COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL

MASTER THESIS

Mobilizing Assets for Community Development
The Case of Comite ProMejoras in Ayampe, Ecuador

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ABSTRACT

Over decades, top-down development approaches have failed to deliver real and sustainable development outcomes for the people in rural settings of developing countries. As a result, this has provided an impetus for exploring alternative development approaches. People-centered development offers opportunities for research, due to the high participation of rural residents in development efforts. Therefore, the asset-based community development (ABCD) approach is said to offer not only a 'people-centered' but also a 'citizen-driven' approach. Based on an in-depth qualitative case study of a single Ecuadorian community-based organization, this thesis sets out to answer how Comite Pro-Mejoras de Ayampe (CPMA), mobilizes assets to promote locally driven development in Ayampe. Using a positivist approach, the research question is answered based on data collected during fieldwork in the coastal, rural areas of Ayampe, Ecuador.

Using a conceptual framework (developed for this thesis), based on community development literature, an assessment of the extent to which CPMA in Ecuador achieves asset mobilization was made through three ABCD principles: 1) Asset-driven; 2) Relationship-driven; and 3) Internal focus. Findings reveal that although CPMA has worked on mobilizing assets, including all the seven community capitals outlined in the ABCD literature, in practice there are both internal and external factors that hinder CPMA from achieving greater community development efforts. Nonetheless, inside out development outcomes were successfully achieved by enhancing existing capitals.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I: Introduction

The discourse on development has been addressed and analyzed through meanings, paths and various critiques of western-driven philosophies where development has shifted from modernization and structural adjustment programs to poverty reduction. In recent years, these philosophies have been acknowledged to pose several analytical limitations to development. Thus, a new post-development discourse has given rise to people-centered paradigms for welfare and development (Schenck and Louw 1995) Unlike the macro-economic indicators of development, people-centered developments reflect local-level frameworks such as community-based and grassroots organizations. A people-centered view of development centralizes people as taking ownership of their own development. Such shift has prompted a propagation of development discourse that centers on complex, yet significant, concepts like community development that emphasizes the importance of citizen participation, empowerment, capacity building and self-reliance of communities. CD entails collective solutions made by local residents to tackle problems built from existing resources within the reach of their communities (Green & Goetting, 2010).

In a developing country context, endogenous development, a pre-existing factor in rural communities, drives local residents to pursue their own process of development to improve their lives and well-being. Evidently, rural communities are facing multiple challenges that threaten their environmental resources owing to depletion and destruction without being properly controlled. It has been noted that community passion and motivation form the fuel of rural and regional development (Cavaye, 2001). In light of these challenges, engaged citizens move from enthusiasm and informality, to becoming formal CBOs, in an attempt to strengthen their efforts to build stronger communities. CBOs play an imperative role as active agents of change in rural development by tackling community needs and problems such as environmental degradation, poverty, unemployment, lack of resources, and poor health. Governmental agencies have been expected to drive community development processes (Beaulieu, 2002, Wu & Pearce, 2014) rather than waiting for top-down approaches to reach rural communities. As a result, residents choose to endogenously take action to respond to the community issues themselves in a coordinated and collaborative matter. In doing so they build relationships and mobilize assets from what is already present within the community to drive inside out development outcomes. Consequently, if

assets are owned and controlled by the local residents enabling them to invest in local projects, benefits are most likely to be generated.

A group of local residents in Ayampe, Ecuador officially founded CMPA as a not-for-profit committee. The residents acknowledged the need to have an organization body that could represent them in order to address social issues and vulnerabilities the community faced. This thesis explores CPMA mobilization of assets and the implications within the specific context through the use of a conceptual framework. The conceptual framework was combined with the community development theory and added aspects from CBO literature in order to be able to answer the research question. The framework thus serves to analyze the extent to which a CBO mobilizes assets to achieve the promotion of locally driven development in Ayampe through the CBOs practices based on three pillars: asset driven, relationship driven and internal focus.

Research Questions

The aim of this thesis is to explore the value of CBOs in the process of community development through an asset-based approach in the local context of Ayampe, Ecuador. Therefore, the broad question for the research is as follows:

> *How has the CBO mobilized assets to promote locally*
> *driven development in Ayampe??*

In response to this central question, the following research sub-question and specific objectives have been set:

Subquestion 1: Which assets were identified and utilized by CPMA?
Subquestion 2: Which actions did CPMA drive as agents of change?
Subquestion 3: What did CPMA achieve by building these relationships to
drive community development?

The objectives of this study are to first investigate the concepts of development and its various paths. Second, to determine a conceptual framework for investigating the

phenomena of locally driven development in the context of Ayampe. Third, to conduct primary research with CPMA members (and non-members), the CBO's board, and its donors in order to determine if the organization, its relationship and initiatives promote community development outcomes through the mobilization of pre-existing community resources.

1.1 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organized in seven chapters, so the structure is as follows:

Chapter 1 introduces the general problem area, formulates the research question and stipulates the objectives to answer it.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review and theoretical framework for two main ideas: first to enable an understanding of the discourse of development as driven by Western thoughts of modernization and mainstream neoliberal thinking. Secondly, to examine the rise of community-based organizations, that facilitate a more people-centered approach to community development which have been aligned to the post-development thinking. The ABCD approach then follows with an analysis of its roots, perceptions, and importance to enhance community development. A shift of the development discourse from a need-based or deficit model, to an asset-based view of development, is discussed. Considered a people-centered approach, the ABCD entails principles that promote citizen-driven development.

Chapter 3 presents the research methodology, including the choice of philosophical assumptions and the selection of a case study as a research strategy for the research design. Also included, is the reason why qualitative approach is utilized as a method in this study, along the collection of data and its analysis approach.

Chapter 4 introduces the contextual presentation and the case study of CPMA. Under the contextual presentation, briefly discussed topics include: the geographical location and demographics in Ayampe, its history and political division along the historical embedded collective practices existing in Ecuador and how these affect the local community, its workforce, economy and finally, poverty levels in the region. The case study of CBO CPMA is then presented to enlighten the reader with the composition of CPMA mandate, current position and projects.

Chapter 5 reports the key findings of the case study, highlighting and presenting how the CBOs efforts mobilized community capitals to create and sustain the CBO CPMA, how they built these assets at different levels, and the relationships they established internally and externally, through agency power. The purpose of this chapter is to identify and document local existing assets, which the study reveals as being most valuable to the local people in order to conduct locally-driven development. Lastly, current and future challenges for CPMA are explained.

Chapter 6 presents insights gained from the case study that have been placed within a broader context of literature examined in the initial chapters. As a student researcher, the goals is to reflect upon the main questions that form the basis of this research study and to further highlight the vitally important, unanticipated findings. This section will reflect upon the empirical findings, the conceptual framework and the methodology

Chapter 7 provides a general conclusion of the overall study conducted.

CHAPTER II: Background and Literature Review

2.1 Understanding Development and the Rise of CBOs

This chapter provides an understanding of what is currently known about the discourse on development. The discourse follows a brief analysis of existing literature on the meaning, paths and various critiques of western-driven philosophies. It emphasizes a shift in development thinking that encouraged interest in a more people-led approach to community development, which can potentially benefit rural communities in developing countries. Research has shown the prominent rise of people-centered approaches in the development agenda. Hence, considering this context, the rise of CBOs as potential catalysts of these alternative community development approaches is presented. The idea is to discuss the importance of understanding the "big picture" of the concept of development in order to make sense of what is happening locally in rural communities.

2.2 Conceptualizing Development

Development has been the subject of research and analysis at various points in history. For decades development thinking has shifted from modernization and structural adjustment programs to poverty reduction. Many scholars and practitioners reached a general consensus that 'development' encompasses *"continuous change in a variety of aspects of human society"* (Sumner & Tribe, 2008, p.11). Since development is constantly changing, it has often embraced an association to several beliefs that include modernization, urbanization, industrialization, social and political transformation, technological improvement, and economic growth. This causes a divergent conceptualization of the term, something not surprising to witness as the debate continuous. Moreover, implicit in all of these values is the idea that development comprises change directed to some particular social or economic goal (Robinson and Green 2011). As shown in (Figure 1), literature points out how 'development' can be defined historically, politically and conceptual alternative.

Briefly summarizing these three views, first it shows that, first from a historical point of view, development is seen as a process of change. Second, as policy related, development was based on value judgments made from medium-term outcomes of indicator and evaluative led programs. Lastly, as post development discourse, it recognized the idea of alternative

paths to the dominant discourse of western hegemony for development (Sumner and Tribe 2008).
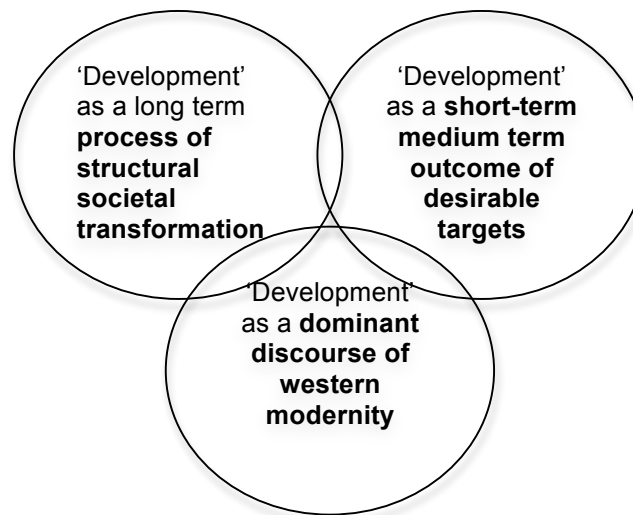
Figure 1: Development defined through three views

Thomas (2000) reveals that as a historical conceptualization of development, 'process of historical change' was predominated soon after the post-war era (i.e., during the 1950 and 1960s). It was mainly focused on the *processes* of structural societal change and growth-based understanding of development. It was considered an era of disruption, where European capitals had the urgency to economically and physically rebuild their states. It was characterized as a time of societal shift from traditional to modern characteristics[1]. As a concept of economic focus, the idea was that growth of the economy would potentially benefit the society as a whole through market-driven 'trickle-down' effects or through state-led development (Sant'Ana 2008). However, several researchers indicate that this economic concept of development witnessed no signs of benefits through a trickle-down effect towards the poor (Harris 2000; Hershberg and Thornton 2005).

It was during the 1970s to the 1980s that the concept of development as a policy took prominence as a reaction to tackle poverty and income levels. It was focused on project outcomes and targets to 'basic needs' (Harris 2000; Sumner and Tribe 2008). Among others, the main components to target among others included elements such as education,

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[1] For example, capitalist and industrial developments were associated with modernization at the time. It highlighted the need of economic freedom and capitalism and the rise of nation-state.

sanitation, health and nutrition. It favored the creation of new international development agencies to implement development projects and policies with specific ends (Bebbington 2004). A clear example was the western-driven policy objectives and performance indicators applied by the United Nations through its MDGs poverty reduction goals programs. Moreover, at the end of the 1980s it became dominantly became an era of structural adjustment programs[2] to help many underdeveloped countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America to 'catch-up' to the developed western nations (Escobar 2011). According to Harris (2000) *"Structural adjustment was seen as correcting the errors of earlier, government-centered development policies which had led to bloated bureaucracies, unbalanced budgets, and excessive debt"* (p.3). Consequently, intentional development outcomes created a western-driven hegemony of 'one-size-fits-all' models like the Washington Consensus. Nonetheless, critiques found structural adjustment programs as a means of greater inequality and poverty.

The third conceptualization of development is grounded from post-modern or post-development discourse, which as a consequence of historical antecedents, emerged out of the criticism of development projects based on the old standard assumptions of progress mentioned above. To counteract the hegemony of previous western development ideals, Shaw (2000) argued for the creation of a civil society to keep both the state and the market's power in check. According to Escobar (2011) there was a need for effective change, and called for the *"interest in alternatives to development, not the interest of alternative development […], interest in local culture and local knowledge, and solidarity for pluralistic grassroots movements".* Morse (2008) adds that the intention of post-development was to break free from the developed hegemony model and begin the change at the local level. Korten (1984) suggested that to see improvements in human well-being, *"development would need to become not simply people-oriented […] but truly become people-centered, a creation of peoples' initiatives, and based on the resources which they controlled"* (Korten 1984, p.342). Overall, this scope of development offered space for a paradigm shift that suggested for a more relevant, people-centered approach, capable of promoting community-driven development through the empowerment of local residents to take control of their own life situations.

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[2] For instance, the Washington Consensus

2.2.1 People Centered Approaches

The long debate about people centered development has been publicly recognized as a new paradigm for welfare and development (Schenck and Louw 1995). It stemmed from the systematic search for alternative conceptual analyses and a shift focus from economic growth to social dimensions of development (Pawar 2014; Penderis 2012). People-centered approaches recognize that economic growth does not necessarily contribute to human development (Korten and Klauss 1984). It further, contemplates the idea that people should be the 'architects' of their own future (Burkey 1993). By people centered, it means returning control to local citizens over local resources found within their communities, with the purpose of meeting their own needs. These needs include justice, sustainability[3] and inclusiveness[4] (Korten 1991).

According to Cleary (2003) people centered approaches to rural development seem to stem from the recognition of local populations as being more active in the development process, rather than simply passive recipients of benefits. This allows local people to mobilize and manage their own resources, thus being more efficient and productive while reducing a dependency from external consultants. Participation becomes self-mobilized and empowered by the local people themselves, enabling transformation, and challenging the *status quo* of current reproduced top-down practices (Penderis 2012).

The idea of a community's self-reliance with characteristics of being masters of their own development is not a new social phenomenon[5]. Yet it was not until recent decades after the post development discourse, that it took the necessary acknowledgement. Altogether, communities have evolved and broadened from an era when development practitioners *consulted* in certain aspects of development programs, to an era where communities *are empowered* to define and manage the programs themselves or with local private or public sector partnership. Lately, this approach has even received the support of large institutions such as the World Bank, who back-up the idea of shifting power, decision-making and

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[3] Although sustainability refers most often to the ideal of not exploiting but sustaining the environment so that it can continue sustaining life, here it also considers the idea of *"we have started it ourselves and are able to continue with it"* to effort and projects that will keep going when the development withdraws from sustainable development (Schenck & Louw, 1995; p.85).
[4] Inclusiveness is the active engagement of diverse interests and perspectives in the decision-making process (Behr et al. 1995)
[5] For instance, Gandhi (1962), where poor rural villages in India were helped, advanced through decentralized governance and community empowerment after the post-colonial era.

development management, away from central authority and towards local levels through community-driven initiatives.

2.2.2 Importance of Community Development

An increased interest in development at the community level, plays an essential and viable basis to meet human needs and its interaction with the environment. In Latin America, community development (CD) has become a common alternative approach. CD epitomizes a different vision that genuinely considers sustainability and social justice for communities to experience a better life-quality improvement, something that has proven unachievable by global and national interventions (Ife 2001). Community development (CD) entails *"collective solutions to problems by building on existing resources within the reach of the community"* (Green and Goetting 2010, p.6). The process accentuates how community members together take a collective action in order to generate solutions to common problems faced within the community. It assumes that the experience of the process enhances the integrity, skills, knowledge and experience, as well as equality and power, for each individual who is involved. The concept has set importance on grassroots movements, rural communities and the informal sector[6] (Gilchrist 2009; Harris 2000; Sachs 2009). The predominant significance of community development is "*improving quality of peoples' life*" (Frank and Smith 1999, p.6).

The Roots and Perceptions of community development

Community development has been present for half a century. Some researchers identified origins of CD's profession and discipline to the post-World War II era, when UNESCO proposed the intervention in the 'third world' in order to help these nations take off from the backward economic, health and social problematic they faced. CD programs were designed for the most setback regions in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Wise 1998). Others cite the 1960's "war on poverty" to influence significantly in solving housing and social problems (Clift and Wojciakowski 2011; Green and Haines 2012) in deprived or underdeveloped urban and rural settings within developed nations, and invented programs for the third world (e.g. North America, England) (Philips and Pittman 2008).

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[6] Drawing on the case of Ayampe, given the limited formal employment opportunities, most young people fall back in to subsistence living for their survival. The proportion of the informal sector in Manabí by 2003 was 70% of the active economic population (CISMIL 2006).

CD is considered an eclectic approach since it integrates knowledge from public health, education, economic development and politics (G. Green and Haines 2012). Given the multidisciplinary nature of the term, it's not surprising to find the various offered definition. Bhattacharyya (2004) argues that historically there has been a reluctance to define the concept. However, to provide a clear acknowledgement of the definition, Denise & Harris (1989) claimed the meaning attached to the term, is heavily influenced by the stakeholders whom employ it (p.7). While this varies widely, the understanding of development tends to be broad or narrow in scope. Nonetheless, for some, understanding CD first requires defining *community*. This way, stakeholders are identified to be appropriately involved in the various stages of the CD process. Albeit a community can be defined in multiple forms, Mattessich and Monsey (1997) claimed the word stresses "putting people first", something that supports the principles of Pawar (2012) – an idea of people-centered processes. In context, CD becomes "the currency of building strong communities" (Rans & Green, 2005, p.18). In other words, CD is a comprehensive process that highlights the change made by the involved local residents with a shared vision for their future.

There is a twofold meaning that has evolved around CD, both as a process and furthermore as a discipline. As a process, Philips and Pittman (2008) defined CD as:

> *"A process of developing and enhancing the ability to act collectively, and practically as an outcome, further explained as, (a) taking collective action, and (b) the result of that action for improvement in a community in any or all realms: physical, environmental, cultural, social, political, economic, etc"*
> (p.6).

Focus is made in the community as a whole, emphasizing public participation, self-help and a full understanding of the complexity and dynamics of issues and situations in the community context. This way, developing programs can result more effective. Hence, as an academic discipline, CD is:

> *"Concerned with (a) enhancing the capacity of individual groups and communities; (b) examining the forces of structural change, economic integration and institutional development; and (c) the impact of these forces on community efforts to become self-determined by initiating their own development"* (Chile, 2007, p. 9).

With the abovementioned definitions, CD must revolve around the idea of protecting human rights, self-determination, self-reliance and participation (Pawar 2012). Moreover, (Chile 2007) suggested that development professional practice should not only enhance social justice but also economic equity at the local, national and international level. Those who are usually socially excluded from decision-making processes must be at the center of the development process while challenging discrimination and inequality (Association of Community Workers). Ledwith (2005) suggested that there is an underlying assumption of CD where society's structural organization is prone to cause powerlessness, alienation and inequality problems. He further asserts that for CD to be an effective outcome, it must have a redistribution of power and resources for an equal and just society (p.32). Today, while the concept in theory and practice continues to lay a foundation, planning and implementation of programs in rural areas are applied in the form of local development, whereas in industrial areas it is applied in the form of development to marginalized populations. In order for CD to occur, development will depend on adequate infrastructure (e.g. transportation), access to investment capital (e.g. for business development), policy settings (e.g., agreements) and delivery of basic services (e.g. welfare reforms). However, for CD to last development relies on people's ownership to change attitudes, leadership to mobilize existing local skills, action to improve relationships, thinking differently about problems and motivation to use assets in a new way – all at the local level (Cavaye 2001).

Dimensions of Community Development

According to Green and Haines (2012), *"community development is frequently driven more by practice than by theory"* (p.1). To comprehend how resources and power are effectively pursued in any rural setting, it is important to understand the practice dimensions and dynamics of CD. In essence, it involves the values of: first, upholding or practicing human rights; second, encouraging people to be self-reliant; third, to think and make decisions and own them; lastly, to participate in the whole development process (Pawar 2012). The emergence of a global civil society is said to be creating new opportunities to build a democratic and humane world. It has been urged by many to explore the dimensions of CD in order to grasp the richness and complexity of human life and its experience in the community. Ife, (2001) finds six imperative dimensions (See Figure 2) that must be considered when analyzing CD: 1) social; 2) economic; 3) political; 4) cultural; 5) environmental; 6) personal/spiritual; and 7) survival.

Figure 2: Outcomes of a Healthy Ecosystem
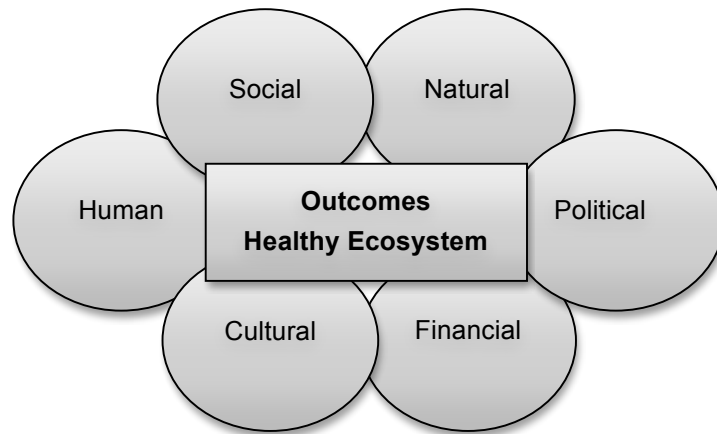
Social Development seeks to strengthen social structures, cohesion and interaction within a community and create awareness of community resources. In practice this might reflect the jobs of social workers, youth work, education and health services. For **economic development**, strengthening and supporting the community rather than serving the needs of the global economy is what matters. It emphasizes the basic living standards, earned from living, work and social security**. Political development** regards decision-making and power structures within the community to strengthen inclusivity and effectiveness. **Cultural development** is about cultural expression looking at a community's historical background and its formal and informal relations in the local context. **Environmental development** stresses both the natural and built environment within available as access to people. The **Human** and **spiritual developments** connected see the individual within the community to develop a sense of worth which can be capable of leading a more spiritually enriched life, with a sense of personal fulfillment to feel complete humaneness (Ife 2001).

Ife, further suggests that not all dimensions will account for equal priority and depends on the local context being analyzed. For example, some (mainly indigenous people) would claim personal/spiritual development is the basis for all other dimensions or experience strong economic base yet possess degraded physical environment. Nevertheless, community initiatives must concentrate all their attention into account all six dimensions, in order to avoid uneven development.

2.2.3 Challenges of Community Development

Rural communities in developing countries continue to face challenges often related to access to basic services, economic opportunities, and weakness in planning for rural-urban divide (Bridger and Alter 2008; Burwell et al. 2013; Gilchrist 2009). According to Cavaye (2001) the biggest challenges rural communities face are related to the recognition of values, participation, perception, community confidence and changes in the role of the government. The recognized challenges Cavaye makes will be explained in reference to various other authors below. It is recognized among scholars and practitioners that communities indeed build networks, cultivate a local vision and motivation, and develop capabilities for economic and social benefits. However, challenges that still occur regard community development initiatives as contribution to infrastructure and community organization but show little change in the community "rethinking", networks and overall capability (Burwell et al. 2013; Demos 2003). For development to witness improvements it requires a consistency with what communities value as priorities needed for them. In other words, it is fundamental to consider what citizens want their community to be. For instance, some communities might value environment and infrastructure improvements rather than tourism development. (Cavaye 2001) contends that values inherent in communities are diverse and conflicting and successful cases of development exist if communities drive the process without abundant resources and expertise. Moreover, community values are changing rapidly to subsume to globalization (Bonanno 2013).

The challenge of confidence relates to the reason why communities are limited to further development. Cavaye explains that communities are not limited to financial resources or community engagement. Instead, limitations are based on the lack of clear direction and confidence to mobilize and take action. Community action seems to be linked not just to financial risk but also social risk among community leaders and participants of the development process. In the eyes of the local residents, leaders lose credibility when initiatives fail and this reduces the confidence level within the community to conduct further local development. As Cavaye claims, rural development requires partnership relationships that support and empower community confidence and not merely tangible support (e.g. infrastructure).

There is a strong need for external assistance to interact with communities in ways that can boost the locals' perceptions and beliefs. Communities hide in inertia instead of taking

positive action. The underlying reason for this inertia is due to the lack of confidence among locals in their power to make changes or influence others without the support of external assistance, or because of the unawareness that they can actually make and be a change with the use of their capacities. In the meantime, a lack of confident perceptions to make changes, leads to a decline in ensuring positive steps to take action and make a change (Frank and Smith 1999; Pawar 2012; Wise 1998).

Another challenge for CD is Participation. According to Cavaye (2001), traditional methods of community engagement like committees and public meetings for participation, seem worn-out. Instead, locals are seeking for more informal, temporary and social methods to participate. Cavaye further argues that locals seem frustrated and confused with agency-based decision-making processes and instead, rural development should be reinforced with new forms of community involvement that include: coalitions, short-term commitments, and networks that exist within the community and its residents. These forms of involvement enhance the participation of the most marginalized to participate and have their concerns heard and taken into consideration. This kind of participative democracy, Cavaye argues will enhance legitimacy and add value to representative democracy (p.120).

2.3   The Rise of CBOs as Facilitators of Community Development

Recently, CBOs have taken predominant acknowledgement in the fields of rural community development since they frequently provide numerous high valued social services and activities to the members of their communities at the local level (Sharmin et al. 2013; Weinberger and Jütting 2001; Wilson, Lavis, and Guta 2012). CBOs are self-governing organizations with self-help characteristics (G. Mansuri 2004), typically formed by individuals belonging to a geographically bounded region or area (e.g., rural village, parish, etc.). Members are local residents (Opare 2007; Yachkaschi 2010) and as so, manage (if not control) such '*non-urban organizations for the poor*' (Manji & Naidoo, 2004, p.1) while holding non-compulsory participation (Anheier 2005)[7]. Local residents themselves form the governing body and staff of the organization and pursue their own process of development by controlling the project decisions, management and investment funds (G. Mansuri 2004; Matovu 2006).

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[7] This implies that the organization operates based on consent. In principle, members have no obligation to participate or show up to local meetings held by the CBO.

When the time comes to plan for opportunity exploitation and problem identification, it is the members who take control of the decision-making process rather than obtaining experts' consultations. They carry simple internal structures (Zibecchi 2014), yet despite this, to a large extent develop successful activities themselves (Nepal 2009) and are perceived as 'agents of change' (Devine 2006; Murphy 2012; Opare 2007; UNSHP 2011) that support bottom-up community projects. Change agent's support and teach communities how to cooperate and use their capacities effectively (Schulenkorf 2010). It is through this process, that they reflect the dynamics of poor rural communities, who act as the primary vehicles of popular participation in development efforts (Abegunde 2009; Dill 2010; Hussain, Khattak, and Khan 2008; Nepal 2009; UNSHP 2011; Yachkaschi 2010).

For Cavaye (2001), *"Community passion and motivation form the fuel of rural and regional development"* (p.7). One of the main reasons CBOs find it motivating to work along the community residents is to meet shared needs and common problems[8] (Lyons, Wijkstrom, and Clary 1998). Besides such motivational traits of resilient communities and their organizational efforts, they are involved in a wide range of activities (UNSHP 2011). As key community participatory institutions (Dill 2010), CBOs have worked in pro-poor advocacy and have stressed deep, human rights (UNSHP 2011). Their involvement in rural development also has a growing involvement in areas related to:

1) Biodiversity and environment protection such as: ecotourism and sustainable agriculture (Opare 2007);
2) Town planning such as: community participation, infrastructure improvement (Hussain, Khattak, and Khan 2008);
3) Sustainable development for local people (Frank and Smith 1999; Sheely 2015) such as: animal husbandry, water and sanitation and microfinance (Dale 2001; Hussain, Khattak, and Khan 2008);
4) Combating health issues through health education programs (Walsh et al., 2012).

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[8] The most common problems identified in the literature are environmental degradation, poverty and unemployment, lack of resources, poor health, weak electricity and energy resources (Datta, 2005; Green & Haines, 2012; Mansuri, 2004; Polonsky et al., 2011).

Defining CBOs is a challenge as it has been associated with numerous terms. They have synonymously been termed 'grassroots organizations' (Manji and Naidoo 2004; Murphy 2012; Yachkaschi 2010) 'membership associations' (Devine 2006; Dill 2010; Manji and Naidoo 2004; Yachkaschi 2010; Zibecchi 2014), 'voluntary associations' (Opare 2007) or 'civil society organizations' (UNSHP 2011; Walsh et al. 2012; Yachkaschi 2010). What it has been agreed among scholars and practitioners is that CBOs generally run services and activities privately and independently from state-led agencies (Lyons, Wijkstrom, and Clary 1998). Thus, CBOs may not necessarily be overseen by the state or receive their support. They instead have multiple donors and are looked upon as being separate from the public sector. Despite this separation, CBOs may interact closely with the government, local ministries, NGOs and the private sector (Dongier et al. 2002). CBOs are part of the 'third sector'[9] (Wilson, Lavis, and Guta 2012), and are considered non-profit organizations (Hussain, Khattak, and Khan 2008; Opare 2007).

The abovementioned characteristics give the idea that CBOs share similar characteristics with NGOs[10] (Opare 2007; Yachkaschi 2010). Like NGOs, formal community organizations elect a board and establish membership fees. However, when CBOs are informal, they are not locally registered institutions, and for the most part have no office space or formal membership schemes (Mathie and Cunningham 2008; Nepal 2009; Opare 2007). Interestingly, Opare (2007) notes that one of the distinguishing characteristics of CBOs is the informal methods of operations when they establish relationships with the community. This is due to the strong 'community roots' they possess and the natural ability to cope with their communities' unanticipated events, something NGOs tend to lack (Kakietek et al. 2013; Walsh et al. 2012). Additionally, representative of the CBO is that it has volunteer members and not a professional paid staff (Lyons, Wijkstrom, and Clary 1998; Opare 2007).

While some, view CBOs as managing a complementary role of government in community development to support the local services and activities, others have reported that CBOs resist external interference (i.e., Government) to their services and activities when they take

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[9] As Anheier (2005;p.40) has noted, defining the non-profit sector is a deliberate challenge and suggests that the most certain and straightforward method to define the non-profit sector is the one referenced from its own country's laws and regulations.
[10] According to Desai & Potter (2006), the term NGO covers a big range of 'types of organizations' that include local community-based organizations

a self-governing stand (Opare 2007; Wilson, Lavis, and Guta 2012)[11]. The latter view is based on the idea that proliferation of CBOs has been associated with the poor performance of governments in meeting the socioeconomic needs of their citizens (Abegunde 2009; UNSHP 2011), particularly in rural areas. Citizens have found public dissatisfaction towards both government and market failures. Henceforth, such kinds of organizations are stepping up as funding conduits to tackle the local societal problems (Weinberger and Jütting 2001; Wilson, Lavis, and Guta 2012). Historically speaking, the interest for CBOs in rural settings seems to stem from the rise of neo-liberal economic policies in developing countries[12] (Manji and Naidoo 2004). Dill (2010) pointed out that this era inspired volunteers *"not sufficiently marshaled in an era of neoliberal multiparty politics"* (p.26). For example, (Manji and Naidoo 2004) the role NGOs had in replacing the private sector in African countries, whereas the CBOs took a more prominent stand in rural populations.

CBOs are considered self-help interest groups that undertake development efforts for improvement of their rural communities living conditions (Manji and Naidoo 2004; Ghazala Mansuri and Rao 2004; UNSHP 2011). The self-help and mutual-aid motivational traits spur development of members' talents, and other necessary resources to achieve a specific objective or set of goals (Murphy 2012). Therefore, members obtain maximum benefits through mutual cooperation and collective action. Scholars have called for attention to the ways in which low-income communities often exhibit forms of social capital created through participation in local associations (Walker and Mccarthy 2010). Feelings of mutual trust and interdependence arise specially when they can rely in the time of need (Opare 2007). Moreover, Lyons et al. (1998) describes how members provide leadership in their operational activities. It is not often that members of CBOs are acknowledged for the capacities they possess, particularly if compared with those within NGOs. Nepal (2009) adds that CBOs give rural communities the required 'bargaining power' or 'voice' by strengthening local residents.

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[11] For these self-help groups it entails establishing their own self-defined purposes or those for the community as a whole.

[12] An era of structural adjustment programs predominantly in Latin America and Africa. As described in the origins of Community Development, Neoliberal policies were meant to reduce state involvement in social provisions and instead allow the private sector to take control. The state was obliged to decrease social services and related activities with the expectation that the private sector overtake those roles.

On the one hand, self-help objectives give the community organization and its members a common goal to accomplish, based on mutual support that cannot be attainable with a single individual (Anheier 2005). On the other hand, the process of mutual-aid CBOs generates and enhances the motivation to create mutual benefits that reflect a broader interest (Dill 2010; Yachkaschi 2010). In other words, they care for the community as a whole and not only for its members. They mobilize the local resources (e.g. human resources) for inclusive growth and as a result of their self-help characteristics, shape stronger organizations for change. Consequently, their ability to create a positive effect in the process of rural change has increased income, improved health, nutrition and literacy (Hussain, Khattak, and Khan 2008).

2.3.1 Critics and Challenges of CBOs

Although CBOs role remains significant in the process of community development, their effort face increasingly critics and challenges. For instance, the integrity of active members that engage within the organization's collective action has received much attention, especially when improvement and maintenance of a sustainable community is in question. Altogether, an organization is responsible of adjusting the necessary measuring curbs among its members to reflect the proper ethical standards. Two distinct views identified in literature describe opposing views of members' interest for their involvements in community development efforts. On one hand, research that regards broad public participation that exist within organizations highlights the empowerment effect ordinary citizens diffuse to overcome poverty issues. On the other hand, opposing views highlight the rise of narrower groups (e.g. political or economic elites) that take control over these organizations and the implications they bring to community development. In the former view, disadvantage members of the community possess firsthand knowledge of their pressing troubles that may adept at devising the best strategies for empowerment (Opare 2007; UNSHP 2011). However, the latter argument contends that narrower groups can threaten disadvantage members knowledge and expertise. Narrower groups seek to protect and preserve their own opportunities while simultaneously expanding their realms of responsibility to control the access of resources (Milofsky 1988). This implies that CBOs may not always represent the interest of the poor and as DeBock (2014) contends, persistence of such socioeconomic divisions can severely affect social cohesion and solidarity when driving community development efforts.

2.4   Conceptual Framework

2.4.1 Asset-Based Community Development

As presented in previous sections of the Literature Review, the shift in development thinking and practice has created the space for alternative understanding of development that has been dynamically supported by post-development theorists. For instance, the development discourse has shifted its paradigm from a conventional needs-based and problem-oriented approach to a more relevant asset-based approach of development. Through a community development context, the ABCD approach is introduced as people-centered and citizen-driven approach (Mathie and Cunningham 2008). As a key step for mobilizing communities, ABCD involves a mapping process that examines the organizations evaluation of resources and how they can better serve local residents.

2.4.2 Roots and Perceptions of the ABCD Approach

The ABCD is a community development approach (Mathie and Cunningham 2008) and a relatively new concept that took prominence in the west during the 1990s (O'Leary 2005). Based on extensive investigation into elements of successful community initiatives in the US and as a way to counteract the predominant "needs-based" approach to development, Jody Kretzmann and John McKnight pioneered the ABCD concept. In a broad sense, the approach seeks to uncover and expand the knowledge and skills of residents in a community (Wu and Pearce 2014).

Prior to the Post-development era, community development initiatives were traditionally focused in a *needs assessment* aimed at responding to problems and concerns that exist within communities, particularly low-income communities (Page-Adams and Sherraden 1997; Wu and Pearce 2014). The needs approach is seen as a social service model with a charity orientation[13]. This means that institutions become providers of a social service to the community and as a result, local residents become consumers of the service. Furthermore, it suggest that institutions are expected to carry-on the power needed in the community development process (Beaulieu 2002; Wu and Pearce 2014). However, for Mathie and Cunningham (2008) such a process *"inadvertently presents a one-sided negative view of community, which has often compromised, rather than contributed to community capacity building"* (p.2). Instead of producing citizen-led development, local residents become clients

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[13] Kummer (2011) calls it a "mendicancy mentality"

(e.g. passive beneficiaries) of project-based, funding led agencies (e.g. NGOs) (Wu and Pearce 2014), which in turn create a tendency for locals to look for help outside their community. Furthermore, it is assumed that since institutions carry the power to take on the process, they are more capable of transforming communities. Yet, (McKnight 1995) claims that professional technical assistance creates dependency, assuming they hold the answer to the community's problems.

For McKnight and other opposing viewers it is believed that relying on professionals, strengthens dependency of communities to request constant external resources, consequently losing control of the development process (Beaulieu 2002; G. Green and Haines 2012; Wu and Pearce 2014). It creates a disempowering effect, causing a *"fragmentation of efforts to provide solutions"* and *"denying the breadth and depth of community wisdom"* (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003, p.2). As it has been recognized, Indigenous knowledge[14] is a high valuable contribution to any development program, yet it is hindered under a need-based approach.

2.4.3 From Problem-solving to Asset-Building

The ABCD approach takes an opposite spin from *what we need* to *what we already have*. The philosophy behind it is that local residents are active agents of change and regardless of their personal background play an effective role in addressing important local matters. Community members act as citizens rather than as clients, when as self-help groups take responsibility for initiating community building activities, instead of leaving the function to the external agencies to take care of it (Mathie and Cunningham 2008). As a citizen-driven process, development happens spontaneously when citizens form informal or formal associations to undertake community development initiatives (ibid). In a coordinated and collaborative manner, both local people and the community organizations, together can respond to issues explored within the community in order to build resilience and strength of the community. Furthermore, local residents have a voice in the process of strategy implementation thanks to their indigenous knowledge and skills. Subsequently, a sense of empowerment is enhanced once local residents have been part of the efforts (Beaulieu, 2002; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). Finally, one of the highlights in this form of community

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[14] Indigenous knowledge is defined as *"a community also has insights on the problem definition and formulation of alternative solutions"* (Behr et al., 1995).

development model is the pivotal role CBOs play in overcoming many of the institutional obstacles. In fact, Mathie and Cunningham (2003) argue the key to ABCD is the power local organizations have in driving community development processes as they can identify all the community assets needed to make the community stronger and effective. The approach is based on participatory approaches to development, which take into consideration principles of empowerment[15] and ownership[16] of the development process. According to Green and Goetting (2010) when assets are owned and controlled by local residents and invested in local projects, they are more likely to generate benefits for the community. Regardless of the ABCD being a people-oriented and citizen-driven approach, Mathie and Cunningham (2005) note, *"community-driven development may not necessarily be the collective action of all"* (p.184). People work together to improve their situation yet not necessarily agree on which improvement is best (Green, 2008) as community embraces "people of different backgrounds with different interests" (Chaskin, 2008, p.72).

Literature regarding community participation, reports the potential marginalized local citizens have in the community, since they possess firsthand local, contextual knowledge of their pressing troubles (Opare 2007; UNSHP 2011). They are capable of adequately judging how their lives can be improved (Sharim et al., 2013; Mansuri, 2004). In turn, their capabilities may serve policy makers or other interested external agents of change. It may be a possibility for technical assistance of external agencies to empower local residents in the forms of skill development for local residents through the sharing of knowledge (Green, 2010).

2.4.4   ABCD Principles

Scholars have identified various principles for ABCD approach. For instance, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) mentioned being asset-driven, internally focused and relationship-driven as the main principals. However, Mathie and Cunningham (2003) reported that social capital is an inherent aspect of relationships that fuel local organizations and informal networks, therefore must be acknowledge. Moreover, along Mathie and Cunningham (2003), authors like Ennis and West (2010) identified civil engagement and shared meaning

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[15] Empowerment refers to the process of enabling communities to increase control over their lives.
[16] Ownership is a process which asks who has a voice and whose voice is heard. It is also an outcome, which asks who has influence over decisions and what results from the effort. Lastly, it reflects ownership distribution which asks who is affected by the process and outcome (Lachapelle 2008).

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as vital in the process of ABCD. For this research paper, these abovementioned ABCD internal principles are thematically identified from the existing literature.

Asset Driven

It regards developing an understanding of what is present in the community at the moment – the abilities of local residents, associations and institutions. It does not begin with focusing on what is wrong with the community or what may be missing, as individuals regardless of their background have something to offer. For instance, in practice this may be a passion such as cooking, which have an area of expertise of the local history or business management. All these passions, skills or abilities are seen as 'assets'[17], which among other kinds of resources may be present within a community (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993). Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) defined assets as "gifts, skills and capacities" of "individuals, associations and institutions" within a community (p.25). Researchers in the field observed that many of these assets are hidden and unrecognized, but if unlocked, may contribute to positive change and local economic opportunities (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; Mathie and Cunningham 2008; Wu and Pearce 2014).

Additionally, Green and Haines point out community assets include physical, human, social, financial, environmental, political and cultural and take the form of *community capitals*. Therefore, identifying these pre-existing conditions and structure of the local context are impetus for community development efforts (Flora et al. 2004). Furthermore it is through the process of acting, investing and intervening through these capitals[18] that as a result drives positive community change (Emeryet al., 2006; Flora et al. 2004). Furthermore, they are assets considered more than just a resource for economic purposes. For Bebbington (1999) assets are seen as vehicles for instrumental, hermeneutic, and emancipatory actions. That is, for rural people to make a living, more meaningful assets become a basis for taking action and for empowering to challenge the structures that determined the way in which resources are allocated. Green and Haines (2002) claim access to various resources within or outside the community as indispensable ingredients of the ABCD. The

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[17] Defining *assets* is complex since it carries diverse meanings. Mathie and Puntenney (2009) advice that one must be careful in phrasing appropriately to the different contexts as the concept can easily be associated with financial or economic assets (Mathie and Puntenney 2009).
[18] Flora & Flora (2004) define capital as, "*any type of resource capable of producing additional resources [...] when those resources or assets are invested to create new resources, they become capital*" (p.9).

community's ability to make instrumental links at the macro-level, in order to access and leverage resources, is vital for strengthening CD efforts. Therefore, bridging and linking social capitals are vital for this principle (Mathie & Cunningham, 2002, Chaskin et al, 2001).

CBOs Relationship-driven Actions

The ABCD approach is about connections. Social relationships are the core focus of the ABCD (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). Unrealized resources are not only personal attributes and skills but also include the relationships among people through social organizational networks. Mobilizing these informal networks, formal institutional resources can be activated like in the case of CBOs. The relationships based on trust and reciprocity that rural people establish with other actors becomes the *sine qua* non to activate the assets (ibid). Social capital has been defined as *"the ability and willingness of community members to participate in actions directed to community objectives and to the process of engagement [...] in community organizations"* (Henderson, 2005, p.11). For Woolcock and Narayan (2000) social capital regards norms and networks that enhance collective action among people. Social capital has been recognized as bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding includes ties within homogenous groups, whereas bridging comprises ties between different groups but with overlapping interests (Gilchrist, 2009). On one hand, bonding is considered exclusive as it entails relationships across different social groups. On the other hand, bridging is inclusive, as it connects people who are not usually interacting with each other, enhances member diversity, people's ability to work together, expand resources available to them, and broaden their identities (Magis, 2010; Leonard, 2004). The heterogeneous groups share a joint vision and in a community setting, the construction of a vision through shared history enhances the shared meaning of people to build greater cohesion, solidarity and better internal resource utilization (Mengesha et al., 2015).

Linking social capital is a vertical or hierarchical relationship that exists between groups and those with power or authority (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000) which contributes to multiple linkages and increased access to power, resources, voice and opportunities (Mengesha et al., 2015). With linkages outside the community, successful efforts are more likely to happen when members have ties to organizations outside the community which leads to the fabrication of financial, political, knowledge and technical support benefits (Mattessich, 2009). Lastly, Putnam (2000) claims that bonding is good for "getting by" while bridging and linking for "getting ahead". In practice, the ABCD can turn effective when local people trust

and cooperate (Henderson, 2005) to drive community assets mobilization and utilization (Mathie & Cunningham, 2009). In broad terms, Mattessich (2009) assures that the existing social capital in the community first, enables members to utilize their abilities to develop and sustain strong relationships. Secondly, they may solve problems and make group decisions. Thirdly, to collaborate effectively to identify goals and priorities. Fourthly, to develop plans of which community members consider themselves 'owners'. Fifthly, to allocate resources to carry out those plans, and lastly, implement the plans to achieve the goal (p.59).

Generally speaking, it is assumed that communities[19] act as self-help groups who are capable of driving the development process through the identification and mobilization of existing assets within the community without relying upon the advice of outside experts or consultants. This means that a place-based and citizen-led approach (G. Green and Haines 2012) concentrates on the capacities of the local residents, associations and institutions, rather than those of external agencies. Essentially, the role of external agencies is not meant to be minimized, but instead it is a process to emphasize the importance of local leadership and creativity (Beaulieu, 2002; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). After all, mobilizing assets requires broad-based support to enhance the local resources. Communities engage in a dialogue with governments from a position of power rather than need. This implies the need of having external institutions take on the role of a partner invited to a dialogue with the locals for sharing and supporting the community's vision itself (Mathie and Cunningham 2005). Individuals, organizations and institutions have resources that can be used to enhance the quality of life for residents (Green, 2010).

Internally Focused

The ABCD is founded on the belief that strong sustainable communities cannot be built from top-down models of regeneration projects or government initiatives seen as an 'outside-in'. Rather than having an approach of external agencies delivering services to a community it is instead an 'inside out' community-driven process (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). Beyond the mobilization of assets, it is about linking the assets to the macro environment to promote a policy environment. According to Mathie and Cunningham (2005) capitals can be increased or depleted by individuals depending on where they stand in the reciprocal exchange of social support and obligation (p.171). As an approach to community

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[19] In this case the assets of people, associations or institutions within a community.

development, the ABCD *"rests on the principle that recognition of strengths and assets is more likely to inspire positive action for change in a community"* (Ibid) because as Phillips and Pittman acknowledge, communities are capable of taking action and implementing community improvements.

2.4.5 Challenges and Critics of the ABCD

While some advocate the ABCD approach to offer promise and hope to communities through a more positive view and away from the negative images that the needs-based approach renders (Mathie and Cunningham 2008), it is important to recognize that there is no "one-size-fits-all" model to tackle any community development effort. Therefore it is critical to acknowledge and recognize some of the pitfalls posed by the approach despite its usefulness for this specific study.

At present, there is unclear evidence of how the underpinning approach will translate into an effective practice and how adopting this approach will impact on how services or activities are currently organized, undertaken or delivered. There is no apparent delineation on the organizational capacity building requirements to guide their internal development and activities. To include an ABCD approach as a way for CBOs to deliver programs or initiatives, will require a change in the individual mindset and in organizational values, attitudes and beliefs. In other words, the approach is often seen as an *"inventory of knowledge and skills without a consideration of environmental or structural conditions that enhance or inhibit the use of these skills"* (Smith et al., 2001). However, social capital is strongly highlighted in the ABCD approach to compensate for perhaps the opposite problem of the asset-based development.

While the idea of fostering an endogenous process is strictly community-driven, it does not seem to address which the level of engagement the external technical assistance must carry in the process. As addressed in the literature their role is to be facilitators in the initial stages of the process while simultaneously serving as nodes to bridge the community's linkages and networks externally with other actors. However, yet the level of involvement to avoid dependency is not particularly addressed (Keeble 2006; Mathie and Cunningham 2003). Therefore, even with the use of ACBD as a people-centered approach, external actors must genuinely create a 'space' in order to accomplish the social responsibilities that are intrinsically citizen-driven (Mathie and Cunningham 2003).

Moreover, the model fails to consider the class and power dynamics embedded in the relationships that exist in a community (G. Green and Haines 2012; Keeble 2006; Mathie and Cunningham 2003). Mathie and Cunningham (2003) emphasize the importance of the inclusiveness factor that includes women and minorities to have an opportunity to 'occupy the space for participation' (p.483). Instead, focus is made on the *"higher motive of using power to act in the shared interest of the common good and to uncover the strengths of those who might otherwise be less valued"* (Ibid). The importance of power dynamics in community development is a complex topic that requires the use of specific frameworks or approaches (Bacchus 2012).

With the limited literature on the practical considerations of utilizing the approach, evidently there is an inconsistency of the potential linkage that exists within communities and the broader macro structure. Furthermore, it shows a lack of impact on macro-level structures that affect at the local-level, in communities. Despite the approach offering a scope on the matters of dialogue between internal and external agencies, it has an oversight to alternative macro issues that affect the locals such as globalization and capitalism (Ennis and West 2010). Rather than challenging the economic system, the approach detailed by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) is focused on finding methods to survive within a neo-liberal model of western societies. As described earlier, it was studied and applied in practice to North American communities yet has seen adoption of the approach in various regions worldwide (e.g., Latin America). Nonetheless, drawing from the limited available material and the ABCD literature there seems to be a dearth of evidence-based research. Instead, the descriptive research of ACBD in action is predominantly written by the implementing agency (Ennis and West 2010).

Kretzmann and McKnight (2003) call for a shift from needs-based assessment to asset-based approach, yet it has been recognized that local communities are usually drawn together not by relationship building movements, but by crisis, needs or problems. However, supporters of the ABCD approach have acknowledged that the model is necessary but not sufficient for large-scale issues and must go hand-in-hand with other methods. In other words, it's not a one-size-fits all approach and must be adjusted to fit the local context in studied. Furthermore, due to its relationship-driven approach, supporters of the ABCD have highlighted the usefulness of incorporating social network theory to address

some key challenges since the relationships are based on social networks (Ennis and West 2010).

Figure 3 the Conceptual Framework for Asset Mobilization

Local Context

Internal Actions

Asset Driven

Access to Community Capitals

Natural
Human
Financial
Physical
Cultural
Political¨
Social

CBO facilitates

Inside Out **Development Outcomes**

Actions to Community Improvement at
Local Level
Community Level
Societal Level

External Actions
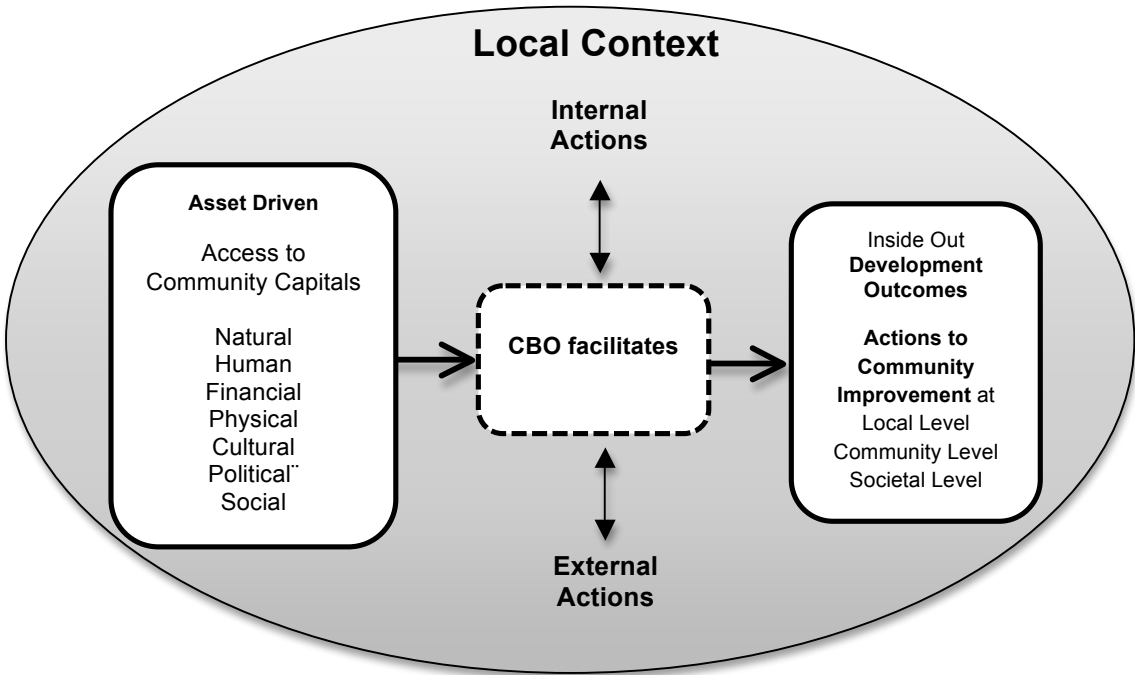
CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

The aim of this chapter is to show that a variety of considerations enter into the process of doing a social research, mainly when doing development research. The scope of this section covers an applied type to a specific research within development studies. This chapter explores the nature of the relationship between theory and research, where theory is an outcome of research (i.e., inductive approach). The principal orientation of the role of inductive theory in relation to research follows an interpretivism orientation (i.e., epistemological). The issue addressed through the orientation in this study is related to a qualitative research strategy with a single case study design, along the trustworthiness research criteria. The chapter further draws on primary and secondary data to complement its conceptual foundations.

3.1 Philosophical Assumptions

The philosophical assumptions emphasize the kinds of reasoning styles needed to conduct the study. It is important to acknowledge the assumptions and views on how to conduct the research in order to influence the research process. Therefore, the reasoning style adopted in this research paper is of inductive nature, which allows the exploration of how the theory is generated of the research process (Bryman 2012). This way a more open-ended strategy allows the theoretical ideas to emerge out of the data collected. During the process of inductive reasoning, general propositions were established on the basis of observations of particular facts within the local context of Ayampe. By applying an induction method in this study, it was possible to understand the research context through the collection of qualitative data. Also, in order to acquire knowledge of the study, the epistemological position described is of Logical positivism[20] nature, meaning that, it focuses on understanding facts that provide the basis for laws from the subjects being studied (Ibid). Whereas it's ontological position reflects objectivism and value-free orientation to understand the community-driven development in Ayampe. By applying an objectivist

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[20] According to Bryman (2012) the role of research is to test theories and to provide material for the development of laws. Bernstein (1983) further observed *"there is or must be some permanent, ahistorical matric or framework to which we can ultimately appeal in determining the nature of rationality, knowledge, truth, reality, goodness or rightness"* (p.8). The LP gives importance to how scientists develop their ideas and what is involved in demonstrating the validity of scientific conclusions. It has been recognized to be popular quantifiable studies, however some authors find it a useful approach even for qualitative research.

approach, the researcher was able to realize that a world exists and is knowable as it really is (Hacking, 1981, p.1). CPMA as an organization is a tangible object that has a reality that is external to the individuals who inhabit it. In other words, the CBO is a constraining force that acts on and inhibits its members.

3.2   Research Design

The research design will provide a framework for the data collected and analyzed (Bryman 2012). Therefore, specifying the methods and procedures for collection and analysis of the desired information will be unfolded.

3.2.1 Research Strategy – Case Study

The research strategy provides a general orientation to the conduct of social research (Bryman 2012). In other words, the research strategy is *"how the research will be carried out in practice is fundamentally related to the nature of the research questions asked"* (Adams et al. 2007). As a research strategy, case studies have been common among others in the fields of psychology, sociology, social work and community planning (Yin 2009a) For this project, I was interested in a CBO aimed at doing community practices. Accordingly to the criteria that seem relevant for this study, a single embedded case study was selected. According to (Gillham 2000) a case can be an individual, a group, an institution, or a large-scale community. In line with the exploratory nature of this study, Yin, (2009) explains that case studies are often used when 'how and why' questions are being posed, when the researcher has little control over events when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context (p.2). Moreover, positivist approach to case studies are useful in conducting case study research Yin (2009), which allow the definition of research questions and a priori construct (Eisenhardt 1989). The case of CPMA in the represents an embedded single case which raises significance to the entire entity (Ayampe's Rural Settings), but draws attention to the most important subunits of analysis (CPMA and Member, Donors and Non-participant members) which is illustrated in Figure 4 (Yin 2009a).

Figure 4 The Embedded Single Case Study
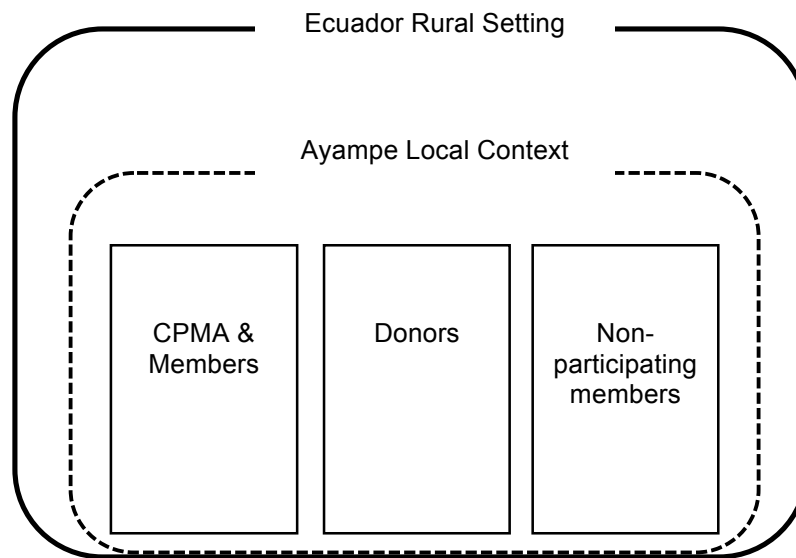
Case studies are an adequate way of understanding how people behave 'in context' (Gillham 2000), and why context plays a pivotal role in case studies. However some epistemological issues concerning the case study methodology arise when boundaries of the phenomenon being studied and the context within which it is being studied are not clearly evident (Yin 2009b). Consequently, for this particular study, the boundaries have been defined as follows: a) located in Ayampe, Ecuador; b) it mainly involves a CBO and its members who are involved in community development initiatives; c) community participation is limited to the local residents (i.e., men and women) who are involved in projects of CPMA either as members or non-participating members; d) donor participation is limited to local entrepreneurs and local municipality; e) local community development is limited to factors of the CBO's principles and practices as reflected through an ABCD approach. As Yin (2009) proposes multiple sources of information are to be collected for triangulation purposes, which can be identified from the six sources of evidence such as documentation, direct observations, interviews, and surveys.

3.3 Research Method

The research method emphasizes the way of conducting and implementing the research (Adams et al. 2007). This study applied a **qualitative approach** encompassing a data collection of multiple sources. In recent years, it has become more common to apply

methods that are qualitative in nature where the aim is to reflect the individuals, their local context, and day-to-day lives (Desai and Potter 2006). Accordingly, qualitative data helped with understanding the process and outcomes of the CBO in the community of Ayampe. Data collected included primary and secondary data, which when combined, enhanced the quality of the study. **Primary data** collection methods such as participant observation, in-depth interviews, and surveys were conducted as a "meaningful way of examining community-building processes" (Chow and Crowe 2005). Also, the methods of primary data collection included a snowball sampling, which is "commonly used when it is difficult to identify members of the desired populations" (Saunders et al. 2009). **Secondary data** include both raw data and published summaries. Access to high quality data collected by other researchers regarding development, community development and the ABCD approach were easily available. Usually, secondary data proves useful to infer information of a broader context in which community development projects occur.

Data Collection through fieldwork in Ayampe

Participant observations

The main objective of participant observations is to help the researcher learn the perspectives held by study populations. Presuming that multiple perspectives within a given community exist, (Mack et al. 2005). as the researcher, I was interested in knowing what these diverse perspectives were and understand the interplay among them. This was accomplished through observations made during recurrent CPMA assembly meetings, the place in this community setting which proved relevant towards answering my research question. Participant observations helped discover the "meaning that people attach to their actions" (Saunders et al., 2009, p.288) and the complex interactions in their natural, social settings (Marshall and Rossman 2006). Attending the CBOs monthly meetings, opened opportunities for me to study the CBOs participating members in their natural environment with minimal direction from or interference to their actions. Generally speaking, it was a way to learn what *"life is like for an <<insider>> while remaining and <<outsider>>"* (Mack et al. 2005, p.13).

Careful notes on what was observed during the meetings were made, as well as recoding all accounts and observations as field notes in a field journal. Physical infrastructure and

symbolic images were recorded via visual media such as photography. Additionally, the idea of photographs was mainly to capture any success in their activities and services and to have factual record of the field (Desai and Potter 2006b). Brief informal conversation and interaction with members was a method used which was then recorded in the field notes.

Data obtained through participant observation served as a check against participants' subjective reporting of what they believed and did. It was also a useful method for *"gaining insights on their physical, social, cultural, and economic contexts in which local residents (*of Ayampe*) live. Also, the relationship among and between them, contexts, ideas, norms, and events, people's behaviors and activities – what they do, how frequently and with whom"* (Mack et al. 2005, p.14). For example, these participant observations enabled me as a researcher, to familiarize within the social and cultural milieu that will prove invaluable throughout the research. It gave a nuanced understanding of context that is addressed only through personal experience. Since the ABCD approach is primarily relationship-driven, participant observations have no substitute to understand phenomena of human interaction (Mack et al. 2005). They are integral to understand the scope and complexities of the human experience, which was also valuable for this research. Moreover, it served as an over-arching research endeavor to understand community development projects.

Largely, the data consisted of field notes recorded in the field journal. It involved the quantification of active members attending the monthly assembly meeting. Furthermore, attending this meeting facilitated and developed a positive relationship with key stakeholders and gatekeepers needed for this study to become a reality. It was through this participant observation that helped me in the improvement of the design for my interviews. As an interviewer, participant observations guided me to understand the cultural relevance within the community of Ayampe. Finally, participant observations were simultaneously done with the survey method, discussed later in this chapter.

Some potential weaknesses of this method exist. POs are inherently bias. In other words "it requires conscious effort at objectivity because the method is inherently subjective"(Mack et al. 2005). Nonetheless, considering the applied research studies which require a short period of data collection, PO is time-consuming, as I needed to stay throughout the entire assembly meeting in order to have my informal questions done when the meeting ended. The meeting took 3.5 hours. However, as a researcher who was born and partially raised in

Ecuador, a solid based of cultural awareness allowed me to concentrate on the research question itself.

Interviews

The in-depth interviews[21] elicit a vivid picture of participants' perspectives on the research topic. Those interviewed become the experts whereas the me, as an interviewer, considered myself the student in this approach (Mack et al. 2005). A total of 11 in-depth interviews were conducted each with a rough duration that ranged from 1 to 2 hours (See Table 1). Posing questions in neutral manner and listening attentively to the participants responses were taken into consideration during the interviews. Asking follow-up questions and inquiries based on their responses were then followed. Interviews were casual and depended on the availability and desire of the participant. To avoid intimidating them, participants were given the option to choose the location for the interview where they would be most comfortable. This resulted in a variety of venues for personal interviews ranging from participants' homes, CBOs facilities, cafes and the beach.

In-depth interviews prove *"appropriate for eliciting individual experiences, opinions feelings and addressing sensitive topics"* (Mack et al., 2005, p.30) regarding the development aspect of Ayampe. I therefore found it to be an appropriate method to investigate CPMA's mobilization of assets strategies, especially as we wanted to analyze both the process that takes place between CPMA and its beneficiaries of its projects for community development and to learn about the success and failure of the practices made so far. Albeit factual data about CPMA was obtained through the surveys and documents, in-depth interviews of CPMA board and members were also used to obtain facts unable to be identified.

'Purposeful discussions' (Saunders et al., 2009) were made through semi-structured interviews. Thus, individual interviews were undertaken with the main stakeholders, including board members, members, non-members and donors (e.g. hostel and restaurant owners and local municipality). This gave the researcher the opportunity to see how participants interpret and order their world. The research was accomplished by being very attentive to the interviewees causal explanations of their experience and believes. The insight of these gave an understanding of their sensitive believes, something they were

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[21] See Appendix D for in-depth interviews conducted to CPMA's VP and Treasurer.

reluctant to share among other members of CPMA. Interview data consisted of tape recordings since I found this appropriate for each situation; they were all performed in locations with the upmost privacy, with no disturbances or other people. Additionally, typed transcripts and interviewers notes were also made. Notes documented the observations about the interview content, the participant and the context.

Table 1 In-Depth Interviews Conducted

	Name	Position	Location
1	Evaristo Pozo	President of CPMA	CPMA Facilities
2	Jose Barba	VP of CPMA	His Home
3	Fabiola Dreher	Treasurer	Her Home
4	Frisky Cabanilla	Replacement Board Member	His Home
5	Maria Jose Polowski	Member of CPMA	Beach
6	Mónica Sanz	Member of CPMA	Café
7	Gabriela Hermosa	Member of CPMA	Her Hostel
8	Emiliano Merchán	Member of CPMA	Hostel
9	Marco Lodato	Local Resident	His Hostel
10	Evelyn Alay	Hostel employee	Hostel
11	Feliciano Loor	Member of CPMA	Beach

Survey

A cross-sectional and self-completion survey was provided to participating members during the assembly meeting (See Figure 5). It was meant to identify factors that best supported and enabled Ayampe's local residents to continue engaging strongly in their community. The results allowed insights of the democratic process and the active participation of a variety of local residents. It is important to note that not only did the researcher benefit from the results; since the survey was the first study ever made measuring local residents' attitudes towards community participation and development, it served as an insight to the CBO who had not been able to produce such.

Figure 5 Survey Conducted during Participant Observation

<div align="right">Source: Own Pictures</div>

Documents / Archives

Archives are 'historical records' that can consist of personal letters, internal memoranda, minutes of meetings, policy documents, drafts and final versions of statements, drafts and final versions of statements, speeches and comments on individual documents within a file or collection (Desai and Potter 2006c). The historical antecedents of the CBOs current development processes allow for the understanding of why things were done and how they will be done in the future.

3.3.1 Data Analysis Approach

The collected data is analyzed through a thematic data analysis technique. This technique has been identified as one of the most common forms of analysis in qualitative research (Bryman 2012). The thematic analysis enables the researcher to identify themes understood as *"recurrent and distinctive features of participants' accounts, characterizing particular perceptions and or experiences, which the researcher sees as relevant to the research question"* (King & Horrocks, 2010, p.149). One of the strong characteristics of this method is that it assists the researcher to identify themes across the complete data set while simultaneously making careful choices regarding focus and relevance in relation to the research question. In this study, thematic analysis techniques were used to make sense of the data collection techniques findings vis-à-vis the conceptual framework developed in the theory section. The framework served as a preliminary tool for thematic mapping, albeit

attention is also granted to themes and ideas outside the framework as they emerge from the data set.

Therefore based on theoretical assumptions and understanding of the nature and history of collective activities made by CPMA, and the critical examination of the raw data collected from participant observations, interviews, survey and documents, three main themes and sub-themes were identified (Found in Chapter 6). Interview transcripts and reflective journals were read and analyzed for emergent themes words or ideas; these described the locally driven community development experience. Data was thematically categorized in three main categories: assets mobilized, relationships and development outcomes.

3.3.2 Ethical Considerations

When doing development research, ethical guidelines ought to be followed. During the interviews, the purpose of the study was explained to the participants within a broader context of the research study. Participants were made aware of the organization (CPMA) in study, to prove truthful and straightforward. Considering the case study was made in a rural setting, most interviewees lacked strong literacy skills and others were illiterate. Therefore, the use of verbal consents were made to the participants at the beginning of the interview to assure confidentiality. In addition, an information sheet and a written consent form were also available as a guide to obtaining their verbal informed consent. Beforehand, the researcher was careful not to make confidential comments about other people that were interviewed in order to strengthen trust and reassure confidentiality. Allowing for interview locations chosen by the participants, made it important to remain discreet enough so that I wouldn't disrupt their normal activity, or in this case during the presentations held in the assembly meeting. My presence and purpose was announced by the president of the CBO at the commencement of the presentation. Confidentiality was assured informally by protecting the identities of those observed and with whom I interacted. Neither names nor addresses were requested for this specific ethical matter or recorded in the field journal.

CHAPTER IV: CONTEXTUAL PRESENTATION

This chapter presents the operational context of the specific case study selected and the local community where the study fieldwork took place. It will enlighten the reader with the following two sections: 1) An understanding of the local context of Ayampe and 2) the CBO in Ayampe as the local bridge for community development in Ayampe. The former section will take into consideration the location and population, a brief history and political divide that exist within the region, an explanation of the local collective practices that exist, and lastly economic and poverty factual information. The latter section will present the case of Comite-Pro Mejoras mandate, current position and development projects.

4.1   Understanding the Local Context of Ayampe

4.1.1 Geographical Location and Demographics in Ayampe

Ayampe is a small community located in the shores of the pacific, in the southern Manabí province in Ecuador. It is important to note that the geographical division that exists in Ecuador is complex and merits a brief explanation in order to understand the remoteness of Ayampe's location. Ecuador is divided into provinces, and each with cantons. Each canton has parishes and each parish has communities. Ayampe is one of the four communities in Salango, a parish belonging to the canton Puerto Lopez in Manabí. Ayampe's population is 472 inhabitants with 102 houses and 122 families (PDL 2005). The community borders with the neighboring province of Santa Elena (See Figure 6 below). Due to the village's unique topography, it experiences a distinct microclimate. Local climate can generally be characterized by cool, damp summers and warm, dry winters. Its geographical location enjoys a "dry tropical forest" and the Rio (River) Ayampe that originates in the Andean mountains and extends to the country's coastal oceanside. Rio Ayampe provides fresh water to the entire canton of Puerto Lopez. However, it has been threatened due to identified environmental problems. The main cause of these threats has been associated with a lack of control and supervision, illegal land control, limited management capacity, and economic income alternatives for the area's population (USAID, 2011).

Figure 6 Geographical Location of Ayampe

4.1.2 History and Political Division

The political administration of the Ecuadorian State is complex and merits attention in order to understand how it affects the community of Ayampe. Ecuador with its provinces, cantons and parishes, also has indigenous territorial constituencies (communes). There are two distinct political divisions. The intermediate level is provincial with a dependent governor and an autonomous provincial prefect. At the local levels, Cantons have a municipality with a Major, whereas Parish council serves as an administrative assistant to the municipalities. Since this case study focuses on the local level, it is imperative to understand the relationships that exist with the local parish, in this case the Parish of Salango. It is assumed that in the case of community development, the Salango Parish must encourage the establishment of neighborhood or sectorial committees (e.g. CPMA) within their territorial boundaries; these are aimed at promoting community organization, production, sectorial security and improving the living standards of the populations, in addition to promoting culture and sport. They are also in charge of promoting and coordinating inhabitants collaborative efforts of their territorial constituency in *Mingas* (explained briefly below) as well as any other form of social participation and to perform works of community

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interest in rural areas[22]. Furthermore, Ayampe is part of a political divide that exists within Salango. Salango is divided between 1) commune administration and 2) a political administration (CPMA 2014). The commune administrative division is called Pueblo Manta, a group of four communes. In this case, Ayampe falls under the jurisdiction of Las Tunas, one of the four communes. As a political administrative division, the Parish of Salango is composed of five *Recintos*[23]*, Ayampe* being one of them*.*

Under the Salango political division, its municipality is in charge of linking Salango to the regional, provincial and national government, whereas *Comunas or <<communes>>*, sociopolitical institutions in the region, carry a strong jurisdictional and political power primarily in the movement and distribution of communal lands. Throughout time, it has been noted that there is a tense relationship as they position for local and political power against the Salango Parish Council. Communes are taking vital roles in promoting development projects that are mainly focused in tourism, environment, culture, education and production. However, it has been noted among local residents and neighboring communities that some of these local institutions have been unsuccessful in driving community development. Instead, they have been identified as using informal mechanisms to sell land, do extreme divisions of land, due to population and growth and the exploitation of flora and fauna in the area (Guerrero 2013b). The contemporary historical process of communities like Ayampe has been marked by deactivation of the Hacienda system, the development of an environmental protection policy, which culminated in the creation of the Machalilla National Park in 1979. Added to this were the archeological excavations, developed continuously since the late 1970's and the progressive development of tourism in the region (Hernández and Ruiz 2011). See **Figure** below to understand the political administrative position of Ayampe in Manabí, Ecuador.

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[22] Information obtained from http://www.inec.gob.ec/
[23] Note there is no direct translation to English. However it may take the form of a site

Figure 6 Political Administrative Division of Ayampe in Ecuador
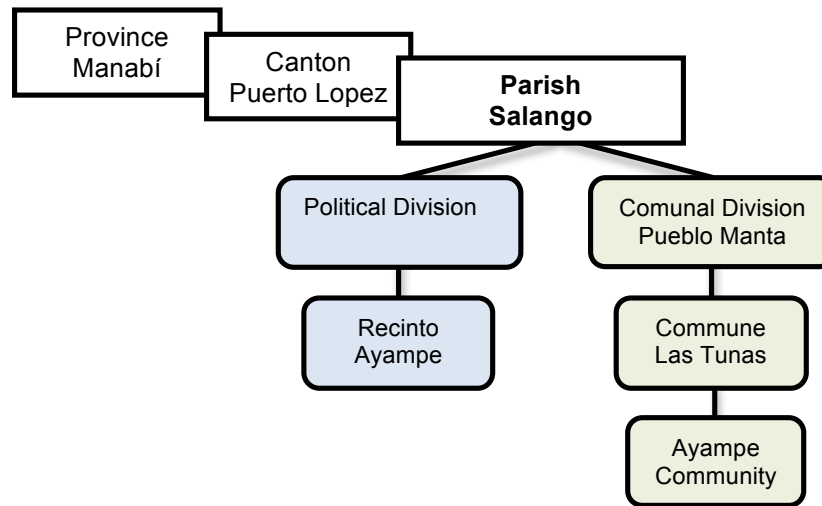
La Minga – an embedded collective practice in Ecuador

The history of collective practices can be traced back to the Andean communities of Latin America. The Minga is a pre-Hispanic tradition that was adapted during the colonial period throughout the Andean area and the adjacent lowlands of Andean countries (Reeve 2007). Minga is a word that originates from the indigenous Quechua language that describes the collective efforts of community residents to help one another during times of need or crisis. It was a collective action born out of solidarity based on freedom and free-of-charge, which sought substantial common good in the process of construction and development of indigenous cultures especially in the Ecuadorian Andes (Calvo and Morales 2013). However, nowadays this concept has become a vivid representation of community development efforts in marginalized rural and urban areas (Benítez 2008). The Minga is seen as an "obligation of solidarity" but also as a right to all members of the community in case needed. Moreover, community members participate with the certainty that when someone requires help, people participate in the same way – as cross solidarity (Benítez 2008). In Ecuador, la Minga is considered the most prevailing and thorough form of voluntary collective work (Espinosa Apolo 1997) that is based at the community level and that has proven useful in resolving many of the local needs (SENPLADES 2011). This is for the most part why organizations operate and work. As we can see, the majority of results are achieved by the collective input of the local participants.

4.1.3 Workforce and Economy

In an investigation made by Martínez et al. (2006) it was revealed that in Ayampe local residents have been utilizing the various ecosystems in their practices for survival. The main source of income for families in Ayampe originates from jobs within artisanal fishing, diving, horticulture, and natural resources like tagua and wood (Martínez et al., 2006). Despite these sources of income, the villagers' still face unemployment and income issues to bare a life of dignity and freedom (O'Brien 2012). According to Duffy (2012), Ayampe is experiencing an economic decline due to the weakening of the traditional fishing industry. Lately, tourism has become part of their economic diversification, becoming a coveted tourist destination mainly for surfers and foreigners interested in relaxation and rich biodiversity (Hernández & Ruiz 2011). Despite the interest of residents to promote Ayampe as a tourist destination for economic benefits, they also show concern about the negative impacts of tourism, that they have been witness to in neighboring villages (Duffy et al. 2012).

In rural communities land is a critical productive asset for the poor. Land is the most valuable and physical asset existing within Ayampe and it is therefore a significant aspect of the community's desire to maintain the ecological biodiversity it holds. The sea is another major natural and environmental asset, which is valuable for the people in Ayampe. Fishing has made a significant contribution to the subsistence economy of Ayampe. Residents however, are not only engaged in fishing, they have also made use of other resources from the sea to assist them with other forms of primary small-scale economic activities within their own homes.

4.1.4 Poverty in Ayampe

There seems to be a gap on the information regarding poverty levels specific to Ayampe. Nonetheless, INEC (2010) last census report concluded that rural areas in Ecuador have 41.69% of the population classified as *poor*, whereas 16.04% is classified as *extreme poor*. Moreover, at a provincial level, Manabí experiences 76.8% of poor households of the NBI[24] indices (See Table 2 Below).

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[24] The NBI is a very common framework used in Latin America that determines which households are poor or not and is done through the method of unmet basic needs (*NBI)* through a direct approach that is made "the population and housing censuses where it is determined whether

Table 2 Percentages of Poor per NBI

RACE	% OF POOR PER NBI
MONTUBIO[25]	**87.17 %**
AFROECUATORIANO	81.14 %
MESTIZO	74.76 %
WHITE	65.09 %

Source: INEC, 2012

The last census conducted in Ecuador was in 2010, with a recorded population over 1.36million inhabitants in Manabí. Illiteracy levels in the province of Manabí have witnessed a decline. Illiterate levels in 1990 were 15.5% for People age 15 or older whom cannot read or write (INEC 2010). However these levels have declined after a decade to 10.2% (INEC 2010). Rural areas of Manabí have witnessed a 6.2 average years of schooling for people 24 years and over.

4.2   CBO CPMA: The bridge for Local Development in Ayampe

4.2.1 Comite Pro-Mejoras de Ayampe

"We carry-out development projects for the community of Ayampe through the strengthening of participation of members, planning, investigating and promoting activities aimed at socio-economic development, provide formal and informal education to residents, maintain the social services, arrange savings and loans to its members and families, create a mortuary fund and partner with public and private entities and foster fellowship among members" (The preamble to CPMAs constitution [CPMA, 2002]).

4.2.2 CPMA Mandate

A group of local residents in Ayampe officially founded CMPA on April 2nd of 2002 as a not-for-profit committee. It is registered with the *Ministerio de Desarrollo Urbano y vivienda*

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households are not satisfied or a series of basic needs to enable people to have a dignified life (Feres & Mancero, 2001, p.35).
[25] CODEPMOC's defines the 'Montubio' identity through an ethnic capital: the use of Panamanian hats and machetes, a Coastal location, a rural lifestyle, ranching and agricultural activities, rodeos, et cetera. See (Roitman 2008).

[Ministry of Urban Housing Development]. The residents acknowledged the need to have an organizational body that would represent them in order to address the social issues and vulnerabilities their community faced. The community of Ayampe has been endogenously developing initiatives for the community for over a decade. On the one hand, it is during the financial crises of the late 1990s in Ecuador that forced an exponential number of retrenched communities in both urban and rural areas to pursue the means for ensuring improvements of basic needs for their own livelihoods. The deteriorating economic performance was precipitated by several external shocks including the *El Niño* weather phenomenon, the sharp decline in global oil prices, and seven presidents in less than a decade due to unsustainable economic policy mix. On the other hand, the communities and their development were under sole management of the local municipalities who offered little dialogue, often neglecting their citizens' plea for assistance. As a consequence, communities and citizens of Ecuador were left feeling hopeless and frustrated, thus prompting them to take a stand of mistrust towards the government's responsibility of its political and economic instability. Faced with long-term stress environments, communities in Ecuador have therefore developed a resiliency to prevail in its cultural, economic and political factors. As the current CPMA Vice-president, Jose Barba, recalls, "asking the Salango municipality directly is useless. We are ignored, so we thought 'no, this is enough'- we need to organize ourselves and give the example for neighboring towns to take a similar stand in creating formal groups to speak on our behalf"[26].

Figure 7 depicts CPMA organizational structure, which consists of 5 governing bodies

Figure 7 CPMA Organizational Structures

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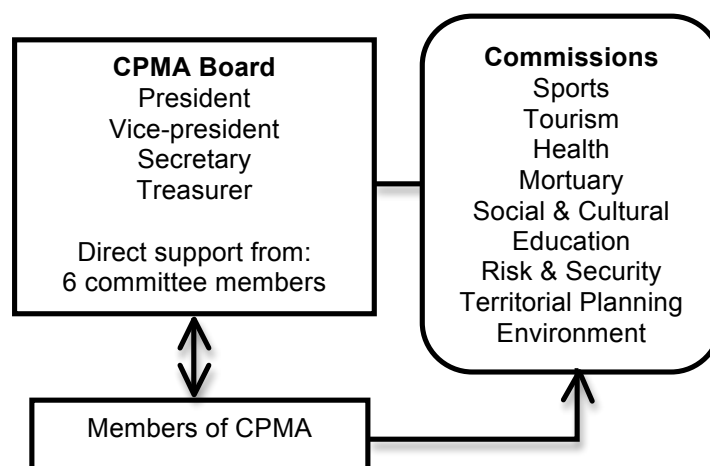
[26] Interview with CPMA Vice-president, p.3

Every two years a new board of directors is selected to represent the organization, and it is Ayampe's citizens who exclusively elect the board members through voting methods. The Board of Directors is not inclusive of specific requirements other then having the motivation and desire to engage in such activity and being a current resident of Ayampe. The kinds of board members elected have various backgrounds. They range from professional scientists to small local entrepreneurs to fishermen and artisans. Some board members were born and raised in Ayampe while others moved to the area throughout the years. The management committee has a traditional hierarchical model, which includes: President, Vice-president, Secretary, Treasurer, and six substitute committee members.

4.2.3 Current Position

Today's administration of the organizations has taken charge since early 2014 and is responsible of controlling the organization until 2016. CPMA currently has 56 members with each assumed to pay a membership fee. CPMA is the only registered and official CBO representing and serving Ayampe's population. It is organized geographically in the community and has as a long-term goal of engaging more local residents to participate in their activities and services. The membership composition consists of residents who live in Ayampe and are over the age of 18 years old. The main sources of funding come from both the public and private sector: primarily from the municipality of Salango and the private sector of Ayampe's region (See **Figure 8** Below**).**

Figure 8 CPMA Internal and External Relationships
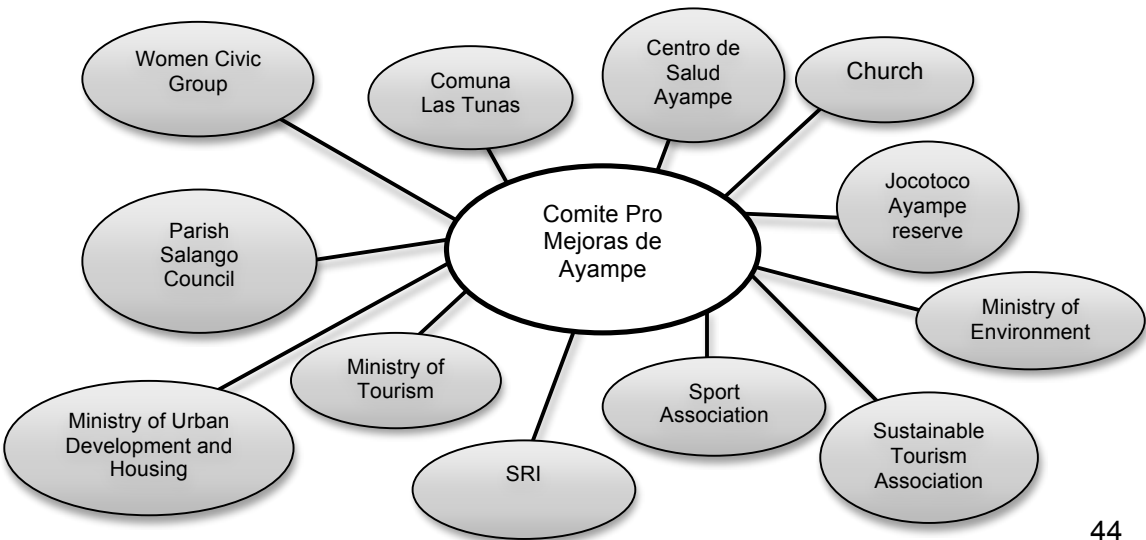
4.2.4 Current Projects

CPMA undertakes activities within the voluntary sector. CPMA is privately run and is independent from state-led agencies yet receives support from them and other various donors. Despite this separation, CPMA has been working closely with the local municipality of Salango, Commune *Las Tunas*, and the private sector of Ayampe. Both Salango Municipality and CPMA partnered to complete various projects in Ayampe. Between the years 2009 and 2014, both carried out the following projects: 1) Restructuration of Ayampe's cemetery; 2) the inauguration of a new health center; and 3) the commencement of CPMA's new facilities.

In 2014, CPMA partnered with hostel owners to develop a donation scheme initiative. It comprises the request of hostel guests to provide a donation in hopes of helping development strive in Ayampe through the CBO. Such programs reflect the paramount development and the valued social services and activities CPMA provides at a community level. Overall, the goals of the CBO have been to connect with institutions to develop formal structure for their participation in community development activities. The goal was to connect with local businesses to improve commercial area facades and street appearance. The current project that CPMA is working on is the *infocentro* an information center in their facilities. Computers will be installed to deliver workshops to teach local residents how to use basic computer and Microsoft skills. Additionally, the infocentro will provide free Internet access for people to use when needed. They have further developed nine commissions and hope to appoint members to represent each one.

CHAPTER V: ANALYSIS

This section of the thesis presents and analyzes both contextual materials from secondary sources and fieldwork findings as described in Chapter 3. Through an asset-based lens the case study explores the directions and efforts taken by CPMA to provide local activities for community development. The first part analyzes how assets have been identified and utilized by CPMA. The second section analyzes the internal and external relationships that exist between CPMA and other key actors. The third section looks at the assets built or enhanced that will allow their initiative to be sustained.

5.1 Access to Identified and Utilized Community Capitals

One of the interesting aspects of CPMA is the range of assets that have been drawn upon to create and sustain their initiatives for community development. As Green and Haines (2012) pointed out a helpful way of categorizing these assets is through forms of community capitals. The seven types of assets are presented and discussed below.

Capital	Access to resource identified	Potential Consequences
Environmental/Natural	• Biodiversity and flora and Fauna • Access to Pacific Ocean • Forest	• No representation of Commission yet
Human	• Formal and informal backgrounds • Professional and ability skills • Youth and Elderly	• Diverse backgrounds at board level shows organizational complications • Most marginalized are not participating • Most participants are from private sector
Financial	• Income-generating schemes • Raffles • Flea Market	• No Bank account • Mortuary efforts are inactive • Membership Fee not collected
Physical	• Facilities • Prime location • Info center	

Cultural	• Reinforce cultural links to land • Promote respect for local cultures • Incorporate cultural practices and knowledge of ecotourism • Increase cultural rejuvenation and loss of traditional cultural practices	
Political	• Supports recognition of legal land title • Elected officials • Leverage from external agencies to enhance capacity building and reconstruction of physical assets	• Equitable participation of local people in land and tourism planning management
Social	• Maintain and enhanced community equilibrium through cooperative initiatives and ventures • Reinforced local ties	• Unable to heal social division • Ownership not equally distributed

5.1.1 Natural Capitals

As mentioned in the literature review, natural capitals are the environments resource to which people can have access. Ayampe's biggest natural assets that are useful for CPMA include its rich biodiversity's flora and fauna, access to the Pacific Ocean, and the forest. However, all these resources have been in constant danger and depletion due to the rapid *urban sprawl* that affects neighboring rural communities and lack of *smart growth* intentions. Furthermore, based on the data collection techniques applied in this study, results showed that men and women acknowledged that they rely heavily on the natural resources available in the land and sea to make a living. They reported how they felt it was necessary to utilize the resources available from their own environment.

CPMA one of nine created commission is an environmental commission in charge of initiating preservation, restoration, and conservation of environmental community development efforts in Ayampe. For instance, CPMA holds technical meetings with the provincial council to discuss paperwork or red tape bureaucracies. The visitors of the meeting comprised technical assistants from the Ministry of environment, assistants of the provincial environmental council and forest rangers of the National Machalilla Park. In

another effort to enhance and restore Ayampe's environmental space, gardening projects with children of the community's elementary school along with volunteering parents were made. In this case, the church's garden was sow and enhanced with flowers and plants native of the region. By enhancing the natural capitals of Ayampe, CPMA hopes to further enhance physical and cultural capitals for space and cultural events.

5.1.2 Human Capital

Members of CPMA hold various backgrounds that further enhance the resources and have contributed to the development of the CBOs CD initiatives. Thanks to the background that members of organizations possess, the resources were enhanced and developed further to kickstart many of CPMA initiatives for CD. The formal and informal education backgrounds that each member holds worked as a potential human capital. The human assets mobilized by CPMA include the board members and its members. The capacities brought by each individual include professional and ability skills. For example the president is a local entrepreneur working in the construction field, the VP is a civil engineer and the treasurer is a university professor. Despite the diverse possession of useful skills and knowledge among these board members, not all of them possess the same skills and abilities. However, board members acknowledged that the difference in backgrounds complicates not only the decision-making process but the acceleration of completing a task. For example, when *"the secretary needs support in editing legal documents, we have to help as we can"* – quotes the treasurer.

The results of the 20 surveys conducted, showed that 60% of the attendees were men from ages 23-63, whereas 40% were women between the ages of 21-56. This demonstrates that women and youth are among the active participants of the CBOs efforts. Members possessed diverse backgrounds that included: entrepreneurs, chefs, nature-based tourism tour guides, architects, day laborers, housewives, construction and fiber technicians, highway maintenance operator and biologists. Curiously 40% of the overall participants in the assembly were hostel entrepreneurs from the private sector.

Beyond the capacities all these members possess, they have contributed to community development process conducted by CPMA in various forms. For instance, hostel owners have partner with CPMA to collect guest donations, construction workers have provided their abilities to help build the health center and currently the new CBOs facilities. As the

treasurer quotes "Money is not required to start the construction, but since each member took the time and effort to help build our new facilities, we decide to compensate them with a small remuneration. Moreover they partner with a local restaurant to provide the lunch for these constructers. Remunerations to each working member were deducted from the donation inputs collected from our diverse donors. In this case, diversity of its members is the biggest characteristic of CPMA. Clearly, the skills, knowledge, experience, and time possessed by members and their board has contributed to the mobilization of human assets with all coming from within the community of Ayampe.

The knowledge and work expertise among members of CPMA contributed to local community development outcomes in Ayampe. Prior to the new 2014 board, long-standing board members had traditional and somewhat rigid ideas about community development, but *"when young people and women became part of the board members, they changed and broadened the CPMA focus"*, quotes the CBO's president. After having the CBO in halt with no board member nomination for almost a decade, it is now that the new elected board has given space for youth and women to participate and be part of the board. Also, with the VP's civil engineering expertise and a member's renewable energy background, both have worked on the first 'carrying capacity' investigation. Even though "this is a job of the government, we are providing our indigenous knowledge to them in hopes of getting an approval of our work and allow us to take over the initiative"[27]. In this case, they have been able to mobilize current untapped capacities of both, the board and its member. The commission of territorial pacification has been recently included on the CPMA structure for community development efforts. However leaders to manage these commissions have not been chosen yet.

5.1.3 Financial Capital

Types of materials identified by CPMA included an income-generating donation scheme made between the CPMA and Hostel Owners partnerships in Ayampe, and the collection of financial support made in flea market events, and raffles. These mechanisms were used to leverage financial support to promote and drive locally driven development. For example, in January 2014, a sum of $477 was collected out of a bicycle raffle to leverage financial support[28] for the workforce involved in the construction of the CPMA facilities. Money

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[27] Interview with CPMA vice-president in October 12, 2014
[28] Information provided in the CBOs annual report.

collected from the private sector, in this case hostel owners, financial capital accumulated is meant to benefit the physical infrastructure of the community and related tourism efforts; It is used as well to invest in environmental and tourism-related projects such as business and environmental protection signs that are placed around the village in order to raise awareness of natural biodiversity preservation. Moreover, the presence and sources of local financial support do not end there. The CBO has also received external financial support from key players from the political administration of the Salango Parish and the communal administration of Las Tunas.

The particular financial support obtained from these key players has been for infrastructure and capacity building workshops. In the case of Salango Parish Council, one of the greatest contributions they made was to further the efforts of building the CBOs first facilities. In the case of Commune Las Tunas, a recent contribution of materials, needed to restore the local church, was made. The Treasurer of CPMA mentioned that the restoration would cost around $1000. Commune Las Tunas delivered $500 worth of materials, and the rest was produced and generated by CPMA through their raffle event. According to the documents analyzed, one of CPMA's aim is to create a mortuary fund for members and their families. Throughout the years, CPMA members have regularly contributed money to the organization through annual membership dues for mortuary efforts. However, both the mortuary commission is inactive and fees have been discontinued. The Treasurer believes that the elimination of membership's fee for now will help attract new members of the community to join the CBO. Another financial weakness existent from the CBO is the absence of a bank account under the name of the CBO. According to the Treasurer, external support from local institutions usually goes to one of the board members, therefore making the tracking of income and expenses difficult.

5.1.4 Physical Capital

CPMA's most notorious physical asset is their new facilities that contribute to delivering services and cultural events (See Appendix A for Visual). It's prime location is in the center of town, and it gives an easier access to local residents from both ends of the village. They have also partnered with the Salango Parish Council to open an info-center within CPMA's new facilities. Computers, printers, and other key materials were donated in an effort to start computer literacy training for all local residents.

5.1.5 Cultural Capital

CPMA has managed to reinforce cultural links to land, has promoted respect for local cultures, incorporated cultural practices and knowledge of ecotourism, and increased cultural rejuvenation. It is important to note the values, heritage recognition and celebrations of the local context. Sharing a cultural identity to drive CD efforts are key assets CPMA wishes to boost. Ayampe's culture revolves around natural assets. As an area of environmental protection, it has been clear for local residents the importance of preserving their natural heritage. The Minga, an embedded collective practice among communities like Ayampe has served to engage in diverse cultural events. It was through a Minga event, that CPMA agreed to collaborate in enhancing the awareness of the ecosystem preservation directed by the *Jocotoco La Esmeralda de Ayampe Foundation*. They had the additional collaboration of students from the Ernesto Kuffo Elementary School, Picanteria El Paso (Restaurant), the Ayampe's Brigade and political leader Mercy Barsuto from the Puerto Lopez Municipality.

It has been clear for the Board members that ancestral cultural traditions of the areas have been lost. Their target is to reconstruct the cultural knowledge and diffuse the cultural heritage their villages once had. For instance, the Treasurer discussed the importance of bringing back the traditional children's games used by their ancestors, something that has been lost with modernization. Therefore, the Treasurer finds it important to target the projects to the youth in Ayampe. She adds "we want to bring back those traditional games for kids such as los ensacados y agarrar la argolla or cuchara con huevo". Through the partnership with the local elementary school, CPMA has started to share cultural identities to drive community development. The impact they wish to have is a cultural consciousness that can be measured through new community festivals. On another occasion, CPMA partnered with the other parish communities such as Las Tunas, to celebrate and support historical events. The President of CPMA explains "each year we celebrate the foundation of our ancestral commune, the election of a <Reina> or Miss Ayampe" and a parade around the community".

5.1.6 Political Capital

It was not until 2014 that CPMA elected a new board and was chosen by Ayampe's local residents. The new board gets involved in various issues that arise in the community. As a group they have influenced to update the Committees Norms and Regulations. Treasure

Fabiola hopes that the elimination of membership fees will build higher trust to mobilize and encourage more residents to becoming members of CPMA - "without the enrollment to CPMA, local residents cannot vote in the decision making process". She further implied that previous board in control showed a weak accountability profile. Elizabeth a current member said, "We would have representatives from CPMA collecting donation but we never received any report nor news on how our money was used".

For now, CPMA intentions are to build credibility among its residents. They are currently engaged strongly with Salango Parish Council to commence new computer informatics workshops. They received 10 new computers for the facilities and were in the process of obtaining consultants from the area to provide the workshops. They also managed to obtain Internet connection that will be paid every month by the Parish Council. Moreover, CPMA received a budget of $500 from Commune Las Tunas for the reconstruction of floor and roof of their local church. Fabiola quotes "with have to provide a list of materials needed and they will send all the materials". Despite obtaining this budget, CPMA had to organize a raffle in order to obtain the rest of the money. Overall, these abovementioned points indicate that there is a high political power of CPMA to secure resources for the community through their board and their external political connections at various levels. Despite CPMA ability to leverage from external agencies to enhance physical and human capitals, the participant observations showed there is no equitable participation of the most marginalized residents in land and tourism planning management. Therefore most marginalized residents have no voice and engagement in actions that contribute to the wellbeing of their community.

5.1.7 Social Capital

Social capital has been one of CPMA's most important assets because of its ability to help access the other assets mentioned above. There are three types of social capital illustrated in the CPMA case. The first is social capital that lies in relationships of trust, reciprocity and shared meaning; these bring locals together at the local level through the CBO, also referred as bonding social capital. The second is bridging and linking social capital which refers to the relationships that local individuals and groups have with those outside their own CBO and the outside community. Historically, colonization destroyed various kinships and associational relationships that were part of the local culture in Manabí. From the Spanish conquest until the 1970's they were independent indigenous communities.

However, coastal people favored liberal commerce related to agricultural exporting development. *"The most important relationship for many household survival strategies was 'vertical' link to the <<hacienda>>, rather than 'horizontal' ties among families"* (Bebbington and Carroll 2000; Hernández and Ruiz 2011). One of the most influential factors that changed this dynamic was the active involvement of social indigenous movements in the forms of communes. For example, in Manabí, *Pueblo Manta Huancavilca*[29] played a strong role in breaking up the haciendas controlled by the agricultural 'patrones' and in promoting community initiatives through the tourism development programs (Guerrero 2013a; Hernández and Ruiz 2011). CPMA built on these efforts to create development organizations at a community level to *'get by'* as Putnam (2000) suggests. Over the past two generations, communes like Las Tunas[30] have built bonding social capital through community-driven projects running the expansion of local social networks, which include Ayampe's community. When asked why communes like Las Tunas have been able to drive their own development agenda, Frisky Cabanilla[31] responded, "There is an incentive to appreciate what is ours, because we poor rural settlements cannot risk losing our land"[32]. In Ayampe, a member explained that working together was something that the founder of the community's organization has aspired to; consequently, the first settlers worked together with a strong sense of solidarity. He further explained that the endogenous development started prior to establishing CPMA as a formal organization in 2003. Local residents were already empowered to collectively take action:

> *"Back in those days, Mr. Calderón acted as a great leader if it was not for his resilience and motivation to empower others to help out, we wouldn't have the health center today".*

According to the locals, mobilizing the residents to help coordinate was not a hard task. Elizabeth a member of the CBO reflects and states the experience that brought together an entire community to participate in collaborative and coordinative actions:

> *"Each had something to offer during the coordination process [..] Don Pepe offered two trees from his house to use the wood, Maria, restaurant owner, once*

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[29] Officially recognized under the Governmental Executive Decree 386 in 11/12/1998 (Hernández and Ruiz 2011).
[30] Ayampe is politically divided as parish and commune.
[31] Interview conducted with CPMA board member & local Hostel Entrepreneur in Ayampe (October, 14, 2014)
[32] Interview conducted with CPMA member and local Hostel Entrepreneur in Ayampe (October 11, 2014)

> *provided lunch to the entire volunteers building the center, and much more; it*
> *was a great experience".*

With the potential of collaboration and coordination among the residents, it is what has pushed for a consensus among the community residents to form the first CBO in Ayampe.

Data results suggest that nowadays, CPMA has reinforced and expanded their local ties to '*get ahead*' as Putnam (2000) suggested. Through the participant observations methods on this investigation, it was observed that 25 members attended a workshop on "Sustainability in a Community". The various social events described previously such as church events, school events, sports events as well as the social environment established via the introductory courses and other offerings at CPMA, have undoubtedly contributed to these changes. It appears that volunteering members participating in local associational events organized by others, may have enhanced those activities by connecting neighbors with other neighbors in the community. Conversely, it is also plausible that these events promoted greater empowerment of smaller informal civic associations by supporting a forum to establish new relationships or strengthen existing ones. Treasurer Fabiola quotes: *"we are currently supporting and encouraging Emiliano Merchan to formalize the sport association he has been working on for two years"*. This demonstrates the symbiotic relationship between community development mobilization and community building.

CPMA, as a grassroots organization has built the bonds of social capital at the family and community levels and has also developed bridging relationships with members across the various regions in Manabí. CPMA's network of external relationships is evidence that it has "bridged" local assets with outside resources. The Parish of Salango, Comuna Las Tunas and the Ministry of Tourism have provided gateways for CPMA to other organizations. Now CPMA is bridging social capital in an effort to create a community land management plan that can serve as a blueprint for many other communities around Manabí. A representative from Salango Parish says:

> *"Jose (CPMA VP) and the other members have been the leaders among the*
> *other three communities in Salango not only with the most professional*
> *knowledgeable capacity for this project, but also central with their experience to*
> *organize people from very basic level for what they now have."*

Clearly CPMA and its members have built trust, have established common norms and have become a collective representation for Ayampe.

5.2   CBOs Relationships-driven Actions

As Bebbington (1999) asserts, *"assets are seen as vehicles for instrumental, hermeneutic, and emancipatory actions where rural people make a living more meaningful if assets become actions and empowerment to challenge the structures that determined the way in which resources are allocated"*. Members of the CBO can act as powerful agents and with the right attitude their work can be of immense value. As Change agent's they support and teach communities how to cooperate and use their capacities effectively (Schulenkorf 2010). CPMA corrugates internal and external relationships with other actors. They act as catalysts for community engagement and tourism enterprise development. Internally the goal has been to go beyond their local boundaries and networks to connect people's gifts to each other. In doing so, they have built an internal shared vision and leadership. However, challenges to fulfill a shared goal, ownership and organizational development have proven a disadvantage for CPMA to further enhance their community development actions. Externally, CPMA has worked hard to break from a needs-based approach to a more endogenous tradition of building already existing assets and have acted as partners rather than being a single driver of services and activities. These internal and external aspects are discussed further below.

5.2.1 Internal Action

As Case et al. (1990) note, CBOs may act as internal agents of change in charge of the development efforts. An ability of the CPMA to determine and maintain control over the development efforts is through local leadership. Leaders of the organization encourage and motivate other community members to join these efforts for their own well-being. Also, they have managed to exert power outside the community by seeking external partnerships with local governmental agencies and other non-governmental agencies. Their community-driven initiatives are characterized by these external partnerships that are responsive to the efforts of internal power control.

Evidence showed that external agencies like Salango Parish, Commune Las Tunas and the Ministry of Tourism are in fact attracted to the strong internal agency CPMA exerts. Prior to the new board of directors, CPMA had experienced building projects, initiated and implemented from the outside, that collapsed as soon as the external support was withdrawn. Today, these external agents have acknowledged that community development initiatives are more likely to be sustainable when local communities or groups are driving

the process. This statement was reinforced by an associate[33] from the Salango Parish Council, who believes that by allowing the community to decide captures not only an economical solution but reinforces the social and environmental factors important for the area. He further contends that the council can use that time needed to tackle community issues to instead employ it to other critical developments of the region:

> *"They bring us the proposals of their projects and we approve them depending on the annual budget that is appointed to them and we save the time and effort of analyzing every detail of the process"*

Leaders from CPMA have developed a strong internal agency by motivating their active members in three distinct forms. First, they have managed to articulate a vision to address the issues and necessities that Ayampe needs. Second, they have identified concrete opportunities for members to contribute to the growth of a more ecological touristic destination. Third, they have drawn from a long history of endogenous leadership, mobilization and action, as well as a collective indigenous knowledge of CPMA members.

Shared vision

As presented earlier in the literature review, Mathie and Cunningham (2008) insist that by identifying community assets it's possible to achieve the vision. CPMA leadership has been able to articulate a direction for the organization that has captured the creativity of its members as authors like Beaulieu (2002) and Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) suggested. They have settled a common sentiment shared by many local residents in Ayampe to organize and mobilize themselves in order to overcome rising problems of cultural assimilation, degradation of their lands (due to an exploitation of resources), lack of smart growth, and the constant influx of foreign retirees. They have been able to create the awareness in Ayampe that their goal is to attempt to address these sustainability issues in a holistic manner. Vice President Jose and Treasurer Fabiola, describe the main objectives of CPMA as: to strengthen participation from local residents, build solidarity and community responsibility through projects and training programs (aimed at socio-economic tourism development), and now trying to implement an environmental aspect due to the abovementioned complications.

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[33] Interview made to an associated council in Junta Parroquia Salango (October 15, 2014)

Leadership

To establish effective connections between those in the community and outside, there is a need for quality leadership. This makes the role of the CBO even more crucial, especially since there has been no one from the community with the capacity to hold such a position due to the organization's 9 years of inactivity. Emiliano Merchan, a young leader in charge of Ayampe's Sports Association points out that, while Fabiola is clearly the most visible leader of CPMA, the organization has managed to develop a new cadre of men and women leaders to carry the organization forward into the future. He says, *"There are other good leaders in CPMA besides Fabiola, and in fact there has been an attempt to recruit me into becoming a board member"*. He further hopes that they can create a pool of potential successors to key leaders such as Fabiola. Clearly the CBO sees young local residents as a rich resource for the future of Ayampe and invites their energy and motivation into the local leadership. Consequently, there is an unspoken sense of shared leadership at CPMA. This is formally encouraged through the association's policy of electing new board members every two years. The high turnover of leaders, has prevented the emergence of an entrenched elitist group; it has created an organizational culture that feels non-hierarchical despite their organizational structure. Leadership seems to be recognized as action, rather than position.

Conflict Management

Despite CPMA driving the mobilization of assets and fulfilling relationships to drive community development efforts, they still face conflicts of power that affect goals, participation, and ownership. Conflict exists at all levels of participation – within CPMA and with non-participating members. At the executive level it was confirmed by two board members that some of them do not interact with other executives due to differences of interest and backgrounds. Some members have a higher education background while others barely read and write. This causes the group to find frustrations and differences of interest. Furthermore in-depth interviews made to some of the executives gave insight of the inability to sense what are their roles and responsibilities. For instance, in the case of VPs role and responsibilities based on the norms implemented by the board, they state his role to be a "replacement" for the President. This means that when the president of the CBO is justifiably absent, he or she can be substituted by the VP or in the absent of such, replaced by the Vocales in order of election. During the interview with the VP, when asked to explain what his roles and responsibilities were, he answered as followed: "My current

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duties and role in the organization are to pay the construction workers who are currently building our new facilities, create the initiatives we wish to implement, purchase the resources necessary for the CBO. Clearly handling the finances and budgeting is not part of his duties as this must be an obligation of the treasurer's responsibilities. According to the norms created by the CBO, one of the main functions of a treasurer is to *"raise and manage funds for the organization, placed under his/her responsibility"*. The treasurer was the only member capable of identifying her true roles. A striking finding is related to the outdated norms and regulations CPMA still follows. If rules and norms of CPMA are outdated then, *"a need to adjust policies and procedures to reduce this conflict in roles shall be made"* quotes the Secretary.

Conflict also exists between board, members and non-participating residents of Ayampe. This specific conflict stems from the differences of goal orientation each actor holds. In-depth interviews made to members and non-members of CPMA disclose the existence of divergent perspectives among the Private sector, CBO and local marginalized residents in what the role of the CBOs must be. It was clear through the answer each person interview that though they all shared the vision of making a change for community development, they all lack a common goal (See **Table 3** Below)

Table 3 Difference in Perspectives among CPMA, Private Sector and Marginalized Residents

CPMA	Private Sector	Non-participating Marginalized Residents
Land Management Planning	Tourism related projects	Water Sanitation Electricity

For example, the CBO emphasize the need to implement projects to preserve the biodiversity and infrastructure of Ayampe through community land management programs. Hence do not represent the most vulnerable issues that the residents personally confront. According to the interviews made to the most marginalized residents and the most vulnerable citizens in Ayampe, the main problems the town is experiences include: 1) Water and sanitation; 2) electricity; 3) health. However, none of the discussions made in the CBOs

assembly are addressing these issues. For example, the CBOs current project that is in the process to be carryout is a set of rules for community land management. Other non-members of CPMA admitted that the problem lies primarily on structural weaknesses within the board of directors. Due to these differences most marginalized local residents avoid engaging in active participation or most importantly avoid becoming members of CPMA. Hence, ownership as a process proves weak when not all voices are heard in what is the adequate planning for Ayampe's CD efforts. Marginalized local residents identified narrower groups to "seek control of CPMA for their own self-interest", thus reinforcing its entrepreneurs who influence the decision-making outcomes. The ownership distribution shows everyone is affected by the process and outcomes. Non-participating residents argued CPMA in a sense has lost credibility, Members are portrait as opportunistic to advance their own tourism related interest, thus most marginalized continued to be excluded.

5.2.2 External Action

Breaking from the Exogenous Tradition

Community-driven development that builds external relationships on its own terms is seen as an exception rather than a rule in Ecuador. The government and other non-governmental agencies often see CD as exogenous rather than an endogenous process. According to an active board member, relationships between NGOs and CBOs in Ecuador are typically structured along the lines of patron and client. Therefore breaking from old traditions has been a challenge for a CBO like Ayampe. He observes that for decades people have been looking for external organizations to provide technical assistance. Since the answer comes from outside, he quotes "people no longer trust their <<*austacia*>> [or] their astute experience. He concluded that generally, external organizations tend to reinforce the sense of inferiority rather than alleviating it:

> *"We are taking baby steps with local knowledge and due get some money, however is you tell them you come from abroad to help, they will humbly submit to them"*

The Vice President asserts his impression of traditional relationships between NGOs and communities in the region, by stating that:

> "On the one hand you have historically the NGOs acting as protagonists, but with a palliative work, and on the other hand people have become satisfied, almost like beggars, and accept whatever the NGO offers".

CPMA's primordial vision is to work against these traditions. Despite these challenges, CPMA continues to motivate its members at the community level, as reflected in their leadership of reaching out for external networks and support. As Bebbington and Perreault (1999) point out, this is a sign of strong leadership where *"strong local leaders have wider networks and great external support"* (p.412). Leading members have managed to gradually shape external partnerships which support the CBOs development agenda. Jose points out that it was a matter of learning how to deal with the bureaucratic system, when negotiating with the government and other institutions: *"Even though we had no strong "hook-ups" with political leaders or experience with government employees initially, it was a matter of learning their <<criollo>> habits"*. CPMA leaders learned valuable lessons from their early external relationships which in turn helped them in later concessions. "*Today we have learned to be proactive and observe how things work with them."*

Acting Rather than Driving

CPMA has established long running partnerships within their community, and also holds uniquely formed partnerships with external organizations as well. An important one has been with Ayampe's Health Center and the local women's civic group. For the health center *"we utilized their personnel and expertise to create awareness of their available vaccines for the community residents"* quotes an active board member. In the case of the school, their space and equipment were utilized to deliver products: "A women's civic group asked us to help volunteers in organizing their already planned religious workshops for the students". From its early support for women's groups, to its leadership for the church, CPMA continues to help these women flourish without controlling the initiative or creating dependency (Interview, October 12, 2004).

Recently, CPMA interest in sustainable tourism led them to partner with external environmentally focused organizations. Cultural capitals such as the *minga* event, enhances CPMA collaboration which as a result enforces trustworthiness with additional government agencies (i.e. Ministry of Environment) and within its own community. President Evaristo hopes these alliances enhance more unity within the community while simultaneously spurs the successful actions to other neighboring communities. On the other

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hand, Asociación de Turismo Sostenible, is currently facilitating capacity to CPMA in cultural and ecological topics in order to drive a more sustainable approach in their practices. The president further explained that there is a need for capacity building in Ayampe to bring awareness of the importance of their natural resources and their need for protection. He added, "It is through these workshops that we intend to educate the youth to protect the environment."

Similarly, CPMA has cultivated a positive relationship with the Ministry of Environment (MAE). Ecuador is the first country to recognize the Rights of Nature in its Constitution, which states: Nature in all its life forms has the right to exist, persist, maintain and regenerate its vital cycles […] and we the people have the legal authority to enforce these rights on behalf of ecosystems (Ecuador Constitution of 2008, Chapter 7 Article 71-74). Ayampe is considered a protected tourism area[34], therefore it becomes imperative for the community to take serious actions against any ecological depletions or mismanagement. Through CPMA, many local residents have the power to denounce any infractions made in the area. The Treasurer says *"we are political entitled to report to the Ministry of Environment any illegal infractions against Ayampe's natural settings"*. It has kept the MAE informed not only about their sustainable development in Ayampe, but also any incidents that disturb or destroy the ecosystem. They share an interest in reducing the over-exploitation of land and other natural resources. They are also in the process of establishing workshops to create awareness of the upcoming projects that the ministry has to benefit the areas. Among these projects is the development of a wildlife corridor. Zonal coordinator of MAE, Angelo Traverso, emphasized, *"this state portfolio as well as the one from the Central Government, will never disown the right for communities to live in a healthy and ecologically balanced environment"*[35].

Another important partnership for CPMA has been with the Salango Parish Council (SPC), a decentralized governmental autonomy, which has served the Ayampe community in Salango. They have served CPMA as an economic power mainly for various initiatives. From 2009 to 2014, the council financially supported CPMA in the construction of the first health center, the reconstruction of the community's cemetery and currently continues to support their project in completing the CBOs new facilities. CPMA's relationship with SPC

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[34] For more information see: Ecuador Executive Decree No 1521.
[35] Formal Communication through the Ministry's website (http://www.ambiente.gob.ec/2013/07/)

has given it credibility with government ministries, and linked them to governmental institutions outside their community. The CBOs relationship with government is characterized by reciprocity and trust, not bureaucratic wrangling. For example, CPMA works closely with the Ministry of Tourism in creating and developing a "Mapping of actors for management and certification of beaches in the coastal area of Ayampe's River Basin". These identified 30 actors were relevant for the process management and certification of beaches in the Ayampe zone. Consequently, CPMA was in strong favor of this initiative (USAID 2010).

Overall, it is evident that CPMA has established many external relationships that prevent them from becoming dependent on a single donor or technical assistance provider. Managing several relationships does however pose a challenge for the CPMA board and its members. As the organization grows, it is possible that the CPMA portfolio of relationships will be affected by the organizational challenges it will face.

5.3   Inside Out Development Outcomes

The following section explains CPMA's experience with the building or enhancement of various assets at the household, community and societal levels. Rather than a thorough assessment of the impacts of CPMA, this section is meant to expose the dynamic aspects of assets during a community development process and, in particular, how these assets are built enhanced, depleted or destroyed.

5.3.1 Individual Level

Individual residents have benefited economically in certain ways. For instance, interviews conducted with local residents show that savings were made when medical and health needs occurred. Thanks to the political efforts CPMA made in obtaining a doctor and nurse for the health center, individuals no longer need to travel to the neighboring towns to obtain medical attention. Monica Sanz, a local resident asserts that it has saved her in transportation to travel to another town in order to get medical attention.

With the recent involvement of the governmental agencies with supporting monthly computer informatics workshops in the CPMA facilities, today local residents can benefit with access to information and capacity building in basic computer skills. The VP hopes this

will provide the adequate telecommunication infrastructure that enables the dissemination of appropriate information regarding education, health, jobs, weather, loans and other aid opportunities. All of these have benefited both family education and household income. Recruited trained staff to participate will be from the community that the CBO serves. Elizabeth a local residents opined this project will empower youth, for example "*my daughter has to come over to the hostel where I work to use the free Internet to complete her homework and its embarrassing to bother my boss all the time*". The political representation for environmental protection benefits hostel owners, restaurants and marginalized residents.

5.3.2 Community Level

Data results suggested that CPMA wish to work with local business owners. In doing so, they have manage to collaborate around storefront beautification, safety patrols, and established meetings to speak about recurring issues such as loitering or litter and its negative impacts to both businesses and the residents quality of life[36]. At the community level, CPMA has managed to provide insightful benefits. By keeping the community clean and in order, residents are officially notified if they tarnish the streets of Ayampe (See Appendix for a Sample). It has also inspired local entrepreneurs to take an ecological approach in doing business. For example, hostel owner build their businesses infrastructure based on natural ecologically friendly materials. Gabi Hermosa, a hostel entrepreneur points out, "*The idea is to adapt to natures natural settings and not the other way around*". Like Gabi, other entrepreneurs ultimately goal is to promote Ayampe as an ecological village that respects the ecosystem. The results from the survey show that out of the 60% of hostel owners who participated in the CBOs monthly meeting, 90% of them have done ecological activities privately.

5.3.3 Societal Level

At the societal level, what CPMA strives for is to boost the less tangible assets. Some members express the hope that enrollment of new members will enhance the improvement of power dynamics in the community. Clearly the private sector has advantage of

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[36] See Appendix A for example of notifications given to hostel owners to take care of their front yard littering.

influencing the organization since they possess skills and knowledge that most marginalized citizens lack. Hence, local participation will counteract these power dynamics.

The CPMA is also building human capital by encouraging the development of young leaders. Some young leaders who have risen through the ranks of CPMA have become political leaders. Reflecting on this ways they have emerged, Emiliano Merchan, a local resident of Ayampe and first leader to organize a sport association for the youth of Ayampe has contributed to fundamental inter-community development process. According to Emiliano," the idea is to be a inclusive supporter that values, encourages, helps and empowers the locals". This leadership position is what brings everyone in a community to harmony and particularly among youth.

CHAPTER VI: DISCUSSION

This Chapter will reflect upon the findings, the concepts and constructs used in the thesis to answer the research question. The first section will present and discuss the empirical findings in relation to the research question. Subsequently, it will reflect on the conceptual framework. Lastly, it will reflect upon and discuss the methodology used in this thesis, both the approach to data collection and the quality of data.

6.1 Empirical Findings

This section will reflect upon the empirical findings made in the quest to answer the research question: ***How does CPMA mobilize assets for the creation of local community initiatives and to what extent does asset mobilization take place?***

In determining the extent to **which assets were identified and mobilized by CPMA**, firstly, findings indicate that the seven community capitals already present in the community were mobilized and utilized by CPMA each in their own various forms although not efficiently. With the exception of cultural and physical capitals, all other capitals were not efficiently mobilized and utilized and suffered from potential consequences. The mobilization of assets is predominantly endowed with internal and external social capital. Thus, resources necessary for development do exist both inside and outside Ayampe. Human and financial resources are actively sought and mobilized through social capital to maintain and enhance community equilibrium to drive cooperative initiatives. Furthermore, many of these resources were considered more than just resources for economic purpose as evidenced in the environmental/natural and cultural capitals which seek to preserve the local heritage.

In terms of **which actions CPMA did in its drive as agents of change**, findings showed that CPMA corrugates internal and external relationships with other actors. Building connections were deemed important for CPMA in order to take action and drive locally-driven development. Clearly relationships seen as assets activated the practical application of social capital. It was a sense of solidarity and shared vision within Ayampe which enhanced the endogenous development of local residents to start taking action for improvement in their lives and well-being. Relationships of trust, reciprocity and shared meaning, brought leaders and local residents to drive the first endogenous processes in

Ayampe. Although, CPMA has had a good starting performance using bonding social capital, it has failed to leverage further internal resources necessary for better ABCD practice and its sustainability. These failures included ownership, shared goal and structural weaknesses. However, as CPMA was formalized, bonding deviation existed. CPMA established homogenous relationships with local actors in Ayampe, such as local associations, female civic groups, religious institutions, and the health center all of whom shared the same vision: improving the well being of Ayampe's residents.

The least effective form of social capital built by CPMA was bonding social capital. In other words, the internal close ties in Ayampe were not successfully exploited for its development initiatives. Similarly, CPMA access to available external resources (a principle dependent on the utilization of bridging and linking social capital) was also found to be vast, due to its strong relationship with external communities and organizations. The findings indicated that both access to external resources was necessary for further development. As a result, the relationship with the external world has been significant in Ayampe due to a) justice and rights; b) the flexibility of CPMAs decisions to be self-reliant through the exploitation of internal assets; and c) the flexible commitment of CPMA to cautiously diffuse its values and principles to external communities.

6.2 Reflecting upon the Conceptual Framework

It is important to assess the usefulness of the applied conceptual framework. As a first task to better frame the conceptual framework, I mapped a spectrum of multidisciplinary literature regarding the phenomena in question: development. This process included identifying text types and other sources of data, such as empirical data and practices. Every concept utilized in this study has a history and originated at some point from other concepts. Asset-based community development originated from the concept of community development, thus created by something previously debated. The analytical framework was based on the ABCD principles of Kretzmann and McKnight (1993): asset driven, relationship driven and internally focused which allowed me to structure and analyze my findings. These principles, as explanatory factors, influence whether and how asset mobilization by CPMA takes place.

As Mathie and Cunningham (2008) defined ABCD, *"it assumes communities act as self-help groups who are capable of driving the development process through the identification*

and mobilization of existing assets within the community rather than leaving this function to external agencies".   Therefore, the ABCD principle was deemed appropriate for the analysis of how assets were first mobilized by a CBO to promote locally driven development in Ayampe. The separation made by the principles of ABCD proved useful for assessing the underlying endogenous development of how CBOs mobilize internal assets around community opportunities through internal and external active relationships. The conceptual framework helped understand three important cause and effect actions. First, the pre-existing conditions and structures of community capitals. Second, the results of the CBOs internal and external actions and third, the development outcomes achieved at the local, community and societal levels.

The ABCD approach has been advocated by some authors as an alternative model to analyze community development with a people-centered and citizen driven approach (with a positivist view), to minimize the negative image of a needs-based approach. Nonetheless, as a student researcher it is important to reflect upon the weaknesses of utilizing the ABCD conceptual framework for this thesis. First, it has been noted that the approach ignores the environmental or structural conditions that enhance or inhibit the use of the knowledge and skills local residents possess (Smith et al, 2001). Second, it highlights the weakness in assessing the level of engagement external agencies must carry in order to avoid dependency (Keeble, 2006; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). Thirdly, it does not address the impact macro-level structures have and how they affect the local-level.

To answer these weaknesses, it was important to recognize that there is a no, one-size-fits-all approach to promote locally driven development efforts. The ABCD approach was utilized as an alternative to community development efforts that prove suitable for answering the research questions posed in this investigation. The interest of this investigation was primarily to understand how CBOs mobilize assets to drive locally driven development efforts and not on how structural or environmental conditions affect local residents and their knowledge and skills. Even so, to counterbalance the environmental and structural conditions posed by local residents, it was imperative to present the contextual presentation which highlights key socio-economic, political and geographical conditions that affect the community and the CBO as a whole. Furthermore, the idea of understanding the methods of mobilizing assets by CPMA were not meant to understand how dependent they are from their external assistance, but rather to understand how an endogenous

development took place in Ayampe through self-help groups. Recognizing how macro-level structures affect the community is indeed essential, however it could be consider for further research which specifically deals with the hindering and empowerment of top-down approaches to community development studies. Thus, this thesis strictly followed the ABCD principles in order to comprehend local-level development made by CBOs. Furthermore, a shortcoming to the ABCD approach that needs to be highlighted is that community building movements are not usually based on relationships, but rather on community crisis or needs, a claim contrasted and noted in the description of CBOs as facilitators by Lyons et al. (1998). However, the main idea to grasp from the supporters of the ABCD approach is that deficits and needs are only useful to institutions and/or community development efforts are based on people's assets since you cannot do anything with a person's needs.

Despite proving the usefulness of the ABCD, it has been recognized that there is an important weakness that proves a challenge on how they frame the ABCD approach and how its related to power dynamics. Challenges such as ethical standards and the rise of narrower groups to control most of the power, were addressed under the Rise of CBOs as facilitators in the literature review and ideally can be beneficial to introduce in the ABCD approach. Nonetheless, as implied in the literature review, power dynamics in itself is a complex subject that requires its own specific framework or approach in order to understand the multiple factors in the discourse regarding this topic (Bacchus 2012), 2010). Again, this might be considered for future research.

In addition, what does prove important for further research is identifying clear evidence on how the ABCD approach could be effective in terms of CBOs organizational capacity building dynamics to avoid power dynamic issues. The use of social networks theory in relation to social capital has been acknowledged to tackle these effects. Moreover, the dearth evidence-based research available is mostly made by the implementing agency (Ennis and West 2010), hence input from alternative agencies can prove beneficial to compare and contrast the effectiveness and impact of the ABCD approach, even if it was not meant to address the research question here. One important observation to note is that supporters of the ABCD approach have acknowledged that the model must go hand-in-hand with other methods in order to both avoid large-scale issues and local context dilemmas (Kretzmann & McKnight, 2003). Therefore, further studies utilizing the ABCD approach must be taken into consideration.

6.3 Reflecting upon the Methodology

In this final section of the methodology chapter, it was imperative to acknowledge the methodological implications and values to this research project. Furthermore, an attempt to circumvent and make useful value of my advantage as a native citizen of Ecuador was deemed intrinsic.

In conducting research and analysis of the results, the logical positivist approach (as a philosophical underpinning) proved useful and beneficial. By allowing an objective epistemology driven by practical consequences, it was possible to have choose a research design that was best suited to respond to and answer the research question. Hence, the exploratory case study, based on a qualitative approach has been to explore the real-life case of asset mobilization in CPMA. However, this would have been too complex for experimental strategies. Therefore, a focus on the relation between theory and practice has guided the researcher to understand asset mobilization made by CPMA. This theory-driven research extended existing theory. Subsequently as a researcher is was essential to frame the research within the context of theory and then show how inductive theory building was necessary. The research question was tightly scoped within the context of an existing theory and the justification rested heavily on the ability of qualitative data to offer insights into complex social processes that quantitative data cannot easily reveal. In other words, a key feature of this study was the positivist paradigm. By utilizing this philosophical approach it seek to deal with what and why questions, rather than what it ought to be and was not concern with the implications of the findings from a judgmental sense. Accordingly the preferred method in this research study was operalizing concepts so they can be measured. Moreover, the logic model of this operationalization of links – that is, specify how the actions might produce the immediate outcome of interest (i.e., the mobilization of assets that lead to inside-out outcomes).

The logical positivism philosophical approach has encountered an epistemic status of the verifiability principle itself. Whether it should be interpreted as an empirical statement open to observational test or whether it is a tautological matter of definition, It can be refuted that if linked to this study, it takes the former stand since research on the ABCD is still in its novice stage. The embedded single case study research was meant to exploit opportunities to explore a significant phenomenon under rare or extreme circumstances. The use of a qualitative approach enabled the collection of rich data concerning the various elements

addressed in the conceptual framework. In conclusion, addressing the research question required a cumulative approach. That is, a relational study that first described (by measuring and observing) each of the variable correlations and as causal presenting a description of both the cause and effect of each variable; in addition to showing the relatedness among each other.

Data Quality

The research undertaken in this paper has important implication on how data was gathered and analyzed. Therefore the validity, reliability and generalizability of this study were all influenced by the quality of information gathered and the methods used to gather the information. As a critical aspect of the entire research process, its imperative to address this issue in order to avoid complications for any findings gathered from this study.

Henceforth, the quality and appropriateness of the data is founded in my understanding of asset mobilization and my ability to answer the research question. The four critical conditions related to design quality such as construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability maximize the quality of the single case study utilized in this thesis (Yin 2009a)

Construct validity refers to the unbiased and rational interpretation of data, and is referred as objectivity in positivist research. In the analysis of construct validity, an illustration of the evidence is made through multiple data sources, which strengthen to case study data collection, making it more truthful and convincing (Yin, 2009). Thus, to ensure construct validity, assorted sources were consulted and used in triangulation, and a sequence of verification maintained by sufficient references to the data. In addition, local contextual information along certain delimitations was given. From the multiple sources of evidence, data was collected from three types of group respondent: CPMA board and members, non-participating members, and donors' participation. Ultimately, as a researcher it help comprehend the perspectives from all involved actors from their experiences of mobilizing assets and the capitals that influence it.

Establishing a degree of causal inference drawn from research encompasses internal validity. Therefore to ensure internal validity qualitative research methods have enabled me

to obtain in-depth and contextualized empirical data, through the openness and flexibility it possesses. Explanations of phenomena were validated with theory. The connections and differences of subunits of analysis were addressed and were combined with attempts to explain these patterns by referring to both data and concepts. Generally, the constant interplay with concepts used and the exploratory nature supported internal validity.

For external validity it is important to understand the domain to which the study findings can be generalized beyond the set context (Yin, 2009). This case study does not aim to be statistically generalizable as the phenomena is embedded in the context of Ayampe in Ecuador. However, as findings are generally connected with theory some arguments can be generalized. For instance, breaking from the exogenous traditions as both in the case of CBO CPMA and prior research. Another generalization is that linking social capital substantially connecting the CBO to other windows of opportunities to get ahead are clearly occurring.

Reliability is characterized by the consistency of data and its probability of extracting the same results when replicating the design (Yin, 2009). For reliability purposes, all tape-recorded interviews were transcribed and cross-checked with the journal notes taken during the interview and field appointments. The feedback interviews made with the VP and treasurer increased the reliability, as the initial findings were presented to her and verified or rejected with her indigenous knowledge of the situation. Nonetheless, ensuring additional reliability could have been strengthened with follow up interviews and availability of the interviewees, which was difficult due to long distance after fieldwork completion. Furthermore, with the President unable to meet for an in-depth interview after our informal conversation during the assembly meeting might have reinforced the different answers given in prior in-depth interviews, albeit the collection of non-sensitive data minimized this concern.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was dedicated to investigate and answer the research question: how as the CBO CPMA mobilized assets to promote locally-driven development in Ayampe? With this posed research question the aim of this study was to illuminate the understudied concept of Asset-based community development. It sought to generate new knowledge of the fundamental aspects that CBOs should consider to ensure asset mobilization to drive locally-driven development. The chosen case study of CPMA allowed for an in-depth understanding and exploration of how assets were mobilized by the CBO's members and as "a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context". Consideration to the context of the CBO, and more specifically to the development and local setting of Ayampe, was made. It was in this setting that asset mobilization capacities were developed and utilized for community development initiatives. Through 11 semi-structured in-depth interviews with involved actors of the three types of group respondents, a participant observation and a survey, as well as through secondary data, this paper explored the mobilization of assets by a local CBO in Ayampe.

The analysis shows that through its comprehensive mobilization of local assets and organization's capacity, CPMA is including most of the 'right' processes and mechanisms that scholars have outlined for CBOs to achieve community development (x & x, xxxx). Nonetheless, during the research, it was immediately realized a gap between theory and practice. While the majority of the literature on asset mobilization is focused on defining the concept and advocating for its use, limited numbers of studies have been carried out to study these processes and mechanism play out for the CBO in practice and how to measure the extent to which community mobilization is actually achieved. This study therefore contributes with new knowledge on the field. Additionally, the strength of this study is the ability to demonstrate in practice what scholars have advocated in theory and show the importance of context-sensitivity for CBOs to be successful in their asset-based initiatives.

Furthermore, the analysis proved that the answer to the first part of our research question is that CPMA seeks to ensure asset mobilization through already existing assets within Ayampe that includes seven forms or capitals. Based on the seven capitals for asset

mobilization and our interviews with CPMA, the CBO appears to be engaging in all the correct processes that are outlined in asset driven literature for achieving the mobilization to promote locally driven development. However, when analyzing the empirical data through the conceptual framework, the findings reveal slight inconsistencies and challenges between power dynamics and CPMAs asset mobilization efforts in the community that was studied. The extent which CPMA achieves asset mobilization is best answered by looking into the internal and external actions made through their relationship driven efforts.

Within the internal agency, CPMA was characterized as promoting leadership and a shared vision yet, weaknesses on ownership, shared goal and structure where present. In terms of external agency, CPMA was successfully able to break from the exogenous tradition and act rather than drive development efforts. In conclusion, CPMA was able to ensure an inside out development that enhanced already existing assets at the local, community and societal level.

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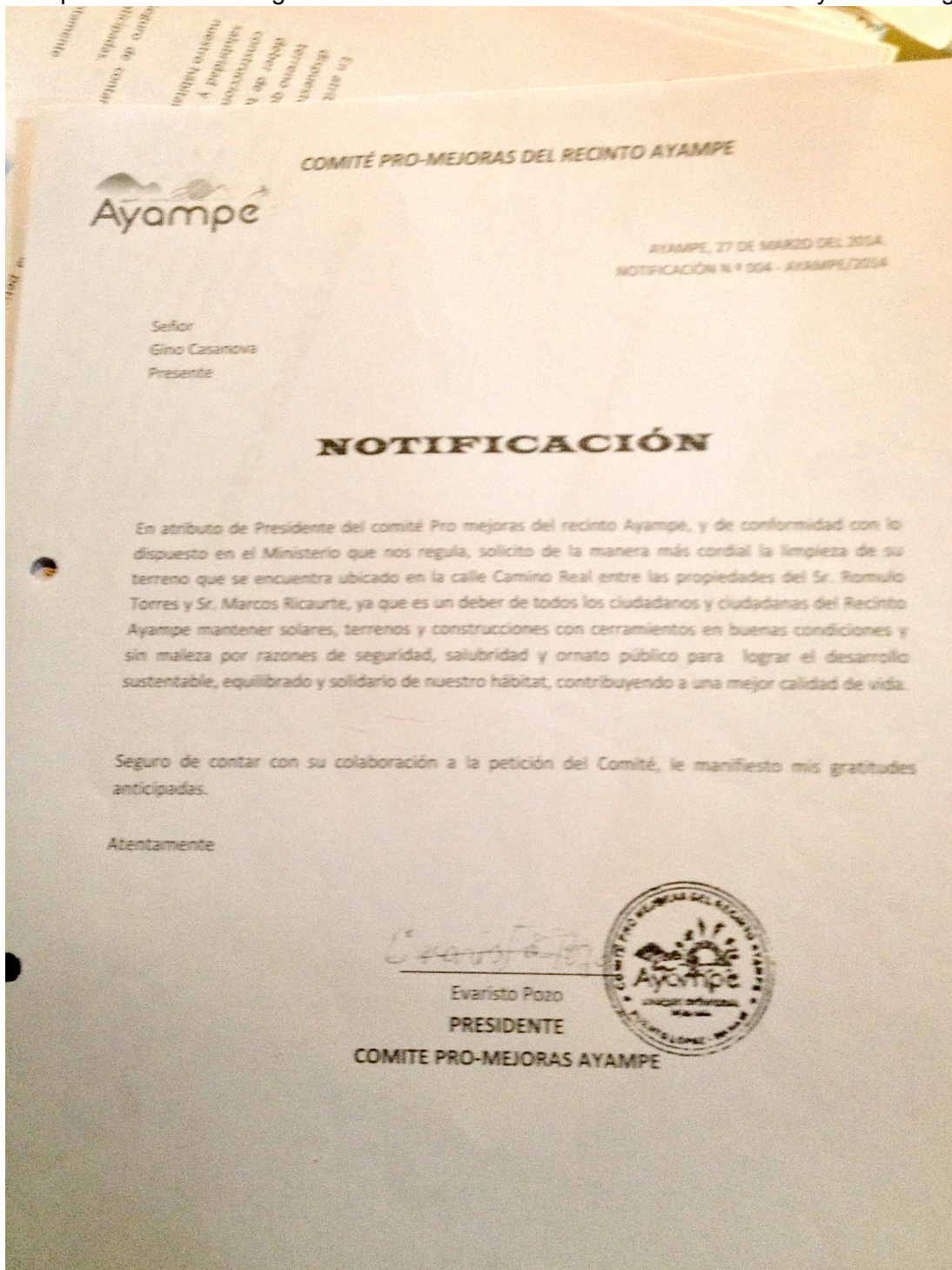
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Appendix A

Sample of notifications given to hostel owners to take care of their front yard littering

COMITÉ PRO-MEJORAS DEL RECINTO AYAMPE

Ayampe

AYAMPE, 27 DE MARZO DEL 2014.
NOTIFICACIÓN N.º 004 - AYAMPE/2014

Señor
Gino Casanova
Presente

NOTIFICACIÓN

En atributo de Presidente del comité Pro mejoras del recinto Ayampe, y de conformidad con lo dispuesto en el Ministerio que nos regula, solicito de la manera más cordial la limpieza de su terreno que se encuentra ubicado en la calle Camino Real entre las propiedades del Sr. Romulo Torres y Sr. Marcos Ricaurte, ya que es un deber de todos los ciudadanos y ciudadanas del Recinto Ayampe mantener solares, terrenos y construcciones con cerramientos en buenas condiciones y sin maleza por razones de seguridad, salubridad y ornato público para lograr el desarrollo sustentable, equilibrado y solidario de nuestro hábitat, contribuyendo a una mejor calidad de vida.

Seguro de contar con su colaboración a la petición del Comité, le manifiesto mis gratitudes anticipadas.

Atentamente

Evaristo Pozo
PRESIDENTE
COMITE PRO-MEJORAS AYAMPE

Appendix B

Sample of Participant Observation Field Notes

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Archival #:	1
Site:	Comite ProMejoras Ayampe facilities
Data Collector:	Adriana Romero
Data Language Transcriber:	Adriana Romero
Date:	9-10-14
Start:	15:00
End:	18:30

When I arrived at 15:00pm, some members were also arriving to the facilities of CPMA. The facilities are still under construction. The ground floor was completed yet the top floor was still being built. While the members continue to arrive, the two board members with access to the facilities arrived 50minutes late. According to those members waiting, punctuality is a big problem. Some of them decided to leave prior to having the facilities open.

Once the meeting started, attendance was taken to make sure who attended. Approximately 25 members attended the meeting and a brief introduction made by Evaristo Pozo, president of the organization. Members were introduced to the projects and their potential impact on the Ayampe Community. An important characteristic that was identified was that most members who attended were the local entrepreneurs of Ayampe and not the most marginalized residents. I was introduced at the beginning of the meeting by the president as an "international" student who wanted to investigate the community development process made by local residents and CPMA. Prior to commencing the forum, I was allowed to distribute my survey questionnaires to each member in order to obtain data. I obtained 21 answers for my survey.

The topics of discussion focused on introducing a proposal for upcoming initiatives regarding "Land Use Planning" and "Communal Living Norms". Additionally, the concept of Sustainability was addressed and why it was important to understand this concept in the context of Ayampe. The reason that the board presenting these projects was to hear its members new input, in order to raise additional ideas, for solving problems, and debating on the issues that may arise from implementing these projects.

Appendix C

Community Mobilization of
Social, Physical, Political, Human, Natural and Financial Assets
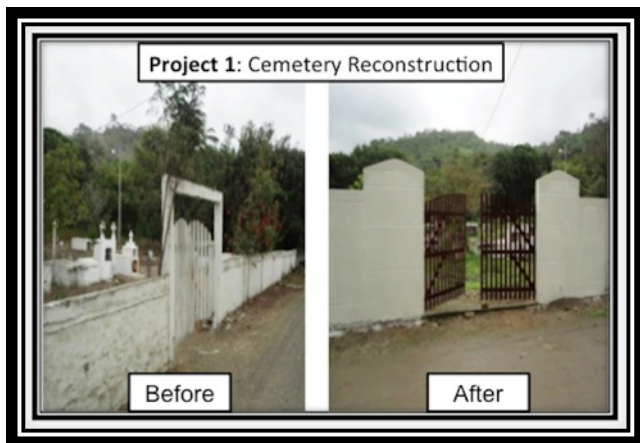
Appendix D

In-depth Interview with Fabiola Dreher – Treasurer of CPMA
Date: 12/14/14 - 0:11:40: 25 minutes

1. **What is the goal of CPMA?**
   Well that depends who you ask. Some board members would disagree with me if I say land management is imperative to avoid experiencing what Montañita is experiencing.
   What is that?
   Ayampe and many neighboring towns in the coast of Manabí are considered Tourism protected areas. This means that tourism will start rising and we don't even have regulation studies of carrying capacity for Ayampe. This means that there wont be any control of how many people are allowed or able to visit Ayampe without ruining the rich ecosystem that lies within the town.

2. **What were you motivations to join the board?**
   I joined the CBO with the intentions to do community projects because aid never reaches Ayampe.

3. **What initiatives does CPMA provide?**
   Currently we are providing workshops in collaboration with the Tax offices. They are meant to enlighten local residents about their duties and tax returns. Another workshop soon to start is the informatics program for all residents of Ayampe. The Salango Parish provided all the equipment to kickstart the project. We have several initiatives like raffles, flea markets, and soccer competitions.

4. **Where is the CBO located?**
   It lies right in the middle of town, next to the soccer field across the church.

5. **Is it accessible to staff and local residents?**
   Yes for sure, anyone from both ends of town can go by foot in no more than 5mins. And we have ramps for disable citizens to also join.

6. **Who are the volunteers of CPMA and what capacities do they posses? Any beyond the obvious ones?**
   We have a range of backgrounds from biologist and engineers to local housewives. You will meet some during the assembly meeting.

7. **Who are the board members and what capacities do they possess?**
   The President was born in Ayampe and owns a small construction business. I am a civil engineer and own a Hostel. The Secretary is a day worker, didn't

attend school so his skills are limited. The Treasurer, Fabiola is a teacher and possesses very good organizational skills.

8. **What are the physical assets of the organization?**
We have the facilities and soon the computers and printers for the infocentro.

9. **Financial current sources? Are they diverse? Provide multi-year funding?**
We get funds from various sources and if not we try to generated ourselves though the raffles, and other similar activities.
Any financial sources from outside Ayampe?
External sources usually come from Salango Parish, Las Tunas and the hostel owners in Ayampe.

10. **What is the reputation of the CPMA in Ayampe?**
Well, right now we have lost some credibility among local residents. The CBO was inactive for almost 8 years. After the leader who organized everyone to formalize the movement in a legal registered CBO, he passed away, and people lost motivation to continue. It is just recently that we are starting again this year (2014). Fabiola and I are new within the board of members. The President and Secretary were already part of the previous board.

11. **Are the initiatives meant to benefit members or also residents?**
They are meant to benefit everyone who lives in Ayampe! The problem is that we can get the most marginalized residents to attend out meetings because either they want to get the help from the government or they don't understand what is going on.

In-depth Interview to the Vice President – Jose Barba
Date: 12/10/14 - 0:09:53: 6 minutes

1. What is the CBOs mission?
The mission is to improve the quality of life for the community through the implementation of strategies that help attract and obtain money from the governmental entities. For example, part of the strategies are to interact with the local municipalities through dialogue. I speak with the President of Salango's local municipality and the Major of Puerto Lopez to obtain support for a local project in Ayampe. These projects can be like building a small soccer field, or stands. The reply the CBO obtains from the local municipalities is "Bring us back a formal composition of project you wish to build".

2. This means you need to deliver a formal report on the kind of project you wish to implement?
Yes, of course, but the way negotiation and dialogue works with them is "super-informal" because you have to make them sympathize with your ideas. Then after getting their sympathy, we need to deliver a formal document explaining the kind of project we wish to create.

3. Do they help you in the planning of the project?
No, we have to that ourselves.

4. How do you make this planning work? Do you have the skills for it? Do they provide some sort of requirements for planning such projects?
A project means blueprints and its calculations, strategies that include cost analysis and a document stating that the community wishes to have the project.

5. How do you obtain the support of the community for the initiative? Do you collect signatures?
Yes of course, we do assembly meetings every month and discuss the projects with the local residents who engage and participate in our meetings. We kindly ask them to sign the petition.

6. Do you need to show a specific percentage of signatures from the community's support?
"No, as long as there is the motivation and people are asking for it, there is no need to prove signatures. As long as they can see a backup from the resident, we don't need to show a 50%+1"

7. Have you been able to implement any initiatives?
Yes, we build a health center from scratch, currently building the Communal house. For example the health center was built by the own community residents with the financial help of the local government. In other words, the government provided the money but we the citizens put the workforce. This takes the for of

a "Minga". Minga is defined as a communal work with the help given my neighbors.

Is the community aware of what the CBO has done?

Well, for the Health center, its clear because it was them who collaborated to build the structure. For the facilities, we have provided information to the residents.

Don Colon (owner of a local restaurant) answers: In part, financially the Private sector – entrepreneurs strongly supported the cause (Hoteleros), private donors who own properties in Ayampe, along with the local municipality. We knocked on doors asking if they wished to collaborate for both financial support and workforce support.

8. What role did the CBO have in the initiative?

The CBO does the administrative management of the project. The organization of asking for support and collaboration is made by the local citizens themselves.

9. Who came up with the idea of building a Health Center?

The VP is not aware of this. He has not clue on the historical background of the organization. I came to be part of the CBO recently and the initiative of building a health center was already made. However, its facilities were completely abandoned, there was no doctors. They build the facilities but experienced administrative management problems because it was not completed. Once I and the new team came to power, we have been able to improvise little by little our organization. I went to the Ministry of Health to obtain information and support. However many times, I had to use my social connections in government positions to obtain permanent doctors for the health center and at the same time enter as a register the entity in the Ministry of Health to obtain constant resources for the center. We have already six months working on this initiative.

10. Which projects has the new Board Member team be able to accomplish?

We have been in power less then a year. The communal house and the doctors.

11. What is the next project in plan for the CBO?

The next project is to fix the streets, make an artisans workshop for the local community.

12. <u>Have you planned for the upcoming projects already?</u>

We are working on it. We have made the first draft for land management and presented it on the assembly meeting. Then we need to get an approval of the residents to agree on the implementation points. Then we visit the local municipality offices of Salango to demonstrate what we wish to implement. The Salango municipality then verifies with the above governmental agencies to get an approval to obtain the financial support. But this process takes a long time, it's a very bureaucratic process. I have be always on top of them to get answers. The only advantage I have is that I am friends with them and the process can be slightly more simple. I get some sort of priority.

13.   Have you tried reaching out for support directly to the Ministry?
Yes, but they don't pay us any attention at all! They receive you in the offices and give false promises that never happen.

This town is considered Area of Tourism protection. In other words protected only for tourism development. There is no support for fishery or agriculture and don't like the positions they have given us. I agree with having tourism development but simultaneously wish to see support for agriculture because for example in this town, we have to consume from other towns or regions. For example, we don't want to have big agricultural fields but we wish to see some pilot project related to agriculture (community agriculture) where a piece of land is assigned for the community to grow crops, fishery and artisan crafts. For example build a recycling program for organic compost.