SURPLUS POSSIBILITIES: POSTDEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNITY ECONOMIES

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POSTDEVELOPMENT

In recent years, development practitioners, anthropologists, geographers and others who are observers "on the ground" of the failures of the one-size-fits-all model of development have begun to generate a "postdevelopment" discourse (Rahnema with Bawtree, 1997). By this we mean a set of thinking and doing practices that are guided by a distinctive ethical stance. Postdevelopment discourse is aligned with the long leftist tradition of critical analyses that accompanied the global consolidation, immediately after World War II, of a hegemonic mainstream development project. But while sharing a dissatisfaction with mainstream development, this emerging postdevelopment discourse effects a radical rupture with a style of thinking that underpins much of the critique of development. In this paper we aim to give a taste of how we are broaching the practice of postdevelopment thinking in a linked set of projects: a language project of representing the economy as diverse; a collaboration with a non-governmental organisation (NGO) that is involved in what we see as postdevelopment interventions in the global trade in labour; and an action research project negotiating postdevelopment pathways in place in a Philippines Municipality.

In his landmark book *Encountering Development*, Arturo Escobar (1995) traces the discursive creation in the immediate postwar period of the "third world" as both the needy object of international development intervention and the excuse for expansion of a new world power's mode of global governmentality. As Cowan and Shenton (1996) point out in *Doctrines of Development*, the "development" thinking that informed this consolidation of global "aspiration and effort" dated from the early nineteenth-century concern for the management of surplus populations within the nation-state and colonial outpost. It was at this time, they argue, that the premodern notion of development as a cyclical and organic process of growth and decay whose immanent dynamics were beyond intervention was modernised by its cross-fertilisation with the Enlightenment idea of progress and the dynamics of linear and upward social trajectories (Cowan & Shenton, 1996:8-9). In response to a sense of disillusionment that progress and improvement were somehow not taking their "natural" course, development became linked with the imperative to intervene and with the notion of active trusteeship by the "few who possessed the knowledge to understand why develop-

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ment could be constructive" (Cowan & Shenton, 1996:117). In its appropriation of the idea of progress, of higher and lower stages of human improvement and notions of superior and inferior knowledge, this style of development thinking had its origins in core tenets of Enlightenment thought.

Writing from the standpoint of the global south, Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2004) provides an incisive and powerful account of the *absences* produced by Enlightenment thinking. He distinguishes five modes by which modern science with its core notions of rationality and efficiency produced forms of "non-existence" that can be seen to call forth development thinking and practice as a logical response. The forms of non-existence derive from five monocultures (Santos, 2004:238-39):

- the *monoculture of knowledge* that turned "modern science and high culture into the sole criteria of truth and aesthetic quality" and produced non-existence "in the form of ignorance, or lack of culture";
- the *monoculture of linear time* that produced non-existence "by describing as'backward' (pre-modern, under-developed, etc.) whatever is asymmetrical *vis-à-vis* whatever is declared 'forward'";
- the *monoculture of classification* that distributed "populations according to categories that naturalise[d] hierarchies", thereby producing non-existence in the form of inferiority and subordination;
- the *monoculture of the universal and the global* from which derived "the logic of the dominant scale" that produced the local and particular as a "non-credible alternative to what exists"; and
- the *monoculture of capitalist productivity and efficiency* that "privileges growth through market forces" and produced non-existence in the form of the "non-productiveness" of non-capitalist economic activity.

These monocultures, Santos (2004:239) argues, have produced "the ignorant, the residual, the inferior, the local and the non-productive" that need development by "the scientific, advanced, superior, global, or productive realities".[1]

This compact genealogy of development thinking offers a thumbnail sketch of the formidable challenges posed to a post-development discourse. It is not too difficult to identify targets for deconstruction. In previous work we have identified the deconstructive project of postdevelopment thinking as focused on unhinging notions of development from the European experience of industrial growth and capitalist expansion; decentring conceptions of economy and de-essentialising economic logics as the motor of history; loosening the discursive grip of unilinear trajectories on narratives of change; and undermining the hierarchical valuations of cultures, practices and economic sites (Gibson-Graham, 2004:411).

Santos's work pushes us, however, to go beyond the genealogical and deconstructive. He suggests that we pursue a sociology of absences that confronts "the modes of production of absence", replacing each monoculture with ecologies of knowledges, temporality, recognition, trans-scale and productivity:

> In each of the five domains, the objective of the sociology of absences is to disclose, and give credit to, the diversity and multiplicity of social practices in opposition to the exclusive credibility of hegemonic practices. The idea of multiplicity and non-destructive relations is suggested by the concept of ecology (Santos, 2004:240).

The task of a sociology of absences is to focus on what has been "disqualified and rendered invisible, unintelligible, or irreversibly discardable" and to make the non-credible, the non-existent *present* as "alternatives to hegemonic experience". The aim of such a sociology is to have the credibility of these alternatives "discussed and argued for and

their relations taken as object of political dispute", thereby creating the "conditions to enlarge the field of credible experiences" and widen "the possibilities for social experimentation" (Santos, 2004:238-39).

While obviously grounded in a critical attitude towards mainstream development thinking, this project of developing "epistemologies of the South" that Santos (2004:236) outlines goes beyond critique, venturing into a creative field in which the possibilities of reconfiguration and experimentation are linked to contingency and unpredictability. This is, we believe, the stuff of a postdevelopment discourse – a mode of thinking and practice that is generative, experimental, uncertain, hopeful, and yet fully grounded in an understanding of the material and discursive violences and promises of the long history of development interventions.

The postdevelopment agenda is not, as we see it, anti-development. The challenge of postdevelopment is not to give up on development, nor to see all development practice – past, present and future, in wealthy and poor countries – as tainted, failed, retrograde; as though there were something necessarily problematic and destructive about deliberate attempts to increase social wellbeing through economic intervention; as though there were a space of purity beyond or outside development that we could access through renunciation. The challenge is to imagine and practice development differently.

As one at the forefront of postdevelopment thinking, Escobar has taken up the issue of imagination and research practice. In a recent paper he puzzles about the "tremendous inability on the part of Eurocentric thinkers to imagine a world without and beyond modernity":

> Modernity can no longer be treated as the Great Singularity, the giant attractor towards which all tendencies ineluctably gravitate, the path to be trodden by all trajectories leading to an inevitable steady state. Rather, "modernity and its exteriorities"… should be treated as a true multiplicity, where trajectories are multiple and can lead to multiple states (Escobar, 2004:255).

In his work in Colombia's Pacific region Escobar is making credible ecologies of place that are trans-scale in scope. By defending "local models of nature and cultural practices" as well as engaging with translocal movements and "linking identity, territory and culture at local, regional, national and transnational levels" (Escobar, 2001:163), he shows how place-based movements are experimenting and producing an emergent counter-hegemonic globalisation. In our own work we are widening our knowledge of economy through an exploration of the diverse ecologies of productivity. We have conceived of our research as creating a discourse of economic difference as a contribution to a politics of economic innovation. In action research interventions we aim to show how enlarging the field of credible experience might become a prelude to increasing the possibilities for economic experimentation around development.

This paper outlines our idiosyncratic negotiation of postdevelopment thinking and practice in one place, Jagna Municipality, situated in the island province of Bohol in southern Philippines (Figure 1).[2] Before proceeding with this case study, however, we would like to illustrate the challenge of thinking beyond modernity's scientific objectivism, linearity, classificatory systems, globalism and capitalocentrism. We offer below a story of (postdevelopment) creativity and (modernist) criticism.

DARING TO INTERVENE

In the face of the seeming inevitability of the globalisation of commodity, finance and labour markets, the Philippines-based NGO, Unlad

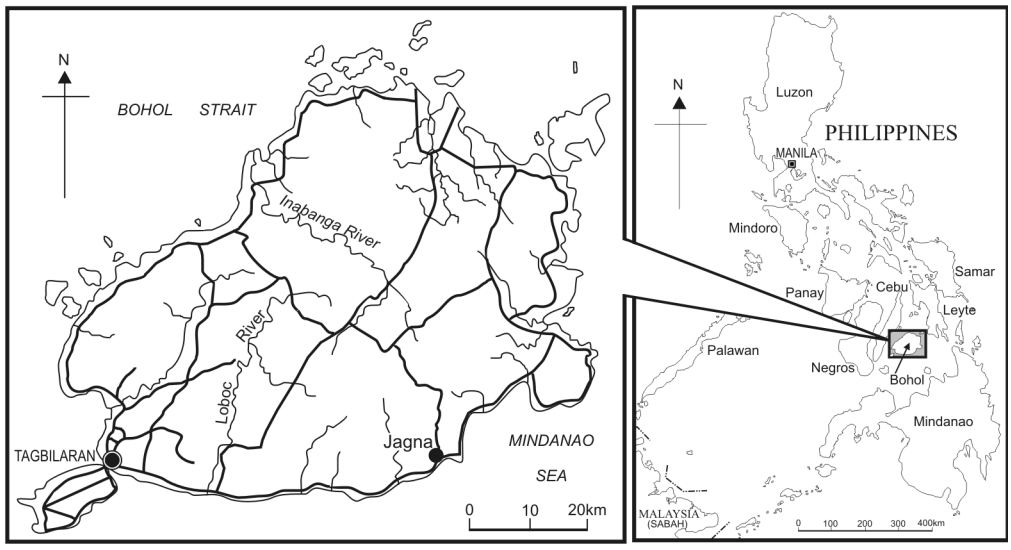

Figure 1. Location of the Municipality of Jagna, Bohol Province, Philippines.

Kabayan Migrant Services Foundation Inc., works with the possibility of transforming overseas contract migration into an opportunity for place-based community economic development. The Migrant Savings for Alternative Investments (MSAI) programme has been conceived in close collaboration with the Hong Kong-based Asian Migrant Centre (AMC), a partner NGO that, among many other things, helps organise overseas contract workers (OCWs) to form savings groups. Unlad Kabayan and AMC provide training in business management and entrepreneurial skills and under their tutelage migrant savers have been able to start enterprises in a variety of communities in the Philippines.[3] These businesses include organic chicken farming, agri-vet supplies, rice milling, coconut coir production and processing, and value-added food production, for example noodles, *ubi* (yam) powder and confectionery. The hope is that such enterprises will in future help obviate the need for continued cyclical out-migration.

One of the main interventions of Unlad Kabayan and AMC is to work against a vision of migrant workers as only ever powerless victims of capitalist globalisation, a greedy and exploitative origin state and a calculating host state that turns a blind eye to violations of the human rights of non-nationals. Their practice works to transform the victim mentality that circulates both in the minds of many migrants themselves, as well as within progressive circles of organisations that cater to this growing constituency.[4] In the discussion groups and workshops that precede and accompany savings group formation, this disempowering representation is challenged by visions of migrants as investors in community-based enterprises and as contributors to different pathways for local development in their home communities. Underlying the MSAI intervention is a refusal to see capitalist globalisation and global proletarianisation as the only development process that enrols migrant workers; a refusal to accept the linearity and singularity of the mainstream development dream of capitalist industrialisation as the only way of increasing standards of living in the Philippines; and a refusal to accept that the local and international knowledges that OCWs possess might not be sufficient to the task of building different economic opportunities.

What is interesting is how the initiatives and experiments that Unlad Kabayan and AMC are fostering are viewed by those on the left who are staunch critics of mainstream capitalist development. The MSAI programme has been disparaged for turning migrants into entrepreneurs, for promoting the creation of self-motivated individualistic stakeholders who are responsible for their own failures, for disciplining migrants and encouraging their further incorporation into capitalism, "the driver of contemporary migration", for undermining the global campaign for migrants rights by shifting focus away from their rights onto their responsibilities, and for urging migrant workers "to reduce their spending and save their pennies for the nation instead" (Weekley, 2004:358; see also *Migrant Focus Magazine*, 2001). An underlying structure of determination and certainty, along with a monocultural logic, gives force to these judgements, ensuring that one knowledge system is validated, one linear temporality and developmental trajectory is imagined, one clear hierarchy of success is instanciated, one spatiality of political practice is tolerated and one kind of economy is produced.

Given what are represented as "the hard realities", reading the MSAI as a postdevelopment intervention, as we do, is to adopt a different stance towards the world. A stance that accepts provisionality, contingency and uncertainty, and yet still allows for a commitment to theory, to politics, to practice. We take inspiration from Santos (2004:241), who speaks of not only the need for a sociology of absences, but also a sociology of emergences, that is, an "inquiry into the alternatives that are contained in the horizon of concrete possibilities". The sociology of emergences:

> consists in undertaking a symbolic enlargement of knowledge, practices and agents in order to identify therein the tendencies of the future (the Not Yet) upon which it is possible to intervene so as to maximise the probability of hope vis-à-vis the probability of frustration. Such symbolic enlargement is actually a form of sociological imagination with a double aim: on the one hand to know better the conditions of the possibility of hope; on the other, to define principles of action to promote the fulfilment of those conditions. The Not Yet has meaning (as possibility), but no direction, for it can end either in hope or disaster (Santos, 2004:241).

Central to this sociology of emergences is replacement of the idea of determination with that of care and substitution of the logical dynamics of certainty with path dependent relationships of potentiality. The postdevelopment thinking and action that are embodied in the sociology of emergences is an explicitly ethical practice, radically separated from what usually passes as conventional intellectual or interventionist practice with its grounding in "reality" and belief in the possibility of an objective policy response.

In the project from which the following stories are drawn, we are working alongside Unlad Kabayan's programme of enterprise development based on migrant savings, interacting with some of the same southern Philippines sites of investment they are involved in and conversing with project staff as they conceptualise their community-based work and plan future directions. We feel honoured to be part of a community of practitioners, thinkers, planners and organisers that is both international and site-specific. It is clear to us that we are building a postdevelopment pathway as we travel through territory that is largely uncharted.

ENLARGING THE FIELD OF CREDIBLE EXPERIENCE

The Municipality of Jagna is where we have begun the process of imagining and enacting a postdevelopment practice. Small and income poor, Jagna is in the island province of Bohol, a place known for its pleasant rural character, unique limestone topography and tourist

highlights (including the Chocolate Hills and the tarsier, Asia's smallest monkey). Bohol has historically occupied a relatively subordinate position in the unevenly developed political economy of the Philippines. It was never the site of major economic investment by Spanish planters or crony industrialists owing both to its unsuited topography and geology as well as to its fabled history of resistance to direct Spanish rule.[5] In 1996, the small volume of exports of the province (galvanised iron, limestone, copra, rice, prawns and handicrafts) were valued at PHP 1.82 billion (then PHP 26 to USD 1) and imports stood at PHP 2.78 billion; and while touted as "the rice granary of the Central Visayas", the province during the 1990s had been importing more rice than it has exported (Bohol Provincial Development Council, n.d.:11-12).

Situated an hour's drive by sealed road from Tagbilaran, the provincial capital, Jagna is one of Bohol's major port towns, offering the main link to the city of Cagayan de Oro in northern Mindanao. The municipal population of 30,643 lives in 33 *barangay*, or subdistricts, half in the town of Jagna and half in small rural settlements scattered around the agricultural hinterland. Farmers grow wet and dry rice, coconuts, bananas, and in the higher areas, cooler climate vegetables and flowers. Along the coast are fishing settlements where people are struggling to make a living from the depleted nearshore fish stocks. The vast majority of the people are Christians and natives of Jagna, and there is a small population of migrant Muslim families from Mindanao who are traders near the port. Incomes are low and economic development is squarely on the agenda of the Mayor whose second term has just been secured.[6]

For those in the mainstream, development in the Philippines is seen to depend on getting into the globalised economy by promoting economic growth derived from exports.[7] This largely means attracting foreign industrial investment into export processing zones, supporting export-oriented agriculture and the export of contract labour. For the garden province of Bohol this means continuing to promote the export of migrant labour as seamen and domestic helpers,[8] attempting to attract international eco-tourists and, most recently, promoting a shift towards what is presented as the new panacea for rural backwardness – the export tree crop oil palm.[9] With the transfer of administrative power and budgetary responsibility to the Municipality that accompanied decentralisation, local governments are now in the front line of responsibility for development agendas (Legaspi, 2001). The message that comes through loud and clear from the national government, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank is that localities are only going to survive if they can insert themselves into the global arena, competing with others to get a piece of the pie.

In Jagna, at least one-sixth of the population are dependent on incomes generated by OCWs, the new international cadre of indentured and quasi-slave labourers.[10] And while there has been a small amount of oil palm planted on converted coconut lands, the topography and geology of the Municipality is not suited to larger scale expansion of this export tree crop.[11]

Jagna's local government unit is interested in exploring the possibility of alternative development pathways that build on what the Municipality *has* rather than what it *lacks*, that strengthen the resilience of the local economy and that reduce dependence on external forces like currency fluctuations (in the case of remittances) and the ups and downs of international commodity prices (in the case of agricultural commodities). In this context, our action research intervention is designed to work with the local government and community to explore alternative pathways.

In the year prior to our project's commencement each *barangay* had completed a Barangay Development Plan with the assistance of local teams trained in participatory rural appraisal methods. The plans document

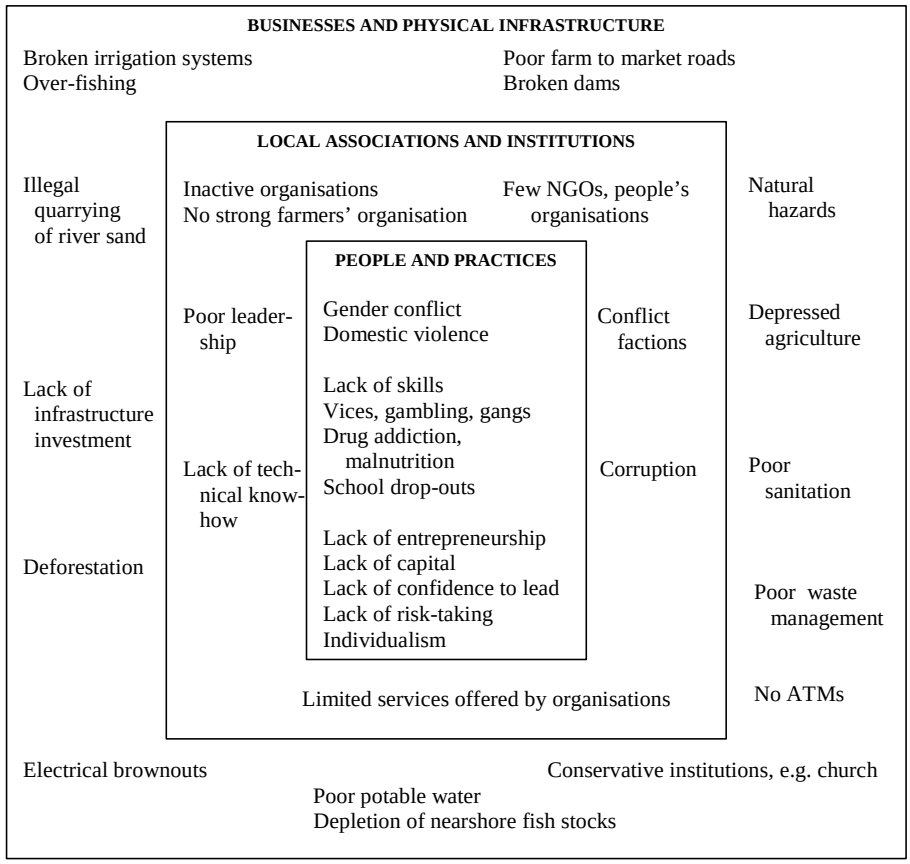

Figure 2. Jagna's needs map.

detailed information on the diverse economic and social profile of each subdistrict, using the format that has become a standard tool of community and rural development.[12] The data in these documents included information on some key indicators of development that were deemed to be good approximations for income: the percentages of (i) malnourished infants, (ii) houses without water-sealed toilets, (iii) school drop-outs, and (iv) households with access to potable water. On the basis of these indicators the *barangay* were ranked in order of dis/advantage. Each document concluded with a list of development goals for the next five years and an outline of what was needed to achieve these goals, which in almost all cases amounted to finance, infrastructure and local leadership. In an insidious way, this "neutral" information gathering and mobilisation exercise executed a subtle conversion of a rich and diverse presence of *barangay* attributes into a monotonously stylised representation of lack, for which outside assistance was the only solution. Initial discussions with *barangay* councillors and members of the public reiterated and elaborated upon this vision. From these meetings what clearly emerged was a detailed "needs map" for the Municipality, illustrated here in Figure 2, drawing on the format outlined by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) that distinguishes between (i) businesses and physical infrastructure (including natural environment), (ii) local associations and institutions, and (iii) people and practices. Many comments and judgements were made about the "mentalities" of local people that stood in the way of realisation of any of their development goals –

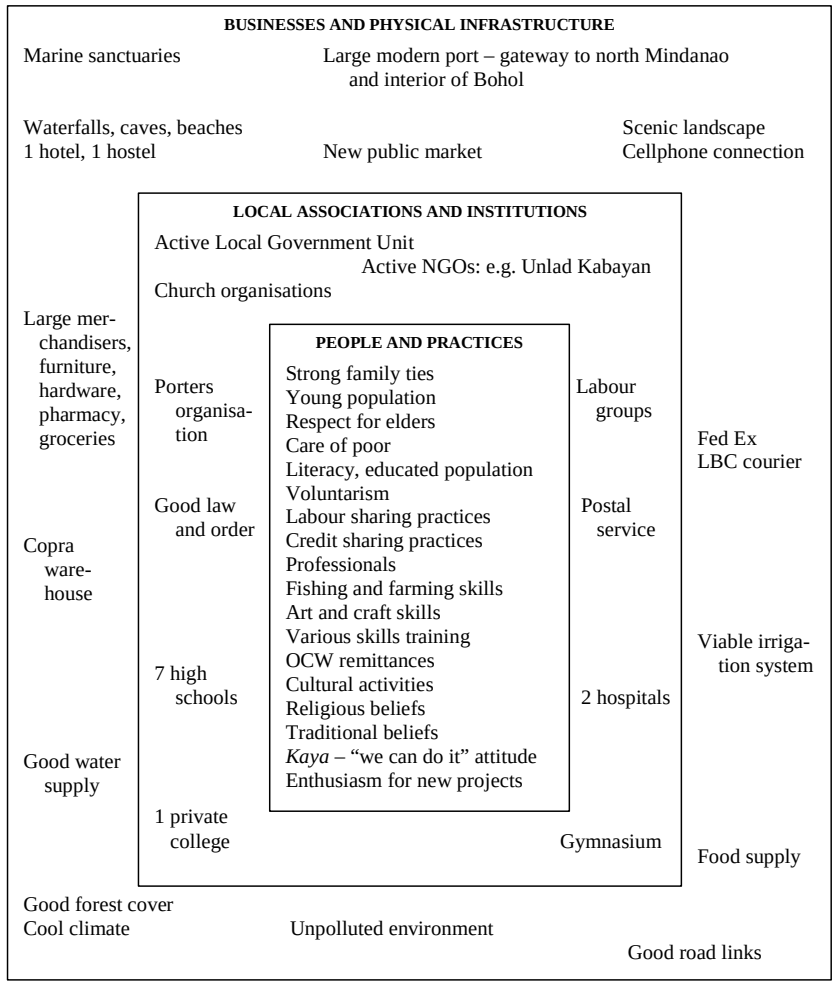

Figure 3. Jagna's assets map.

for example, the "dole-out" and "colonial" mentalities, the *ningas cogon* syndrome,[13] or the attitude of *bahala na* (leaving things to chance). In an intriguing example of the hold of monocultural logics, the participatory and potentially inspirational *barangay* development planning process "produced" development's object – the locality as inferior, residual, non-productive and ignorant.

During our *barangay* visits the research team attempted to shift the conversation towards the assets of the area that could be utilised or built upon and tried to elicit stories of community action around projects of collective development.[14] We attempted to identify and reflect back to the meeting instances where community capacity was exercised and assets were mobilised. On the basis of these discussions, a very different map of the "assets" of the Municipality was drawn up (see Figure 3).[15] Many of the features of this asset map, especially those concerning the natural environment and physical infrastructure, had been highlighted by the *barangay* as potential foci for future development (e.g., the Port, environmental attractions, vegetable-producing capacity). This is not surprising given that the standard participatory rural appraisal method that informed

TABLE 1. A DIVERSE ECONOMY

TRANSACTIONS	LABOUR	ENTERPRISE
MARKET	WAGE	CAPITALIST
Alternative Market	*Alternative Paid*	*Alternative Capitalist*
Sale of public goods	Self-employed	State enterprise
Ethical "fair-trade" markets	Cooperative	Green capitalist
Local trading systems	Indentured	Socially responsible firm
Alternative currencies	Reciprocal labour	Non-profit
Underground market	In kind	
Co-op exchange	Work for welfare	
Barter		
Informal market		
Alternative credit		
Non-market	*Unpaid*	*Non-capitalist*
Household flows	Housework	Communal
Gift giving	Family care	Independent
Indigenous exchange	Neighbourhood work	Feudal/Peasant
State allocations	Volunteer	Slave
Gleaning	Self-provisioning labour	
Theft, poaching	Slave labour	

barangay as potential foci for future development (e.g., the Port, environmental attractions, vegetable-producing capacity). This is not surprising given that the standard participatory rural appraisal method that informed the planning process focuses on local communities as defined by place and attachment to physical resources. Our questioning tried to bring to the fore the capacities of *barangay* residents and the dense networks of flow between people that contribute to community resilience, identity and wellbeing. We were concerned to highlight these social, as opposed to physical, assets as a step towards reflecting the multiple ecologies of economic productivity at play in Jagna.[16]

Our challenge to the mainstream development project focuses on the singular vision that the only viable economy is a capitalist one and that the only dynamics that will produce economic development are those of capitalist productivity – production of commodities for the global market, capital accumulation and export led growth. To counter this hegemonic view we have posed a new identity – the *diverse economy*, in which what is usually thought of as the mainstream economy – market transactions, wage labour and capitalist enterprise – is joined by all the economic "others" that sustain material survival and wellbeing (see Table 1). Our vision of the diverse economy is arranged according to three sets of economic relations: *transactions* of goods, services and finances; the performance and modes of remuneration of *labour*; and the production, appropriation and distribution of surplus within different kinds of *enterprise*.[17]

In the transactions column we include the immense variety of ways in which goods, services and finances flow between economic actors via transactions in which commensurability and incommensurability are variously negotiated. Not only do we find "alternative market" transactions, but also a

which they differently organise the production, appropriation and distribution of surplus (in all its forms – surplus labour, surplus value or surplus product).[18] We distinguish "alternative capitalist" businesses with an environmental or social ethic and "non-capitalist" businesses, such as worker collectives in which workers appropriate their own surplus, and self-employed people, also self-appropriating and thus not exploited; feudal enterprises in which the surplus labour of peasants is appropriated in kind; and slaves without freedom of contract who produce goods and services for a market, but not under capitalist relations of production.[19]

One effect of this representation of a diverse economy is that capitalist activity (production by wage labour of commodities for the market within enterprises that privately appropriate surplus from workers) is knocked off its perch, so to speak, and with it goes the ordered certainties associated with development dynamics. In the diverse economy, relationships are contingently rather than deterministically configured; economic value is liberally distributed, not attached to certain activities and denied to others; economic dynamics are proliferated, not restricted to a set number of governing laws and logics; and multiple temporalities and storylines are untethered from one linear narrative.[20]

To populate the map of Jagna's diverse economy (see Table 2) we drew upon the assets map (Figure 3), with supplementary information from the local research team's knowledge of community practices and municipal data provided in the Bohol provincial *Medium-term Development Plan, 1998-2003* (Bohol Provincial Development Council, n.d.). In Jagna the vast number of *enterprises* are independent agents – self-employed farmers, fishers, traders, drivers and handymen who produce and appropriate their own surplus – if indeed they are able to make any above what they need for their own and their family's subsistence needs and for meeting the cost of inputs and machinery upkeep. A sizeable proportion of farmers are still tenants and, thus, working in a feudal peasant relationship where their surplus is appropriated by a landlord and their labour is rewarded in kind with 50-75 per cent of the harvest, depending on who pays for farm inputs. The businesses registered in Jagna are very small family trading, merchandising and manufacturing enterprises that straddle the line between self-employment and use of family labour, with perhaps a handful of waged workers. Apart from the larger merchants and the one bank, there are no significant larger capitalist enterprises, unlike, for example, the adjoining Municipality of Garcia-Hernandez where a Japanese cement company mines, crushes and exports limestone. The Port is the largest and most capitalised enterprise in the area. It is state-owned and run by the Philippines Port Authority with a few paid employees. The vast majority of port labourers are self-employed porters who are members of a highly regulated labour association. There are no worker collectives and only one cooperative water supply business. The small number of non-profit enterprises include public schools and a handful of NGOs, including an alter-trade enterprise that organises the export of bananas from Jagna growers to Japanese consumer cooperatives.

In Jagna, *labour* is performed in many different contexts. The majority of waged workers are government employees and a small number are landless farm workers and general labourers. The range of forms of unpaid labour is large, particularly in the agricultural hinterland where there is a culture of sharing and cooperation attached to the intensive hand labour of rice cultivation. A rich language replete with specific terms and understandings of exchange, reciprocity, in kind payment and interconnectedness exists to describe complex practices of reciprocal labour exchange and voluntary gifting of labour.[21] Different forms of reciprocal labour exchange include the group practice of *hungus*, where a group of rice farmers band together to do voluntary planting, weeding or harvesting work on one

TABLE 2. JAGNA'S DIVERSE ECONOMY

TRANSACTIONS	LABOUR	ENTERPRISE
Market	**Wage**	**Capitalist**
Goods: Furniture, agri-vet, hardware, pharmaceuticals, groceries, motorcycles Services: Internet, medical, telecommunications, rental properties Credit: First Consolidated Bank – 2 % monthly interest; 6 registered lending institutions/pawnshops	Private business Farm labourers General labourers Port workers Municipal employees Provincial Government employees NGO employees	Merchants: 75 retailers, 6 dealers, 2 trading, 1 wholesaler Bank: First Consolidated Bank Manufacturing : 6 businesses (including welding, catering, dressmaking) Services : 59 (including private hospital, schools)
Alternative Market	**Alternative Paid**	**Alternative Capitalist**
Local trading systems *Sari-sari* stores, *suki* relations *Ukay-ukay* used clothing House to house and sidewalk vending *Alternative currencies* Rice paid for use of thresher, payment for plough *Underground market* Drug trade *Co-op exchange* Alter-trade network *Barter* Upland rice for coastal fish, wine, cigarettes, pots, salt *Alternative credit* Multipurpose co-ops: Porters, coconut growers *Kubaway*: Households pool money to buy fiesta carabao and access funds for credit during year *Suking tindahan*: Credit from *sari-sari* stores for basic goods *Repa-repa*: Revolving credit associations used to access large amounts for housing, land, major appliances *Tampuhay*: Savings group, funds divided at end of year	*Self-employed* Farmers, fishers, traders, drivers, producers, porters *Indentured* 781 OCW seamen and domestic helpers Reciprocal *Hungus*: Group labour on rice lands *Badsanay*: Exchange of individual labour services *In kind* *Sagod*: Landless perform weeding and harvest labour in return for 1/6 share of harvest Tenant farmers: Paid with 50%, 66% or 75% of harvest, depending on inputs Hired labour: Harvest coconuts (PHP 70 per day plus meals) *Guno*: Harvesting corn for farmer with entitlement to 1/7 of what is picked *Hagpat*: Helping pick fish from fisherman's net in return for 1/3 of catch *Pension* Retirees	*Social ethic* *Botica sa Barangay*: Pharmacy run by political party that sells cheap medicine to less well- off *State capitalist* Philippines Port Authority
Non-market	**Unpaid**	**Non-capitalist**
Household flows Food sharing Childcare sharing Care of house and animals *Gifts* Charity to poor – House built, water sealed toilets constructed *Suki-ay*: One family supplies another family with food and drink for fiesta *Dajong*: Neighbourhood mortuary assistance including money, food and services *Gala 1*: Families give money, rice, wood to family of marrying son *Gala 2*: Dances and money offered in honour of patron saint – fundraising for church *Dory*: Credit for no interest/debt of gratitude *Indigenous exchange* Ritual offerings to spirits *Gleaning* *Pamukak* collecting fruits and vegetables after harvest *Theft* Robbery of crops to settle gambling debts Illegal extraction of sand and gravel	*Volunteer* *Tingub*: Regular voluntary work on irrigation channels *Bayanihan*: Communal work to help households or *barangay* CIVAC: "Citizen's voluntary action" led by Barangay Captain to do road fixing, street cleaning Parish Pastoral Council JCW beautification projects *Housework/Family care* Cooking, cleaning, childcare, care of sick Family work on farm Family work in small business	*Non-profit* NGOs Schools Alter-trade organisation *Communal* Pangdan Water Cooperative *Independent* Fishing enterprises Farms Trading business Small-scale producers: Carpenters, drivers, chainsaw operators, cock breeding, video game rental *Feudal/ Peasant* Tenant farms

Sources: Figures on businesses and employment from Bohol Provincial Development Council (n.d.); figures on numbers of people in various occupational categories from the Baranga Development Plan and Unlad Kabayan's 2004 (unpublished) survey of OCWs.

person's farm with the expectation that this favour will be returned when needed, and the individual practice of *badsanay* in which labour services are exchanged upon verbal agreement. Payment in kind for labour includes the *sagod* system, a labour arrangement introduced after agrarian reform whereby landless labourers perform weeding on another's land and are granted the exclusive right to harvest that same plot for a percentage of the crop, usually one-sixth if the crop is threshed and cleaned;[22] *guno*, the harvesting of corn in return for one-seventh share of the total; and *hagpat*, helping a fisherman pick fish out from the net in return for one-third of the catch. Voluntary gifting of labour includes the well known *bayanihan*, the indigenous practice of voluntary helping out, for example, in moving a nipa house or making a school garden,[23] the weekly or monthly *tingub* which involves maintaining irrigation channels and irrigating rice fields, and CIVAC (citizen's voluntary action), whereby, under the leadership of the Barangay Captain or a youth or women's organisation, everybody in the community offers labour for road fixing, cleaning the residential surroundings and other community work.

In terms of the *transactions* and exchanges involving goods, services and finance, there again appears to be a vast mesh of activities that do not intersect formal markets where the rules of competition govern behaviour and outcomes.[24] In alternative and non-market relations, transactions are mediated by social and cultural understandings and agreements that help negotiate different registers of value. Barter between coastal communities and the rice-growing uplands is still current with coastal people travelling to rural areas during harvest time to barter dried fish, wine, clay pots, salt and cigarettes for rice. Rice farmers engage in a barter system called *tihap*, in which they receive money or fertilisers before or during the land preparation period and repay the donor in rice, with interest added in, after the harvest season. The alter-trade network negotiates exchange between the banana growers' cooperative in Jagna and Japanese consumer cooperatives that guarantee a steady market and aim to offer fair prices despite fluctuations in world banana prices. There is a vibrant trade in second-hand clothes at *ukay-ukay* stores, often sourced from overseas aid agencies.

As with many cash-poor communities there are a vast variety of mechanisms for obtaining money outside of formal bank lending. In 2002, Jagna had six registered lending institutions and pawnshops that offered high rates of interest. In addition there are many communal forms of saving and borrowing targeting specific individual or household purposes – ceremonies and rituals like weddings, funerals, fiestas; or family livelihood projects – like house building or land acquisition. The *dajong*, meaning "to carry together", is the practice of mortuary assistance organised at a neighbourhood level. Upon the death of a neighbourhood resident, member families donate money and/or services such as carrying the coffin, digging the burial hole, or preparing food for the members of the *dajong* who are required to attend the burial ceremony. The *gala* includes a group of families who offer money, rice, wood, or anything that will reduce the financial burden on the member family with a wedding to arrange. Another specific type of *gala* takes place during or after fiesta time and involves the offering of dances and money in honour of a patron saint and as a form of fundraising for any church-based celebrations or other activity. The *kubaway* is a group of people who agree to save money to procure carabaos for fiesta time, while also allowing members to access the joint savings, with interest payable, up to a month before fiesta celebrations. The *repa-repa* is a revolving credit group in which members regularly contribute a set amount of money which is pooled and drawn upon sequentially by one member each month. This practice is used to access money for big projects such as house improvements, or buying major appliances or land. The *tampuhay* is a savings group in which members put away an amount of money and

then divide it among their group at the end of the year. The *suki-ay* is a reciprocated practice of giving goods or money to a family celebrating fiesta. The *suking tindahan* is credit offered by small *sari- sari* stores so the cash poor can obtain basic goods, and *dory* is credit offered with no interest as a sign of gratitude.

This initial documentation of the diverse economy of Jagna indicates that there is a thin veneer of capitalist economic activity underlain by a thick mesh of traditional practices and relationships of gifting, sharing, borrowing, volunteering, and reciprocated individual and collective work.[25] A network of bonding and bridging relationships creates complex interdependencies within and across kin groupings and neighbourhoods. Daily needs are met, life course and cultural events are celebrated and community is enacted. This rich meshwork of relationships are the economic practices that have been rendered non-existent, "non-credible alternatives to what exists" by the monoculture of capitalocentric thinking (Santos, 2004:238). They are the substance and process of what we have termed the "community economy" – those economic practices that sustain lives and maintain *wellbeing directly* (without resort to the circuitous mechanisms of capitalist industrialisation and income trickle-down), that *distribute surplus* to the material and cultural maintenance of community and that actively make and share a *commons*.[26]

While the majority of people in Jagna are being sustained by activities in the community economy, there are still those for whom secondary education for children is a luxury that must be forgone when cash incomes are down, and for whom housing standards are basic, with no potable water or water-sealed sanitary toilets. These kinds of shortfalls in meeting what could be considered subsistence costs create an incentive for family members to seek employment overseas. It comes as no surprise to find that most of the remittances sent by OCWs back to their families are spent on education and housing improvements – replacing natural fibre roofing with iron, building an indoor bathroom and toilet and, for longer-term OCWs, a new concrete structure.[27] Many households look to overseas migration as their only pathway towards increasing their standard of living.

At the same time as reflecting on and valuing the strengths of Jagna's community economy, we cannot also ignore that it exists in constant change and contradiction. Crucial elements of the community economy are being actively undermined or even destroyed at present. Most detrimental is the destruction of the marine environment and the commons upon which the fishers of Jagna have relied over generations.[28] A parallel situation exists in the uplands, where proclamation of a protected forest zone to combat erosion and pollution of water sources has outlawed the slash and burn agricultural practices of small upland indigenous communities and denied them access to their traditional common land. In both coastal and upland areas new livelihoods are being sought.[29]

From the perspective of mainstream development discourse, Jagna would be well advised to deal with its deficiencies by exporting more labour or promoting the shift away from coconuts and copra production to a more viable export agricultural commodity as a way of generating cash incomes to meet subsistence needs. From the perspective of building a community economy the options open out in many different directions. A full audit of livelihood practices, including the contribution of non-market and unpaid labour transactions, allows for reflection on what the community is nourished by (rather than what it lacks) and public discussion of which of these practices could be strengthened or extended. There is the opportunity to review and decide what to do about the more oppressive aspects of some of these practices, for example, the way that they might maintain

and heighten status and hierarchy divisions within the community, or might foster flows of labour that could be experienced as exploitative. And there is the chance of locating where, and for whom, real shortfalls in meeting necessary subsistence are taking place and discussing community-wide strategies to address these (other than watching the best and brightest leave to take up menial jobs as OCWs). By starting first with an appreciation of the diverse ways in which the Jagna community economy *already* produces a culturally rich and largely sustaining lifestyle for the people of the Municipality, a new decision space is opened up – the choice can be made to build upon this base and ensure that it is not inadvertently depreciated by mainstream development interventions that offer the fantasy of sufficiency.

EXPLORING POSSIBILITIES FOR SOCIAL EXPERIMENTATION

The work of making this diverse economy (or ecologies of non-capitalist productivity) visible and valuing its contribution is but one step in a postdevelopment practice. In the Jagna Community Partnering Project we are concerned to go beyond the representational moment and begin to strengthen and enlarge the community economy. The process of working with community members and the Municipal Government towards defending, strengthening and enlarging Jagna's community economy involves taking seriously the legitimacy of pursuing a diversity of development pathways and seeking out the "alternatives that are contained in the horizon of concrete possibilities" (Santos, 2004:241). This involves the cultivation of affective orientations and thinking practices that are generative, experimental and hopeful.[30] It means tolerating not-knowing, contingency and uncertainty, and yet still intervening to take back the economy as a space of decision.

In Jagna we are actively working on developing an "anticipatory consciousness" that will take on uncertain possibilities that already exist and nurture them by building and sustaining relationships (emphasising diverse dynamics rather than monocultural logics) (Santos, 2004:236). The challenges facing the community economy in Jagna include:

- sustaining and strengthening the diverse practices that support subsistence and produce wellbeing directly;
- reclaiming, safeguarding and enlarging the commons that provides a base for survival, subsidising subsistence and creating community; and
- generating surplus and marshalling and distributing it to foster expansion of the productive base and increase standards of living.

Confronted with these challenges we are interested in extending the scope of certain community practices in the direction of constructing locally based enterprises that marshal and distribute surplus in ways that will strengthen and expand the capacity of the existing community economy.

As we have seen, individuals in Jagna perform surplus labour that is deployed in practices of gifting, sharing and the reciprocal exchange of goods and services that sustain the young, aged, infirm and disadvantaged as well as institutions like the church, schools and associations. It is a real question, however, as to how much surplus is currently generated from enterprises in the region. The self-employed sector, for example, can be seen as barely making a living – generating an income that will just meet costs of labour and materials. At present there are no communal or collective enterprises that are able to generate a large pool of surplus that could be distributed towards expanding the productive capacity of the community economy or improving wellbeing and increasing living standards.[31]

The possibility of a surplus focused economics of community development has been illustrated for us by the practices instituted in the Mondragon Cooperative

Corporation, one of the world's largest worker-owned cooperative complexes located in the Basque region of Spain. In these cooperatives the choice was made to limit wage growth as cooperatives grew and prospered and, thus, allow expansion of cooperative capacity and the ability to employ more and more owner-workers. This ethical economic decision has instituted a crucial set of practices that have promoted community wellbeing at large over individual gain. So too has the decision to limit access to the surplus generated by owner-workers until their retirement and, meanwhile, to marshal it into a cooperative bank that can then finance and support new cooperatives, as well as distribute it directly to the provision of social services for the whole community (Gibson-Graham, 2003).

In Jagna Municipality, OCW remittances have the potential to provide a source of funds for alternative investments in the community economy and as such are a community asset to be mobilised. As the MSAI programme of the Asian Migrant Centre has shown, migrant savers are interested in redefining portions of their wages earned overseas as a surplus that can be invested in migrant and community-based business in the Philippines. Rather than treating their wages as a consumption fund to be spent increasing the standard of living of their household and family members to a level far in excess of the local community (bigger houses, all modern appliances, conspicuous consumption goods), OCWs who are interested in capping household consumption and investing in enterprises are organised by the AMC and assisted by Unlad Kabayan to employ local people, develop local products and improve the viability of local economies. The dividing line between consumption and saving – or necessary labour costs and surplus labour in the Marxian terminology – is a crucial one when it comes to questions of development. While surplus remains unseen and unaccounted it is easy to obscure the ethical choices that can make or undermine community economies.

At present, Unlad Kabayan has spearheaded the set-up of an *ubi*-processing enterprise in Jagna that encourages farmers to replant the indigenous aromatic purple yam (*ubi kinampay*) for which Bohol is traditionally well known, and supply a group of women who process the *ubi* into powder that can be used year round to make into confectionery and other food products. Our project is working alongside migrant investors' groups and community members interested in researching the feasibility of building additional community-based enterprises that will link new livelihood production processes into marketing networks locally and within the region.[32] The enterprises will experiment with different organisational structures that include cooperative ownership. In a political climate where "co-ops" were largely agricultural credit and marketing organisations sponsored by the state and renowned for corrupt practice and coercion (Mayfield, 1985:166-67), the cooperative ideal must be renegotiated and translated into ethical principles that have meaning in the local context. At present, the project is working with a group of porters who are looking into the feasibility of a trucking business that could, amongst other things, connect upland farmers with urban markets. The porter who is one of our community researchers was very interested and inspired by the idea that the capital of the porters' credit cooperative could be used to extend the porters' work into another transportation service that would benefit the community. He had previously only considered that the credit would be used by individual families to start small stores that the wives and children of the porters would run. With possible assistance from migrant investors this business has the potential to generate extra employment and income for the part-time porters, and to improve produce movement from upland farmers to the port and encourage higher productivity of agricultural production. Other ideas for enterprises being researched include the sewing and hiring out of ceremonial robes, such as togas for school graduations or wedding and bridesmaids dresses, by women in Jagna,

and the development of value-added production and marketing of ginger and coconut products at the port and farther afield by primary producer families.

In discussing the development of people's capacities, or the cultivation of ethical dispositions, Francisco Varela (1999:27) points to the important process of extension whereby:

> we learn to extend knowledge and feelings from situations in which a particular action is considered correct to analogous situations in which the correct action is unclear.

This practice of extension has the potential for use in expanding the community economy. The building of community-based enterprises that are capable of generating surplus and redeploying it into further job creation could draw on and extend everyday practices that are already enhancing wellbeing directly in the community and contributing to the expansion of the Jagna commons.

One example of extension that provides inspiration for us is the case of Barangay Bunga Ilaya where, as in every other *barangay*, councillors are traditionally expected to save up to purchase a hog to be donated to the yearly fiesta for all to enjoy the taste of *lechon* (spit-roasted pig), a traditional Filipino treat. Recently, the councillors discussed the possibility of redirecting their savings to the purchase of water pipes that would improve water quality and accessibility for all in the *barangay* and they proposed to the community that they extend their donation to something that would have long-lasting effect, rather than celebratory but short-lasting impact. The community agreed to this change and the water system has begun to be installed.[33]

Another example is the case of Barangay Cambugason, in which the *bayanihan* practice was extended to a larger project that usually would be seen as within the jurisdiction of the Municipality – the sealing of a road that was crucial for farm to market access. Instigated by a returned seaman, a group of people donated funds to buy the inputs, hire the machinery and volunteered their own labour to cement 2 km of roadway and increase accessibility to markets.

In both these examples, traditional practices – ritual expenditure in one case and mutual support in the other – have been redirected towards improving standards of living for all and contributing to the enlargement of the commons. Wellbeing was promoted by providing a year round access road and potable water on tap. These decisions to reshape the form of the gift to the community and to take on a volunteer labour project that also involved a considerable financial donation reflect choices to privilege longer-term investment in the community's future over shorter-term cosmetic or consumption effects.[34] Such decisions are what constitute the economy as a political and ethical space. In our action research project we are working with community groups to identify where these kinds of decisions are possible and to make transparent some of the effects of choices either way with respect to community economic development.

How the projects fostered by the Jagna Community Parterning Project will fare, what kinds of governance they will develop, what sort of links with the Municipal Government will emerge and what concrete contribution they will be able to make to strengthen the community economy of Jagna is yet to be determined. The pathway that is being built has similarities and differences with previous community-based interventions. The main point of departure is that the Jagna Community Partnering Project is starting in the community, building on what is there and producing the steps of the process as it goes – not applying a model taken from the shelf of an aid agency, government bureaucracy, or university. There is recognition that it is the ethical decisions made and not the alignments with economic

structures that will ensure success of these projects. Activating the decision space that the community economy offers is no easy task. The discomfort and uncertainty associated with this process is palpable, as is the excitement and pleasure associated with the shifts in subject position from passive victim/recipient of the dole-out system to active shaper of new relationships and local knowledges.

RELUCTANT SUBJECTS

> Compared to other Asian cultures, however, "Pre-Western Filipino culture was not an advanced and sophisticated culture. It has not attained those specialized organizations and institutions for religious, political and economic life that produced complicated structure in the pre-Western civilizations of the Muslim, Buddhist, and Hindu peoples of Asia" (Abueva, 1988:22, citing Corpuz, 1965).

The monocultural logics of scientific knowledge, linear time, hierarchical classification, global scale and capitalist productivity that Santos asks us to challenge are not only the product of western scholarship, nor solely used to "understand" differences between the so-called developed and developing worlds, but, as shown here, are also put to work to create absence and lack by scholars of "the south" as well. In the Philippines, where "nation-hood" is inseparable from a project of Christianisation and colonial occupation that dates from the mid-sixteenth century, the hold of epistemologies of the "north" is deeply ingrained. Perhaps the greatest challenge to a postdevelopment agenda lies not so much with generating new theories and strategies, but with the subjects who are constituted by development practice, Enlightenment thought, Spanish and then US colonisation, and are reluctant to "become" anew. Just as the state electricity worker who has been retrenched because of privatisation in the Latrobe Valley of Australia, or the manufacturing worker whose factory has closed because of Argentina's economic crisis want their old jobs and not an alternative economy, so the rural Filipino tends to want the dole-out, not a role in the community economy.

If, however, we look to the horizon of concrete possibility, we see the emergence of new economic subjects among the unlikeliest population – the indentured migrant labourers and quasi-enslaved migrant domestic workers, the Filipino OCWs, who are becoming investors and community entrepreneurs as part of the MSAI programme. Through a long and slow process of subjectivation (or values formation in the language of the NGOs concerned) these migrant workers are beginning to see themselves anew. As we work in Jagna Municipality on strengthening and enlarging the community economy, new kinds of economic subjects will inevitably emerge. In the process of making credible the diversity of practices that support subsistence and sustain livelihoods, participants in workshops held thus far have come to appreciate and value what they have, awakening to the possibility that they can start from where they are and build upon this substrate. In the process of expanding what is seen as part of the community commons to include not just the natural environment but also shared traditions and knowledges, new ways of tending, reclaiming, replenishing, creating, enlarging and sharing the commons are being discussed. In the process of researching the feasibility of beginning new community enterprises that focus on surplus generation, participants are becoming aware that the economic interdependence of individuals and groups in Jagna is a strength to be creatively deployed.

Recent work within economic geography on the social economy (Amin *et al*., 2002), informal economy (Williams, 2004), alternative economic spaces (Leyshon *et al*., 2003) and diverse economic dynamics (Gibson-Graham, 1996; Cameron & Gibson-Graham, 2003; Gibson-Graham, 2004) provides a vibrant backdrop to the postdevelopment project of

imagining and enacting multiple ecologies of productivity. This work, largely generated with respect to "first world" contexts, is challenging many of the monocultural logics that have oppressed peoples of the south and north. As we hope to have demonstrated in this paper, a postdevelopment discourse may well offer a timely end to the false division that has separated "area studies" from "disciplinary studies"; the "rest" from the "west". This might be the least important of the surplus of possibilities a postdevelopment discourse can offer, but for those of us interested in reconfiguring our geographic practice it signals exciting times ahead.

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ENDNOTES

[1] While many other postdevelopment authors have made similar arguments, Santos' (2004) recent summary presentation spoke to us powerfully and has provided a focus for the subsequent discussion.

[2] This is one of four sites that are the focus of an ARC-Linkage Project Katherine Gibson is involved in with ANU colleagues (Australian Research Council Grant No. LP0347118 "Negotiating alternative economic strategies for regional development in Indonesia and the Philippines"). The action research project is being conducted in partnership with Australia's official development assistance agency (AusAID), four municipal governments (two in each country), and a key NGO in each site. In the context of recently decentralised governance, the four-year research programme is testing out the utility of the Community Partnering model, an approach that was piloted as part of an action research project in the Latrobe Valley of Victoria, Australia (Cameron & Gibson, 2001; 2005a, 2005b), and which envisions diverse community economies mobilised for sustainable regional development.

[3] Enterprises are located in eight provinces spanning the Philippines; other counterpart NGOs are working with migrant workers organised through AMC to set up businesses in Thailand, Indonesia and Bangladesh.

[4] This victim subject position has its equally unidimensional opposite in the hero subject position espoused by the Philippines national government that sees OCWs as a major earner of foreign exchange for the nation (see Gibson *et al*., 2001).

[5] This includes the Tamblot Uprising of 1622, when Boholanos abandoned coastal settlements imposed by the Spanish and escaped inland away from the colonisers' dictates of forced labour and tribute payment, and the Dagohoy Rebellion (1744-1829), the longest and most successful resistance in the nation (Bohol Provincial Development Council, n.d.:5-6).

[6] The Mayor comes to municipal politics with the experience of lengthy involvement in community organising and local struggles in popular movements.

[7] The shift in focus of national development policy towards export oriented growth occurred under the Marcos regime (1966-86) and has not been altered since (Hutchcroft, 1991:419; Kelly, 2000:39). Prior to this, "national" economic development policies had been hitched to the promotion of import substitution industrialisation, under the strong hand of US sponsorship (Maxfield & Nolt, 1990).

[8] The Province of Bohol is renowned for its seafarers who work on international flag of convenience ships of the world as indentured labourers on strict

contracts that bring them home for one month per year. As with most provinces of the Philippines, women work as overseas migrants largely as domestic helpers – a new form of quasi-slave labour – on contracts that place them living in the homes of their employers with very few rights to restrict demands on their labour to a reasonable level (Rio, 2000).

[9] With an historical basis in Malaysia and recent rapid expansion throughout the Indonesian archipelago, it is only lately with President Arroyo's visit to Malaysia and her signing of a new agreement with some major oil palm companies that the Philippines has been targeted as a potential new frontier for oil palm expansion. As a replacement for the depressed copra industry, oil palm offers, according to its proponents, many benefits as a poverty reduction project – higher yields/hectare than copra, greater incomes, a guaranteed market for smallholders' products which would be sold to a central oil refining mill, reforestation of "idle and barren lands" and increased foreign exchange.

[10] The allure of overseas migration is the income this work can generate and the remittances that will supplement or fully constitute household incomes at home. Currently there are approximately 781 OCWs from Jagna, with slightly more men than women (Nimfa Lloren, Jagna Research Team, personal communication, 2004). This conservatively translates into about 5,000 people (16 per cent) dependent on OCW incomes in the Municipality. While the Republic of the Philippines government continues to support and champion overseas migration as a national development option (its major source of foreign exchange), at the local level the drain of young, skilled workers is seen less favourably, and the long-term effects of decades of out-migration are seen as very mixed – greater social and economic polarisation of communities in the form of better housing and heightened consumption spending for some families; land acquisition and conversion to more risky commercial crops by migrant families (McKay, 2002); and propagation of the belief that leaving is the best strategy for economic advancement.

[11] The Municipality recently organised a one-day information workshop in which the pros of oil palm growing were put to the general public by two keen executives from the Philippine Agricultural Land Development and Mill Inc. (PALM Inc.), followed by the cons, presented by six NGOs representing the concerns of environmentalists, organic agriculture, women and social justice. As the workshop discussion indicated, the people of Jagna are poised at an interesting conjuncture – questioning the ability of export oriented industrial activities to deliver the promised trickle-down of income and enhanced wellbeing, and concerned about the increased debt incurred by farmers switching to oil palm and their subsequent vulnerability to land resumption by credit providers.

[12] The practice of compiling local information as a prelude to problem identification is part of the first "mobilisation phase" of the rural development model pioneered in the 1950s by Dr James Yen and the Philippines Rural Reconstruction Movement (Mayfield, 1985:Chapter 4). As Tinker (1965:53-55) documents, the 1950s saw the institutionalisation of community development in the Philippines under the presidency of Ramon Magsaysay. The top-down exhortation to tap into local initiative and self-help by following a sequence of steps from diagnosis to action was a thinly veiled anti-communist intervention funded by US aid. Despite its attempt to replace patron-client relations with village-level cooperation and local instigation of community projects, the heavy aid input set up "community development" as a synonym for give-away programmes. As we have found in Jagna, it is hard to dissociate from the expectation that any community-based project will follow preset rules of "community organisation" that act as the necessary preconditions for receiving a "dole-out".

[13] "*[N]ingas cogon*, the flaring up of dried grass, to blaze brightly for a moment, and then to die" (Tinker, 1965:57).

[14] This emphasis on collecting stories of community successes, strengths and capacities is a central aspect of the assets-based community development (ABCD) method developed by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993). See Mathie and Cunningham (2002) and Cunningham and Mathie (2003) for discussions of the use of ABCD in the "development" context.

[15] This mapping was recently presented to the general public in Jagna and has been used in the training of community researchers who are working with target groups to research the feasibility of community enterprises and begin to develop them.

[16] Many of the practices we were able to document would be described in contemporary "development-speak" as "social capital" – relations that "bond" family members, close friends and neighbours; that "bridge" horizontally to distant friends and other neighbourhoods; and that "link" vertically to people who are more powerful or command resources (Woolcock, 2001:13).

[17] The diverse economy schema is a provisional and always evolving exploratory thinking practice (see Gibson-Graham, 1996; 2006). It is an attempt to represent, to use the language of Law (2004), following Kwa (2002), an open system that is patchy, only partially coherent, heterogeneous, continuous, limitless and, thus, unable to be modelled into an

emergent whole. The diverse economy is a representation born of a "baroque sensibility", that is: "an imagination that discovers complexity in detail or (better) specificity, rather than in the emergence of higher level order" (Law, 2004:19).

[18] An economics of surplus is another of those absences or impossibilities that is delegitimised by the monoculture of economic knowledge. The category of surplus is central to the Marxian analysis of class processes (see Gibson-Graham *et al*., 2000; 2001, for applications of a surplus oriented economics in settings as diverse as the household, the industrial corporation, tenant farming and elite educational colleges).

[19] The table is organised as columns and it is important to note that there is no necessary relationship between boxes in the rows. Any one economic actor (either person or business) might participate in many of these economic relations; for example, a non-capitalist cooperative enterprise engages in formal as well as alternative market transactions, or a worker in a state enterprise might also engage in neighbourhood barter and perform unpaid family labour.

[20] Our early interventions have attempted to elaborate what Santos (2004:240) calls an "ecology of productivity", that is, the practice of "recuperating and valourising alternative systems of production, popular economic organisations, workers' cooperatives, self-managed enterprises, solidarity economy etc., which have been hidden or discredited by the capitalist orthodoxy of productivity". He goes on to note: "This is perhaps the most controversial domain of the sociology of absences, for it confronts directly both the paradigm of development and infinite economic growth and the logic of the primacy of the objectives of accumulation over the objectives of distribution that sustain global capitalism".

[21] These terms and their definitions were compiled from Barangay Development Plan reports, community discussions and the research and local knowledge of the Jagna Research Team – Joy Apag, Maureen Balaba, Amanda Cahill and Nimfa Lloren. This exercise in mapping Jagna's diverse economy has just begun and it is clear that there are many other practices that people rarely see as "economic" that contribute to the productivity and resilience of the local economy. As the project progresses we aim to further document this local language of economic diversity. See Nooteboom (2003:Chapter 4) for a more comprehensive description of similar practices in rural Indonesia.

[22] See Ledesma (1982) for a detailed study of the operations of the *sagod* system in the Western Visayas and its differences from share tenancy (which we refer to here as a form of feudal enterprise).

[23] Tinker, writing in 1965 (pp. 54-55), had this to say about *bayanihan*: "Great stress has been laid on the Filipino tradition of *bayanihan*, whereby, when a family desires to move a house, their neighbours gather with stout bamboos and all together literally move the building to its new site. This co-operation or *lusong* is cited by Community Development publicists as an example of village combination. But traditionally the obligations of *lusong* are not owed to the village at large but to one's kinsfolk: moreover, this practice is dwindling as the direct dealings of old are replaced by the commercial transactions of this day. The whole ethos of the contemporary Philippines is away from communal co-operation and towards individual enterprise". Contrary to this prediction of linear change, it would seem from reflections made by community members in Jagna that this practice is still in operation at the village level and is not limited to kin groups.

[24] Gudeman (2001:10) writes: "In the market realm self-interest of the unit is uppermost, and short-term material relationships are undertaken for the sake of achieving a project or securing a good, not for their own (social) sake as in the community realm".

[25] The Jagna situation is by no means unique. Ledesma's (1982:197-98) research in the Western Visayas (where the terminology differs) identified the following examples of what we call here transactions in the community economy: "Even before agrarian reform and the new rice technology, the sharing of village resources among needy households has long been a customary practice – for example, the entry of an unlimited number of reapers into a field at harvest time; the sharing of cost-free exchange labour (*tawilihan*); credit practices involving interest-free loans (*hulam*); gleaners' rights to what is left in the fields or on the threshing floor".

[26] The commons of this community is shared in the yearly fiesta in May when, *barangay* by *barangay* in systematic succession, households of all status and wealth levels redistribute any surplus they have, offering food and hospitality to all others over a period of two to three days. This event is the focus for saving of money, hoarding of goods and feeding up of stock for months prior. To use Gudeman's (2001) terms, through the fiesta the "common base" of the community is extended to all – those that have more to give, give more; those that have little to give, still give.

[27] That is, after the debts incurred from arranging the migration contract have been cleared – which often takes all savings from the first two-year contract period.

[28] Over-fishing and the use of inappropriate technologies by nearshore fishers, and illegal fishing by deep-sea fishers from other areas have contributed to this problem. The marine sanctuary that has been

proclaimed along much of the shore of Jagna is one regulatory attempt to limit this practice but it means that fishers are denied access to their traditional livelihood. Traditional access combined with non-traditional technologies contributed to this destruction.

[29] We cannot forget the constant struggle that is taking place in many localities to preserve the environmental base of community economies and the difficult transitions that people are asked to make as "protection" of the environment proceeds without due recognition of community practices of stewardship that were once viable.

[30] In her book *Hope in the Dark: Untold Histories, Wild Possibilities* Rebecca Solnit (2004:14) writes: "Despair demands less of us, it's predictable, and, in a sad way, it's safer", while "[h]opefulness is risky, since it is after all a form of trust, trust in the unknown and the possible – even as Lingis points out, in discontinuity" (p. 16).

[31] Commercial profits are surely being made by merchants operating in Jagna, but these are privately appropriated and do not enter into the community economy arena.

[32] One of the major challenges is to move beyond production focused livelihood projects that promote new products but fail to develop the marketing networks that will enable the surplus generated to be realised (Allison Brown, marketing consultant, personal communication, 2004). This has been a failure of many aid projects such as the AusAID-funded goat-rearing project that the adjoining Municipality of Garcia-Hernandez participated in (Gerry Burdas, Technical Advisor, Unlad Kabayan, Bohol, personal communication, 2004).

[33] Amanda Cahill (Jagna Research Team, personal communication, 2004) reports that the water system is not yet completed. The community has embarked on a staged development that is still dependent on volunteer labour and contributions from community members. Thus far, this process has supplied all houses with water-sealed toilets.

[34] With the opening of one possibility, another is closed, and it could be argued that the demise of ritual, "unproductive" expenditure, or the practice of sociable and relatively resource neutral *bayanihan* efforts could undermine the very sense of community upon which the community economy is based. Mayfair Yang's (2000) exploration of the relationship between ritual and economic development in south China is interesting in this regard (see also Gibson-Graham, 2000). She argues that the resumption of excessive expenditure in ritual practices since its prohibition by the Communist government has accompanied the rapid growth of small businesses and suggests that there might be some connection between the release offered by ritual and the renewed vibrancy of local entrepreneurship. At the same time, we need to be aware of the possibility that the extension of community economic practices could take a coercive turn as happened in Indonesia with the appropriation of the traditional practice of voluntarism, *gotong royong*, into state ideology, where it acted as justification for the forced donation of local labour to state building projects (Bowen, 1986). A similar move was attempted in the Philippines with appropriation of the *bayanihan spirit* for state-led community development activities as Tinker implies (1965:54).

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