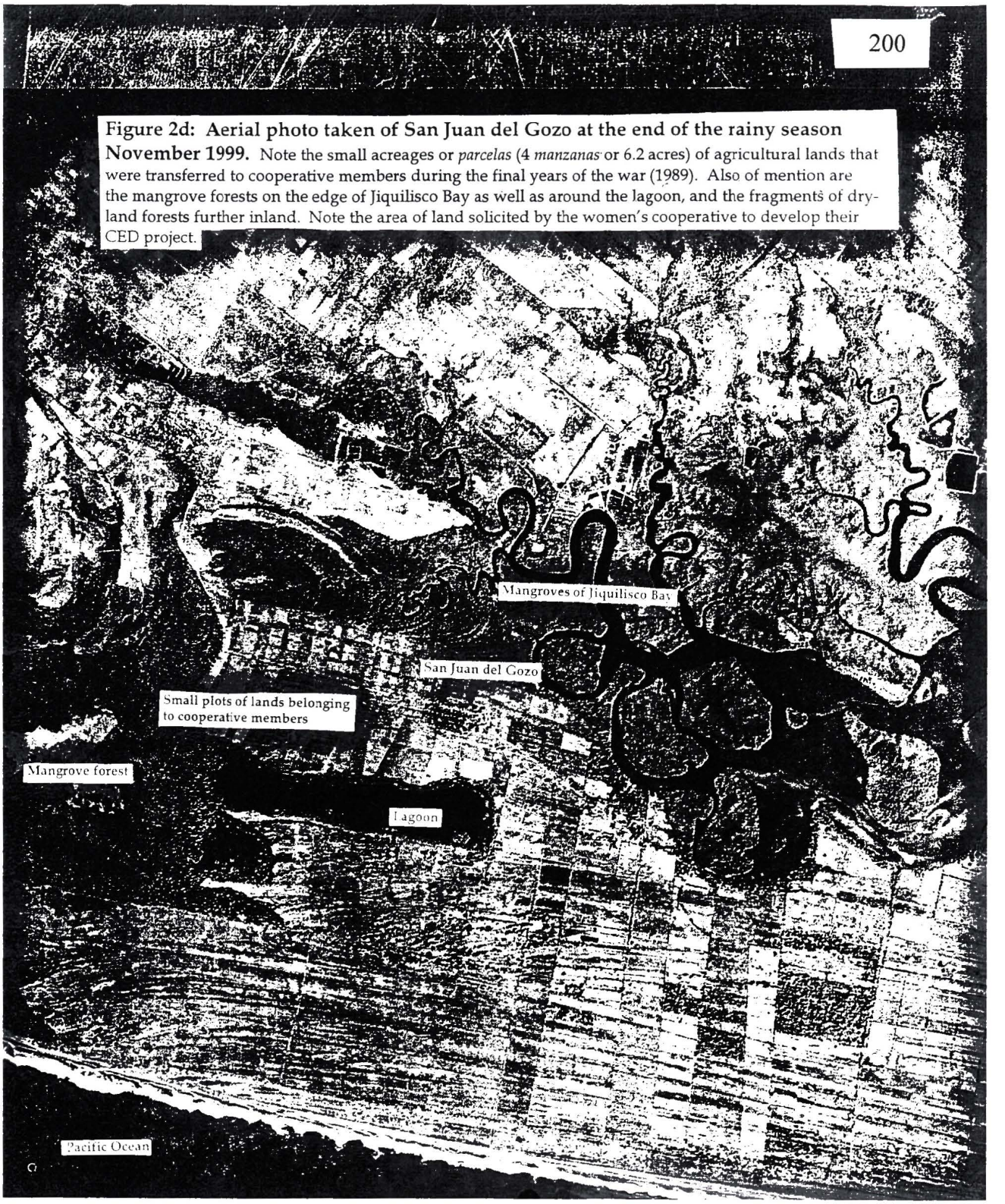


Figure 2d: Aerial photo taken of San Juan del Gozo at the end of the rainy season November 1999. Note the small acreages or *parcelas* (4 *manzanas* or 6.2 acres) of agricultural lands that were transferred to cooperative members during the final years of the war (1989). Also of mention are the mangrove forests on the edge of Jiquilisco Bay as well as around the lagoon, and the fragments of dry-land forests further inland. Note the area of land solicited by the women's cooperative to develop their CED project.

Figure 2e: Aerial photo taken of San Juan del Gozo and surroundings in 1940. During this time, the area was owned by one land owner and the agricultural lands cultivated for cotton and cattle grazing. The lagoon was fished for shrimp only during the high tides over the new and full moons, and it would dry up in the drier months of each year (December - March). The community was less populated than it is now.

Figure 3a: Percent distribution of the uses of the various ecosystem types by community members (percentages calculated based on the total responses given by interviewees regarding ecosystem use).

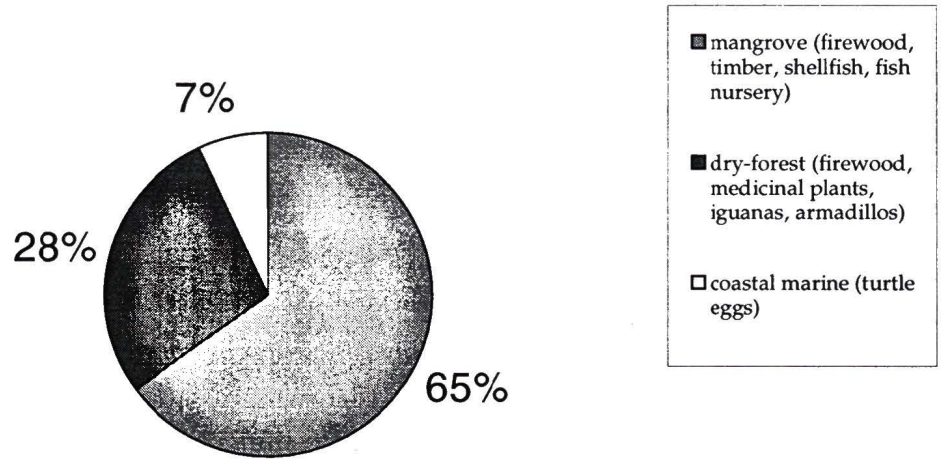
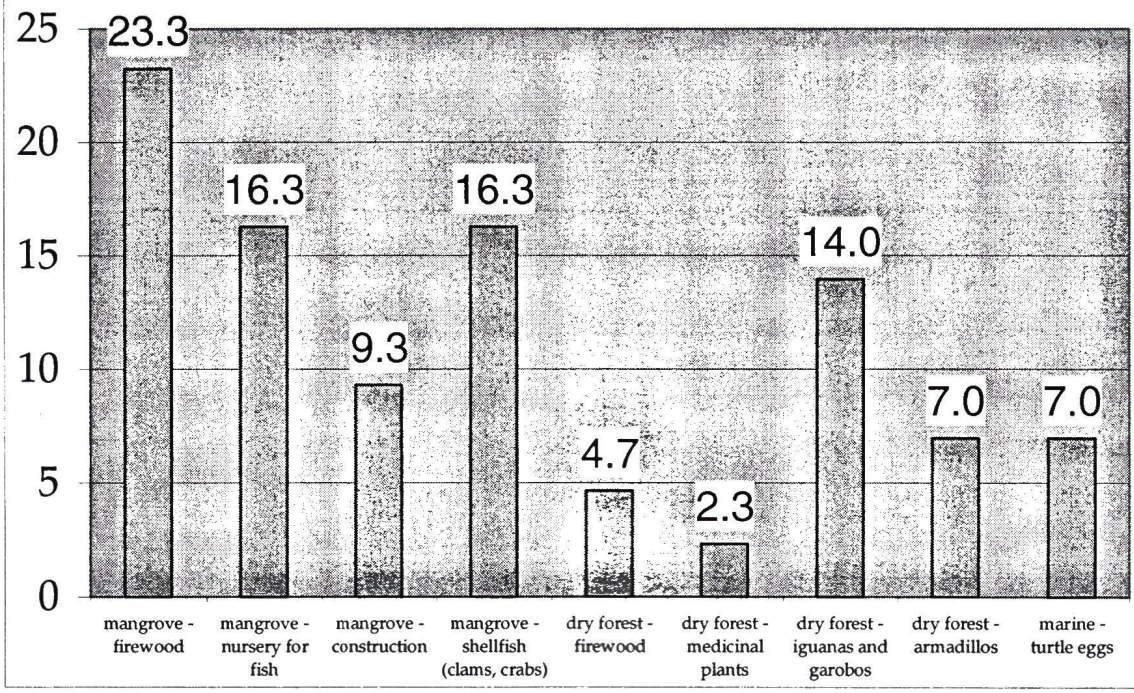


Figure 3b: Percent distribution of the uses of wild species by community members (percentages calculated based on the total responses given by interviewees regarding use of wild species).



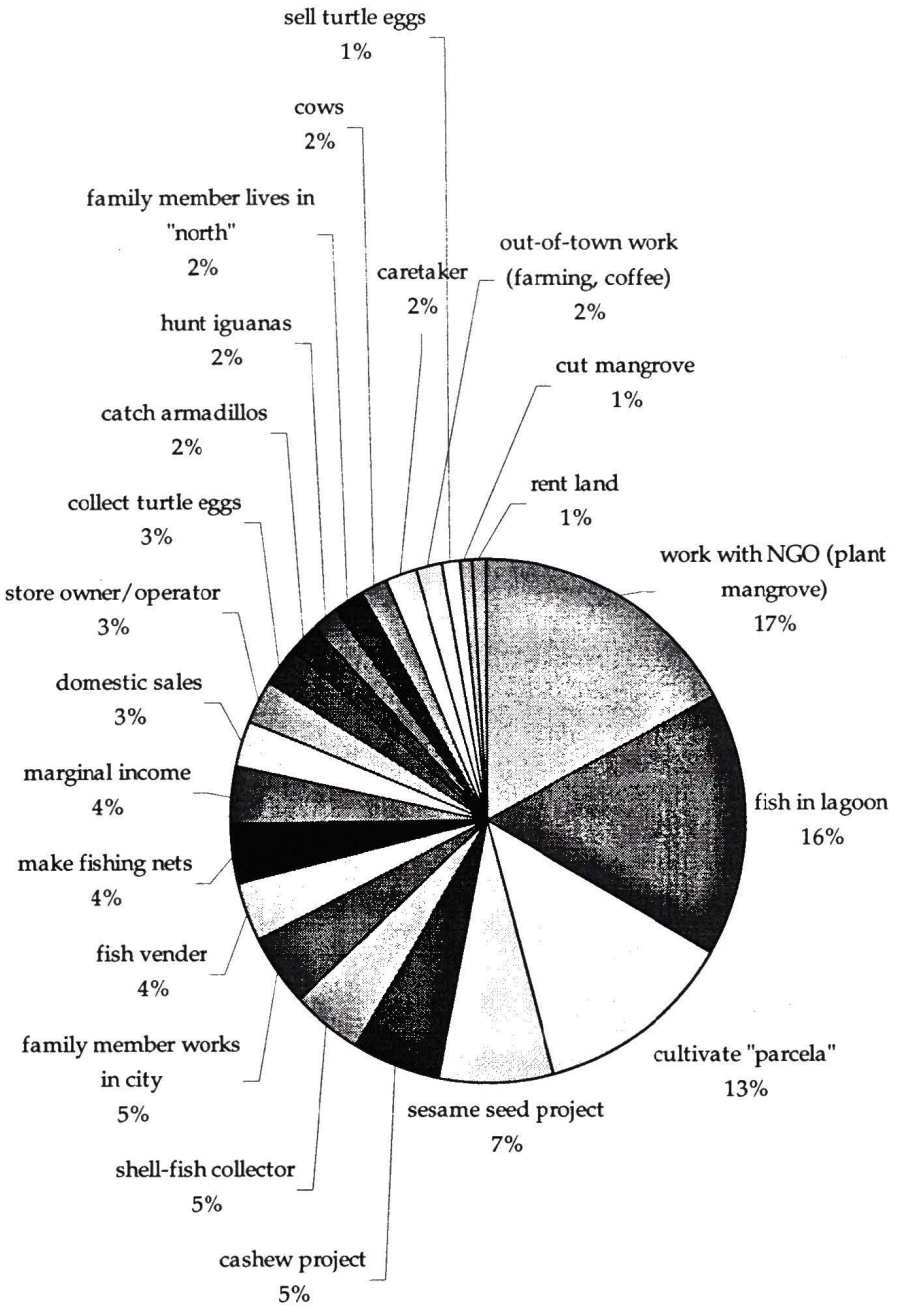


Figure 4: Sources of family income for both men and women in the community

(shown in percentages of each source of income out of the total income-generating activities available).

Figure 5a: Daily catch of shrimp and fish over the year 2000. Quantities in pounds per fisherperson.

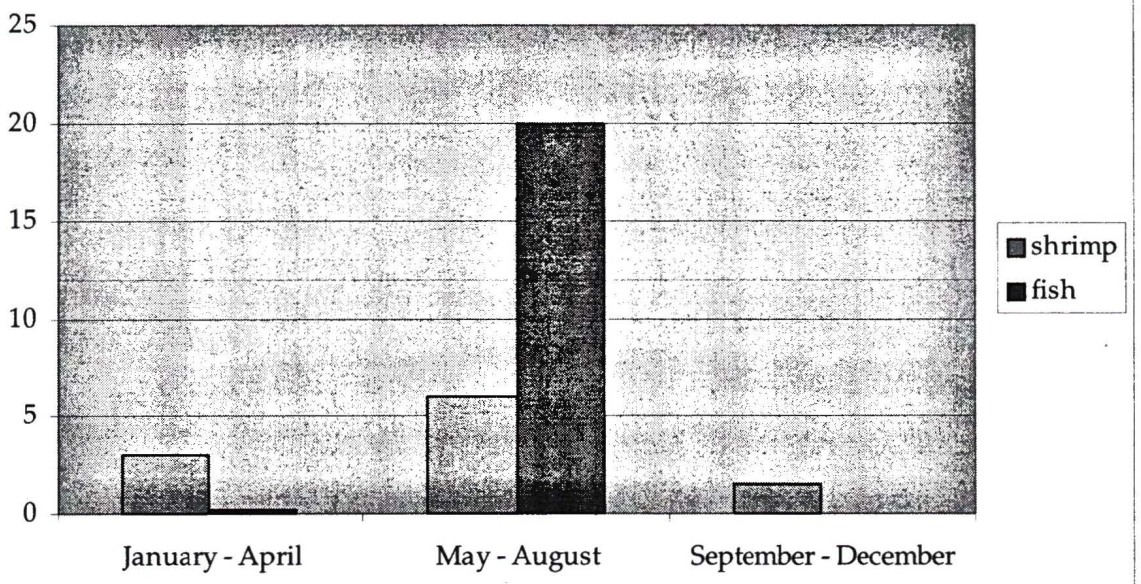
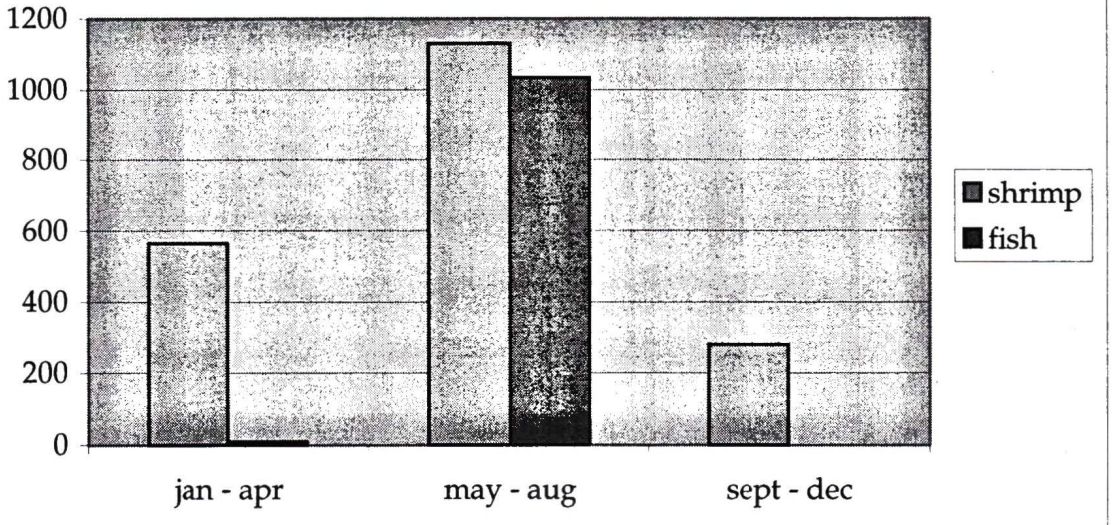


Figure 5b: Average income from shrimp and fish over the year (in Canadian dollars). Prices for shrimp are 10 colones/pound ($1.96 CDN) and for fish are 2 colones/pound ($0.39 CDN).



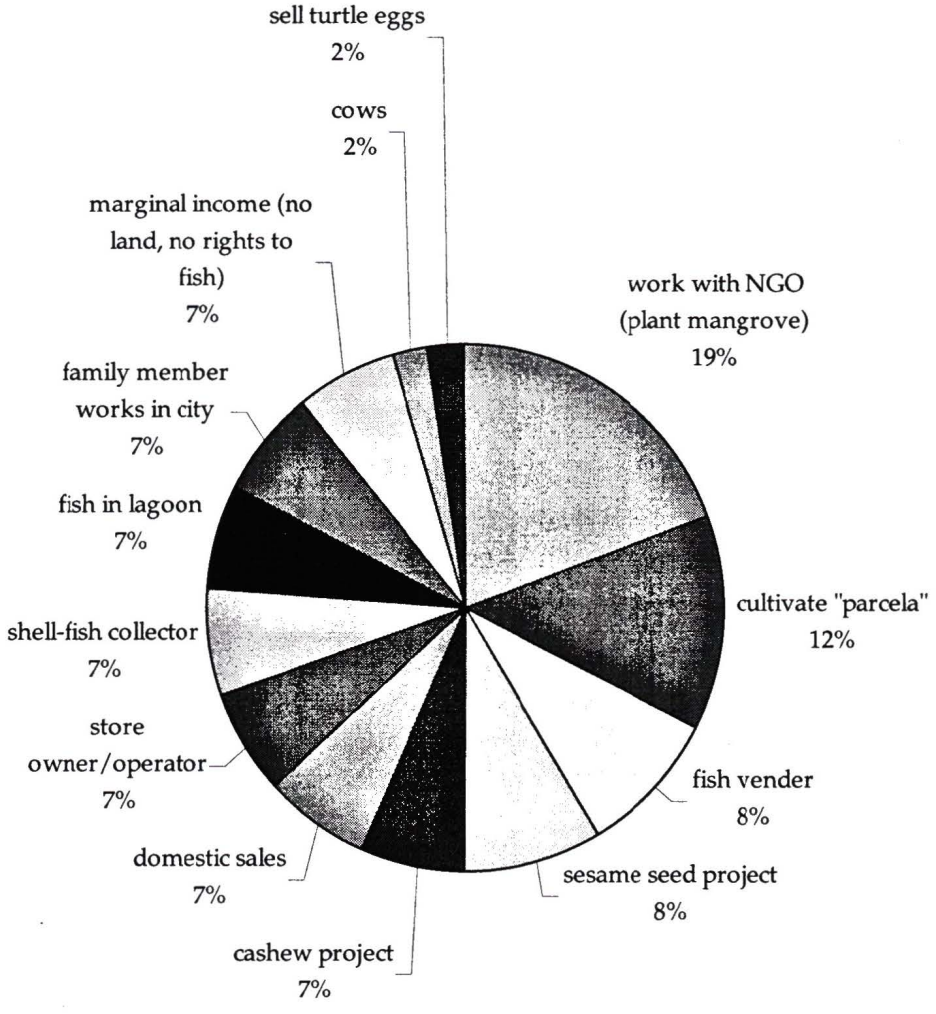


Figure 6: The percent distribution of income-generating activities done by women in the community
(shown in percentages of each income-generating activity out of the total income-generating activities available).

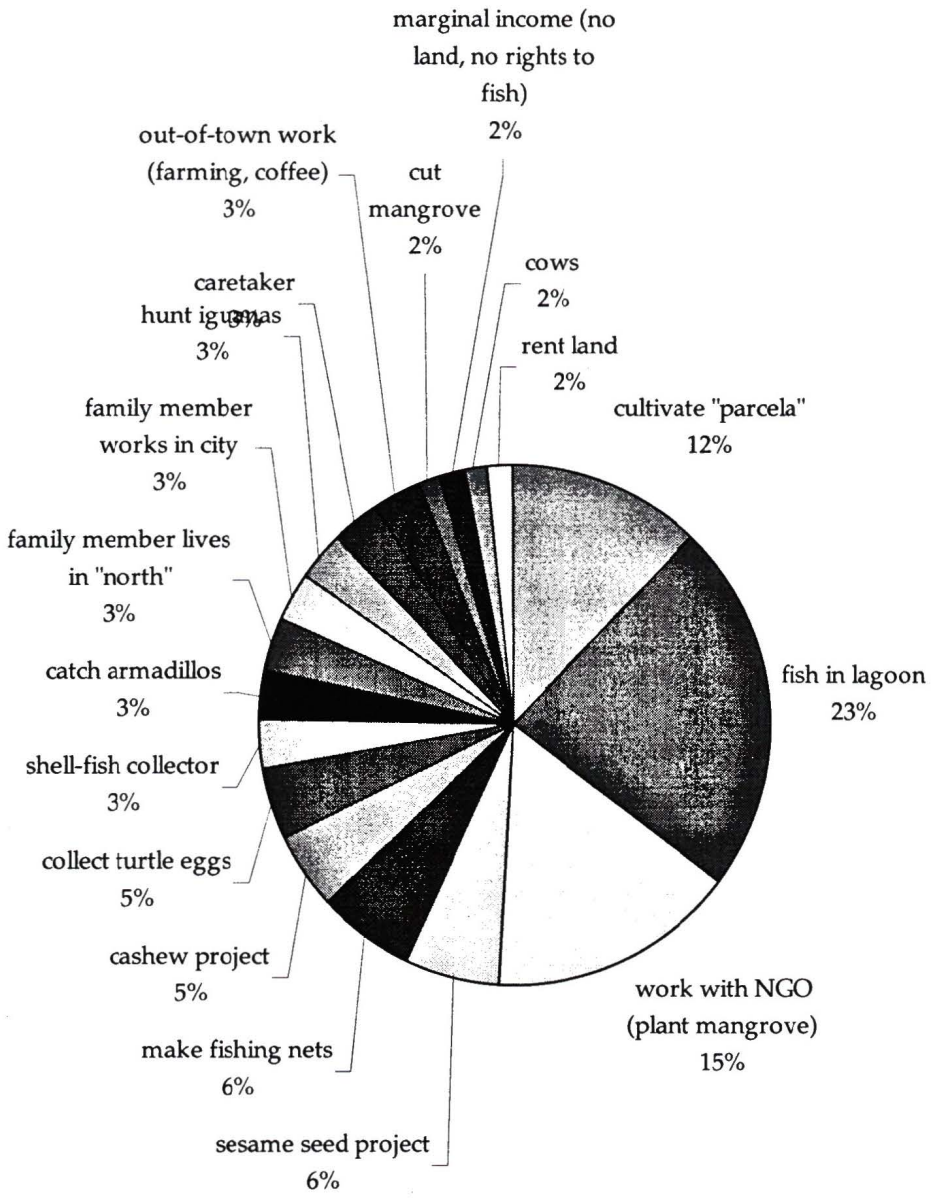


Figure 7: Percent distribution of income-generating activities done by men in the community

(shown as percentages of each income-generating activity out of the total number of activities available).

Figure 8a: The quality of the fishery on a scale of 1 - 5 during the various epochs since the 1930s based on a focus group discussion with the fisherfolk about the qualitative changes in the fishery over time.

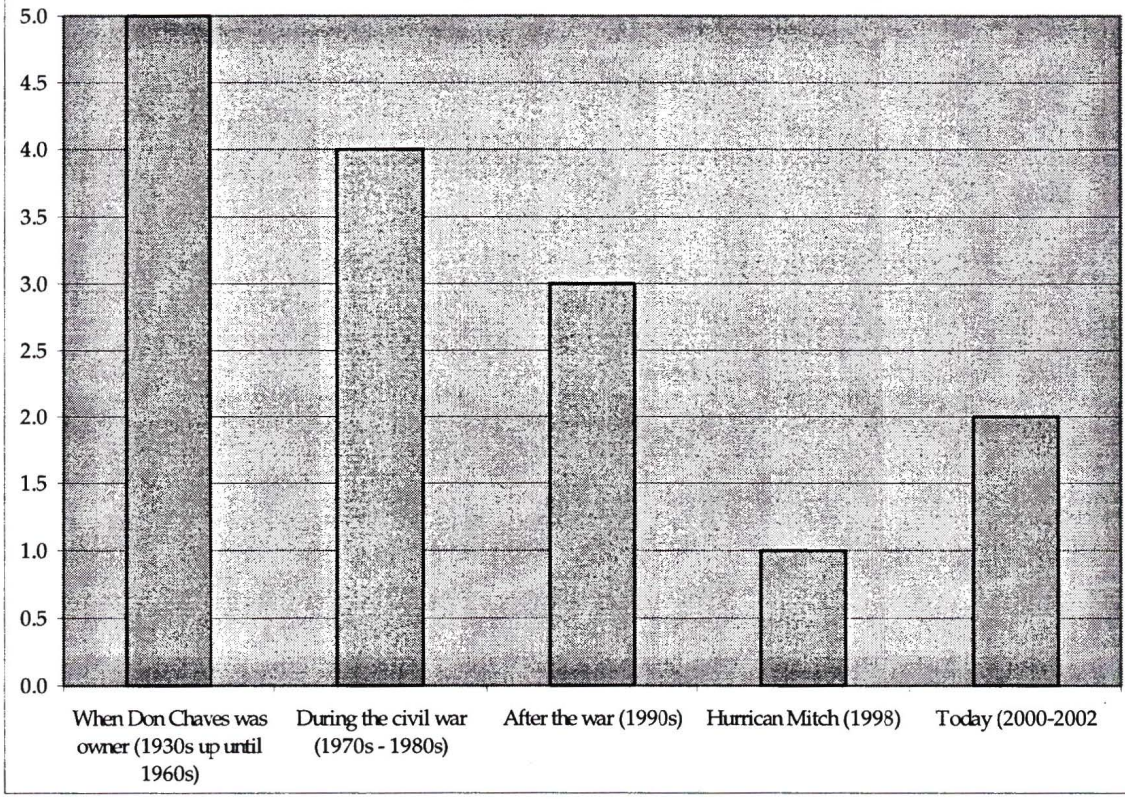


Figure 8b: Approximate quantity of fish and shrimp caught monthly in the lagoon during the various epochs since the 1930s. Amounts measured in *quintales* (1 *quintal* = 100 pounds), taken from a focus group discussion with the fisherfolk, January 17, 2002.

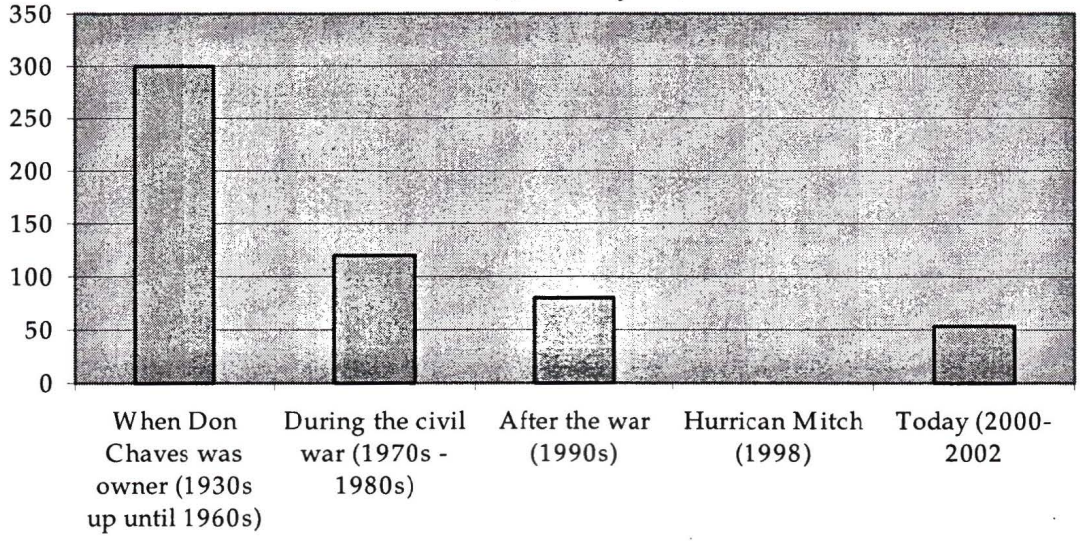


Table 1: The Gender Differences In Work Activities In The Community (expressed in the relative percentage of particular activities out of the total number of interviewees performing such activities.)

Work Activity Categories	Women	Men
Cultivate "parcela"	42.9	57.1
Fish in lagoon	16.7	83.3
Sesame seed project	50	50
Cashew project	50	50
Domestic sales	100	0
Store owner/operator	100	0
Fish vender	100	0
Sell turtle eggs	100	0
Shell-fish collector	60	40
Catch armadillos	0	100
Collect turtle eggs	0	100
Hunt iguanas	0	100
Cut mangrove	0	100
Work with NGO (plant mangrove)	47	53
Family member lives in "north"	0	100
Family member works in city	60	40
Make fishing nets	0	100
Marginal income (no land, no rights to fish)	75	25
Cows	50	50
Rent land	0	100
Take care of another's land	0	100
Out-of-town work (farming, coffee)	0	100
Domestic housework[1]	100	0

[1] By domestic work, I refer to cooking, cleaning and childcare. Men, however, do help in collecting and chopping fuelwood for household use.

Table 2: Approximate annual per-capita income in five economic sectors. Quantities in Canadian dollars.

Economic sector	Income ($ CDN)	Comments
Fishing	3011.50	Fisherfolk make $1976.50CDN on shrimp annually and an additional $1035 CDN during May to August, catching up to 50 pound of fish daily in the month of August.
Agriculture	1976.50	This sector includes the harvest from personal crops, as well as the organic sesame seed harvest in December 2000. The organic cashew trees will be ready for harvest in another 3 years.
NGO employment	1976.50	Based on a salary of 35 *colones* a day of two NGO projects in 2000 and 2001.
Selling fish and shrimp	4743.53 (shrimp) 1656.5 (fish)	This is a rough approximation based on value-added prices of 15 *colones*/pound of shrimp and 4 *colones*/pound of fish, and considering there are 50 fish merchants in the community. *This excludes the expenses for preparation (drying and salting), for necessary equipment (drying racks and baskets), transportation and other overhead.*
Hunting and gathering	423.53	This is an approximation of the income generated by gathering of clams and other mangrove fauna each week of the year.

Table 3: Annual per-capita income in El Salvador (national and department average in urban and rural areas) and in the community of San Juan del Gozo.
The average for San Juan del Gozo was calculated based on an average daily salary of 35 *colones* ($ 6.86 CDN) which is based on 20 interviews with people from three sectors of the community (fisherfolk, women and poorer families) and represents income generated from fishing in the lagoon, agriculture, NGO employment in the community and supplementary income generating activities.

Annual per-capita income.	**$ CDN**
National - urban	9123.20
Usulután – urban	6752.00
National - rural	3161.60
Usulután – rural	2734.40
San Juan del Gozo (approximate)	1976.50

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Appendix:

Appendix 1: The Questioning Route Used During House-to-House Interviews.

PREGUNTAS PARA LAS ENTREVISTAS (questions for the interviews)

Preguntas generales *General questions*:

1. Nombre *name*
2. Edad *age*
3. hace cuanto tiempo reside en esta comunidad? *How long have you lived in the community?*
4. De donde es originalmente? *Where are you from originally?*
5. Por que decidió venir aca? *Why did you decide to come here?*
6. Cuantos son en su familia? Todos viven aqui? *How many are in your family? Do they all live here?*

Preguntas de trabajo: *Questions about work:*

1. Cual es su trabajo principal? *What is your main work?*
2. Su trabajo cambia entre de los diferentes meses del año, y si, como? *Does your work change during different months of the year, and if so, how?*
3. Usted trabaja individualmente o es socio de una cooperativa? *Do you work on your own, or are you part of a cooperative?*

Ahora la investigator tiene que escoger las preguntas de la siguiente depende en donde trabaja la persona *(in the next set of questions, the researcher must chose between the following questions depending on where the person works):*

INDIVIDUALES (individuals)

Preguntas sobre el trabajo individual en agricultura:

4. Su familia tiene una parcela del terreno? Tiene un huerto familiar? *Does your family have an agricultural plot? Do you have a domestic garden?*
5. Quien lo cuida? *Who takes care of the land (who cultivates it)?*
6. Que es su cosecha? *What is your crop?*
7. Que hace su pareja (parejo)? Su pareja ayuda o ha ayudado en el trabajo de la parcela? *What does your partner do? Does your partner help, or have (she or he) helped, in the farm work?*
8. Que hace con su cosecha? (Por su propio consumo o por el merecado?) *What do you do with your crop (or product)? (is it for your own consumption or for the market?)*
9. Como transporta la cosecha hasta el merecado? *How do you transport the crop to the market?*
10. Quien lo venda? *Who sells it?*
11. Como son los precios por la cosecha? *How are the prices for the crop?*
12. Los precios cambien o son estables? *Do the prices change or are they stable?*
13. Por que se cambian? *Why do they change?*
14. Que harían usted o que haría la comunidad si los precios bajaran? *What would you do, or what would the community do, if the prices fall?*
15. Hay problemas en la agricultura? *Are there problems in agriculture?*
16. Como puede solucionar usted misma? Como podria la comunidad solucionarles? *How can you yourself solve these problems? How could the community solve them?*

Preguntas para un pescadero individual:

1. Donde pesca usted? (la Bahía, la laguna o el mar) *Where do you fish? (the Bay, the lagoon or the sea)*
2. Usted pesca cuales tipos de pez? *What types of fish do you catch?*

3. Podria usted explicarme donde pesca por los diferentes tipos de pezes? *Could you explain to me where fish for the different species of fish?*
4. Que hace usted con sus productos? (consuma sus productos o vende?) *What do you do with your products (for your own consumption or for the market?)*
5. Donde esta el merecado? *Where is the market?*
6. Hay problemas en la pecadería en la comunidad? *Are there problems in the fishery in the community?*
7. Como puede solucionar usted misma? Como podria la comunidad solucionarles? *How can you yourself solve these problems? How could the community solve them?*

Preguntas para un recolector de productos marinos: ***Questions for someone who harvests marine products.***

1. De donde recolecta sus productos marinos? *Where do you collect marine products?*
2. Cuales? (pez, camarones, curiles, punches, etc.) *What do you harvest? (fish, shrimp, snails, crabs)*
3. Que hace usted con los productos? (vende o consuma los productos marinos) *What do you do with the products?(sell or consume the seafood products)*
4. Donde este el merecado por los productos? *Where is the market for these products?*
5. Hay problemas en este trabajo? *Are there problems with this work?*
6. Y como se puede solucionar usted misma? Como podria la comunidad solucionarles? *How can you yourself solve these problems? How could the community solve them?*

COOPERATIVAS Y OTRAS INSTITUCIONES ECONOMICAS: (Cooperatives and other economic institutions)

Preguntas sobre las instituciones economicas: (Questions about the economic institutions)

1. Hay una cooperativa o colectiva en que usted esta miembro o socio? Como se llama? *Is there a cooperative or collective that you are a member of?*
2. Cual es? De pescado o agricultura? *Which? Fishing or agricultural cooperative?*
3. Cuales cosas pescan / cultivan en la cooperativa? *What do you fish / cultivate in the cooperative?*
4. Cuantos socios son? *How many members are there?*
5. Cuantos mujeres, cuantos hombres, cuantos hovenes? *How many are women, how many are men, how many are youth?*
6. Como funciona la cooperativa? *How does the cooperative function?*
7. Como hacen decisiones ustedes? O sea, quien esta en carga de las decisiones de la cooperativa? *How do you make decisions? That is, who is in charge of the decisions in the cooperative?*
8. Hay una asemblea? Hay una directiva? Como se forma la directiva? Quien es parte de la directiva? (mujeres tambien?) *Is there an assembly? Is there a directive? How is the directive formed? Who is part of the directive (women as well?)*
9. La cooperativa le da a usted beneficios? (Por ejemplo, seguridad economíca, seguridad social, o capacitaciones?) *Does the cooperative give you benefits? (for example, economic and social security and training?)*
10. Que hace usted con sus productos? (Usted vende o consuma los productos?) *What do you do with your products? (sell or consume)*
11. Como venden los productos? Donde? Como llegar allá? *How do you sell the products? Where? How do you get there?*
12. Quien esta en carga de la venta? *Who is in charge of selling?*
13. Como son los precios para los productos? Son estables o inestables? *How are the prices for the products? Stable or unstable?*
14. Que haría la cooperativa si los precios bajaran? *What could the cooperative do if the prices fall?*
15. Hay apoyo de una organizacion para la cooperativa? *Is there support from an organization for the cooperative?*
16. Alguien da credito, por ejemplo, para la cooperativa? *For example, does someone give credit to the cooperative?*

17. Como es la historía de la cooperativa? *What is the history of the cooperative?*
18. Hay problemas en la cooperativa? *Are there problems in the cooperative?*
19. Como puede solucionar ustedes mismas? Como podria la comunidad solucionarles? *How can you yourself solve these problems? How could the community solve them?*

OTROS RECURSOS NATURALES: (other natural resources)

Preguntas para el uso de los manglares: ***Questions regarding the use of the mangrove forest:***

1. Usted usa los manglares o los bosques dulces cerca de su comunidad? *Do you use the mangrove or dry-land forests near the community? (note: "bosque dulce" is a colloquial term for forests that are not in salty water, in other words, not mangrove. The direct translation is "sweet forest"or "sweet-water forest", but I refer to this other forest type as "dry-land" forest)*
2. Por cuales cosas usa los manglares? Por cuales cosas usa el bosque dulce? (ejm. plantas medicinales, leña, madera) *For what things do you use the mangrove? For what things to you use the dry-land forests (for example, medicinal plants, firewood, timber)*
3. Cuanto leña usted y su familia consumen cada día? Recolecta usted, o compra? De donde viene este leña, el manglar o el bosque dulce? *How much firewood to you and your family consume every day? Do you collect or buy it? Where does the firewood come from, the mangrove or the dry-land forest?*
4. Cuanto madera usa usted cada año? De donde viene este madera? (el manglar o el bosque dulce?) *How much timber to you use each year? Where does this timber come from? (the mangrove or the dry-land forest?)*
5. Recolecta plantas medicinales frequenamente? Cuantas veces cada semana? De donde viene estas medicinas? (el manglar o el bosque dulce?) *Do you frequently collect medicinal plants? How many times each week? Where do these medicines come from (the mangrove or the dry-land forest?)*
6. De donde recogen o compran los productos de los manglares y/o del bosque dulce? *Where do you gather or buy products from the mangrove or dry-land forest?*
7. Podria usted decirme cuales especies o tipos de árboles prefiere y usa? *Could you tell me which species or types of trees you prefer and use?*
8. Hay problemas sobre el uso del manglar o del bosque? Podria explicame cuales son? Como usted podria solucionarles? Como podria la comunidad solucionarles? *Are there problems in the use of the mangrove or dry-land forest? Could you explain what they are? How could you solve them? How could the community solve them?*

Para preguntar a todos, independiente sobre su trabjo etc.... (to ask everyone, independent of their work)

PREGUNTAS SOBRE LA DIRECTIVA Y OTRAS FORMAS DE LIDERIEZGO (Questions about the council and other forms of leadership)

1. Quien son los o las líderes de la comunidad? La directiva? *Who are the leaders of the community? The council?*
2. Como esta la directiva de la comunidad? *How is the council of the community?*
3. Piense que la directiva de la comunidad toma en cuenta las nesecidades de todo la población? Es decir, la directiva toma en cuenta el interes, las ideas, y las preocupaciones de lo demas? (Piense que la directiva es representativa de la gente de la comunidad?) *DO you think that the community council takes into account the needs of the whole population? That is, does the council take into account the interest, the ideas and the worries of others? (Do you think that the council is representative of the people of the community?)*
4. Quien hace las decisiones en la comunidad? Por ejemplo, cuando hay algunos problemas en San Juan del Gozo, quien decide cual es la prioridad por la comunidad? Quien decide que "bueno, vamos a solucionar este problema primero!" *Who makes the decisions in the community?*

For example, when there are some problems in San Juan del Gozo, who decides what is the priority for the community? Who decides that "ok, we are going to solve this problem first!"

5. Usted puede participar en las decisiones de la comunidad? Por ejemplo, si no le gusta la decision que toma la directiva, podria influir la directiva a tomar en cuenta su opinion? *Do you participate in the community decisions? For example, if you don't like the decisions that the council makes, could you influence the council to take into account your opinion?*
6. Usted esta bien avisado sobre las reuiones de la comunidad y las capacitaciones? *Are you well advised about the meetings in the community and the workshops?*
7. Las reuniones comunitarías tienen mucha gente o poca gente? *Do the community meetings have a lot of people or few?*
8. Hay un plan estratégico de la comunidad? Como es? Usted tuvo la oportunidad a participar en hacer este plan? *Is there a strategic plan for the community? What is it like? Did you have the opportunity to participate in making this plan?*
9. El plan de la comunidad toma en cuenta las nesecidades de todo la población? *Does the plan take into consideration the needs of the whole population?*

INSTITUCIONES (institutions)

10. Cuales instituciones trabajan en su comunidad? Por ejemplo, una organización internacional, un grupo nacional, o institución local, como la cooperativa? *Which institutions work in the community? For example, an international organization, a national group, a local institution like a cooperative?*
11. Que han hecho aca? *What have they done here?*
12. Usted recibió beneficios de estas instituciones? Cuales son? *Did you receive benefits from these institutions?*
13. Usted participó en las actividades de la comunidad? Como participó? *Did you participate in the activities in the community?*
14. Cuales actividades eran? *What activities where they?*
15. Piense que las actividades de las instituciones que han trabajado aqui han sido efectivo? *Do you think that the activities of the institutions that have worked here have been effective?*
16. Porque no eran efectivo? Porque eran efectivo? *Why were they not effective? Why were they effective?*
17. Cuales instituciones fueran lo mas importante por la comunidad? Por que? *Which institutions were the most important for the community?*

----------sentimientos (*feelings*)----------

18. En general como siente sobre su comunidad? *In general, how do you feel about the community?*
19. Esta orgulloso de la comunidad? *Are you proud of the community?*
20. Usted esta positiva (o) sobre el futuro de la comunidad? *Are you positive about the future of the community?*

Appendix 2: List of Key Informants

Fisherfolk:

Oscar William Duran Martínez, president of *Brisas del Mar* council.
Isabel Fuente Gallegos, vicepresident of *Brisas del Mar* council.
Luis Alonso Martínez, secretary of *Brisas del Mar* council.
Samuel Rivas, treasurer of *Brisas del Mar* council.
Manuel Antonio Rodríguez, vocal of *Brisas del Mar* council.
Jose David Esquiel, fisherman.
Reina Isabella Rodriguez, fisherwoman.
Jose Gualelupe Garcia Fuentes, fisherman.

Women:

Digna de Jesús Andrade, president of women's council.
Rosa Telma Flores de Zetino , vicepresident of women's council.
Delmi del Carman Villarta de Palacios, secretary of women's council.
Edith Andusol Plineda, treasurer of women's council, fish merchant.
Graciela del Carmen Rivas, vocal of women's council.
Dora Christina Mejía, woman in community.
Rubidía Carman Gonzales, woman in community.
Ana del Amira Amaya, fish merchant.
Maria Ester Castillo, store owner.
Candí, store owner

ADESCO:

Chelio Salono Cañas, president of ADESCO, 2000.
Raul Villarta, president of ADESCO, 2001-2002.

Social Institutions:

Mario Ernesto Paz, Director of School.
Hernan Gonzalez, President of Education Council.
Abner Nochez Vela, Health Promoter.
Carlos Guzman, Pastor of the *Luz Verdadera* Church.
Dimas Moisés Nolasco, Pastor of the *Asembleas de Dios* Church.

Governmental, Private and Non-Governmental Organizations:

Josefina, Coordinadora del proyecto en San Juan del Gozo, Asociación de Desarrollo Integral, ADIC (Integral Development Association)

Rolando Arturo Rodriguez, Technician, *Sistema De Asesoría Y Capacitación Para El Desarrollo Local*, SACDEL (System of Consulting and Training for Local Development)/

Ingeniero Pedro Amaya, Environment Manager, Cooperative Housing Foundation, CHF.

Interview with Juan Marenco, Cooperative League of the United States of America, CLUSA.

Cecilia Hernández and Maraville, Coordinators of *Moviemiento Salvadoreno de la Mujer*, MSM (Salvadoran Women's Movement)

Héctor Armando Maldonado, President of DEICO, *Desarrollo, Investigacion y Consultoria*, S.A. de C.V. (Development, Research and Consulting)

William Cruz, manager of ISTA lands in Usulután and the area of San Juan del Gozo, *Instituto Salvadoreno de Tranformación Agraria*, ISTA (Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transfer)

Jaime Enrique de León G., *Departamento de Asociaciónes Agropecuarias del Ministero de Agricultura* y *Ganadería*, (Department of Agriculture and Livestock Associations of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock)

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