

Rethinking the Participatory Paradigm in Plant Breeding: A Nonbreeder's Perspective

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Abstract

This paper attempts to highlight the fact that it is time to critically rethink the use of the participatory paradigm in research and development. The notion of participation is not only highly debated but also heavily misused and abused in research and development discourses. Rhetorically, almost all documents of government, research organizations, INGOs, and NGOs impressively use such terms as beneficiaries' participation, participatory approach, use of indigenous knowledge, bottom-up planning, etc. But in reality, they themselves control the participatory process by imposing their criteria, conditions, and regulations. The global as well as Nepalese experiences in participatory approaches in both research and development show that the commitment and confidence of local people is not gained at the desired level. The participation of beneficiaries in the research and development process is not only a means but also an end that empowers people. Participation has to focus on contributing, influencing, sharing, and redistributing power, resources, benefits, and knowledge. Therefore, the essence of the participatory process lies in helping people to make their own decisions and to take responsibility for their own welfare. This perspective has profound implications for choosing approaches and methodologies for participatory plant breeding. New challenges in plant breeding are posed by genetic engineering, biotechnology, globalization, patenting, and a profit-oriented focus. There is increasing evidence that scientists have a strong ego-centric involvement in their innovations, which is often in conflict with the tremendous knowledge and experience of local people. Hence, it is time to rethink the participatory paradigm in research and development and develop a new professionalism to address the newly emerging challenges.

Introduction

The term *participation* in research and development (R&D) is becoming devalued (Farrington 1998) and even abused, partly in response to donor pressure (much of which is rhetoric) and partly as a fashion without substance. Participation is also a notion that has been hotly debated among its practitioners and used as a means to achieve the objectives of projects and programs (Narayan 1995). But in this paper, I am conceptualizing participation and participatory approaches in the broader context as both a means and an end. In this conceptualization, *participation* is a 'multi-dimensional, dynamic process of contributing, influencing, sharing, or redistributing power and of control, resources, benefits, knowledge, and skills to be gained through beneficiaries' involvement in decision making.' Therefore, participation is a voluntary process by which people, especially the disadvantaged (in income, gender, ethnicity, education, etc.) influence or control decisions regarding plant breeding that affect them. As a non-plant-breeder, I am visualizing participatory plant breeding (PPB) from this framework. There are different levels of participation, ranging from passive participation (farmers participate in activities decided unilaterally by PPB professionals), participation in information giving (farmers answer questions posed by PPB professionals), participation by consultation (PPB professionals consult farmers and listen their views), participation for material incentives (farmers participate to obtain mini-kits given by PPB professionals, to be involved in farmers' field trials, etc.), functional participation (farmers participate in the predetermined functional requirements of PPB professionals), interactive participation (joint analysis with farmers to make action plans and mobilize local institutions, using interdisciplinary methodologies

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that seek multiple perspectives) and self-mobilization (farmers take initiatives themselves in plant breeding) (Pretty et al. 1995).

Participatory processes have certain characteristics: they integrate community mobilization for PPB planning and action based on equal partnership between farmers and researchers; they aim at strengthening farmers' problem-solving, planning, and management abilities; they promote farmers' capacity to develop appropriate new technologies; they encourage resource-poor farmers to learn through experimentation, building on their knowledge and practices (action and reflection); they recognize that all farmers are not the same—with conflicts and differences in interest, power, and capabilities. Farmers participate when they realize that the benefits of participation outweigh the costs. So the pertinent question is, Do such PPB practices provide benefits to farmers? In the context of PPB, different modes of participation can be discussed, ranging from contractual (PPB professionals contract farmers to provide physical resources such as land, germplasm, or indigenous knowledge) to consultative (PPB professionals consult farmers about their problems and then develop solutions) to collaborative (PPB professionals and farmers collaborate as partners in the breeding process) to collegial (PPB professionals work to strengthen farmers' breeding systems) (Pretty et al. 1995). When we talk about participatory processes, we have to be clear about which mode and level of participation are relevant at a particular stage of PPB.

The essence of PPB needs to be looked at from two levels:

- First, within the PPB process, Who initiates research? Whose research agendas are used? Whose needs are being met? Who directs and controls the PPB process? What is the bottom line of PPB? Does PPB specifically focus on poor and rural women as key players in managing plant genetic resources (PGR), post-harvest processing, and the nutrition of children.
- Second, on broader global challenges: Does PPB work on equity and poverty issues? Does PPB focus on the empowerment of marginal, resource-poor farmers to improve their position in society? Does PPB have the capacity to deal with the threats posed by globalization and the abuse of advancements made in the field of biotechnology in exploiting the poor farmers of developing countries? How does PPB deal with increasing bio-piracy? How does PPB deal with growing starvation and famine? In my opinion, these are some of the pertinent questions that need to be critically considered in promoting PPB.

In this paper, I attempt to examine the essence, opportunities, minimum conditions, and threats to PPB from the non-plant-breeder's perspective and pose some critical questions to promote discussion and debate to improve the performance of PPB. This paper is divided into three sections. The first section introduced paper and its outline. The second section raises issues related to PPB, i.e., How participatory is PPB? What are its approaches and methodologies? Who defines participation and who initiates it? What scale and level of participation is involved in PPB? What is the policy context and institutional framework for PPB? What are the threats to PPB from genetic engineering biotechnology, and globalization. It argues that PPB has increasingly shifted to the control of commercial interests. A discussion is presented on the need to integrate the social and technical sciences to promote PPB. And finally, the third section concludes that there is not only great scope for promoting real PPB but there are also big challenges.

Issues raised

The common categorization of plant breeding into farmer-led and formal-led PPB is problematic because in either case farmers, especially poor farmers, are involved in the initiatives of breeders. Furthermore, the formal-led PPB is limited by organizational conditions, criteria, and obligations. It develops separate regimes and widens the gap between them. The dichotomy is vague and confusing if real poor and marginalized farmers are to be targeted. In the philosophy of participation, no one leads but both collaborate to achieve common objectives. Therefore, the challenges for professionals working in PPB are how to achieve collaborative participation to meet the needs of poor and marginal farmers, how to negotiate or cope with the commercial exploitation of PPB, how to sacrifice the personal benefits of breeders that are ensured through patenting and the International Convention for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants (UPOV),¹ and how to share these benefits with poor farmers. In the following section I will briefly discuss these issues.

Essence of PPB

Genetic diversity in agriculture enables farmers to select varieties of plants that are best adapted to a changing environment and economic and social pressures. Access to such diversity is vital for securing current and future agricultural production and food security. In this context, the need for PPB is enhanced by a growing realization that conventional plant breeding has been unable to address the crop requirements for the 1.5 billion food-deficit people of the world (PRGA 1999). The socioeconomic and agroecological conditions of farmers are complex, diverse, and risk-prone, and the conventional breeding approach based on unidirectional breeder- and lab-centered work is unlikely to address the complex problems of resource-poor farmers. PPB is an alternate approach that closely engages farmers through diagnosis, experimentation, and dissemination and systematically includes farmers' knowledge, skills, and preferences in the process (PRGA 1999). PPB helps to increase understanding of the conditions, the opportunities, and the constraints farmers face and to build on that. Therefore, PPB will be adaptable, locally owned, and sustainable.

I believe that PPB, in its current changing context, needs to be seen from a broader perspective, which encompasses relationships among plants, animals, microorganisms, soil, and water within particular social, cultural, and ecological systems, as well as the contribution of PPB to local food security and the empowerment of marginal farmers. Therefore, tradition, culture, indigenous knowledge should be important elements of PPB. PPB should not only aim to increase productivity but it should also be targeted to bridge the gap between farmers and the formal RD sector, empowering farming communities, contributing to modifying agricultural policies in general (and seed and breeding policies in particular), and documenting indigenous knowledge and skills. PPB should not be limited to enhancing genetic diversity alone, but it should also be expanded to conserve the diversity of the ecological system, of the farming system, of species, and of output (Shiva et al. 1995) as well as of the sociocultural system. In reality, are these aims fulfilled by PPB? If not, why not? What are the bottlenecks? It is time to rethink these issues. In this paper I am discussing these issues from the perspective of food security, globalization, the abuse of genetic engineering and biotechnology, and the empowerment of poor and marginal farmers. We have a bitter example of Green-Revolution-type development where the gap between rich and poor was widened (Shiva et al. 1995). Breeders have developed varieties of crops that are suitable to mid-income and rich

1. The purpose of UPOV is to ensure that the breeder of a new plant variety is recognized and protected for a given period of time under intellectual property rights. The member states of UPOV grant such rights under their national legislation, in accordance with the provisions of the UPOV convention.

farmers, not to resource-poor farmers. PPB needs to be able to provide benefits to poor farmers in order to secure their meaningful participation.

The extinction of seed varieties, the erosion of genetic diversity, and the abuse of the rapid advancement of genetic engineering and biotechnology to create genetic uniformity and vulnerability are the major threats to food security and the survival of resource-poor farmers. Increasingly, the native varieties upon which the survival of many poor farmers is based, are becoming inaccessible or being replaced. This poses severe challenges for PPB, exemplified by the following statement of Mr. Tuleshwor Rajbansi, farmer from Jhodahat, Morang District:

Before 15 years, we used to grow more than 8 different varieties of rice as: Doshara, Dumsi, Panidhan, Agahani, Basmati, Mota, Birimphul, Rajbhog, etc. At least there were different 7-8 small heaps in our field while harvesting. But now we grow only two varieties of rice as Mansuli and Kanchhi Mansuli. We have to buy seed from market. We lost all our local varieties. We buy most of the vegetables' seeds that we grow in our field from the market. I prefer to grow local varieties which are cheap and delicious to eat. But it is very difficult to find seed.

LI-BIRD research findings also show that several varieties of vegetables are on the verge of extinction in Nepal (Rana, Joshi, and Lohar 1998).

How participatory is PPB?

In the existing PPB, the role of farmers is no more than that of contractual participation, as they provide germplasm to breeders and seed companies to keep in gene banks. But such gene banks fail to conserve genetic diversity because of scientific flaws and technical and political inadequacies (Shiva et al. 1995). In conventional plant breeding, farmers are merely the suppliers of genetic materials, based on the hope of future use. Farmers are commonly kept at a distance from the breeding process and only considered as consumers of the product, i.e., the seed. The farmer-breeder link is still linear and top-down.

In recent years, plant breeding has radically shifted from the conventional domain to genetic engineering and biotechnology and has been unexpectedly manipulated for commercial interests. Therefore, it is time to critically assess which groups of farmers are involved in PPB and which are benefitting from PPB. Generally, the farmers who are consulted by breeders are from the middle and higher economic strata; they are not the backward and marginalized resource-poor farmers. Farmers from middle and higher economic classes are more articulate, better able to invest in the breeding process, have a greater risk-bearing capacity, and are more capable of dealing with breeders (by expressing their ideas and responding to requests for information). They are therefore involved in PPB and getting benefits from it. The argument I have often heard is the inability of poor farmers to carry out PPB activities. However, the major unexpressed reasons for limiting the participation of these farmers—or excluding them altogether—are their inability to offer good facilities for lodging and food for R&D professionals, poor environmental hygiene, language differences, cultural biases, geographical biases (their concentration in accessible areas), etc.

Many R&D professionals rhetorically use the participatory paradigm as a ready-made solution to improve the livelihood of extremely poor farmers without considering underlying principles of participation and local dynamics and conditions. Such interventions not only create social tensions and conflicts, but they also abuse the essence of participatory discourses in R&D. Participation engenders financial, social, physical, and psychological costs as well as benefits. Furthermore, PPB professionals also exploit the financial resources obtained from donors in the name of PPB for personal

benefits (e.g., higher studies, training abroad, higher salaries, etc.). Many professionals working in R&D still lack the appropriate knowledge and skills to facilitate participatory processes. Considering this, how does PPB contribute to improving the livelihood of poor farmers, enhancing food security, and empowering marginal farmers?

I realized that the existing PPB approach limits itself to a functional type of participation where farmers are merely involved in a breeding agenda set by the PPB professionals, not to the extent of their empowerment.

Opportunities.

There are several global and local opportunities to promote PPB. Among them the following two are important.

Convention on biodiversity as a broader framework for PPB. A decision reached at Rio de Janeiro in 1992 by signatories to the Convention on Bio-Diversity (CBD) established that genetic resources (seeds) are no longer “the common heritage of mankind” but fall under the sovereignty of individual countries. The CBD legally binds member countries to conserve genetic resources and farmers’ rights (Chaudhary 1999). The threats posed to biodiversity, the environment at large, and human health by globalization and the new genetic engineering and biotechnology are major concerns under the CBD (TWN 1998). The preamble of the CBD, Indent 9, regarding precautionary principles states that “where there is a threat of significant reduction or loss of biological diversity, lack of full scientific certainty should not be used as a reason for postponing measures to avoid or minimise such threats.” Article 8(g) of the CBD, dealing with in situ conservation, obliges contracting parties to “establish or maintain means to regulate, manage or control the risks associated with the use and release of living modified organisms resulting from bio-technology which are likely to have adverse environmental impacts that could affect the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity, taking also [into] account the risk to human health.” Article 8(h) requires parties to “prevent the introduction of, control or eradicate those alien species which threaten ecosystems, habitats and species.” Article 8(j) of the CBD addresses the knowledge, innovations, and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant to the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity (Ho 1998). Therefore, CBD is supportive and provides a promotional regulatory framework to enhance PPB.

Civil society awareness and NGO initiatives. Civil-society movements to promote PPB, to conserve biodiversity, and to minimize the negative impact of globalization emerging and gaining momentum. The protests at the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle and the meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Bangkok, and the *Navdhnya* and *Beej Banchao* movements in India are examples of civil awareness. Likewise, several nongovernmental organizations, farmers groups, and activists are increasingly working towards PGR conservation and the protection of farmers’ rights through lobbying and advocacy. Some NGOs are even strongly emerging to promote PPB. LI-BIRD in Nepal is an example of such an initiative.

Conditions

In order to promote PPB at the national level, some minimum favorable conditions need to exist. Some of these are briefly discussed as follows:

Conducive policy context and supportive institutional and regulatory frameworks. Is the national policy context conducive to the promotion of PPB and are institutional and regulatory frameworks supportive enough? This is the major question to be debated and discussed in the

present context. The conducive policy context and supportive institutional and regulatory frameworks are essential to materializing, promoting, and scaling up PPB to increase people's livelihoods and have a broader impact on resource-poor farmers. The regulatory measures have great bearing on PPB—how supportive they are to promoting PPB and how strong they are to protect farmers' rights and to prevent bio-piracy, genetic erosion, monopoly of transnational seed companies, etc. It is essential to develop the institutional capacity, relationship with farmers, and research-institutions to create an environment favorable to promoting PPB. Decentralized management structures and effective mechanisms for sharing and disseminating information, as well as systems for regular monitoring, evaluation, feedback, and feed-forward are important characteristics of institutions that can and will support and promote PPB. However, policymakers, planners, and senior managers of agricultural research have yet to realize the importance of PPB, at least in Nepal. For example, in Nepal there is neither clear policy on PPB nor any interest or concern from policymakers and politicians. Similarly, neither there is regulation on the import or informal entry into the country of genetically modified or terminator seeds that can have a negative impact on the local seed-management system and which can contribute to genetic erosion. Nepalese laws and regulations are either silent or unclear about genetically modified crops, patenting, bio-piracy, CBD, or farmers' rights (Timsina 2000).

New professionalism to improve PPB performance. Since PPB itself is an integration of social and technical sciences, it is essential to develop a new professionalism with an adequate understanding of the importance of both sciences. Shared cognition and intention, along with appropriate institutions are essential ingredients to an interactive design that views people as participants, not as object that can be instrumentally and strategically manipulated (Roling 2000). So far, the egocentric attitudes of natural and social scientists, and their lack of knowledge and skills in participatory processes, have restricted collaboration not only in participatory R&D activities but also in developing this new, integrated professionalism. PPB not only deals with technical issues of genetics, plant breeding, entomology, and plant pathology but it also combines the perspective of economics, sociology, anthropology, farm management, etc., to social issues like the attitude and behavior of farmers; their economic, social, and cultural conditions for adaptation of PPB outcomes; local knowledge and information about the characteristics of particular plants and varieties, etc. One can not assume that the goals of PPB are the goals of farmers. At this juncture, there is a gap between social and natural scientists that could be bridged by developing a new, integrated professionalism through appropriate training, sharing, and experimentation.

It is increasingly realized that the "delivery" of science-based innovations like plant varieties to farmers does not work (Roling 2000). This approach was attempted by the Green-Revolution model but failed to reduce the gap between rich and poor, which increased instead. Therefore, a new approach is essential in order to develop effective action according to the objectives, expectations, priorities, and knowledge of farmers. It is time to integrate hard, positivist-objectivist, biophysical science with soft, participatory, constructivist social science to deal with PPB, which imparts knowledge, skills, and a change in the attitude of scientists (both social and biophysical), and to work in a collaborative and complementary way to improve the performance of PPB. One important characteristic of a successful professional, whether breeder or social scientist who works with communities, is the learning attitude and communication skills. One of the major constraints observed in PPB is the lack of internalizing the role and importance of integrated professionalism. Changing from an ethnocentric, own-discipline bias to accommodation of multidisciplinary—shifting perspectives and feeling from "we are the master and, therefore, part of the solution and

they are the lay person and therefore part of the problem” to “we both are learners and collaborators”—is another challenge to be internalized by PPB professionals. Attitudinal differences between two groups of scientists are due to different kinds and levels of knowledge, orientation, background, professional bias, and experience. Therefore, balancing recognition and exploring latent conflict is essential to increasing commitment, collaboration, and interdisciplinarity.

Potential threats to PPB

In this section, the effect of globalization, intellectual property rights, UPOV, genetic engineering and biotechnology, and bio-piracy is presented from the PPB perspective. The dominant reductionist scientific world view of the West and its inventions like genetic engineering and biotechnology is causing suffering, widening poverty, and destroying earth (Ho 1998). International agricultural trade does not benefit the poor because it is based on the monitory interests of transnational and multinational companies. Rather, it is severely threatening farmers' rights to seed and plant genetic resources (Action Aid 1999). It is increasingly accepted that genetic engineering, in general, and patenting of genetic resources, in particular, have a potentially negative impact on resource-poor farmers. Studies have shown that the liberalization of global trade is not only exerting enormous pressure on resource-poor agriculture and marginalizing poor and small farmers, but it is also promoting starvation and the erosion of agricultural biodiversity and indigenous knowledge (Action Aid 1999). Transnational and multinational agribusiness corporations are benefitting from globalization and the liberalization of trade at the cost of inequality, hunger, and the threatened survival of resource-poor farmers of developing countries like Nepal.

Threats to PPB by genetic engineering and biotechnology. In the field of breeding, genetic engineering and biotechnology is a departure from the conventional breeding induced by industrialized countries. The sole motive of these innovations is to monopolize global agriculture and maximize profit (Ghale and Upreti 2000). Genetic engineering is widely touted by the giant biotech industries of the developed countries as the cure for world hunger. Their argument is that genetic engineering and biotechnology will help to restore a healthy environment, prevent further degradation of plant genetic resources, and globally provide more choices and opportunities. It is assumed that hunger is due to lack of food. But that is a simple and incorrect analysis of world hunger. The fundamental cause of hunger is not lack of food but a whole range of things from unjust and inequitable political and economic structures to ecological degradation for maximization profit to the marginalization of poor people (Ghale and Upreti 2000). Even some ecological economists argue that hunger is the inevitable result of globalization and the free-market economy.

Genetic engineering and biotechnology have been directed solely at meeting the commercial interests of a few giant food producers and processors in industrialized countries. Genetic engineering and biotechnology bypass the natural reproduction process because they horizontally transfer genes from one individual to another, as compared to vertical transfer from parents to offspring. These horizontal gene transfers not only spoil genetic diversity but also raise ethical questions (for example, human gene transfer to pigs, sheep, or bacteria). Transgenic plants are generally resistant to broad-spectrum herbicides, which cause acute and chronic toxicity and have a negative impact on biodiversity (ESRE 1999). Similarly, intervention in agriculture through genetic engineering and biotechnology reinforce existing social structures, maximize monopolistic profits, and intensify agricultural practices, which will lead to widespread environmental destruction and ecological imbalance.

Intellectual property rights, the Union for the Protection of Plant Varieties, and PPB. Intellectual property rights (IPR), plant breeders' right, and patents² as a regulatory arrangement introduced in the field of breeding to universalize the command and control of most developed countries has not provided protection to public interests in developing countries (Ghale 1999). How do breeders and other professionals working in the field of PPB perceive plant breeders' rights as embodied in the UPOV convention, which strongly centralizes the plant breeding (TWN 1996)? Which options do breeders involved in PPB prefer in IPR protection—protection through patents of protection *sui generis*³ or open?

Due to the UPOV convention, the trade-related intellectual property rights (TRIPs), and genetic engineering and biotechnology, the control over plant breeding and seed is shifting from farmers to giant multinational seed companies. In this context, do participatory plant breeders advocate farmers' rights to use, produce, multiply, share, exchange, sell, modify seed, and plant genetic materials freely? The restrictions imposed by IPR infringe on farmers' rights. UPOV claims that the implementation of the new plant variety protection (PVP) arrangement stimulates protection of the environment and conservation of biodiversity and stability of food availability. That is only a nightmare and misleading (GRAIN 1999) because the uniformity criterion specified for PVP by UPOV tends to destroy diversity and enhance genetic erosion. If PPB practitioners realize this, then the fundamental shift from conventional PPB to PPB led by advocacy and lobbying is essential. This is probably too hard for the breeders. Another ethical question related to PPB is the IPR issue. PPB builds directly on farmers' knowledge and germplasm to select and develop crop varieties. Therefore, the ownership rights, access, benefits, and control of such varieties needs to be held by farmers instead of breeders. But does this happen in reality?

Threats to PPB from globalization. Technological advancement and the international expansion of trade and commerce have fundamentally shifted the focus on plant breeding. Global competitiveness is emerging as a determinant of plant breeding. The World Trade Organization (WTO), through its TRIPs arrangement and patenting of life forms, is posing new challenges and eroding the scope of self-supporting PPB. In the developed world, local seed saving is increasingly considered as a barrier to trade and commerce, and provisions are being imposed on farmers to pay royalties to plant breeders and companies. Globalization, through WTO and other similar arrangements, is forcing a radical change, not only on the setting of agricultural research but also by pressurizing member countries to change their legal, regulatory, and fiscal policies. In the case of plant breeding, the development of genetically modified foods and terminator technology by giant multinational agro-biotech companies like Monsanto, Novartis, and DuPont are examples of threats to PPB.

As the global market becomes more liberal, there is a countervailing trend to privatize knowledge and agricultural innovations for commercial profit (Action Aid 1999). Under TRIPs, if farmers use patented seed, they will be forced to pay royalties to the patentee if they keep seed to re-sow in the following years. Giant bio-tech companies are using local knowledge on the properties of plants to identify "useful" genes. They then patent the gene and its use. As a consequence, farmers in the country of origin have to buy it back and pay royalties. For example, neem trees from India and Nepal, basmati rice from India, and jasmine rice from Thailand are patented by Monsanto-like

2. A patent is a form of intellectual property protection that gives a monopoly right to exploit an invention for a period of 17 to 20 years. Article 27.3b of TRIPS requires developing countries to allow companies to take out patents on the products and processes of biotechnology. This article also demands that countries supply either patent protection or an effective *sui generis* (a unique intellectual property system for a specific good or process).

3. *Sui generis* is a Latin phrase commonly used in the IPR debate, which means "of its own kind."

companies. By placing the control of germplasm in the hands of the most powerful corporate bodies in global agriculture, the social, political, and economic structures that underpin poverty and hunger will continue to flourish (Action Aid 1999).

The open-market economy, free trade, and economic liberalization are the basic premises of WTO, in which patenting and IPR are the most controversial issues related to agriculture. Article 27.3 (b) of the TRIPs agreement does not recognize the right of local communities to their indigenous knowledge and agricultural practices. This article forces members to protect their rights to genetic resources for food and agriculture (GRAIN 1999). The commercialization of terminator technology, a genetically engineered trait that causes crop seeds to become sterile at harvest time, is posing another threat around the world (GRAIN 1999). The majority of the international and transnational life science companies are not only ignoring basic ethics and values but are also destroying indigenous knowledge, technologies, and practices for the sole aim of profit (UvA 1999). Therefore, excluding agricultural biodiversity and plant genetic resources from the patent protection within TRIPs 27.3 (b) and the protection of farmers' rights is essential to minimizing the negative effect of the TRIPs agreement on the livelihood of resource-poor farmers. In reality, the relationship between intellectual rights on life forms and the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity is highly contentious (GRAIN 1999).

Bio-piracy as an emerging threat. Bio-piracy is another threat emerging from patent arrangements and TRIP. Bio-piracy from developing countries to patent innovation and earn money is on the increase. Recent seed-related research in Nepal has shown that bio-piracy is rapidly increasing in that country (Timsina 2000). The research report states that the germplasm of buck-wheat (*Fagopyrum spp.*), barley (*Hordeum spp.*), chuche karela (*Momordica spp.*), wild rice varieties containing nitrogen-fixing bacteria (*Oryza spp.*), several herbal medicinal plants, and colocacia were taken from Nepal without permission by Japanese, German, and American researchers working in and or visiting the country. Nepalese breeders and NGO workers supported them in this bio-piracy.

Conclusion

It is time to rethink the approaches, methodologies, and focus of PPB to address changing global challenges and to raise the livelihood of resource-poor farmers. As a people-centered approach, PPB has to work in the spirit of conventional plant breeding, which seeks to promote the establishment of a sovereign community and indigenous rights to plant genetic resources. TRIPs/WTO, UPOV/ plant-variety protection, genetic engineering and biotechnology, and bio-piracy are becoming increasingly serious threats to PPB, food security, indigenous knowledge, and conservation of biodiversity. Corporate control of seed and plant genetic resources is creating inequalities. To minimize these adverse effects, it is essential for PPB to take the initiative in developing a germplasm-sharing network among farmers, PPB practitioners, and civil society, by establishing in situ seed banks as a common property resource, promoting the exchange of indigenous knowledge, registering seed and plant genetic resources at the community level, strengthening the management capacity of farmers for plant genetic resources, recognizing farmers' innovations, etc.

Since the last decade, PPB has been widely advocated by donor-supported research centers rather than poor farmers. Much of the discussion on PPB has been rhetoric, venturing into professional debate among the believers of PPB. Some practical efforts have been made to promote PPB, but they have been limited to a small-scale, disorganized, and mechanistic use of a few participatory

tools such as PRA, on-farm trials, and farmer groups in a superficial level. Not much attention has been given to empowering farmers and increasing their livelihood. Therefore, a substantial reform in existing PPB—through the development of new professionalism and ideas, frameworks, and methodologies, particularly by engaging in collaborative action—is essential if PPB is to address the globally emerging challenges in plant breeding. Experiences over the last decade suggest that plant breeding approaches are donor driven, operating under the broad conceptual framework and financial conditions imposed by donors, which are, therefore, more rhetoric than “real participation” to empower a weaker section of society. The lack of communication and facilitation skills, conducive policy measures, and supportive institutional and regulatory frameworks in national agricultural research systems, combined with the egocentricity of breeders and social scientists and a sectoral approach, are some of the major bottlenecks to promoting a PPB that aims to use participation both as an end and a means. The scaling-up, institutionalizing, simplifying (demystification of prevailing jargon and rhetoric), empowering of farmers, managing change, reorienting training, coping with globalization and TRIPS/patenting, and developing a new professionalism are some of the major areas to be improved in order to reform the existing PPB.

The only way to cope with the threat of genetic engineering and biotechnology at the global level is to work in line with the Convention on Bio-Diversity, an international treaty that has been signed by more than 160 member states of the United Nations. This convention provides an international legal framework for the conservation of biological diversity, including access to and exchange of genetic materials and biodiversity prospecting.

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Adding Benefits to Local Crop Diversity as a Sustainable Means of On-Farm Conservation: A Case Study of an in Situ Project from Nepal

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Abstract

Effective management and conservation of genetic resources on-farm takes place where the genetic resources are valued and used to meet the needs of local communities. The in situ conservation project supported by the International Plant Genetic Resources Institute (IPGRI) in Nepal recognizes that farmers maintain local crop genetic resources if they remain competitive with other options or have value for special use. It has been demonstrated that community participation can be strengthened by sensitizing the farming community and consumers through public awareness, by developing markets for local products or providing market incentives, by improving the farmer's varieties and adding benefits through policy incentives. A variety of innovative and participatory initiatives to increase the value and benefits of landraces for farmers has been identified, and three strategic options in adding benefits were used in this study. Option 1—participatory plant breeding, seed networks, and grassroots strengthening—seeks to improve quality, disease resistance, high yield, better taste, and other preferred traits through technical means, including seed networks and participatory plant breeding. Option 2—non-market and non-breeding—includes creating awareness and sensitizing communities through educational means. Option 3—market methods—works through improved markets and information. Tools like diversity fairs, diversity blocks, and community biodiversity registers (CBRs) have been found effective in consolidating the roles of the farming community in the conservation process. This paper documents some processes using diversity fairs and CBRs that demonstrated how various options for adding benefits could be developed, tested, and linked with market networks.

Introduction

The goal of in situ conservation is to encourage farmers to continue to select and manage local crop populations (Brush 1999). In situ conservation aims to conserve not only genes themselves but also the farming systems and agroecosystems that produce and maintain genetic diversity (Eyzaguirre and Iwanaga 1996). Effective management and conservation of genetic resources on-farm takes place where the genetic resources are valued and used to meet the needs of local communities. The in situ conservation project supported by the International Plant Genetic Resources Institute (IPGRI) in Nepal recognizes that farmers maintain local crop genetic resources if they remain competitive with other options or if they have value for special uses. Jarvis and Hodgkin (1997, 1999), Sthapit and Jarvis (1999), and Brush (1999) suggest that one method to encourage farmers to continue to select and manage local crop populations is to increase the value of local and diverse crop populations to farmers who might otherwise stop growing them. In this paper, we concentrate on

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The in situ conservation project is implemented in partnership in Nepal between the Nepal Agriculture Research Council (NARC), Local Initiatives for Biodiversity, Research and Development (LI-BIRD), and the International Plant Genetic Resources Institute (IPGRI). The authors wish to extend their gratitude to IPGRI and the PPB symposium organizers for giving us this opportunity to share our experiences globally.

the contribution of various options to add benefits that help maintain and maximize the genetic diversity within the total crop gene pool.

The Nepal project has developed a variety of innovative and participatory methods to increase the value and benefits of landraces for farmers and society. Benefits may be sociocultural, economic, ecological, or genetic and may apply to farmers, communities, or society as a whole. This requires an in-depth understanding of the value of local crop diversity and potential ways of adding value and market networks. Brush (1999) identified three types of value in local crop diversity: direct, indirect, and optional.

This paper documents some case studies on options for adding benefit, carried out in three study sites: Jumla (2200m), Kaski (1200m), and Bara (85m) in Nepal.

Understanding the direct value of local cultivars and information sharing

Direct values refer to the harvest and uses of crop varieties as a part of a subsistence, commercial, and/or industrial process. Direct values have been considered as the basis of in situ conservation. Farmers value local crop diversity in terms of local adaptation to ecological diversity, pests, and pathogens; risk management (socioeconomic); and culture, rituals and food culture. A baseline survey, diversity fair, and focus-group discussion across three eco-sites in Nepal have documented typical examples of the direct value of local crop diversity (appendix 1).

These values may vary among farmers and are influenced by such factors as wealth, land, and labor resources; proximity to market and technological information, and government policies. No single variety can satisfy the concerns of all the farmers in a village, resulting in a complex range of crop diversity being maintained.

Evidence clearly shows a varying degree of local crop diversity in Nepal. These resources have been used and categorized broadly into ecological, socioeconomic, and cultural or religious, linked with traditional food recipes. The in situ project has the challenge of developing appropriate methods that enhance their conservation on-farm.

Strategy for adding benefits

Jarvis and Hodgkin (1999) suggested that value may be added to crop genetic resources in two main ways: (1) the materials themselves may be improved or (2) the demand for the material or some product may be created or increased. In addition, nonbreeding and non-market methods are equally important as they are linked with access to information and genetic resources and creating awareness at different levels.

How can local crop diversity be improved? It is important to understand why and where local crop populations are maintained, as well as understanding what the value of particular landraces is and what the limiting factors are and what traits are not preferred. We can appreciate the farmers' contribution to biodiversity conservation, but we need to understand why some crops and varieties are grown on a larger scale by many farmers, while at the same time, a few farmers grow a few selected varieties by themselves—often in niches. Understanding the rationale behind this will assist plant breeders in seeking technical opportunities to improve the materials. In Kaski, Nepal, *Bayarni* and

Biramphul rice is grown by a few, richer, households for its high quality. In terms of yield, these varieties are not competitive with other landraces, such as *Jetho budho* and *Pahela*. It is assumed that many households may start planting *Bayerni* and *Biramphul* if these varieties are improved in terms of yield without losing their quality traits. Table 1 shows the number of landraces selected in the study sites for adding benefits to see whether landraces, per se, can be conserved by adding value.

Table 1. Setting Breeding Goals for Adding Benefits in Selected Rice Cultivars

| Site | Landrace selected | Constraint | Adding benefits—PPB |
|-------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Jumla | <i>Jumle marshi</i> | Low yield, chilling injury | Increase yield by select blast- and cold-tolerant cultivars |
| Kaski | <i>Anaga</i> | Low yield, poor grain/panicle | increased yield |
| | <i>Mansara</i> | Low yield, less response | non-lodging |
| | <i>Thulo/sano gurdi</i> | Low yield | early maturity |
| | <i>Ekle</i> | Low yield, late | improved eating quality |
| | <i>Biramphul</i> | Lodging, low yield, late | |
| | <i>Pahenle</i> | Long straw, low yield | |
| | <i>Madishe</i> | Eating quality, low yield | |
| Bara | <i>Dudhisaro</i> | Low yield, lodging, | grain quality |
| | <i>Nakhisaro</i> | Lodging, low yield | non-lodging |
| | <i>Rato basmati</i> | Pest BHP, low yield, blast | pest tolerance |
| | <i>Lajhi</i> | Lodging, low yield | increased yield |
| | <i>Mansara</i> | Lodging | blast tolerance |

Source: Adopted from Joshi et al. (1999) and Rijal (1999).

Adding benefits through participatory plant breeding

Participatory plant breeding (PPB) can improve the materials, but the materials can also be improved by eliminating diseases and pathogens from planting materials or clones, e.g., taro, diseases in potato and citrus. Sthapit et al. (1996) have demonstrated that *Chhomrog* rice has been enhanced because its red rice grain was replaced by a white color, while cold tolerance was improved. The project is also assessing the value of landrace enhancement for those landraces that are widely grown and preferred by farming communities. Strengthening the skill of selection and exchange of enhanced materials will also assist in the process of on-farm conservation. *Jetho budho* in Kaski, *Basmati* in Bara, and *Jjurnli marshi* in Jumla have already been identified and preliminary work has been initiated.

The most important strategy for increasing the value of local crops is to use them for a crop-improvement program. PPB covers the full range of crop improvement activities: assessing local diversity and uses, setting breeding goals, creating variability, selecting varieties from variable populations, evaluating varieties, and scaling up through farmer-to-farmer seed networks. Joshi et al. (1999) documented the detailed process of PPB to study whether PPB can be considered a strategy to enhance on-farm conservation as well as to meet the productive needs of farmers. The roles of formal plant-breeding institutions (e.g., NARC) and NGOs (e.g., LI-BIRD) have been mutually agreed upon for each key step of the PPB process. The multidisciplinary team categorized rice landraces by their distribution and frequency, as described by Joshi et al. (1999). Breeding

goals for the Bara and Kaski eco-sites were developed in a participatory manner, involving breeders, socioeconomists, and farmers, to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the landraces. In the process of selecting parents, farmers strongly felt that the preferred traits should be maintained even if inferior traits were the targets for improvement through PPB. Thus, the breeding strategy has a role to play in improving and conserving traits and characteristics that are *not* linked specifically with social, religious, or medicinal norms and beliefs or used in local recipes.

Adding benefits through nonbreeding and non-market methods

A number of participatory approaches have been used to date to increase local awareness about the importance of agro-biodiversity and to improve the flow of seed within and between communities (Rijal et al. 1999). Diversity fairs, diversity theaters, diversity songs, poetry journeys, community biodiversity registers (CBRs), and diversity blocks are some of the popular activities carried out to increase awareness and sensitize the community.

In the context of strengthening access to germplasm and information in the farming community, diversity fairs, diversity blocks, and community biodiversity registers have been identified as powerful options, which also enhance the farmers' capacity in managing their own crop genetic resources.

The diversity fair. Here, the term *diversity fair* refers to a tool used to demonstrate or display local crops along with the associated knowledge resources of an ecology, as defined by community-based organizations (CBOs). Traditionally, local seed markets and fairs constitute an important part of the informal seed exchange system in the villages. Local markets, *haat bazaar*, and "agricultural fairs" provide a good opportunity for the exchange of seeds and knowledge. In recent years, these informal systems have been threatened by outside intervention, particularly in the seed sector. As a result, indigenous knowledge associated with local genetic resources has begun to erode.

The community-organized diversity fair focuses on indigenous landraces. In Nepal, diversity fairs have been used as an entry point to raise the level of awareness about in situ crop conservation programs before more technical aspects of the project are implemented. By organizing competitions between groups of farmers, the project promote access to farmers and encourages farmers to maintain the maximum genetic diversity. The in situ project uses diversity fairs as a participatory research and development tool in Nepal. It aims at creating competitions between farmer groups on a regular basis in order to accomplish the following:

- to recognize farmers who maintain large amounts of genetic diversity and who possess a good deal of associated knowledge, to act as a source of information for others
- to locate areas of high diversity
- to identify and locate endangered landraces
- to prepare an inventory of crop genetics, along with a knowledge resource base
- to identify the main sources of the informal seed supply within the community
- to understand the value of diverse genetic resources in terms of use, economics, culture, religion, ecology, etc.
- to empower local communities to have control over their genetic resources
- to help develop a sense of ownership in the community

There are different ways of conducting diversity fairs. The in situ project aims at strengthening CBOs that conduct on-farm conservation activities with little input from outside. Initially, when CBOs were unfamiliar with the project's activities, project staff managed the fairs in partnership with them. Over time, as they have become better oriented, they organize the fair as an annual event. Sthapit and Jarvis (1999) have documented the concept and methods used, and the steps of the fair have been described by Rijal et al. (1999). There have already been five such fairs organized in Nepal, and as a result, the process has been refined over time. The fairs organized in Nepal have been successful in terms of the following:

- documenting local landraces and associated knowledge, as well as strengthening the farmer-to-farmer seed supply system
- linking outputs with research and development work
- locating the status of diversity and the custodians
- sensitizing farmers, along with the research and policy communities, on the importance of agrobiodiversity
- strengthening CBOs in on-farm conservation processes

The fairs organized through CBOs have documented equally good information, as well as increasing sample size and the number of crops. The information includes the special characteristics associated with the landraces, i.e., *huliya*, sociocultural values, ecology, and status at the community level. These sets of information can be very useful for a number of stakeholders, including breeders, ecologists, socioeconomists, and local promoters for their varied interests. The information may be shared among the farm communities and other interested parties. A very important aspect of the fair, observed in a recent fair in Begnas, Nepal, is the development of the sense of ownership in the community for the resources they have conserved for generations. Every CBO took back samples with the knowledge that they had to maintain them for future use.

The diversity block. A diversity block is a participatory research technique designed to characterize local landraces under farmers' management conditions. Landraces to be grown in the diversity block may be selected from materials from either the diversity fair or farmers' seed stocks. The crops are monitored by both farmers and scientist-promoters, and agromorphological characteristics are recorded. The diversity block has the value of enhancing public awareness at the grassroots level and making germplasm more accessible to the local community. In Nepal, the diversity block has been used to acquire farmers' indigenous knowledge about local varieties, to identify parents for breeding, and to study the population structure.

The community biodiversity register. A community biodiversity register is a record, kept on paper or in electronic form by community members. It is a register of local crop biodiversity and associated knowledge. The information maintained in the register includes landrace names, the farmers who store the seed, associated local knowledge and uses, and traditional and nontraditional passport data like agromorphological and agroecological characteristics and cultural significance. The register functions as a decentralized community gene bank (Sthapit and Jarvis 2000). CBRs have no implications for local seed exchange and storage systems; rather, it helps to improve access to information and seeds.

Updated over time, the CBR allows communities to monitor the level of genetic diversity and prevent the extinction of rare varieties, which may then be preserved *ex situ*. CBRs can be a practical

tool to monitor genetic diversity at the village level, and if the capacity of the farming community is strengthened with institutional support, it could be a good way of developing various options to add benefits on a local or regional scale.

Strengthening seed and information networks was one of the concerns in this project, for which different strategic tools were explored. The community gene bank adopted by a few institutions, such as UBINIG in Bangladesh, was reviewed for its strengths and limitations. It was found to require additional structures to serve communities under situations of stress and risk, and may replace the local farmer-to-farmer seed-supply systems. CBR strengthens local systems was developed through review of functions complementary to in situ conservation.

Since CBR has only recently been developed, it still requires further refinement. However, it has multiple functions and is worth the effort because of its effectiveness at the grassroots level. This was discussed with farmers and CBO representatives, and their responses are summarized below:

- CBR provides an inventory of both valuable and worst crop resources.
- It strengthens sharing of information and crop seeds by improving access.
- It is useful for strengthening market and seed networks.
- It lists the status of all known crop resources, with reasons for decrease, increase, or loss.
- It is useful to R&D workers.
- It enhances the process of developing a sense of ownership for the resources held by CBOs.
- It provides descriptions of ecology and diversity with area-specific identities.

The records maintained in the CBR assists in understanding the farmer's decision-making processes as well. Thus, the CBR implemented in Nepal has guided communities in developing a sense of ownership for their resources. Whatever significance it has depends on the way it is developed and executed locally. Therefore, the potential benefits from CBR can only be realized when it is adopted with full consideration of the importance of (1) partnership with farmers, (2) periodic up-dating, (3) local control, (4) sharing information among the users/stakeholders, and (5) caution about providing access to the information to outsiders.

Both the CBR and diversity fair can be used for a number of purposes, from developing R&D bases to strengthening at the grassroots level in terms of improving access to seeds, using information in an effective manner, and assessing diversity. CBR records could provide a very useful basis for developing conservation strategies. Endangered species or landraces, for example, may be conserved ex situ. However, we are also equally concerned with the possible misuse of information, such as intellectual and farmers' rights. The community must be made aware of this kind of danger as well.

Adding benefits through market methods

The demand for materials or processed products may be increased by market methods (box 1). There are many examples of local crops (e.g., *Basmati* and *Jetho budho* rice) that have direct market value. There are many options to which farmers are not exposed. This applies to researchers, development workers, market networks, and consumers as well. Benefits can also be added to crop diversity by better processing, packaging, storage, and marketing.

Box 1. Options for Adding Benefits through Market Incentives**Adding benefits through market incentives**

- ❑ Exploiting price incentives by better processing and marketing
- ❑ Creating consumer awareness of local products
- ❑ Linking market with food culture
- ❑ Linking market with eco-tourism and local cuisine
- ❑ Developing new food products using local landraces
- ❑ Adding benefits through participatory pest management (organic agriculture, green marketing)
- ❑ Improving farmers' skills on seed production of specific valuable landraces
- ❑ Appellation of local products through development of cook book of keystone crops across ethnic cultures
- ❑ Direct sale of genetic resources using IPR or contract (e.g., seed)

Source: Shapit and Jarvis (1999).

Identifying local promoters and then linking them with local producers and markets are crucial processes. In Begnas, Nepal, a series of consultations was carried out to identify major local products that have market potential, assessing total production, price negotiations, quality control, and marketing outlets. In Nepal, the project identified local promoters like *Gunilo* and *Bandobasta* who played a catalytic role in establishing linkages between promoters and consumers with the farming community. NGOs have been involved in the project to facilitate networking. Associations of hotel and tourism, Pokhara chambers of commerce, hostels, and hospital networks have also been sensitized to use more domestic products. The impact of such networks is yet to be seen.

The project is keen to develop markets to enhance the value of local crop diversity through direct sales. Rice landraces, *Jethobudho*, aromatic sponge gourd, *Khari* in taro, and *Samdi kodo* in finger millet, are a few examples. To succeed, this initiative must also be supported by policy reforms.

Table 2. Strategic Options Employed for Adding Benefits to Local Crop Diversity through Market Methods, Case of Begnas

| Crops | Varieties | Farmers' values | Indicators of assessment |
|---------------|--|--|--|
| Rice | <i>Anadi</i> | <i>Latte</i> , <i>khatte</i> , and <i>siroula</i> in festivals; Medicinal value | Research base recipes developed Number of grower farmers' increased Status of nutrition known Grain demand created and area under production increased Number of growers increased |
| | <i>Bayami</i> | Fine, medicinal and high quality; High quality and price | |
| Taro | <i>Khari</i> , <i>Khujure</i> , <i>Hattipow</i> | <i>Masaura</i> , <i>tandra</i> , corm quality; Gava | |
| Sponge gourd | <i>Basaune ghiroula</i> | Aroma and excellent eating quality | Quality seed produced and marketed widely |
| Finger millet | <i>Samdi kodo</i> | Special gruel; Possibly suitable for pizza making | Demand created locally that motivates farmers to grow |

Source: Adopted from Rijal (1999).

Discussion of strategic choices for PGR conservation

The role of local crop varieties in securing food at the household level is apparent, but diversity has also been enhanced for socioeconomic reasons (Rana et al. 1999). Nepali farmers use local rice landraces for at least six specific purposes (Rijal et al. 1997). On the one hand, these deserve special value and there is less competition, so a nonbreeding strategy is appropriate. On the other hand, breeding strategies are employed to make local crops competitive with other options, particularly those that have value and benefits in terms of ecology or physical indices like yield, disease resistance, etc. For example, the best quality of *Jethobudho* is grown with cold water, as is *Phewa* and *Kundahar* of the Pokhara valley, and always fetches a higher market price than when grown in an irrigated field. The strategies employed for adding values are presented in table 3.

In niche- or ecology-specific areas where food security is the main concern, as in Jumla, farmers always go for increased yield. Low yield is associated with rice blasts, poor response, and cold injury, for which the only way of addressing the problem is through breeding methods.

Table 3. Strategic Options for Adding Benefits to Local Crop Diversity

| Values | In situ strategies employed for on-farm conservation | | | |
|--|--|--------|-----------|-----------------|
| | Breeding | Market | Awareness | Improved access |
| Ecology (e.g., JB) | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Genetic (yield, height, disease, etc.) | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Medicinal, cultural, religious | ✗ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Traditional recipes | ✗ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Conclusion

Developing an in-depth understanding of the value of landraces through appropriate methods is the prime need prior to deciding on any conservation strategies. Local crop diversity can be desegregated into broad categories by value—genetic, sociocultural, medicinal, or religious—to strengthen conservation of crops in situ by the farm community. Three broader categories include market, non-market, and policy perspectives for improving direct and indirect benefits. No single strategy is perfect for addressing the goal of conservation; a combination is required.

Of the many innovative tools available, the diversity fair and community biodiversity register have been most effective in terms of documentation and sensitizing communities of farmers, researchers, promoters, and policymakers. Furthermore, these two tools are very useful in monitoring diversity along with status. Values documented through these tools can be used for R&D purposes, where researchers, promoters, and planners may benefit. They also provide a basis for breeding work in the short term as well as the longer term.

For local crop diversity with socioreligious, cultural, or economic value, strategies that strengthen information, seed, and market networks are particularly important if CGR and their products are to be promoted *per se*. The diversity of these sets of crops will be maintained as long as the local culture associated with them continues. On the other hand, for crop diversity associated with ecological and genetic traits, the breeding strategy is the right choice. Thus, for effective conservation of