

Participation in environmental health planning

In two neighbourhoods in Cebu-city



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Part of the SOAN-URG research project 2007
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Abstract

This research focuses at two low-income neighbourhoods in Cebu-city; Suba and Inayawan. It tries to find an answer to the question: *What opportunities exist to mobilize community members to participate in improving environmental health?*

The author first describes the theoretical concepts of social capital, community participation and environmental health. She continues with the high level of cognitive social capital in both neighbourhoods. People know each other, they trust each other and have many relationships in their neighbourhood. This offers potential for structural social capital, or organizations and activities. In both neighbourhoods are organizations, but they are pretty young, have few leaders and are barangay-dependent. Despite these weaknesses, people trust neighbourhood organizations and have high expectancies of these organizations. They are willing to join an organization and work on their own living conditions. Especially people who have obtained property rights over the land their house is standing on, are motivated to do this.

The most important actors in the neighbourhoods are the barangay council, neighbourhood organizations, the church, non-governmental organizations and the city council. Inhabitants have the highest appreciation for the church and neighbourhood organizations.

It would be very positive if inhabitants would participate more in neighbourhood organizations. It would lead to their representation, democratization and empowerment. All data support the advantages of bottom-up policy.

The final goal of the research is to mobilise people to participate in improving environmental health. There are some essential pre-conditions before improvements can be realised. First of all people should have the opportunity to obtain land rights. Besides that the organizations should be independent and there should be real community participation. Another important pre-condition is that organizations have capable and independent leaders. The last pre-condition mentioned is that inhabitants should have more resources; information as well as financial resources.

The two neighbourhoods both have a high level of social capital. This offers potential to improve environmental health. The inhabitants are willing to cooperate, to join activities and to improve their environment. There are already many organizations active in the neighbourhoods, which are willing to support these activities. In both neighbourhoods people agree on the most important and urgent issues, for example sanitation and air pollution. These shared interests make cooperation easier.

The mobilization of inhabitants should start with an inventarisation of the problems, followed by education on environmental health and the start of committees. There should be an integrated approach, activities should be promoted and people should be patient in waiting for the results of their activity.

List of abbreviations

BADAC	Barangay Anti Drug Abuse Council
BEC	Basic Ecclesial Community
BIN	Barangay Intelligence Network
BIWO	Barangay Inayawan Women Organization
BSWO	Barangay Suba Women Organization
CBO	Community Based Organization
CICL	Children in Conflict with the Law
DPSOI	Dumpsite People Solidarity Organization Inc.
DSWS	Department of Social Welfare and Services
ERPAT	Empowerment and Reaffirmation of Parental Activities and Training
EXT	Extended question
GAD	Gender and Development
ISCOI	Inayawan Senior Citizen Organization Inc.
LOSANIKNAI	<i>Lower Sto. Nino Inayawan Kanipaan Neighbourhood Organization, Inc</i>
MNC	Multi National Corporation
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NKR	<i>Nagkahiusang Kabus sa Riles</i> (United Poor of the Railway)
SCO	Senior Citizen Organization
SOAN URG	Sociology Anthropology - Urban and Regional Research Group
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SSRC	Social Science and Research Center
USC	University of San Carlos
WRCC	Women Resource Center Cebu

Preface

One year ago Ton van Naerssen invited me to participate in a joint research project of University of San Carlos in Cebu-City and Radboud University in Nijmegen. This ‘SOAN-URG research project 2007’ would focus on environmental health in Cebu-City.

After a short thinking period I said yes to this unique chance to go abroad for research and to cooperate with local students and NGO staff. The following months were filled with literature study, preparing the research and arranging practical things. May 15th I left for the Philippines and stayed there three months. Due to the Philippino hospitality I felt at home pretty fast. It was really nice to get so much support during my fieldwork in the two neighbourhoods Suba and Inayawan. Especially during the survey and in-depth interviews the help of two Philippino students was indispensable.

What I also noticed is that the majority of Philippino people are very motivated to participate in the survey, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. They feel responsible for their environment and living conditions, even though money or knowledge are lacking. People are not used to complain about bad living conditions. They have a positive attitude, try to find practical solutions and adapt to their circumstances. Back in the Netherlands I had to get used again to our direct way of communicating and our busy lives. We can learn many things from the people in the Philippines!

In the following months I wrote my master thesis, based on the data from the field. Hopefully this thesis will be of use in the two neighbourhoods in Cebu-City. It would be very positive if the inhabitants would organize themselves more and work on the topic of environmental health. Help from other actors will be crucial in this process.

Hereby I would like to thank all people involved in this research for making it an unforgettable experience.

Maria de Lange
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1. Introduction

1.1 Environmental health

The environment has an influence on the daily life of people. The physical environment is related to the health of its inhabitants, that is why it is also called one of the ‘determinants of health’. The following quotes from in-depth interviews in Cebu-City, Philippines, indicate some environmental problems;

‘This area is mainly built on garbage, this used to be the dumpsite’. For now we experience a lot of difficulties because there are many migrants coming from other islands, from Bohol mainly. There are so many immigrants, because there are a lot of advantages of living in Suba. You are very close to the city center and you can earn a better living. But I hope there will be less migrants coming, because it’s already too crowded’ (Sable¹, 2007, 4).

‘There is no good drainage and there are not enough toilets. There is a bad smell. There are coming a lot of insects. It is not clean here. We try to clean our house, but still it is not clean in our environment. There are high risks, for example to get dengue or diarrhea, this happens very often. It is too crowded here, there are so many people. This is not a good situation’ (Respondent 1, 2007, 1).

During 110 standardized and 21 in-depth interviews, the author heard many quotes about the high population density in Cebu-City. This is one of the factors causing bad living conditions and an unhealthy environment, especially for the urban poor.

In this age cities are growing very fast. Especially cities in developing countries are experiencing rapid growth. This has certain advantages, because people have an opportunity to earn a better living and live closer to services in the city, but it also leads to major problems. Some of these problems have an influence on the living conditions of the inhabitants. Some problems even have influence on the health of the inhabitants. When discussing these problems, the term ‘environmental health’ is often used. This refers to ‘the health which is related to the physical environment’ or the physical environment which has an influence on peoples health’.

This research will study the role of people and organizations in environmental health in two neighbourhoods or ‘*barangays*’² in Cebu-City. Barangay Suba is a low-income neighbourhood with a fish market, which causes certain environmental problems. Barangay Inayawan has a dumpsite for wastes, which leads to smell and pollution. Even though these are very serious problems, this study will not focus on the environmental health problems themselves. The focus will be on human agency; on the role of inhabitants and neighbourhood organizations in improving their environment and by consequence their health.

¹ Joel Sable is a local leader or ‘*barangay captain*’ in Cebu-city. (For the interview: see annex)

² Because the word Barangay is often used in Cebu-City and comes back in many names of organisations and institutions, it will also be used frequently in this thesis.

1.2 Problem definition

The last decades there has been a process of urbanization in developing countries. This also happened in Cebu-city, which now has a population of two million people. The urbanization process has resulted in many informal settlements. The people who live here are poor and have to deal with bad health circumstances, for example unsafe drinking water, unsufficient waste collection, air pollution and bad sanitary conditions.

According to Pacione (2001, 519) the majority of Third World cities are confronted with environmental problems, exacerbated by the absence of effective governance. People live in unhealthy environments which have to deal with many problems. Important problems are the lack of safe and sufficient water supply, the presence of pollutants in the human environment and overcrowded living conditions. This increases the risks of accidents and the transmission of infections.

The topic of sanitation is very important in Third World cities. The removal and safe disposal of excreta and wastewater is a critical environmental health requirement. Absence of drains or sewers can lead to waterlogged soil and stagnant pools that can convey enteric diseases and provide breeding grounds for mosquitoes (Pacione, 2001, 524). Together with other vermin, overcrowded living conditions, and poor housing these environments are dangerous for the health of the inhabitants.

The Barangay Health Status Report of Suba (2005, 2) a neighbourhood in Cebu-City, shows similar problems. Pneumonia and diarrhea are important causes of death. Punctured wounds, rat bites and dog bites are important causes of morbidity. Another problem is malnutrition and the lack of vaccinations. Besides health problems, these neighbourhoods also have to deal with many social problems, such as prostitution, gambling, drug addiction and alcoholism.

Many authors think that the environmental health problems must be tackled not by the government alone. They state that local organisations must be involved too. Harpham and Tanner (1995, 45) conclude that urban health problems are too large, and the underlying determinants are too complex, for them to be managed by Ministries of Health alone. Decentralization is an important condition for solving the problems.

According to Etemadi (2000, 61) the Cebu-city government under Major Osmena has been strong at decentralization, but weak at democratization. Even though the Cebu-city government worked together with NGO's and people's organizations in the Urban Basic Services Programme, 'there was no power-sharing in the decision making process'. This programme still exists and works on matters pertaining to health, women and children in urban poor barangays (Etemadi, 2000, 61).

So the main problem has two sides. First of all the health circumstances in informal settlements in developing cities are very bad. These problems are not only big, but also very complex. This is because the problems are related to many bigger issues. The second problem has to do with participation. Every author thinks that participation of the local

people is very important for solving the problems. But in the daily practice there is not much democratization and participation. There is also the problem of exclusion from the political process. For example the poor and the uneducated people don't participate. It's important to involve them as well, because they have to cope with most of the problems and might have the best ideas to solve them.

1.3 Research aim

This research is part of a bigger research project, called 'Participation, health and environment in Cebu-City'. The research aim of this project is: to clarify the relation between participatory processes, the physical environment and health in low income areas in Cebu-City in order to sustain environmental health activities.

The research question of the SOAN URG project is: *'How can participatory activities contribute to improve the physical environment and the health of the inhabitants of two neighbourhoods in Cebu-City?'*

As mentioned before, this thesis is only a part of the complete research which focuses on the aspects of social capital and participation. This means that I will look at the inhabitants of the two neighbourhoods Suba and Inayawan. The focus will first be on the cognitive social capital; the social relationships, trust, safety feelings and attitude towards cooperation. This will be followed by an analysis of the structural social capital in the two neighbourhoods; the different neighbourhood organizations which are active in Suba and Inayawan, their interests, perceptions and activities in the fields of physical environment and health (for more information about social capital, see section 2.1).

The goal of this research is to make an overview of the social capital that exists in both barangays and the possibilities this offers to improve the participation of the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods. The main research question is as following;

What opportunities exist to mobilize community members to participate in improving environmental health?

This research question will be answered with the following subquestions:

- 1) What is the cognitive social capital in both barangays?
- 2) What is the structural social capital in both barangays?
- 3) How are neighbourhood organisations related to each other, to local inhabitants and to the barangay council?
- 4) What is the surplus value of participation in the form of neighbourhood organizations?
- 5) In what way could community members and neighbourhood organisations be mobilised to improve environmental health?

Here is a more elaborated description of the subquestions in the research. It also gives an overview of the chapters that will follow after the theoretical and empirical framework.

1. What is the cognitive social capital in both barangays? (Chapter 4)

The concept of social capital can be divided in different kinds of social capital. The most basic kind is 'cognitive social capital'. This has to do with attitudinal manifestations such as trust in others and reciprocity between individuals. The question of social capital in Suba and Inayawan will be explored in chapter 4. There will be an analysis of the social relations, safety feelings and attitudes towards cooperation. This will be the starting point for describing the structural social capital.

2. What is the structural social capital in both barangays? (Chapter 5)

According to the literature, cognitive social capital is essential for the existing and functioning of organisations. In chapter 5 there will be an analysis of the neighbourhood organisations in Suba and Inayawan; the perception and membership of the inhabitants, and the role organisations play in improving environmental health. After describing the different organisations and their members, the next chapter will be an analysis of the relationships of these organisations to other groups.

3. How are neighbourhood organisations related to each other, to local inhabitants and to the barangay council? (Chapter 6)

Neighbourhood organisations are locally based and they have relations with other parties in the neighbourhood. It is important to see the organizations in their socio-spatial context. Here the focus will be on the relations with relevant parties such as inhabitants, non-governmental organisations, the church and the barangay council. The perceptions of inhabitants and the kind of relationships between actors in the neighbourhood will be explored. These are important things to know, before evaluating the neighbourhood organizations in general.

4. What is the surplus value of participation in the form of neighbourhood organizations? (Chapter 7)

Chapter 7 will be an evaluation of the surplus value of neighbourhood organisations. I will look at some advantages of participation; representation, democratization and empowerment, and the way in which these advantages are realized in Suba and Inayawan. The assumption is that it is good to involve people in decision making processes.

5. In what way could community members and neighbourhood organisations be mobilised to improve environmental health? (Chapter 8)

With this last question the main research question will be answered. After analyzing the social capital in both barangays and the organisational network with its surplus value, here the daily practice will be central. This means that I will focus on the ways in which community members and neighbourhood organisations can be mobilised to improve environmental health. Some essential pre-conditions for improvement will be mentioned, as well as the potential to improve environmental health. This chapter will provide an

answer to the main research question, and give useful information to the whole research project as well.

1.4 Geographical relevance

Human geography studies the ways in which people use and transform space. According to the dictionary of human geography (Johnston, 2000, 353); 'it is that part of the discipline geography concerned with the spatial differentiation and organization of human activity and its interrelationships with the physical environment'.

This research is geographically relevant because it studies the way in which people perceive their environment. The ways in which they act, organise themselves and try to change their environment. It looks at the different actors concerned with improving the environment. This is not about the environment itself, but about different aspects of environmental health; drinking water, sanitation, air pollution and waste collection. These are spatial themes which are especially relevant for human beings, because they influence their health. On a micro-scale (individual health) as well as on a macro-scale (environmental health). It is also a geographical research, because it will look at ways in which people can improve their own environment. The main goal of the research project is to sustain environmental health activities. This means that the role of human beings in improving the environment is central to the research. That is a particular geographical theme.

1.5 Social relevance

During the last decennia developing countries have experienced a rapid urbanization. This has advantages for cities and their inhabitants; 'the concentration of population and production in cities offers economies of scale that reduce the unit costs of providing infrastructure and services such as piped water, sanitation, refuse collection, electricity, drains and paved roads. It also reduces the unit cost for health, police and fire services and education. The urban concentration of households and enterprises also makes it easier for public authorities to collect taxes and charge for public services (Pacione, 2001, 519).

But there are also disadvantages to urbanization. Cities are growing very fast and this results in bad living conditions. These will in turn increase the health risks. In 'Environmental problems in Third World cities' Hardoy *et al.* describe these problems; contaminated water, inadequate disposal of human wastes, wastewater and garbage, insufficient water for domestic hygiene, disease vectors or parasites in house structure, inadequate size house and poor ventilation, hazards from traffic, unsafe sites, indoor air pollution because of open fires or poorly designed stoves, illegal occupation of house site, nutritional deficiencies, no access to curative or preventive health care, no provision for emergency life saving services (Hardoy, 1995, 152). These are very serious problems, which affect the health of individual people but which also affect the health of the environment, of the complete city. That's why it is very important to solve these problems.

This research is socially relevant, because it will seek for ways to mobilise community members to solve their problems. There are many other places with similar problems. Perhaps the results of this research could also be used in these other environments with similar problems.

Secondly it is socially relevant, because the final goal of this research is 'sustain environmental health activities' or simply; to improve environmental health. This means that the research tries to find a way in which local inhabitants can be involved in solving environmental problems. As mentioned before, these problems are large and complicated. It would be very useful to make the people aware of the importance of good environmental health policy. Hopefully it will stimulate them to participate in the environmental health activities.



Dumpsite area, Inayawan

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter gives an overview of the key concepts and theories that were used in the research. They form the background and the basis for the empirical research. They also function as tools to study the situation in both barangays. First the key concepts are being elaborated, namely social capital (both the cognitive and structural components), community participation and environmental health. After that the author continues with the theories about the role of social capital in improving living conditions and environmental health.

2.1 Social capital

2.1.1 Introduction

When studying a neighbourhood one can look at many different characteristics. Anthony Bebbington³ states that every neighbourhood has its own positive characteristics or capitals, which give certain chances to the inhabitants. He distinguishes the following capitals (1999, 2022);

- produced capital; produced goods
- human capital; health and education, values to earn a personal income
- natural capital; natural resource stocks like water, soil, air
- social capital; networks, organizations, mutual trust
- cultural capital; identity, interaction

Social capital doesn't have one clear definition. There is often confusion about what it means and how it should be measured. Putnam calls it 'the thread that binds societies together'. Halpern (2005, 2) describes social capital in terms of 'all social networks which we are part of, for example family, neighbourhood, religious and ethnic community, including many of the social customs and bonds that define them and keep them together'. The existence of this social fabric has many benefits for the communities and individuals within it. According to Putnam, people depend on their social capital. Human beings are social creatures, without social relations people suffer. So people need a network (Danbury, 2007). With his research, Putnam proved that there is a strong relationship between social capital and happiness. In contrary, there is barely any relationship between social capital and wealth.

The concept of social capital has received academic interest from the 1980s, in both Europe and the USA. In Europe Pierre Bourdieu came up with the following definition; *'Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. Acknowledging that capital can*

³ In his article Bebbington uses the 'livelihood approach'. This is an approach to poverty that aims to be people-centered, non-sectoral and grounded in the multidimensional reality of daily life. What current livelihood studies have in common is that they concentrate on the actions, chances and strategies of people trying to make a living in adverse circumstances (Kaag, 2004, 49).

take a variety of forms is indispensable to explain the structure and dynamics of differentiated societies'

2.1.2 Interpreting social capital

In contemporary academic literature, social capital is discussed in two related, but different ways. The first approach (associated with sociologists Ronald Burt, Nan Lin and Alejandro Portes) refers to resources, such as information, ideas and support, that people can use with the help of other people. This is unlike physical or human capital which are the property of individuals. The structure of and interactions in a network have an influence on the flow of resources through that network. Those who occupy key strategic positions in the network, can be said to have more social capital than others, precisely because their network position gives them access to more and better resources.

The second and more common approach to social capital refers to the nature and extent of one's involvement in various informal networks and formal civic organizations. Here social capital is used to characterize the many and varied ways in which a given community's members interact. In this approach it is possible to make a map of the organizations in a community, and so obtain a sense of the state of its civic health. Social problems like crime, poverty and unemployment have been linked empirically to a community's lack of social capital (Grootaert c.s., 2004, 3).

The two approaches have in common that they both focus on social relationships. In the first approach social relationships can only be called social capital, if they can be used as a means to obtain resources. In the second approach social relationships are always forms of social capital, despite the resources they provide.

2.1.3 Components of social capital

When one looks at the composition of social capital (whether it's kinship, work-based or interest-based) there are always three basic components. They consist of a network, a cluster of norms, values and expectancies that are shared by group members and sanctions (punishments and rewards) that help to maintain the norms and network (Halpern, 2005, 10).

Social capital can be used at different levels. In some researches a nation and its social relations can be the object of study. Other researches focus on a family and its relationships. There have been many discussions about social capital on a macro- as well as on a micro-level, which shows that it is a multi-level concept (Halpern, 2005, 18).

An additional important construct is the difference between bonding and bridging social capital, which was made by Putnam⁴. Bonding capital is the social cohesion within the group structure, whilst bridging capital refers to the type of social capital that links or cuts across, different communities and groups (Harpham, 2002, 106). Every network has its own level of bonding and bridging.

⁴ Putnam first describes the concepts of bonding and bridging social capital in his book 'Bowling alone' (1995), but he gives the credits to Ross Gital and Avis Vidal.

As described earlier, social capital is the glue that holds societies together. For this, it is necessary that there is bonding as well as bridging social capital. A high level of internal bonding is not good enough for a society. Putnam shows that multicultural communities are in general less happy and less trustworthy. People prefer to live with people like themselves. This explains the existence of ghettos (Danbury, 2007)

2.1.4 Cognitive and structural social capital

Many authors use a distinction to measure social capital. They give two dimensions to social capital. First the structural dimension, which encompasses behavioral manifestations of social capital, namely participation in formal associations. Second, the cognitive dimension subsumes attitudinal manifestations, such as trust in others and reciprocity between individuals (Yip, 2007, 38).

Trudy Harpham (2002, 106) describes it as following; ‘social capital is disaggregated into two components; a structural and a cognitive one. The structural component includes extent and intensity of associational links or activity, and the cognitive component covers perceptions of support, reciprocity, sharing and trust. Or to put it easy; ‘these two components can be respectively characterized as what people do and what people feel in terms of social relations’.

For measuring cognitive social capital, the essential question is; ‘do you think other people can be trusted?’ An international comparison by Putnam and Halpern has shown that nations have complete different levels of cognitive social capital. In Europe Turkey has the lowest score with a 6% positive answer. Norway has the highest score with 67% positive answers. Putnam and Halpern also looked at their own country Great-Britain. Here has the level of cognitive social capital fallen from 60% in 1950 to 30% today.

The researchers have noticed a fall in social capital in more countries. They think this has two causes. Firstly they see that social rules are replaced by individualism, this is not good for the sense of community. The second cause is the growing use of easy consumable television shows. ‘People are used to watching friends, instead of having friends’ (Danbury, 2007).

2.1.5 Social capital in practice

After this theoretical part, it’s good to describe in short a more practical research about social capital. Caroline Moser has done a research for the World Bank (1998, 1), to identify what the poor have; what their assets are. She is against the use of the word ‘poverty’ because it implies a static concept, while ‘vulnerability’ is more dynamic and better captures change processes as people move in and out of poverty. She thinks that with the right management, social capital can be used to solve problems and to increase people’s assets. When doing research in developing cities, the following problems relating to social capital were found:

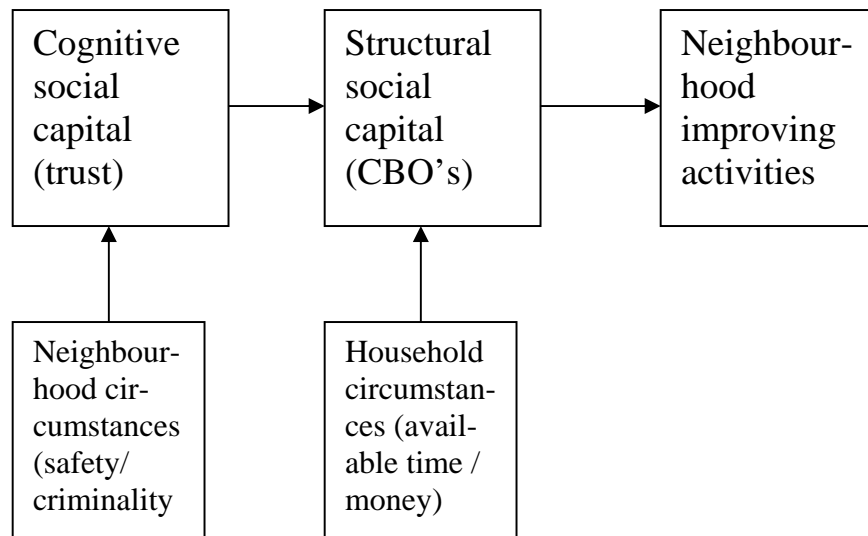
- decline in attendance of community based organizations or in activity of CBO’s
- increase in youth gangs
- increase in crime and homicide

- lack of physical mobility and decline in night school attendance.

Proposals for improving the situation are:

- through social funds, provide real opportunities for CBO organized interventions that recognize paid as well as voluntary work
- give priority to community facilities, especially for youth
- support community based solutions to crime
- enhance policing capacity
- provide a water supply, safe transport, technologically appropriate lighting etc.

Her research results also show that the permanence of social capital cannot be taken for granted. When households are coping, they support others. But when their assets are depleted, they cease to support the community. The case studies show a mixed picture of erosion and consolidation of social capital under difficult economic conditions (1998, 13). Other factors that lead to the erosion of social capital are violence, burglaries, murder rates, public transport crime and vandalism of public property. Here is a figure to visualize the relationship between cognitive, structural social capital, neighbourhood and household circumstances and neighbourhood improving activities;



According to Moser (1998, 13); Short term reciprocity, centered mainly on money and responses to crises such as death and illness, and longer term reciprocity in food, water, space and childcare, are often a precondition for the trust and cooperation that underlie community based organizations. So she assumes that people have to be provided in their basic life conditions first, before they will cooperate and trust each other and form organizations.

2.2 Community participation

Every society has its own division of power. The relationships of power in a society are between the state (state power), political community (political power), corporate economy (economic power) and civil society (social power). In many developing countries there is no equal distribution of power. Civil society consists of different subgroups; the social power is divided along lines of social class, caste, ethnicity, race, religion and gender (Pacione, 2001, 563).

The urban poor are being excluded from the political decision-making process. When discussing the concept of 'community participation', often the goal is to involve the excluded community members, especially the urban poor in community affairs. Places with a high level of community participation, also have a high level of social capital, since participation often takes place in organised settings. This refers to the structural aspect of social capital.

Many organizations and governments are thinking about problems in developing cities. The rate of urbanization in developing countries has increased during the last decennia. This has resulted in some big problems in developing cities. Meanwhile the capacity of governments to support this urban growth has decreased. There are different opinions about how this problematic situation has to be solved. But all of these opinions have in common that the solution must involve local communities.

Community participation is relevant in every sector of development, whether it is education, health conservation, agriculture or water and sanitation. When it is practiced successfully, it transforms programs and provides the critical component which can promote sustainable development. It is a precondition for social justice and democracy (Abbott, 1996, 4). The concept of community participation has become very popular, based on successful projects. The current approach to community participation is strongly empirical; there is not much scientific theory about this topic.

Jean Grugel (2000, 87) writes that in Latin-America, NGO's want to build citizenship, develop civil society and promote democratization as the keys to long-term development. Participation and democratization have become part of a conscious development strategy.

Important aspects of community participation are inclusion, the importance of local pressure or interest groups for development and democratization, social mobilization and activism whereby ordinary people make demands on the state and manage to resist state pressures (Grugel, 2000, 91).

There are two kinds of community participation; agents or interest groups that operate within the prevailing government structure (including both informal influences and formal top down public participation strategies) and more radical bottom up pressure groups or urban social movements (Pacione, 2001, 415).

The amount of power and participation of an inhabitant depends on a couple of variables;

- defensible life space
- surplus time
- knowledge and skills
- appropriate information
- social organisation

- social networks
- instruments of work and production
- financial resources (Pacione, 2001, 564)

When community members are poor, they won't have much surplus time to spend on participation in the political process. They will be busy with earning an income and taking care of their family. Besides lack of time, they will also experience a lack of knowledge and skills, for example because they haven't had proper education.

There are different levels in which the government supports community participation. A vertical scale or '*ladder of community participation*' may be identified for Third World urban society, which comprises the following levels of community participation;

1. *empowerment*; community members initiate and have control over a project or program, possibly with the assistance of outside organizations and with a supportive municipal government
2. *partnership*; members of a community, outside decision-makers and planners agree to share managerial responsibility for development projects.
3. *conciliation*; government devises a development strategy for ratification by the people. Community representatives may be appointed to advisory groups or even decision-making bodies but are frequently forced to accept the views of a more powerful elite.
4. *dissimulation*; people are appointed to rubberstamp advisory committees in order to achieve a semblance of participation.
5. *diplomacy*; this is a form of manipulation in which the government, owing to lack of interest, shortage of financial resources or incompetence, expects the community to undertake any necessary improvement projects, usually with the aid of an outside NGO. This approach may involve government in attitude surveys, consultation with residents and public hearings, but with no assurance that projects will be implemented or that support for any community effort will be forthcoming.
6. *informing*; this comprises a top-down one-way flow of information from public officials to the community of their rights, responsibilities and options, without an opportunity for feedback or negotiation.
7. *conspiracy*; participation of low-income communities in the formal decision making process is not even considered. The poor appear little more than an embarrassment to government (for example; the forced evictions of squatters from urban areas throughout the Third World)
8. *self-management*; indicates a situation in which government does nothing to resolve local problems and members of a community, possibly with the aid of an NGO plan and implement improvements to their neighbourhood, though not always successfully. In contrast to empowerment, self-management emanates from a lack of government interest, or even opposition to the demands of the poor.

The political ideology and attitude of government is a key determinant of the success of initiatives to improve the living conditions of the poor. Strategies to improve the quality of life of the urban masses must seek to reconstruct the relationship between the disadvantaged and the polity through enhanced participative democracy, meaningful dialogue and decentralized decision-making (Pacione, 2001, 574).

2.3 Environmental health

There are different factors that influence an individuals' health, these are called the determinants of health. There are different models, which make a distinction between many relevant factors. The report 'Towards a healthy future' from the Canadian Advisory Committee on Population Health, mentions the following factors or determinants of health;

- Socio-economic environment (income, education, employment, working conditions, social support and social environment)
- Healthy child development
- Physical environment (natural and built environments)
- Personal health practices (physical activity, healthy eating, healthy weights, tobacco use, use of alcohol, illicit drug use, substance use and abuse, use of safety equipment, gambling, sexual practices, HIV testing, and multiple risk behaviors)
- Health services (expenditures, delivery, access and utilization, medication expenditure and use, unmet needs, and alternative health services)
- Biology and Genetic Endowment (birth defects, reproductive technologies, brain development, and aging). (<http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/hppb/phdd/report/subin.html>, 2007)

The concentration of people, economic activities, transportation, buildings, services and production as can be found in cities has an incredibly big and often negative impact on the environment. Together with a rapid urbanization and a limited capacity of local governments, many of these problems can not be tackled. This results in bad living conditions for the city inhabitants. Some living conditions have an influence on their health. This is called 'environmental health'.

The next model shows the major environmental problems in third world cities (Pacione, 2001, 521);

Problem Area	Effects
Air <ul style="list-style-type: none">- ambient air pollution- indoor air pollution	Health problems, economic costs from health-care costs and productivity losses, amenity losses (aesthetic, cultural) Health problems (lung disease, respiratory infection, low birth rates, cancer) economic costs from health-care and productivity losses
Water <ul style="list-style-type: none">- surface water pollution- groundwater pollution and depletion- coastal/ lake pollution	Health problems, economic costs, amenity losses Reduced water quality from saline intrusion, biochemical seepage, health impacts, economic costs (damage from land subsidence, health costs, increasing marginal costs of supply) Health effects, loss of recreational and tourism resources, revenues, damage to fisheries, amenity losses, eutrophication
Land <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Degradation of forested and agricultural land	Declining agricultural productivity, reduced renewable resource base, erosion and siltation, amenity losses, loss of natural habitat

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Loss of cultural and historical property - Degradation of rural ecosystems 	<p>Loss of heritage and tourism revenues, damage to culturally valued buildings monuments, natural sites</p> <p>Health hazards, resettlement costs, loss of habitat, air water and land pollution</p>
<p>Cross-media</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Solid waste pollution - Hazardous waste pollution - Exposure to environmental hazards - Inadequate sanitation 	<p>Health impacts, costs related to blocked drainage and flooding, water pollution from leachates, air pollution from burning</p> <p>Water contamination, related health economic and resource impacts, accumulation of toxins in food chain, reduced property values</p> <p>Health effects, economic costs, land degradation, amenity losses</p> <p>Health impacts, related economic costs, eutrophication, amenity losses</p>

When these problems are related to health, there are many risks (Pacione, 2001, 524).

Domestic Environment

- Inadequate water supply; might lead to diseases such as diarrhea, dysenteries, typhoid, which can be a cause of death! Unsafe drinking water combined with under nurturing can also lead to measles, pneumonia and other common childhood diseases.
- Inadequate sanitation; not safely removing wastewater is a critical environmental health requirement. Absence of drains or sewers to take away waste-water and rainwater can lead to typhoid and provide breeding grounds for malaria mosquitoes.
- Indoor pollution; open fires and inefficient stoves in the house, cause respiratory problems, carbon monoxide poisoning and higher prevalence of chronic bronchitis.
- Overcrowding; increases the transmitting of infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, influenza, measles and meningitis.

Neighbourhood environment

- Dangerous building sites; illegal housing on marginal land or on the most unhealthy of polluted land sites (around solid-waste dumps, beside open drains and sewers, or in and around industrial areas with high levels of air pollution)
- Garbage hazard; in most developing cities between one-third and one-half of the solid wastes remain uncollected and left to accumulate on wasteland and in the streets, this attracts disease vectors (rats, cockroaches, mosquitoes, flies) while leachate from decomposing and putrefying garbage can contaminate water sources. Dangerous for children playing on open sites and those engaged in garbage picking.

City Environment

- air pollution; leads to respiratory problems. Lead (from fuel) concentrations in the air, might result in heart attacks and strokes in adults and can damage a child's mental development.
- Water pollution; leads to diarrhea, typhoid and cholera
- Toxic waste; as output from cities or from MNC's 'dirty industries' are lethal poisons
- Natural and human induced hazards; occupying dangerous locations, industrial accidents etc might cost lives.



Polluted fish ponds, Inayawan

2.4 Theories

Even though the before mentioned concepts of social capital, community participation and environmental health are mentioned in much of literature, theories linking these concepts are rare. Many articles elaborate on the role of social capital in improving individual health, but don't link the concept to environmental health. Here's an overview of researches and theories which are related to this topic.

Social cohesion; the missing link to better health and nutrition in a globalized world

Kirsten Havemann (World Bank, 2005) studies the social determinants of health. She thinks that health should not only be studied from an individualistic biomedical and economic view. In health policy there is a need for a social science focus on community and social structures. The way we organize our society, the extent to which we encourage interaction among the citizens, and the degree to which we trust, care and associate with each other in caring communities are important determinants of health (Havemann, 2005, 5). And social cohesion, a subset of social capital, is recognized to be essential for maintaining healthy populations.

In her article she makes it operational in a study of malnutrition in Kenya. Havemann's research shows that a social educational process significantly improves the nutritional status of children. Malnutrition has several causes, first of all the immediate causes such as inadequate dietary intake and diseases. The underlying causes are the high fertility, the unequal gender role and access to relevant and timely technical and basic knowledge. But most important are the basic causes, which are the political, economic, environmental and socio-cultural structures in society (Havemann, 2005, 10).

It is very important that the structures and links between and within social groups will be strengthened by participation of all the groups. Shared norms also build social cohesion and inclusion in the community and increase agency. In such a situation social projects will be successful. Factors hindering social cohesiveness (and a good health situation) are poor leadership, poor access to information, top down decision making, insufficient resources, illiteracy and conflict (Havemann, 2005, 25). Social cohesion is the missing link to better health and nutrition in a globalized world.

Healthy governance / participatory governance. Towards an integrated approach of social determinants of health for reducing health inequity.

Francoise Barthen also focuses at the social determinants of health. Due to urbanization and globalization, poverty is becoming an increasingly urban phenomenon. The deepening (health) inequity however, affects the whole of the urban setting and society. Not only the poor neighbourhoods, but also the more affluent neighbourhoods experience the disadvantages of an unhealthy environment, for example dengue mosquitoes. It is a problem of the whole city, even though the health inequities between rich and poor neighbourhoods are great.

One solution for growing health inequities is participatory governance. This is understood as governance that actively seeks the inclusion of the people, especially the poor, in the processes and systems of government (Barten, 2006, 1). It is considered as an important development strategy. The participation should not be focussed over a short period and at a local level. Participation should build institutional capacity among

excluded populations to maintain their involvement over time and it should build on local initiatives to develop national frameworks.

Another solution for the growing health inequities is upstream policy. This means that policy-makers will not solve health problems (when it's too late), by for example building more hospitals. Instead they will make more upstream policy, focused at preventive measurements and creating a healthy environment.

Does social capital enhance health and well-being? Evidence from rural China.

Today it is widely recognized that there are relations between social capital and health. Social capital is even called an important determinant of health. But according to Winnie Yip (e.a. 2006) empirical evidence regarding the direction and strength of these linkages is limited. In her paper, she tries to examine these relationships empirically, based on rural communities in China.

First she measures the variables of structural social capital by organizational membership, secondly the cognitive social capital by measuring trust, reciprocity and mutual help. And the third variable is 'health'; self-reported general health, psychological health and subjective well-being.

The conclusions are as following; there is a strong relationship between cognitive social capital and the other variables. (This strong relationship is not said to be causal, there's only a strong correlation.) Organizational membership is correlated with collective action, but not with health or well-being. Policy should be aimed at social networks and social support, because these can be a potential for improving health and well-being. The focus of the Chinese government should not only be at economic activities, but also at social activities.

In this respect, literature proves that the health status of people is socially determined. Havemann thinks that social cohesion is crucial for improving health. Barten is positive about 'participatory governance', which is related to community participation and structural social capital. She thinks that this will improve the health of cities. Yip shows that relations between social capital and health exist in China, governments should focus more on social activities.

3. Empirical framework

3.1 Introduction

Chapter two presented theories about the key concepts of social capital, community participation and environmental health. These theories can be applied to many situations, but they should be placed in their geographical context.

So before moving to the results of the research, here's some information about the context in which the research has taken place; the empirical framework. The following section will give a description of the research area; Cebu-city, and its two barangays Inayawan and Suba. The third section will be a description of the respondents that were questioned during the research. The process of selecting respondents and in-depth interview respondents will be elaborated, as well as the process of conducting the survey and in-depth interviews. The fourth section tells something about the methodologies used; literature study, a survey, in-depth interviews and observations.

3.2 Research area description

3.2.1 Cebu-City

Cebu is one of the islands located in the central part of the Philippines, the Visayas. The island has a population of over 3 million inhabitants and its capital Cebu-city has over 700.000 inhabitants. Cebu-city is considered as the second capital in the Philippines, after Manila (Ocasiones, 2007, 2). The city has a long history with international relations. Fernando Magellan landed off the Cebu coast in 1521, marking the Philippines' first contact with Europeans. Also now the city is well connected to the rest of the world. With a port and an international airport, the city is the transport hub of the Visayas.

Cebu-city has many things to offer, with two big shopping malls, a business park and several universities. Even though the city has maritime beginnings, the centre has shifted into land. Locals now refer to the newer part, around Fuente Osmena as 'uptown' and the older distinct around Colon as 'downtown'. The two parts are completely different in character. Downtown is older, with Colon as the oldest street of the Philippines. It is dirtier, impoverished and more vice-strewn than uptown. Uptown has attracted many hotels and businesses, it's more green, modern and clean in comparison with downtown (Rowthorn, 2006, 229).

The city is subdivided in 82 smaller administrative units, called barangays. Every barangay has its own council chaired by a barangay captain. Although the barangays can make short term plans, most of the decisions are being made by the city council. They formulate the long-term development plans for the whole city and for the individual barangays. Every barangay council is responsible for the execution of the city policy (Sable, 2007, 3). For their funds, they also rely on the city council.

Many of the 'environmental health' problems on a city-level (as described in section 2.3) are present in Cebu-City. The problems of air pollution, water pollution, wastes from dirty industries and dangers related to the high population density can be recognized.

Just like the differences between uptown and downtown, there are many differences between the barangays. There are many physical differences as well as socio-economic and political differences. In our research the focus is on two low-income barangays, with environmental problems. Inayawan is located in the south of the city, on the border with Talisay. It hosts the dumpsite of the whole city. Especially in case of rains and wind, many garbage moves into the barangay which leads to major problems. There is a bad smell, as well as air, water and soil pollution. These circumstances also lead to dangerous living conditions, because it's a breeding ground for disease carrying insects.

Barangay Suba is located close to the centre of Cebu. The people mainly live from the earnings from the fish port and fish market. Besides income, the fish business also causes smell and waste problems. Because it is such a small area, with many inhabitants and a growing number of immigrants, Suba is very crowded.

This brief introduction to both barangays will now be followed by a more elaborate description of the research area.

3.2.2 Inayawan

Barangay Inayawan is a large neighbourhood located in the southern part of Cebu, on the border with Talisay city. Demographically the boundary between Cebu-city and Talisay city is not clearly defined. In fact it has been a long issue until now, and legal battle is still going on. Inayawan is located along the coastline and from the early nineties it hosts the biggest dumpsite of Cebu-city. This explains the name 'Garbage Capital of Cebu-city'. Hundreds of tons of garbage from the city were deposited at the Inayawan land fill.

According to the 2006 population survey, the barangay has 21.208 inhabitants. Even though 48% of the people don't have an official job, many inhabitants have found their own ways of earning an income. All kinds of sales (especially food), laundry and transportation are important sources of income. On the one side the dumpsite has many negative effects on the environment; on the other side it also provides an income to the inhabitants. Especially for the people who live close to the dumpsite, it functions as an important source of income. Around 30% of the people earns money as a scavenger (SPSS File). By scavenging, the people recycle the waste and segregate the plastics from the wood and so forth. They receive a small amount of money for every kilo segregated waste they bring to the dumpsite office.

Comparing Inayawan to the environmental health problems mentioned in the theoretical framework (section 2.3), one will notice that the majority of the problems are present. There is inadequate water supply, inadequate sanitation, people are living on polluted land sites, there is a garbage hazard and related to this air pollution and smell.

Inayawan has been functioning as a relocation site for people from all over Cebu-City. People from the old railway station, but also from other locations have been transferred to Inayawan and are forced to build up a new life there. That's why the average number of years living in the neighbourhood is only 16,6 years. Just like in more neighbourhoods in the Philippines, Inayawan consists of many extended families. This means that besides the core family (man, woman and children) there are other family members living in. For example; cousins, adopted babies, brothers and the grandparents.

There are a number of organizations which are active in barangay Inayawan. Compared to other barangays, Inayawan is very active (Piccio, 2007, 5). This has several reasons. First of all there are the relocations, which have caused the start of many organizations, standing up for the rights of the relocated people. Secondly Inayawan had a very active GAD Focal person⁵, Rosemarie Gabiana who started and guided several organizations in their first years. Thirdly because Inayawan has a highly mixed population, there are several groups living there, with different backgrounds, different lifestyles, different wishes (Piccio, 2007, 5)

There are differences between the living conditions within Inayawan. Sometimes there are big houses, with an own toilet and their own tap. But other houses are very small and people don't have any facilities. The dumpsite causes smell, pollution and garbage problems in the barangay. Other threats are malnutrition and dogbites (average of 10 a month). This creates a dangerous situation, especially because the barangay health centre is understaffed. With one nurse, one midwife and 6 barangay health workers, it's not possible to provide enough services to the inhabitants. There is much pressure on the staff, which explains why the Inayawan doctor left for the United States.

⁵ The Gender and Development Office is the part of the local government which is responsible for all barangay related organizations. Every barangay has a GAD Office, which coordinates and supervises the activities of the neighbourhood organizations.

3.2.3 Suba

Barangay Suba is smaller than Inayawan, its surface is only 8 hectares. Long time ago, Suba used to be a beautiful beach. It is even told that Magellan first arrived in this barangay, when he visited Cebu. In early times, Suba functioned as the dumpsite area of Cebu-city. Most of the houses and other buildings are built on a previous dumpsite, so there is a soft soil. This is why there is no possibility to build high buildings in Suba. Despite the negative effects of the dumpsite, Suba increased its territory by reclaiming land from the sea. They did this by throwing waste in this area (Sable, 2007, 1).

Suba used to be connected with barangay Pasil. Up till now Suba is often confused with barangay Pasil. In the early 60's the Barangay Pasil was divided into two barangays, namely Pasil Proper and Suba-Pasil or simply Suba. Suba is Cebuano for 'big creek', this became the official name for the barangay in 1962.

The economy of Suba mainly revolves around the fish port. Two times a day the boats arrive with fish. This causes rush hour in the port area, where fishermen, transporters and fish vendors try to earn an income. Many inhabitants don't have an official job, most of them are self-employed. They find their income in fishery, transportation, preparation and sales of the fish (Ompad, 1). But it is also very common to do the laundry or sell foods in the street, in a so-called 'carenderia'.

The population of Suba is large, about 10.000 inhabitants (Sable, 2007, 2). Some of them have lived in Suba their whole life, while many others are immigrants from neighbouring provinces like Bohol and Negros. There are many negative rumours about these immigrants. First of all because Suba is already so crowded, and more immigrants will make them live like 'sardines'. Secondly, because the local people have a negative opinion about immigrants. They think that many of the immigrants are stealing and can not be trusted.

The religion of the population is mainly catholic, the barangay also has its own catholic church. But there are also muslims in the barangay, they are migrants from other islands. People have to get used to the idea that there are muslims living in their barangay. So just like in Inayawan, Suba also has a highly mixed population. Many people came from other Philippine islands, which sometimes causes integration problems.

Suba also has a number of neighbourhood organizations, which are active in the barangay. This is not such a long list as the list of organizations in Inayawan. This might be due to its smaller population size. The organizations represent the following groups; tricycle drivers, gays, youth, senior citizens, women, children, men, disabled, solo parents and children in conflict with the law (Baliguat, 2007, 2). Most of these organizations were started and guided by the GAD Focal person, representing the Department of Social Welfare and Services (DSWS). This is not such an extended list of organizations, because every barangay is supposed to start and support at least eight of these ten organizations⁶ (Baliguat, 2007, 2). Most barangays have more organizations than Suba. Some of these organizations are not functioning well, for example the men's organization ERPAT (Baliguat, 2007, 3).

⁶ All the organizations mentioned are barangay-directed, except for the tricycle driver and the gay organizations.

The living conditions in Suba are far from optimal, since it's a very crowded area with environmental problems. The pollution caused by the coconut oil factory, the wastes from the fish port and the fish market make it a potentially dangerous environment. The inhabitants recognize this, in the interviews they often complain about sanitation, air pollution and smell, but also about a huge drug problem in Suba.

Compared to Paciones description of environmental health problems (section 2.3), Suba is not a very healthy neighbourhood. There are problems of inadequate water supply, inadequate sanitation, overcrowding, polluted land sites (former dumpsite, wastes from coconut oil factory) and many wastes from the fish port and fish market.

Luckily for the inhabitants of Suba, their barangay captain is closely connected to the city's mayor. This results in many advantages for Suba. In this way are the inhabitants financially supported in their medical needs. Besides from that, Suba also receives money from senator Osmena's Community-based Enterprise Development Project. From this money, the barangay built communal toilets (Ocasiones, 2007, 12). The health center is well set-up and with one nurse and four barangay health workers (Tibay, 2007, 1), it's certainly not understaffed.

3.3 Respondents description

3.3.1 Selection of survey respondents

In this research, our first target group of respondents is the inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan. To find respondents who are willing to talk for one or two hours, we received help from the Women's Resource Centre Cebu. This is a NGO working on the situation of women. Their mission is as following: 'to provide support services to the advancement of solid organizing and education work among grassroots women through awareness-raising, capability-building, resource-building and popularization of grassroots women's concerns' (WRCC, 2007, 1). Their work mainly consists of; education and training, advocacy, information, library and databank, research and direct services. The volunteers of WRCC visit and help women in all kinds of situations. One of their most important priorities is the reduction of violence against women and children.

Because the WRCC helped us with finding respondents, we have interviewed many of their members. This makes that the biggest part of our respondents are active women in Suba and Inayawan. We interviewed a small number of men and a small number of people who are not a member of any organization. Even though our respondents are members of organizations, this doesn't mean that they are active in the barangay. Some of them are only a member for the organizations benefits, but they never attend meetings or activities of the organization.

The WRCC used the snowball method to find new respondents. This makes that we have many respondents who know each other or who are family of each other. Even though this is not a representative group, we can say that the respondents are very diverse when it comes to other characteristics. Some of them were born in Cebu-city, other are immigrants from neighbouring islands. Some of them are active in the barangay, other are only occupied with household activities. And finally some of them are confident with their living situation, while others are not and actively try to improve their environment.

3.3.2 Conducting the survey

Since the people in Suba and Inayawan don't speak English, two students from the Sociology and Anthropology department in USC assisted us with the translation of the interviews.

About half of the interviews were conducted inside a house. This makes sure that there is a little bit of a quiet environment and some privacy. People tend to give more sensitive information when the interview is inside. The other advantage is that we will have a good impression of the living conditions of the respondents. Some houses are very small, or there was a sleeping child or husband inside. That's why these others preferred the interview to be held outside the house.

The other half of the interviews was conducted in the streets. This resulted in many interested people who were listening to the conversation and sometimes even involved themselves in the conversation. The respondents tend to give no sensitive information, when many neighbours are listening. The conducted surveys were always in company of others. The smallest number of people listening is 3, the maximum number of people listening to the conversation is 42.

Besides the survey questions, people often gave more extra information. Sometimes they emphasize that the information is confidential and we can not process it with their names. That's why we also used a notebook and made many anonymous notes during the interviews.

Even though many people don't want to complain too much and say that they are quite confident with their situation, their behaviour also gives some information. Sometimes they ask for money to improve their house. Or they expect that we are representatives of the Dutch government, who will improve their neighbourhood. 'Please help us' is still an often heard sentence. So even when they don't want to complain about their living conditions, it is obvious that they are not fully satisfied with their situation.

3.3.3 Selection of in-depth interview respondents

After conducting the survey we started with in-depth interviews. These interviews will help to explain some things, to shine a new light on the answers of the people and to give more in-depth information about both barangays.

A part of this research is about structural social capital, that's why the organizations in the neighbourhoods are important. I chose to interview the representatives of several organizations. Because it was not realistic to talk to all organizations, I tried to talk with a diverse group of respondents. In Inayawan are many organizations. I interviewed the following people;

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| -Erlinda Jaca | (Barangay Inayawan Women's Organization), |
| -Licerio Jaca | (Barangay Captain) |
| -Rose Marie Gabiana | (Losaniknai, home owners organization), |
| -Virginia Jimenez | (Nagkahiusang Kabus sa Riles, relocation organization), |
| -Alma Marinas | (Gender and Development Office, barangay Inayawan) |
| -Venus Lozano | (Health Centre Inayawan) |

-Henrick Orbiso (Dumpsite People Solidarity Organization Inc, Barangay Anti Drug Abuse Concil Org., Barangay Intelligence Network)

In Suba are not so many organizations as in Inayawan. Also here I tried to talk to a diverse group of respondents⁷. This is the result;

-Florissa Tibay (Health Centre Suba)
 -Joel Sable (Barangay Captain)
 -Respondents 1,2,3 (Senior Citizen Organization)
 -Perlita Baliguat (Gender and Development Office, barangay Suba)
 -Respondent 4 (inhabitant, no organization)
 -Respondent 5 (Barangay Suba Womens Organization)
 -Caridad Franco (Senior Citizen Organization)

Besides the interviews about the barangays, I also conducted some interviews about other, more general issues.

-Francoise Barthen (Public Health Department, University Medical Center St Radboud, Nijmegen)
 -Leo Gerard Caral (Department of Psychology, University of San Carlos, Cebu-city)
 -Fredrick Boholst (Department of Psychology, University of San Carlos, Cebu-city)
 -Virgie Piccio (Department of Social Welfare and Services, Cebu-city)
 -Edwin Tesaluna (Social Science Research Center, University of San Carlos, Cebu-city)
 -Respondent 6 (criminologist and security guard, Cebu-city)

3.3.4 Conducting the in-depth interviews

The in-depth interviews are very different from the interviews with a questionnaire. This has several reasons. First of all, most of them were spoken in English language, without a translator. Secondly because they were not so fixed, there was opportunity for more follow-up questions and more chance for the respondent to elaborate on his experiences. The third characteristic of the in-depth interviews was the lacking of an audience, many of these interviews were one on one, or with only a small audience.

Because most of these interviews took place in a quiet environment, it was possible to record the conversation and make a literal report of it. Sometimes parts of the conversation are summarized or left behind, because they were not so relevant for this research. These reports can be found in the attachments. Besides the answers in the report, there are also observations and confidential information which can not be found in the report. For the safety of the informants, this information will only be mentioned without a source.

⁷ Some respondents preferred to be anonymous, they will be referred to as 'Respondent no'.

3.4 Methodology

Because this research focuses on more topics which affect many people (and their opinions), it is good to do a thorough research using several methods. First of all the literature study, which gave insights in the existing theories about the key concepts. Secondly the survey showed the opinion of 110 inhabitants about many topics. The in-depth interviews provided us with critical information, and helped in explaining the survey results. The fourth method used is observation. Some observations conflicted with earlier findings, which lead to the concept of ‘attitude-behavior discrepancies’.

3.4.1 Literature study

In this research different methodologies have been used. First of all the literature study, which was mainly conducted in the Netherlands. Several books and articles have been conducted, concerning the environment, social capital, living conditions and community participation. The most important conclusions of this literature study can be found in the theoretical framework, but also in the other chapters in combination with the empirical data.

The sources of information are sometimes from Dutch origin, but also from the Philippines and other countries. The literature originates from several disciplines; geography, sociology, psychology, political and environmental sciences.

3.4.2 Survey

The second methodology was a survey⁸. The questionnaire, which can be found in the attachments, covers a wide range of topics such as; a general profile of the respondent, the health determinants household, house, barangay governing and neighbourhood organizations. After that the questionnaire continues with questions about the structural and cognitive social capital that exists in both barangays, the relationship between individual and group and the mobilization of community members.

The questionnaire has open as well as closed questions. There are two versions of the questionnaire, the short one and the extended one. In the short one, it's about the characteristics, facts and opinions of the respondent. In the second one, the topic is the same but here we ask for more explanations. If a respondent answers that he is confident with his neighbourhood, we ask him to explain his opinion.

In total we conducted 110 questionnaires, 55 in barangay Inayawan and 55 in barangay Suba. Half of them were short and half of them were extended. Besides the barangays and the length of the questionnaires, we also made a difference in location. In Suba we conducted 28 questionnaires close to the fish port and market (close to the cause of the smell and waste) and 27 questionnaires further away. In Inayawan it's the same, also half short and half extended interviews. Here we made a difference in the location by choosing 27 respondents in sitio White Road, which is close to the dumpsite. The other 28 were conducted in Lower Santo Nino, which is further away from the dumpsite.

⁸ This survey consists of almost 100 questions and is made by Ton van Naerssen, Martin van der Velde, Leny Ocasiones, Timon Lely and Maria de Lange.

3.4.3 In-depth interviews

Several in-depth interviews have been held, most of them with active inhabitants or officers in Suba and Inayawan. The advantage of in-depth interviews is that you have the possibility to ask for people's opinions and their motivations. These interviews help to place the survey results in its wider context. Another advantage of in-depth interviews is that the respondents have more time and possibilities to be critical, to tell about their own experiences. They can be very open. Sometimes though, this was not the case, for example if we did an interview in the barangay hall and everyone was listening to the conversation.

3.4.4 Observation

During the fieldwork in both barangays, we also observed the area, the inhabitants, the living conditions and the things that happen around us. These observations are valuable to understand the context of the survey and the in-depth interviews.

Some observations are about the respondent, his non-verbal communication or his stories after tape recorder has been stopped. Other observations are about the people surrounding us; they listen, sometimes interfere in the conversation, they are very curious because it is rare that a white person visits their area. The last category of observations are of contradictory behaviour, the so-called attitude-behavior discrepancies (Caral, 2007, 1). An example of this, is when respondents answer that they think garbage is the biggest problem in Inayawan. After the interview the respondent receives bread, he eats it and afterwards throws the plastic in the street! Observations like this are attitude-behavior discrepancies, which are very interesting for the research. Some of our observations are also put on a picture. If it is useful for the story, we complete the written report with some pictures of the barangays. We have made pictures of the toilets, water pumps, the dumpsite and other living conditions.



Suba fish port. Children playing in the water which is polluted by garbage, people relieving themselves and waste from the coconut oil factory.

4. Cognitive Social Capital

And where do you sleep in the night?

“Well most times we try to find a place in the fish port. Then you have a roof and there are more people sleeping there. We know most of them, so then it is a little bit safe”

(Respondent 4, 2007, 1)

4.1 Introduction

Cognitive social capital is extremely important in everyone's daily life. Not only to have fun with friends, but also to feel safe, to have necessary information, to help each other and to know how to behave. The quote above shows that 'knowing people' is important in every aspect of life. Sometimes the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods don't feel safe, especially during night time. This might be attributed to alcoholism, drug abuse and criminality. When they are in a part of the neighbourhood where they are not known, they are more likely to become a victim of crime and they don't feel safe (SPSS File). That's why they prefer a place to sleep close to people they know. 'Knowing people' is probably one of the most given answers on the questions about cognitive social capital. Knowing people has certain advantages for the respondents

The question if we trust the people around us, is very basic in measuring social capital. This is because knowing and trusting our neighbors, will have positive effects on ourselves and on the community. It has been proved that people who trust others, are happier and more willing to cooperate with others. In communities with a high level of cognitive social capital, there is a decline in criminality and a big potential for organizations and activities.

This chapter will describe the cognitive social capital as found in the barangays of Suba and Inayawan, Cebu-city. After this short introduction, section 4.2 will tell something about Philippino culture. This is important for understanding and interpreting the survey results, which are presented in section 4.3. These show the opinions and feelings of 110 inhabitants of both barangays. Section 4.4 will be a discussion of the results, while section 4.5 will be the conclusion of this chapter.

4.2 Philippino culture

Research can never stand on his own, but should be placed in a cultural context. Especially when a research is conducted in another culture than the one the researchers come from, it is good to describe this culture explicitly. This section will give a short introduction in Philippino culture. It is a very general and incomplete description of a culture, which the author doesn't know well. That's why most descriptions come from two Philippino psychologists working in the Psychology department of University of San Carlos; Fredrick Boholst and Leo Gerard Caral.

- *Collectivism*

The Philippino culture is often described as 'collectivist'. This means that people don't have an individual orientation, but always think about 'the other', especially their family members. When they have to take a decision, they will always consider the opinion and interest of their family members. Collectivism manifests itself in more ways. Another example is in language, Philipinos tend to use the pronoun 'we' rather than 'I' (Boholst, 2007, 1).

Philipinos join different groups, or 'barricadas'. The most important group is the family. People live with their family for a longer time than Westerners. Sometimes they stay with their parents, even when they are already married. The concept of 'extended family' is a typically collectivist way of living together. This means that also cousins, nephews, grandparents and other family members join the family in one house.

- *Hierarchies*

Some authors think the Philippines is a typical patriarchal society, where the father has the most power. According to other authors, the mother secretly has the most power in the household. There is even a say in Philippino language; the husband is 'under the saria'. Saria means skirt and it represents the dominant role of Filipina women (Boholst, 2007, 3).

Despite the discussion about the role of men and women, it is for sure that hierarchies exist in the Philippines. People always relate themselves to others, which are lower or higher in the hierarchy. When they have to take a decision, they reflect on themselves and on the interests of others. In general Philippino people will be very loyal and not very critical to their boss, because he has a higher position in the hierarchy. There are many interdependencies between people, which might sometimes have negative effects;

"Tanods are the lowest rank in the government, they are dependent on people higher in the rank. So they are not very influential, they have to listen to their superiors. If a higher rank tells them to transport drugs for example, they won't say no, because it might cause threats to their families. Or they might lose their job. It's all dependencies on each other. High people have influence on lower people in the rank." (Respondent 6, 2007, 2)

- *Philippino psychology*

After forty years of Philippino psychology, the Psychology association published a book (Bernardo, 2002). One chapter of this book elaborates on the Philippino psychology, the following are quotes from this interesting book.

The Philippino experience both at home and abroad can reasonably be viewed in terms of the realities of the relationship between the West and the Third World; the dominant and the minority culture; the colonizer and the colonized. In addition, his experience includes a growth in consciousness as he hurdles his subnational regional identity toward a national identity.

The following has been identified as some of the more enduring paninindigan (values):

- respect and concern
- helping

- understanding limitations
- sensitivity and regard for others
- rapport and acceptance
- human concern and interaction as one with others

Philippinos are very social and caring, but this might also have negative effects when doing social research and many people are joining an interview;

“When their family and neighbors are also listening, people might feel controlled or are afraid to be honest. So in that way, the data are being contaminated by others. But that is what happens in the Philippine culture. Because we have a collectivist culture, people don’t give the real critical answers. When answering a question, they will always keep in mind the opinion of their neighbors, their family members, the barangay..” (Caral, 2007, 1)

Bernardo (2002, 304) has also experienced this in psychological research; “Many respond in experimental situations in such a way as to only give a socially desirable picture of a self, without regard to their ‘true’ response”. This characteristic of Philippine culture asks something more from a researcher than just asking and listening. The researcher should try to find the right information, without hurting people or forcing them to talk.

Bernardo also mentions some important values in Philippine society. The token use of Philippine concepts and the local language have led to the identification of some supposedly Philippine national values. Among the more frequently mentioned values are:

- shame
- yielding to the leader or the majority
- gratitude
- sensitivity to personal affront
- togetherness in common effort
- And also: sharing one’s fortune, sharing surplus food, compassion, empathy and fidelity with one’s promises. (Bernardo, 2002, 9)

Hopefully this short introduction in Philippine culture will help the reader to obtain more understanding of the cultural context of this research.

4.3 Cognitive social capital in Suba and Inayawan

4.3.1 Measuring cognitive social capital

Based on a literature study of social capital (Halpern 2005, Harpham 2002) and an analysis of other surveys (Grootaert 2004, Harpham 2002, Yip 2007), the author formulated the following questions to measure cognitive social capital, and more explicitly the social relations in both barangays, safety feelings and attitude towards cooperation.

- Social relations in both barangays.

To analyze the social relations that exist in both barangays, we formulated the questions below. Central in these questions are the number of relatives and the number of friends,

and their spatial pattern. These questions will show if the inhabitants are more focused on people ‘inside’ their sitio and inside their family, or if they also have contacts with people ‘outside’ their sitio and their family. These question relate to the bonding and bridging social capital (see also; 2.1.3).

3B1. How many relatives are living in the barangay?

3B2. How many relatives are living in Metro Cebu?

3B3. How many of your friends live in the sitio?

3B4. How many of your friends live in the barangay?

- Safety feelings

There are two questions to measure the feelings of safety in Suba and Inayawan. The first one refers to safety in the streets, the second question relates to theft. We also asked half of the respondents (the ones with the extended interviews; EXT) to elaborate on their personal experiences regarding safety and theft.

3B5. Is it safe to walk in the streets of this sitio alone when it’s dark?

3B5 EXT. Why do you think it is safe or unsafe?

3B6. If nobody is in your house and you forget to lock the door, do you think your things are safe?

3B6 EXT. Why do you think it is safe or unsafe?

3B7 EXT. What do you like in your barangay in general?

- Attitude towards cooperation.

Before people can organize themselves and cooperate in improving the environment, it is important that they want to cooperate. That’s why the questions below are formulated; to measure their sense of cooperating and their opinion towards community activities.

3C1. Do you like to have company when you’re doing your job?

3C1 EXT. Could you explain your answer?

3C2. Do you prefer to do your household activities individually or in a group?

3C2 EXT. Could you explain your answer?

3C3. Do you like to do activities that benefit the community?

During the SPSS analysis of the results, the author also looked for differences between groups; for example men and women, old and young people, land-owners and people who don’t own the land. This comparison between groups serves to get more understanding of the factors influencing the answers given. When for example age or sexe influence people’s willingness to cooperate, this is important for the analysis of the results. Knowing the population is important for analyzing the results and in the end formulating plans for mobilizing inhabitants. The next section shows the results of the cognitive social capital questions and explains them in short. Also differences between groups will be mentioned.

4.3.2 Cognitive social capital in Suba and Inayawan

- Social relations in both barangays

Title: Number of relatives and friends in the neighbourhood (median)

N= 110

	How many relatives are living in the barangay?	How many relatives are living in Metro-Cebu?	How many of your friends live in the sitio?	How many of your friends live in the barangay?
Suba close	30	30	50	50
Suba far	34	32	50	80
Inayawan close	7	10	28	30
Inayawan far	5	20	20	20

These questions can be interpreted in several ways. What do you consider relatives? And what do you consider friends? It seems that Philipinos have a different concept of relatives as Dutch people. Dutch people would only mention the family members they know well, but Philipinos even mention family members of whom they don't know the name. This table shows the average number of relatives and friends in the neighbourhood. Hereby the median has been used, instead of the mean which had become extremely high due to some outliers. The table shows that the respondents have many social contacts, with an average number of 19 relatives in the barangay, and 23 relatives in Metro Cebu. The average number of friends in the sitio is 37 and averagely 45 friends in the barangay.

- Safety feelings

Title: Safety in the streets at night

N = 110

Is it safe to walk in the streets of this sitio alone when it's dark?	Yes	No
Suba close	71%	29%
Suba far	93%	7%
Inayawan close	59%	33%
Inayawan far	54%	43%

When we compare the percentages of people who feel safe in both barangays, the result is Suba 82% and Inayawan 56%. This might be attributable to the high population density in Suba, where friends are always around, while in Inayawan is much open space.

People feel safe in a neighbourhood where they know the inhabitants. That's why they consider 'walking around in your own sitio at night' as safe. But for a stranger this would be dangerous, because strangers have a higher risk to become victim of a crime. (Both barangays have criminality problems, as well as drug abuse and alcoholism.) Especially women sometimes feel unsafe when walking in the dark. There is no difference in the answers of young and old people.

Title: Safety of property

N = 110

If nobody is in your house and you forget to lock the door, do you think your things are safe?	Yes	No
Suba close	39%	57%
Suba far	74%	26%
Inayawan close	67%	33%
Inayawan far	46%	50%

Here are substantial differences in the answers given in Suba. The people close to the fish port and fish market, are relatively poor and live in a very crowded situation, compared to the inhabitants far from the fish port and market. That's why only 39% considers his things safe, while 74% of the inhabitants of 'Suba far' consider their things as safe. Inayawan close to the dumpsite has a positive score of 67% and 'Inayawan far' has a score of 46%. Men consider their things more safe than women. Age doesn't have an influence on the answers of this question.

The extended questions lead to interesting answers. Even though many respondents say that they think the barangay is safe, their reasons are very different:

- my neighbours will watch my house, I have good neighbours
- most people here know me, so they won't steal from me
- there are barangay tanods around (=voluntary police)

The people who don't consider their barangay as safe, have the following reasons:

- many drug and gambling addicts
- many robbers around in our barangay
- they have experience that things were stolen from their house (a rice cooker)
- there are many immigrants whom we don't know and cannot trust.

The question; *What do you like in your barangay in general?* lead to different answers. Many respondents didn't really choose for these locations, but were forced because of family, marriage or because lack of money. Most respondents in Suba chose this location because it's a good location, it's easy to earn an income in the fish business or because their family lives there. Many respondents don't really like the area and live there because they have to. Some others say it's peaceful and there is community spirit. The inhabitants of Inayawan mention more positive things about their barangay; they say it's quiet, peaceful and there is community spirit. Besides that one can earn an income on the dumpsite.



Street life in Inayawan



Street life in Suba

- Attitude towards cooperation

Do you like to have company when you're doing your job?

	Yes	No
Suba close	71%	7%
Suba far	74%	19%
Inayawan close	52%	11%
Inayawan far	36%	14%

Suba is a very crowded neighbourhood. Whatever job you have, you will always be close to other people. This is not such a problem, as this table shows; 73% of the population of Suba likes to have company when they are doing their job. This is very high compared to the 52% in Inayawan close, and 36% in Inayawan far. Reasons for having company when doing a job are; security, more fun and time to talk. Reasons for not having company are; independence, don't have to share your profits and a better concentration.

Do you prefer to do your household activities individually or in a group?

	Individually	Group
Suba close	68%	32%
Suba far	67%	33%
Inayawan close	59%	33%
Inayawan far	79%	21%

67% of the Suba population prefers to do household activities alone, compared to 69% in Inayawan. Reasons for individual work are; a very small house, working in your own way and your own speed, children don't know how to do the work. Reasons for group work are; like to have company, in a group it goes faster and 'I can not manage alone'.

Do you like to do activities that benefit the community?

	Yes	No
Suba close	93%	4%
Suba far	100%	0%
Inayawan close	82%	7%
Inayawan far	86%	11%

This question has a very high score of positive answers. In Suba 96% said yes, compared to 84% in Inayawan. Most people immediately say they want to do activities that benefit the community. The people who give a negative answer, most times mention the reason of lack of time. These results might also be influenced by ‘socially correct’ answers. It is not usual to admit that you don’t like to do activities for the community.

These three questions didn’t show any significant differences between men and women, nor between old and young people.

4.4 Discussion results in Suba and Inayawan

4.4.1 Social relations in both barangays.

The survey results on social relations in both barangays show that there are many relations in these barangays. People have many others whom they consider as friends or relatives. But especially the family members are very important for them, as was mentioned in many of the survey interviews and in the in-depth interviews.

‘Due to the importance of the family in Philippino culture, it is impressed on every individual from childhood that parents are owed a debt of gratitude for bringing one into this world. Obedience to parents and to older siblings is taught early and enforced until adulthood, whereupon it becomes one’s sense of obligation. Children never attain equal footing with parents; parents are always treated with respect and the debt of gratitude is a lifetime one. Children are expected to serve their parents until their death.’ (Roces, 2006, 44).

People trust their own family members and care very much about their interests. Family members are the people with whom they interact the most, and with whom they are the closest connected in the network of social relations. With their concept of ‘extended family’ Philipinos have a wider understanding of the concept family. The Philippino trust in and dedication to their family is an important aspect of the cognitive social capital.

‘My things are safe, because my neighbours are watching over my house’ (SPSS File, Suba, 2007)

Besides the family, other relationships are also very important. Because most of the inhabitants don’t travel much, people also depend on neighbours and friends that live close by. The high number of friends, shows that Philipinos are used to have many of

social contacts and consider most of these contacts as friends. These contacts result in a high level of trust and confidence in the barangay.

In contrary to this, if the barangay has many immigrants and other unknown people, the level of cognitive social capital will be lower. The inhabitants can be afraid of all the new strangers. If they don't know their neighbours and the barangay is very crowded, they also don't have much trust in their own safety. This is one of the problems Suba is facing;

'For now we experience a lot of difficulties because there are so many migrants coming from other islands, from Bohol mainly. There are so many immigrants, because there are a lot of advantages of living in Suba. You are very close to the city center and you can earn a better living. But I hope there will be less migrants coming, because it's already too crowded.' (Sable, 2007, 4)

4.4.2 Safety feelings

When we compare the percentages of people who feel safe in the streets of both barangays, the result is Suba 82% and Inayawan 56%. This might be attributable to the high population density in Suba, where friends are always around, while in Inayawan is much open space. When we compare the percentages of people who think their things are safe, it's a different result. 'Suba close' has a score of 39% and 'Suba far' has a score of 74%. These scores are not very high, people know there are many thefts in their neighbourhood. Most people contribute this to the same reasons, as follows out of some interviews with anonymous elderly inhabitants;

To my opinion, the only problem is the drugs and alcohol. So many young people are using drugs here. I really don't know what to do about it. It's a big problem. (Respondent 2, 2007, 1)

I really like my barangay. It's a nice neighbourhood, even though we have problems. We have nice neighbours and there's a friendly atmosphere. About the problems; there is a lot of drug abuse, that's the most important problem. And there are many gamblers, people who use drugs, and they become criminals to get money to buy drugs. (Respondent 1, 2007, 1).

It's so many people, look it's my grandson. He's also using drugs. I don't know why. All young people here are using drugs, it's such a big problem. It has to be stopped. But the drug lords make so much money out of this, so they won't stop their business. My grandchild even used marihuana for 1 year, that was 1995. It's such a big problem. (Respondent 1, 2007, 3)

In this barangay there are so many robbers. They steal to buy drugs. There are so many bad habits in this barangay. I really don't know what to do about it. If you do something against it, you will be threatened. We are afraid. The people are stealing in the night, and the tanods are too afraid to do something against it. If they do something against the drug addicts, they will be killed. (Respondent 3, 2007, 1)

The drug problem was also mentioned by the inhabitants in two focus group discussions, which were held in September 2007. Even though the drug problem in Suba is very big, it's not an extraordinary situation. Other barangays have the same problems; *Every barangay is criminal, you can find drugs and drug lords in every barangay. It's not only in Suba or Inayawan.. It happens everywhere. But Inayawan and Suba are known for it, also because there are many snatchers in those barangays, so they get a really bad name* (Respondent 6, 2007, 2).

The drug and alcohol problems cause criminality, which lead to feelings of unsafety of the inhabitants. This is very clear in Suba as well as Inayawan. The inhabitants of Inayawan have a 67% positive score on safety feelings (close to the dumpsite) and 46% (far from the dumpsite). The big difference within Inayawan might relate to the successful anti-drugs campaign as was held in the sitios close to the dumpsite.

The campaign conducted by the Barangay Anti Drug Abuse Council (BADAC) consisted of several steps. First the members of BADAC tried to penetrate in the drugs trade. They tried to find the drug sellers, after which they would report this to the police. The barangay police arrested the drug sellers, which resulted in a big part of Inayawan which is free of drugs and its related problems (Orbiso, 2007, 2).

Despite the addictions and related criminality problems in Suba and Inayawan, the scores of safety feelings are still relatively high. With a positive score of 50 or 60 percent, both barangays are in the international top. When Putnam and Halpern did their research in European countries (Danbury 2007) and asked questions to measure how we trust others, many countries had lower scores! Turkey had the lowest score of 6%, compared to Great-Britain and more Western-European countries with 30% and Norway had the highest score with 67%. This shows that the inhabitants of these low-income areas with many problems, still have a high level of trust in each other. People are not afraid to walk in the streets alone or to leave their house alone. So the level of cognitive social capital is relatively high, despite all the problems.

4.4.3 Attitude towards cooperation

To have a good impression of the social capital in both barangays, it's important to know how the people feel about cooperation with others. Especially when this research aims at improving the living conditions, it's necessary for the people to cooperate with each other. Even though the survey results show that around 90% of the people like to do activities that benefit the community, some in-depth interview respondents were negative about the cooperation of inhabitants;

Well there are people that want to help, there are also many people who don't want to help. In general I think that the people are not so supportive (Orbiso, 2007, 4).

A respondent of the Senior Citizen Organization told that it would be difficult to make the inhabitants cooperate and change their behavior;

For me it's very important that the barangay is clean and safe. But it is very difficult to stop your habits, very much of the behavior is habitual behavior (Respondent 1, 2007, 3).

These quotes show that it is not so easy to mobilize the community and make them cooperate and participate in environmental health activities. To measure the potential for cooperation, we also asked the 110 survey respondents if they like to have company when they are doing their job and their household activities, and if they like to do activities that benefit the community.

An average of 70% of the respondents in Suba and 57% in Inayawan enjoy having company in their household and work activities. This shows that many people are positive about working together with others. When we ask them if they like to do activities that benefit the community, an average of 96% in Suba and 84% in Inayawan is positive. These are very high scores⁹.

There are some doubts if the inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan would seriously choose to do community work. Wouldn't they experience some of the constraints related to neighbourhood and household circumstances (see 2.1.5)? Wouldn't they be busy enough with earning an income?

Especially when we ask for their recent experiences with activities that benefit the community, most people can not mention anything. They are very busy with taking care of their family and providing them with an income. But still many people say they want to be involved in improving the barangay. In both barangays are some specific topics that people would really like to improve. We presented the following list:

- waste collection
- sanitation
- air pollution and smell
- safe drinking water
- housing
- health
- education
- crime prevention
- violence prevention against women and children
- sport facilities
- muddy roads
- other issues such as

Sanitation, housing, crime, waste and education are topics that the population of Suba considers very important and the things they would improve first in their barangay. In Inayawan we presented the same list of topics. The inhabitants preferred to work on the topics of air pollution and smell, sanitation, health, waste collection, muddy roads and education. If people would choose to do voluntary work for the community, they would prefer to work on these topics because they need many changes. With these priority lists in mind, we know in which topics people might be interested to contribute themselves.

This formulation of the most urgent problems is an important first step for improving the living conditions. *'The organizational process should begin with people identifying and assessing their more salient shared interests, needs and concerns. It is*

⁹ It could be that a part of these positive answers are more 'socially-correct' answers. It might be considered rude to give a negative answer. To check the validity of the answers, we also asked for their recent experiences with community work.

particularly important that the community is organized around its collective rather than individual needs, problems or concerns and through activities that require them to work cooperatively with one another, so that the benefits and advantages from community participation can be maximized and shared' (Osteria, 1990, 19).

4.5 Conclusion

Both Inayawan and Suba have a high level of cognitive social capital, if you compare it with the scores of other countries (Danbury, 2007). This conclusion comes from the survey, but also from the in-depth interviews with some anonymous inhabitants. It is clear that the inhabitants have many family members and friends living close by. They have much contact with their family members, which is a form of bonding social capital, because it is inside the group. But there are also positive contacts with friends and neighbours, this might be an example of bridging social capital. People know each other and help each other.

Because of all these social relations, a majority of the people feel safe in the streets. When they leave their house, they are quite confident that their things are safe. Some houses can not be locked, in this case people trust their neighbours. This is a clear indication of the high level of cognitive social capital.

Despite the high level of trust, there are also factors that have a negative influence on the level of social capital. In Suba are many immigrants, which causes more crowdedness and insecurity among its inhabitants. Here is also a big drugs problem, especially among the youth, which doesn't have an education nor a job. Inayawan has drug problems too, which causes new problems in the barangay. Things are being stolen and young people are passive and depressed. These factors have a negative influence on the safety feelings, especially those of women.

The attitude towards cooperation is positive. People like to work with others because it's more fun and it goes faster. Sometimes they don't want to work together, for the reason of sharing the profits. When we ask for their opinion about community work, practically everyone is positive. People say they want to do activities that benefit the community. Both barangays have specific topics of interest. Especially for those topics it shouldn't be too difficult to mobilize some people who want to improve them..

5. Structural social capital

5.1 Introduction

A high level of cognitive social capital leads to structural social capital or more simply cooperation between people, for example in the form of neighbourhood organizations. Neighbourhood organizations are also called 'community based organizations'. These organizations are bottom-up; organized by the people themselves, on a local scale.

Even though the name 'bottom up' might implicate spontaneous actions from inhabitants, this is certainly not the case for many organizations in Cebu. In Cebu there has been top-down help from the local government in creating the organizations. According to the Department of Social Welfare and Services (DSWS), it is important to organize the community;

We're also handling community organizing. (..)We teach the people to become self reliant, hereby we focus on the organizations. Self reliance is so important. We look at their capacities and skills and we organize them (Piccio, 2007, 1).

For starting organizations, the DSWS uses the Gender and Development offices. Every barangay has a GAD office, with a GAD focal person responsible for the community organizing activities in that particular barangay.

The GAD office implements an organizational structure upon every barangay. Hereby the GAD focuses on six target groups within society; men, women, elderly, disabled, children and youth. (Within these groups are other target groups, for example solo parents and children in conflict with the law.)

GAD plays a facilitating role in the activities of the neighbourhood organizations. The focal persons coordinate activities, make sure that there is accommodation available and subsidize activities. This is the same in every barangay;

All 80 barangays of Cebu-city, the north and the south barangays, have an equal share of services. Because the mayor supports all the projects in Cebu-city, with financial plans. So here in Cebu-city we are very actively offering services to the people, for the children, day care centers, education, health care center, child health care center, the neighbourhood center. Each barangay has a GAD focal person, to talk with the barangay officials to extend services, to help the social workers to extend services, related to their programs in the development plan for the barangay. Cebu-city is very supportive to help the barangay, to make solutions in the event of needs for programs and services (Piccio, 2007, 2).

Even though this sounds very promising, there are some problems in the daily practice of the functioning of GAD. The first problem has to do with the fact that the GAD office is understaffed (Baliguat, 2007, 4). The job of GAD focal person is a full time one, but this situation makes the GAD focal persons extremely busy. The second problem has to do with the functioning of some organizations. Many organizations are passive and don't organize activities. Their members are not involved with the organization. The third

problem has to do with the independence of the organizations. Because the organizations are initiated by the municipality and depend on it financially, they are in a dependent situation.

Besides the organizations initiated by GAD, there are also other organizations active in both barangays. These organizations have different goals; some of them focus on a means of living, while others are interested with sports, religion or land rights. These organizations are functioning more independent of the barangay. Sometimes they do have relations with the barangay or the government, for example if they want to obtain land rights over a particular area.

The GAD office fulfills a coordinating task for all the organizations. This gives the GAD Focal person a very influential position in the neighbourhood. When an organization wants to organize an activity, they have to report it to the GAD Focal person. This person has to give permission first and after that he will facilitate and promote the activity. According to the GAD Focal person in Suba, GAD doesn't want to influence the activities, but only facilitate them.

Most times we give permission and we facilitate the activity. It never happened that I said no. I'm here to help the people, not to work against them. I will do my best to be open minded, listen to their ideas and help them. I'm not so strict (Baliguat, 2007, 3).

Most times the relationships between organizations and barangays are very positive. Both groups are enthusiastic about their cooperation. But sometimes there are examples of barangays interfering in organizations, changing organizations or limiting the organization in their freedom. An example is the Barangay Suba Women's Organization, where the barangay captain replaced the chairwoman, against the opinion of other members. The new chairwoman happens to be his own daughter-in-law (Respondent 5, 2007, 1).

Comparing this situation with Paciones description of two kinds of community participation, we can conclude that the majority of organizations are operating within the prevailing government structure. When we look at the ladder of community participation (section 2.2) it is clear that the optimal situation of 'empowerment' is certainly not the case. People are not involved in decision-making processes, but some active people who represent a neighbourhood organization, have the opportunity to join an advisory committee. It is not sure that they will be listened to.

5.2 Organizations in Suba and Inayawan

5.2.1 Introduction

This section contains a short description of the organizational life in Suba and Inayawan. It is not possible to give a complete overview of the organizations, because in this research we focus on the official list of organizations as presented by the barangays. Both neighbourhoods have the GAD organizations, but also organizations initiated outside

GAD. Before the description of the organizations in Suba and Inayawan, first some general remarks or observations related to the organizations.

- Few leaders

When studying the organizations in Inayawan, and more specifically the contact persons, one will immediately notice the large number of people called 'Jaca'. The Jaca family is a successful political family, in the list of barangay officials are some members of the Jaca family. Also in the boards of many organizations are people called 'Jaca'. These people know and help each other.

In barangay Suba happens the same. The family of barangay captain Joel Sable is overrepresented in many organizations. Also here is the chairwoman of the womens organization his own daughter in law, Sheranie Sable.

Besides from the overrepresentation of one dominant family, there are not so many active leaders in both barangays. Many people who are active, play an important role in more organizations. So few people have more different tasks within different organizations. This makes that only a small number of people is actively involved in the organizations.

This is a risk; *'it is not good for one person to handle so many things. He will be too busy and he can not provide enough direction in the organization which he handles'* (Tsaluna, 2007, 2).

- Dependence

All organizations are dependent upon the local government. Without the cooperation and permission of the GAD officials, organizations can not function well. Organizations are obligated to have regular meetings with other organizations and with the barangay council, to make agreements about activities. Sometimes the barangay council interferes in an organization and changes leaders, as happened in the Womens Organization in Suba (Respondent 5, 2007, 1).

Because neighbourhood organizations will never be independent from the barangay, it might be important to involve NGO's as well in improving the neighbourhood. NGO's have the skills and they are more neutral when it comes to politics (Tsaluna, 2007, 5).

- Young organizations

Most organizations started in the last ten or twenty years. This means that they are quite young and inexperienced. Many organizations are not in a good financial situation, since most of them ask for financial help from the Dutch government.

5.2.2 Suba

It is not completely clear how many organizations are active in Suba. According to the registrations in the GAD office, there is a number of organizations which are active in the barangay (Ocasiones, 2007, 12);

Name of Organization	No. of Members	Date Organized
Barangay Suba <i>Trisikad</i> Association	82	No data
Gays of Suba	200	No data
JARGANS (Youth Group)	No data	No data
Magsaysay Suba <i>Trisikad</i> Association	No data	No data
Suba Senior Citizens' Association	200	No data
Suba * <i>Trisikad</i> Association	14	No data
Suba United <i>Trisikad</i> Drivers Association	No data	No data
Suba Women's Organization	No data	No data
Youth on Fire	130	No data

According to the GAD Focal person, Perlita Baligat (2007, 2) there are more organizations present in the barangay, she mentions the following;

- Barangay Suba Childrens Organization
- Barangay Suba Youth Organization (twelve plus)
- ERPAT (Barangay Suba Men's organization)
- Barangay Suba Disabled Organization
- Children in Conflict with the law (CICL)
- Solo parents organization

The presence of these organizations doesn't mean that there are many activities organized by them. For example the ERPAT or Men's organization still exists but doesn't organize any activities. Because it's not possible to describe all organizations, due to a lack of information and space, here's a description of a selection of organizations. These organizations are chosen based on their number of members, their activities and on the experiences of respondents. In short, their activities, members and cooperation with others will be elaborated below.

- Suba Senior Citizen Organization

This organization has about 200 members, most of them are actively involved in the organization, by visiting the obligatory meetings. There are many financial activities, for example; the organization collects money and supports its members. When a member celebrates his birthday, the organization donates P1000. And when someone dies, the SCO gives financial support to the family.

Besides from financial activities, there are relaxing activities for the elderly. There are daily trips to the beach, the shrine and one can sing in a quire. According to Mayor Osmena it is very important that the elderly enjoy their lives, that's why he supports these activities (Franco, 2007, 1).

The organization is involved with the barangay, since they join the monthly clean-up drive. They don't organize activities for the barangay, only for their members.

- Suba Women's Organization

This organization started some years ago with the help of the Women Resource Center Cebu and the GAD office. Women in Suba have to deal with bad living conditions, that's why the BSWO tries to improve their means of living. The organization organizes activities to help the women earning an extra income. Besides from that, the organization organizes seminars and other activities about different subjects.

The BSWO cooperates with the barangay, because the women maintain and clean the public toilets as were built by the barangay (Sable, 2007). The barangay council has much influence on the organization, since they replaced the chairwoman. Right now Sheranie Sable, daughter-in-law of barangay captain Joel Sable is the chairwoman of BSWO. There are many rumours about this change, because many (board) members don't agree with this.

- Trisikad organizations

There are several tricycle organizations. Tricycle driving is an important source of income for the inhabitants of Suba. A tricycle is a Philippino reinvention of a bicycle. The bicycle is attached with a metal structure with an additional wheel which can accommodate 2-4 passengers. This is widely used as transportation especially in the villages (Ocasiones, 2007, 13).

The *tricycle* organizations work on the interests of *tricycle* drivers. They make sure that there are good regulations, fixed locations and services for the drivers. For many of their members *tricycle* driving is only one of the sources of income.

- Children and youth organizations

In Suba are many children and young people. Some of them have problems, like criminality, drug and alcohol addiction and a lack of education. GAD gives priority to children, as a special target group.

GAD organizes many activities for the children (Baliguat, 2007, 2); education, program for the out of school youth and holiday activities. There are additional courses for the parents; responsibility courses, a course about supervising the health of children, parents effectiveness, motherhood, courses for solo parents etcetera. GAD plays a very important role in the activities of children and youth organizations. Especially because children don't know how to handle their own organization and they depend on GAD.

5.2.3 Inayawan

Compared to Suba, Inayawan is a very active barangay. There are many organizations which are actively involved in the barangay. According to the official registrations the following organizations exist;

Name of Organization	No. of Members	Date Organized
Babao Youth Big Brothers' Association	50	2005
<i>Bantay Banay</i> (Home Watcher) of Inayawan	46	1992
Barangay Anti-drug Abuse Council (BADAC)	68	2004
Barangay Inayawan Women's Organization (BIWO)	300	2003
Barangay Intelligence Network (BIN)	20	2005
Basic Ecclesial Community (BEC)	3,000	1999
Basketball Association of Inayawan Diplomat	60	1995
<i>Day-as</i> Homeowner's Association	23	1990
Dumpsite People Solidarity Organization, Inc.	130	2000
Empowerment and Reaffirmation of Paternal Abilities Training (ERPAT)	68	2004
Home Searching Association of Tinago	24	1985
Inayawan Market Vendors Association	60	1980
Inayawan School Site Association	40	1980
Inayawan Senior Citizen Organization Inc. (ISCOI)	350	1997
<i>Katungod Tahura, Abuso Hunonga</i> [Respect Rights, Stop the Abuse)	72	2004
<i>Lower Sto. Nino Inayawan Kanipaan Neighbourhood Organization, Inc.</i> (LOSANIKNAI)	130	2005
<i>Lower Torre Paluwagan</i> Association	80	1993
<i>Mabihura</i> Homeowner's Association	No data	No data
<i>Magkahawak Kamay</i> (Holding Hands)	23	1990
Maria Veloso Association	23	1990
<i>Nagkahiusang Kabus sa Riles</i> (United Poor of the Railway)	23	1990
Northern Inayawan Basketball Association	65	1990
Power Fourthy	57	1989
Sto. Rosario Homeowner's Association	44	1990

Inayawan has many organizations, which shows that there is a high level of structural social capital in this barangay. There are different opinions about the cause of this high number of organizations. Virgie Piccio (2007, 5), who works in the DSWS office for 23 years attributes this to the mixed population and many relocations. People in Inayawan don't know where to go for services, they have different backgrounds, different lifestyles and different wishes. You can not compare Inayawan with Suba, because in Suba;

One family has eight children. They are selling fish, that's why they live there. But when it comes to organization, it's only a little. Only what the barangay council wants.. no other organizations.. The youth organization is there, the womens organization is there... the senior citizen organization. You can not compare these barangays. Inayawan is unique. In solving their problems, in their lifestyles. In Suba it's different. (Piccio,2007,6)

Besides from the mixed population and the relocations, Inayawan used to have a very active GAD Focal person. The high number of organizations is also often due to the work of Rose Marie Gabiana, the previous GAD Focal Person who was very active in community organizing. Right now she works in the city hall lobbying for better housing programs in Inayawan (Gabiana, 2007, 1). The new GAD Focal Person Alma Marinas just started with her job. Her priority is with the children. She helps children finding a job and sometimes the GAD office is used for teaching the children who can not go to school (Marinas, 2007, 3).

When conducting research in Inayawan, it's easy to talk to people from the organizations. Many people are active and willing to do an interview. It's not possible to describe all organizations, that's why I made the following selection; home owners organizations, religious organization BEC, anti-criminality organizations and the womens organization.

- Home Owners organizations

When the government forces people to leave their house and move to another place, it is called 'relocation'. Most times this happens to poor people who built a small house on someone else's ground. Because they don't have legal land rights, they have the risk of being forced to move. There are many relocations in Cebu and Inayawan is an important destination for the relocated families, because there is much open space.

The Home Owners organizations are; *Day-as* Homeowner's Association, Home Searching Association of Tinago, *Lower Sto. Nino Inayawan Kanipaan Neighbourhood Organization, Inc*, *Lower Torre Paluwagan Association*, *Mabihura* Homeowner's Association, *Magkahawak Kamay*, Maria Veloso Association, *Nagkahiusang Kabus sa Riles* and *Sto. Rosario* Homeowner's Association.

It should be mentioned that these organizations have many members. The number of members actually represents the number of families that are member of the organization. Since an average family in Inayawan has about 4 children, two parents and more family members living in, these organizations represent many people.

The organizations are actively lobbying in the city and the barangay, to obtain more facilities for their members. Examples in Inayawan are street lights, foot paths and the ultimate goal of every home owners association is to obtain the legal rights over the land they occupy. This is a difficult task, because the members can barely fulfill their payment duties (Jimenez, 2007, 1).

- Basic Ecclesial Community (BEC)

This is the biggest neighbourhood organization in Inayawan, with about 3000 members. Most of the members are from Roman Catholic origin. This religious organization is active and organizes bible studies, weekly meetings and the members of the BEC maintain the chapels. In Inayawan are 24 chapels. The members of the BEC want to serve God and each other, an example of this is the (financial) support for a family when a family member dies (Orbiso, 2007, 3).

Besides from the BEC, the Dumpsite People Solidarity Organization (DPSOI) also organizes daily bible studies for the people on the dumpsite.

- Anti-criminality organizations

Inayawan is widely known for its criminal climate. There are many drug and alcohol addicts, which lead to criminality. Inayawan is also called a haven of snatchers and robbers within Cebu-City (Ocasiones, 2007, 7). To fight criminality there are two organizations active in the barangay.

The Barangay Anti Drug Abuse Council fights drugs in cooperation with the barangay. They have monthly meetings with councilor Jerome Jaca from Peace and Order. *'We try to find the person who sells drugs, direct to the barangay and the barangay will arrest them. The barangay arrests people'* (Orbiso, 2007, 2).

The Barangay Intelligence Network (BIN) has similar activities. In this organization it's not about drug abuse, but about every criminal activity. *'We have meetings with the barangay. We are a support for the barangay and the police here. It's like voluntary police. We look what is the problem in that barangay, like drugs or snatching. We support the police and we try to find the people who commit a crime. And we tell the police our suspects. Then the people will be arrested by the police'* (Orbiso, 2007, 3).

- Barangay Inayawan Womens Organization (BIWO)

BIWO organizes activities for women in Inayawan. There are many livelihood projects, aimed at improving the livelihood of women. The members learn how to make handicrafts like dresses and bags, that they can sell to earn an extra income. The organization is also involved with societal problems in Inayawan. They work on the education of children, the monthly clean-up and they have a tree planting activity (Jaca, 2007, 1). The BIWO also cooperates with the barangay council. Besides from the fact that the chairwoman of BIWO is the wife of the barangay captain, there are also regular meetings. Sometimes the barangay council asks for help or cooperation from BIWO.

5.3 Structural social capital in Suba and Inayawan

5.3.1 Measuring structural social capital

To measure structural social capital in a survey, we used the following three categories and questions;

- Perception of neighbourhood organizations

The image of neighbourhood organizations is very important for their functioning. Because if they have a bad image, nobody would want to be involved in the organization. It is also important that a neighbourhood organization is being listened to by the other actors, especially the barangay. To find out what image the neighbourhood organizations have, the following questions were asked:

2D1. Do you think neighbourhood organizations in the barangay are;

- a) active; 0 yes 0 no*
- b) important; 0 yes 0 no*
- c) willing to listen to the inhabitants; 0 yes 0 no*
- d) independent; 0 yes 0 no*
- e) effective; 0 yes 0 no*

2D2. *If there is an organization that could work on the improvement of living conditions, would you join it? 0 yes 0 no*

2D2EXT. *Could you explain why yes or no?*

2D3. *And do you think the barangay council would listen to this organization?*

0 yes 0 no

2D3EXT *Could you explain why yes or no?*

2D4. *Do you think the barangay would act on it?*

2D4EXT. *Could you explain why yes or no?*

- Own membership

To make an overview of the organizations that are truly active in the barangays, we asked which organizations the respondents know. With the result of this question it is possible to check if the official lists of the barangays are correct. We also wanted to know if the respondents are a member of any organization, if yes what organization and what their motivation is. With the results of these questions we can analyze the interests and priorities of the respondents.

3A1. *What neighbourhood organizations do you know in your barangay?*

3A2. *Are you a member of one or more neighbourhood organization(s)?*

0 yes 0 no

3A3. *If yes, what kind of neighbourhood organization?*

0 women 0 political 0 other

0 religious 0 sport

0 professional

3A4. *If no, would you like to be a member of a neighbourhood organization?*

0 no, because

0 yes. because

- Organizations and the environment

Every organization has its own interests. Most of the organizations are not directly working on barangay living conditions. But since the organizations were created and are active in those barangays, there is a chance that they might be interested in living conditions. In this set of questions, we ask the respondents for their opinion about organizations and the environment. There are some open questions which offer space for the respondents to elaborate on their own experiences.

3A5. *Do you think neighbourhood organizations should work on improvement of barangay*

living conditions?

0 yes 0 no

3A6. *What kind of neighbourhood organization should be involved in improving barangay*

living conditions?

3A6EXT *Could you explain your answers on questions 5 and 6?*

3A7. *Do you have experience with neighbourhood organizations that work(ed) on barangay living conditions? Interviewer mentions the following categories:*

0 yes, I was a member

0 yes , I was not a member but did some supporting activities

0 yes, I was involved

0 other

0 no

3A7EXT. Could you elaborate on your experiences with emphasis on the actions taken to protect/ promote environmental health?

5.3.2 Structural social capital in Suba and Inayawan

- Perception of neighbourhood organizations

The people were asked to judge whether the neighbourhood organizations are active, important, willing to listen to the inhabitants, independent and effective. The results are in the following table, missing answers are left behind.

	active	important	Willing to listen to the inhabitants	independent	effective
Suba close	Yes 75% No 21%	Yes 93% No 4%	Yes 89% No 4%	Yes 64% No 32%	Yes 79% No 11%
Suba far	Yes 78% No 15%	Yes 96% No 4%	Yes 85% No 15%	Yes 92% No 4%	Yes 93% No 7%
Inayawan close	Yes 78% No 15%	Yes 100% No 0%	Yes 78% No 15%	Yes 74% No 15%	Yes 89% No 11%
Inayawan far	Yes 71% No 11%	Yes 79% No 4%	Yes 64% No 7%	Yes 70% No 4%	Yes 79% No 4%

People highly appreciate the work of neighbourhood organizations. The inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan consider the organisations as very important. The organizations are also effective, active, willing to listen to the inhabitants and quite independent. There are not so many differences between Suba and Inayawan. When it comes to men and women, there are some differences. Men tend to be more critical about the organizations. They have somewhat lower scores on the typifications of ‘active’ ‘independent’ and ‘effective’.

Since the people are so positive about neighbourhood organizations, it would be logical if everyone would be a member of an organization. This is not the case. In Suba about 62% is a member, while Inayawan close has a score of 89% versus 25% in Inayawan far.

In the next set of questions it's about the people's perception of an organization working on living conditions.

	If there is an organization that would work on the improvement of living conditions, would you join it?	And do you think the barangay council would listen to this organization?	Do you think the barangay would act on it?
Suba close	Yes 100 No	Yes 86 No 4	Yes 75 No 18
Suba far	Yes 96 No 4	Yes 96 No 4	Yes 82 No 8
Inayawan close	Yes 96 No 4	Yes 70 No 7	Yes 63 No 15
Inayawan far	Yes 89 No 7	Yes 60 No 20	Yes 61 No 14

The table shows that the people in Suba have more confidence in their barangay council than the Inayawan population. The first question, about someone's own membership lead to very positive results. Despite their lower perception of organizations, all male respondents want to be involved, while not all female respondents want this.

- **Own membership**

In Suba the best known organizations are;

- 1) Barangay Suba Womens Organization, and other womens organizations
- 2) Vendors organizations (Pasil vendors, fish vendors etc)
- 3) *Tricycle* organizations
- 4) Senior Citizen Organization
- 5) Religious organizations (Basic Ecclesial Community)

In Inayawan the best known organizations are

- 1) Home Owners organizations (especially *NKR* and *Losaniknai*)
- 2) DPSOI (dumpsite people solidary organization)
- 3) Womens organization
- 4) BEC and other religious organizations

There are major differences between the four locations, when we compare organizational membership.

	Member	Not a member
Suba close	68%	32%
Suba far	56%	44%
Inayawan close	89%	11%
Inayawan far	25%	75%

Because the survey was conducted with a non-representative group of respondents, these data are probably not representative for the populations of Suba and Inayawan.

The large differences within Inayawan are due to the fact that the people don't own the land their house is standing on. This lead to a large number of home owners organizations close to the dumpsite.

Some people are not a member of any organization, they have several reasons for that; a lack of time, taking care of the children, they're not interested, they don't want to depend on the barangay too much. Many people who are not a member answer that they would like to be involved, to become more aware of their situation and to help each other.

- **Organizations and the environment**

The majority of the respondents agree that neighbourhood organizations in the barangay should also work on the living conditions;

	Do you think neighbourhood organizations should work on improvement of barangay living conditions?
Suba close	Yes 100% No 0%
Suba far	Yes 96% No 4%
Inayawan close	Yes 93% No 4
Inayawan far	Yes 89% No 7%

The more specific question; '*What kind of neighbourhood organization should be involved in improving barangay living conditions?*' Lead to similar results in Suba and Inayawan.

	Women	Religious	Professional	Health	Home owners
Suba close	43%	11%	7%	7%	
Suba far	56%	7%	11%	11%	
Inayawan close	22%	4%	4%	22%	19%
Inayawan far	29%	14%	4%	25%	7%

Many people choose for the women's organization. Possible reasons are that many of the respondents are a member of this organization, or that this organization is active in both barangays. In Suba the BSWO maintains the public toilets, has food programs and in this sense, serves the community. In Inayawan there is also an important role for the home owners organizations, who work on the land rights of the inhabitants. Some people chose for a 'health organization' hereby should be mentioned that such an organization doesn't exist in Suba nor Inayawan. Both neighbourhoods do have a health center.

‘Do you have experience with neighbourhood organizations that worked on barangay living conditions?’

	Suba close	Suba far	Inayawan close	Inayawan far
Yes I am a member	21%	11%	11%	4%
Yes I was a member	43%	26%	33%	4%
Yes I was involved	4%	19%	11%	4%
No	32%	33%	41%	86%
Other	0%	4%	4%	4%

When the respondents are asked to elaborate on their experiences, some of them talk about the clean the barangay projects in which inhabitants join the ‘clean up drive’ and receive a free lunch in return. Some women are involved in the guarding and cleaning of the public toilets, while others joined the South Reclamation Project rallies. Even though the question *‘If there is an organization that could work on the improvement of living conditions, would you join it?’* lead to an absolute positive score of male respondents, there is no difference in the actual experiences of men and women. Neither is there a difference between the answers of old and young people.

A factor that does influence the answers on *‘Do you have experience with neighbourhood organizations working on living conditions’* is the question whether people own the land their house is standing on or not. The next table shows this;

	Not a land-owner	Land-owner
Yes I am a member	9,1	31,3
Yes I was a member	25	31,3
Other	9	25,1
No	56,8	12,5

People who are sure that they can stay where they are, are more motivated to invest in their barangay. They know that they and their family members will benefit from the improvements. People who don’t own the land are in a risky situation, they might be forced to move out of the barangay. That’s why they are less willing to cooperate.

5.4 Discussion results in Suba and Inayawan

5.4.1 Perception of neighbourhood organizations

The tables in section 5.3.2 show that the inhabitants of Suba as well as Inayawan are very positive about the neighbourhood organizations. They consider the organizations very important and also willing to listen to the inhabitants, effective, active and independent. The majority of the people say they want to be involved in an organization concerned with living conditions. Here we see a difference between men and women. 100% of the

men give a positive answer, against 94% of the women. The women say they have to take care of the children and the house. Most of these (few) women more than 60 years old and don't want to be involved in community work. The rest of the people are positive about joining organizations.

Looking at the survey results, one might think that inhabitants in both barangays are very active. But when the inhabitants have to elaborate on their own experiences with community work, they mostly can not mention any projects (FGD, 2007). This corresponds with the following opinions;

Mr Orbiso, chairman of BEC and BADAC, member of DPSOI and BIN;
'People are only busy with themselves (..) The government supports us, shows us some problems, supports decisions, only the people don't cooperate' (Orbiso, 2007, 3-4)

And ms Piccio, from the Department of Social Welfare and Services (DSWS):
'Our projects focus at helping the people. Improving the situation. People throw their garbage everywhere. We organize information meetings to the families and people. To Cebu-city we report about the segregation of waste, like plastic. We teach that it is good to segregate the waste. But when the truck of the waste comes picking up our waste, the waste is not separated. All waste disposal.. All people of Cebu-City and Suba know how to segregate their waste, but they just don't do it' (Piccio, 2007, 2).

The barangay captain of Suba doesn't know the names of all organizations in his barangay. His answer on the question: Do you also cooperate with neighbourhood organizations?

'Well sometimes, but not so much. There are different organizations in Suba. As you know Suba is divided into blocks. Every block has its own organization. Besides that there are religious organizations, there is a quire, a basketball association, the Cross rental organizations' (Sable, 2007, 3).

So even though the inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan are very positive about neighbourhood organizations and say they want to be involved, there are some other signals. A representative of several organizations and a representative of the city government both state that people are not so cooperative. The barangay captain of Suba tells he doesn't cooperate with neighbourhood organizations so much.

When we go back to the perception of the inhabitants, we also asked the questions;

'Do you think the barangay council would listen to this organization?'

'Do you think the barangay would act on it?'

These questions lead to big differences in the scores of Suba and Inayawan. People in Suba have much more confidence in their own barangay council (around 85%) than the people in Inayawan (around 63%).

5.4.2 Own membership

Many people are involved in organizations, because organizations have many advantages to offer to their members. The members of the womens organization receive education and support, members of the home owners organization receive help to buy the land their house is standing on etcetera. Many people who are a member of an organization, are not very active in this organization. These passive members join an organization for its benefits, while they don't really contribute to the organization.

Virgie Jimenez (2007, 1), chairwoman of Home owners organization NKR;

We find it difficult to have a meeting, because some people are working outside.. Meetings are difficult, so the payment is the main activity. Some of the members are working in the carbon market and they also sleep there. So if we have meetings, it's always the same people who attend, because some don't show up.

And an anonymous respondent, member of the Senior Citizen Organization agrees that her organization organizes activities, but lacks the capacity;

'My organization really thinks about the environment. We think about the problems. But we don't have enough capacity to solve the problems. But we do activities. For example tomorrow, we have an appointment at 6 in the morning. We meet each other in front of the barangay hall and then we start cleaning the barangay, with all the senior citizens. We see each other and for one hour, we start cleaning. Everyone brings his own broom and span and we all clean together. For me, I'm not that fast so I work very slow. But I'm already 75 years old so I work not so much. But I join the activity, because it's important to take responsibility. We do this once a month. My organization really cares about the environment' (Respondent 1, 2007, 2).

There's only a small group of people which is really active inside these organizations. This might lead to high pressure upon these people. In both barangays are respondents, who are involved in many organizations, for example;

- The chairman of the Basic Ecclesial Community is also chairman of the Barangay Anti Drug Abuse Council, member of the Barangay Intelligence Network and the Dumpsite People Solidarity Organization in Inayawan.
- The chairwoman of the Barangay Suba Womens Organization, is also GAD staff member, involved in the South Reclamation Project and she is the daughter in law of the barangay captain.
- The former GAD Focal person of Inayawan, now employed in the City Hall, is also vice president of Losaniknai, vice president of Bantay Banay, active member of KTAH, BEC and PREX.

In both barangays is a lack of education. That's why people who did finish their education, find many tasks. But also people without any education can develop themselves and fulfill many different tasks. It seems that not only education is important, because good contacts with the barangay captain are crucial. Almost all organizational leaders confirm that they have good contacts with the barangay council.

5.4.3 Organizations and the environment

In section 5.3.2 we saw that the majority of the respondents are of opinion that neighbourhood organizations should be involved with working on living conditions. They consider it the responsibility of the following organizations; *What organizations should be involved in improving barangay living conditions?*

Women's organization	48%
Health organization	22%
Religious organization	11%
Home owners organization	8%
Professional organization	7%
other	3%

These answers are probably not very representative for the whole population of Suba and Inayawan, since we interviewed many members of the women's organization. The respondents automatically mention their own organizations, when they are asked what organizations should work on living conditions. The following table shows the memberships of our respondents (the members of the Women's organization are mainly from Suba, while the members of Home owners organizations are from Inayawan);

Women's organization	38%
Home owners organization	25%
Religious organization	17%
Professional organizations	11%
Senior Citizen Organization	3%
Other	6%

Many of these organizations have some activities concerning the environment or the living conditions. In several interviews, they said the following;

- **Suba**

Caridad Franco (2007, 3), Chairwoman Senior Citizen Organization;

Yes we are involved with the environment. > What for example?<

There is a proposal. That we will help with the communal toilets. And with the water. And we talked about it with the GAD and with other organizations. But the womens organization didn't have a project yet. So in the end they took up the responsibility of the maintenance of the communal toilets. The women are taking care of the communal toilets now. For now, we don't have a project. Haha, we don't have a project (..)

There are no problems in the barangay. We don't have big problems.

Yes budget problems. But no big problems in Suba, no social problems. We are happy with the barangay, we are helping one another.

Sheranie Sable (2007, 1-2), Chairwoman Barangay Suba Women's Organization;
We are involved in the South Reclamation Project-committee. There are some families affected by SRP. We already have public toilets here, which became the alternative livelihood program for the women's organization.
We are also involved in the clean-up drives of the barangay. And it's already the seventh coastal clean-up we join.

Perlita Baliguat (2007, 3-4), GAD Focal person;
Some of the organizations are not that active. But I can not help all of them, I'm also very busy (..) The womens organization and senior citizen organization are the most active organizations concerning the environment. They maintain the toilets and join the clean-up drives.

- **Inayawan**

Erlinda Jaca (2007, 1-2), Barangay Inayawan Women's Organization;
We have several projects. First there is 'Clean the barangay ' project, in which we teach people to make their environment clean, how to remove waste and take care of the environment. Secondly we have a tree planting activity (..) Yes we are involved with the environment, that is a very important aspect! We do these cleaning projects and we work on malnutrition and education of children.

Henrick Orbiso, (2007, 3-4) Basic Ecclesial Community (and BADAC, BIN, DPSOI);
The people support the clean-up drive. The people in Inayawan help in the operation, also in this area.

> *So you think they would also help with cleaning the barangay. But do you think they would also change their behavior? For example separate your waste, don't throw it in the street.* <

Well there are people that want to help, there are also many people who don't want to help. In general I think that the people are not so supportive.

Virgie Jimenez (2007, 4), United Poor of the Railways (Home owners organization);
First we want to buy the land. Continuing the payment and owning the land that's our goal. But besides that we also like to improve the relocation site, work on the benefits of the community, of the members. So we are actually also constantly looking at the requests of the people. Requests for drainage or street lights. So in those cases, when they are working for the lights and drainage, then all organizations cooperate. They all benefit from this cooperation. But when it comes to rallies, meetings, they don't cooperate. We often ask the barangay for assistance for improving the environment. For example for drainage and lighting, garbage collection..

Even though Inayawan has many organizations, some of their members are not that active. The existing activities regarding the environment are initiated and supported by the barangay. Sometimes neighbourhood organizations join these activities.

- **In short**

A part of the organizations in both barangays is involved in the environment and living conditions. Together with the barangay council, they try to improve their barangays. An important activity is the clean-up drive, which is supported by the members of the Senior Citizen Organization. In return they receive a free lunch. Another activity is the maintenance of the public toilets, which is the task of the womens organization in Suba. The women receive a small fee for this.

Almost all organizations mention that they have a lack of funds. They would need more financial resources for truly improving the livelihood of their members. Some even ask for help from the Dutch government. Another problem of the organizations is that many members are not very involved in their own organization. For example many members of the senior citizen organization are only passive members, to receive the P1000 subsidy from the local government. They are not involved in the environmental projects, perhaps also because they are too old.

There is a small group of organizations which are overrepresented in the barangays. The women's organization is very popular especially in Suba. The Home owners organizations are very big in Inayawan. This might be a potential for improving the barangay, because these organizations have many members and can reach many people.

But there are also many neighbourhood organizations who are highly dependent upon the barangay. Other organizations have many problems and can barely organize activities. According to Tesaluna (2007, 4-5) it would be very important to involve NGO's as well. NGO's have the skills and they are more neutral (than neighbourhood organizations) when it comes to politics.

In the next chapter the relations between neighbourhood organizations, local inhabitants and the barangay council will be elaborated.

6. Relationships within the barangays

'The barangay sometimes does not give attention; the neighbourhood organisations sponsor the education of the children; the NGO's always visit the place; the city government did not give what was asked them; the church gives advises and inspires'

6.1 introduction

The previous chapters focused on the opinions and beliefs of the inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan. Their perception of their neighbours, the environment and the organizations that exist within this environment. This chapter will focus on the relationships that exist within the two barangays. Relationships between neighbourhood organizations, NGO's, governments and most important the inhabitants.

In section 2 we will continue with a brief description of the actors that work in the barangays. First we will elaborate on the neighbourhood organizations, than the Non-governmental organizations, the barangay council, the city council and the church. These are the most important groups in Suba and Inayawan.

Section 3 discusses the perceptions that the inhabitants have of these actors. Because if the actors would work on change, it's very important that the inhabitants have confidence in their functioning and their effectiveness.

Section 4 will describe relationships within the barangays. It will focus on different relationships like cooperation, disputes and dependence.

6.2 Actors in the barangays

There are many groups and organizations working in Suba and Inayawan. All of them have different goals, different interests and a different amount of resources and power. This section will describe the different actors in both barangays in short.

- Neighbourhood organizations

There are many neighbourhood organizations working in Suba and Inayawan (see chapter 5). Some of these organizations have been initiated by or are controlled by the local government and the Gender and Development Office. This is why many organizations still (financially) depend on the local government. But there are other organizations which came up spontaneously and are still autonomous in their functioning.

Neighbourhood organizations heavily depend on volunteers and don't have so much financial resources. Their board members are most times uneducated and busy because they are also involved in more organizations. Strengths of neighbourhood organisations are their connections with the local population. Inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan know organizations and appreciate their work.

- Non-governmental organizations (NGO's)

In Suba and Inayawan are also NGO's active. These organisations come from 'outside' the barangays, and try to help the local inhabitants. What NGO's do in general, as described by Pacione (2002, 571); 'rather than working through government, many

NGO's try to stimulate grassroots organisations, to participate in the political process by supporting 'local conscientisation', leadership and group formation and by offering training in management skills'.

In Suba and Inayawan are a number of NGO's active; for example Bidlisiw, Lihok Pilipina, Enfants d'Asie, Women Resource Center Cebu, Free Lava and Nazareth (Sable, 2007, 3). Many of these organizations have an international character, a religious background and take care of the rights of women and children. Because NGO's have many skills, more financial resources and more political neutrality, they are very important in community projects (Tsaluna, 2007, 5).

The influence of NGO's in Cebu-City is a discussed topic. According to Etemadi, Cebu-City government is one of the most active local government units in the Philippines. It was chosen as a best practice case on government-NGO partnership for poverty alleviation by the United Nations, and it was featured as a case study on urban governance at the global urban research initiative based in Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines, in the same year (Etemadi, 2000, 58). In contrary, research by van Naerssen (2004) is not that positive. He concludes that there is no participatory governance in Cebu-City's urban planning. Mayor Osmena is not in favour of NGO nor community participation and even excludes people and NGO's.

- **Barangay Council**

The lowest level of Philippine government is the barangay. Every barangay has some elected officials; the barangay captain and seven barangay councillors. The 1992 Philippine Local Government Code enhanced local governance, because it gave fiscal autonomy, administrative autonomy and planning authority to the local government units (Etemadi, 2000, 58). The barangay council is a very powerful actor in a barangay. The council is responsible for all official activities in the barangay, the council coordinates the activities of all the organizations (see section 5.1) cooperates with NGO's, organizes services for the inhabitants and has contacts with the city government.

Both barangay council hold their offices in the 'barangay hall' located in the center of both barangays. The barangay hall often has multiple functions. For example the barangay hall in Inayawan which also functions as police office and health center.

- **City council**

The city council operates from the city hall, located in downtown Cebu. The city council provides services for every barangay, for example the waste collection. The city hall formulates the policy for every barangay. The barangay council follows and executes these policies (Sable, 2007, 3). Barangay councils have to ask permission before they can do their projects, for example building communal toilets in Suba.

- **Churches**

'Folk Catholicism is a characteristic of Philippino society vital to the understanding of the Philippino character' (Roces, 2006, 209). Churches are very important in the highly religious Philippino society. The majority of the people are of Roman-Catholic origin. Some people daily visit a mass, some churches are open 24 hours a day. Besides the masses, churches have many other activities which are important for the people.

Especially in the urban poor areas, catholic churches are very active in improving livelihood. For example in Suba and Inayawan, where they built primary schools. Churches reach out to the poor, that's why they are well-known and appreciated by the inhabitants.



Basilica Minore Del Santo Niño (Cebu-City)

6.3 Perceptions of the inhabitants

To measure the appreciation for the different actors, we asked the inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan the following question;

3D4. How effective are the following organizations with regard to improving living conditions?

- *barangay council*
- *neighbourhood organizations*
- *NGO's*
- *municipality*
- *church*

The respondents were asked to give a score ranging from 0 (=very effective) to 3 (=not effective). The following table shows the result of this question.

Title; Effectiveness in improving living conditions
N = 110

	N	Mean
Barangay Council	110	1,32
Neighbourhood organizations	106	1,00
Non Governmental organizations	90	1,36
Municipality / city council	77	1,48
Church	106	0,61

This table clearly shows that many respondents don't have a high appreciation for the activities of NGO's and the city council. This is probably due to the fact that they don't know these actors and their activities. In case of the NGO's 20 out of 110 respondents couldn't answer the question, in case of the city council 33 out of 110 respondents couldn't answer the question. The barangay council, neighbourhood organizations and the church are more visible in both barangays, this is shown by the number of answers N, as well as the mean score which is higher.

The next table shows the same results, drawn from a split file based on location;

	Barangay council	Neighbourhood organizations	Non governmental organizations	Municipality/ city council	Church
Suba close	1,36	1,00	1,36	1,56	0,56
Suba far	1,07	0,89	1,20	1,16	0,54
Inayawan close	1,74	1,19	1,17	1,80	0,78
Inayawan far	1,11	0,92	1,67	1,40	0,57
Mean	1,32	1,00	1,36	1,48	0,61

The low appreciation for the barangay council in Inayawan close, might be related to the situation of the inhabitants. Most of them have recently been relocated and the barangay council doesn't provide them with many facilities. People in Inayawan far have recently obtained new foot paths, which are much better than the old muddy roads. Besides this difference in Inayawan, there are not so many significant differences in the results from Suba and Inayawan. People perceive the five actors as following;

- Barangay council;

With a score of 1,32 people consider the barangay council fairly to somewhat effective. Everybody knows the barangay council, some people even know the barangay officials personally. People know what projects the barangay is doing, they mention the following projects regarding living conditions; public toilets, clean-up drive, drainage system, crime prevention, foot paths, deep well / water pump, street lights and medical care. The question; *Do you think these projects are effective?* lead to the following results;

	Yes	No
Suba close	83	17
Suba far	91	9
Inayawan close	85	15
Inayawan far	60	40

Some people are very sceptical about the activities of the barangay. 39 out of 110 respondents can not mention one single project of the barangay council, while others (SPSS file) say there are projects, but it's only talking and not working. *'Some are still proposals; councilors keep on promising projects but haven't done anything' 'About the barangay council; they only act when it's near elections'.*

'From my experience, I had a complaint with the barangay council, I say that you should check everyday just to make sure they are doing their job'

- Neighbourhood organizations

With an average score of 1, people consider neighbourhood organizations as fairly effective. They know of some projects that neighbourhood organizations did to improve the living conditions, they mention:

- maintaining the public toilets
- cleaning the barangay, helping with garbage collection
- family planning training
- medical assistance
- free medications

In section 5.3.2 is a more detailed description of the perception people have from the neighbourhood organizations.

- Non-governmental organizations

20 out of 110 people couldn't answer the question about NGO's, because they didn't know any NGO's or they didn't even know what a NGO is. The average appreciation of 1,36 for NGO's is relatively low, compared to other actors. This has probably to do with their invisibility in some areas (Tsaluna, 2007, 4).

Even though NGO's are quite invisible, one respondent (SPSS file) says: *'All parties are working together, led by the NGO's'* (SPSS file). Barangay Captain Joel Sable and political scientist Etemadi also stress the importance of NGO's in Cebu-city.

- Municipality or city council

The activities of the city council are very unknown, since 33 out of 110 respondents didn't answer this question. They can probably not judge the effectiveness of the city council, because they haven't seen any projects so far. This also relates to the low appreciation for the city council; with a score of 1,48 people don't consider the city council very active. Some respondents (SPSS file):

'The city council hasn't done much.'

'They are only active when it's election time.'

'They are neglecting the needs of the people because of their own personal interest; money.'

- Churches

With a number of answers of 106 and an average score of 0,61 the church is by far number one in the question on effectiveness. People consider the church very important and say they receive the most help from the church. In Suba and Inayawan are many activities organized by several Roman-Catholic churches, like a feeding program and educational programs.

People also appreciate the church because it inspires people and gives a good example of how one should live. Some quotes from the survey (SPSS file)

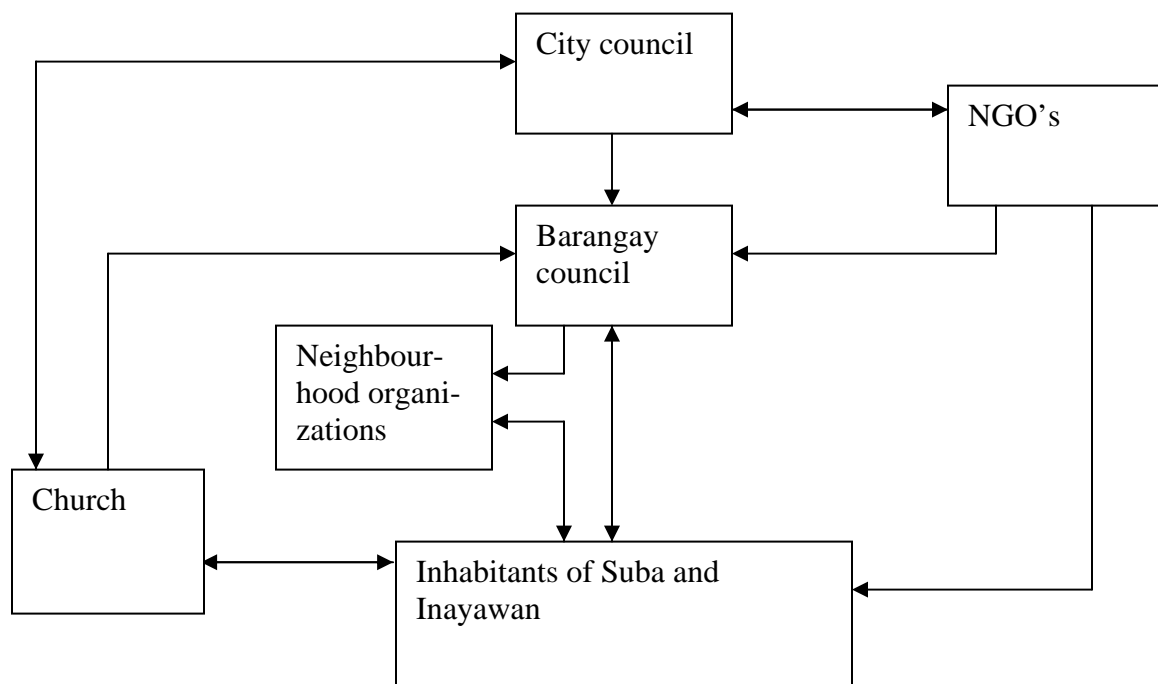
'They are fairly active because they do something for the living conditions; the church is working hard on livelihood programs, only the people are not cooperating.'

'The church helps us improve our lives through prayers'

'The church is very effective because it brings peace; the barangay council seems far less concerned.'

6.4 Relationships within the barangay

The five actors; city council, barangay council, NGO's, church and neighbourhood organizations, have different relationships with each other and with the inhabitants. The next model shows these relationships and their direction (one way or two way arrows, this represents a hierarchical relationship or an interdependent relationship). It also shows that the church has a relatively close relationship with the inhabitants, while NGO's have more distance from the inhabitants.



It would be too much to elaborate on all these relationships, that's why here will follow a short description of some of these relationships.

- City council and NGO's

According to the local government code, which was implemented in 1993, there should be a political cooperation between government and NGO's. NGO's should be represented in the city development council. Although this sounds very promising, in practice it's not. The council seldom meets, and the NGO's don't have much to say (Etemadi, 2000, 61). In contrast, there is a strong government-NGO partnership in service delivery. Because the city government can not tackle all the services, it has been contracted out to NGO's. They take care of the delivery system on health, land and housing, livelihoods, women's concerns, programmes for children and street children and emergency rescue and relief

operations (Etemadi, 2000, 61). In Suba and Inayawan are also many NGO's active, especially concerning the rights of women and children.

- Barangay council and neighbourhood organizations

Neighbourhood organizations take care of the interests of the inhabitants. Sometimes they go to the barangay hall and ask for support. Other times neighbourhood organizations are very active in helping the barangay. Despite the fact that inhabitants consider neighbourhood organizations independent, there is no equal relationship. Some anonymous respondents share different experiences, for example about the Barangay Suba Women's Organization;

We are very concerned about this situation. And we are not the only one. Also the members, the members didn't want her as a president. They didn't have the opportunity to vote about this case. They were not consulted, this is so bad.

She is the daughter in law of the barangay captain. The barangay captain elected her as the new president. The whole barangay council agreed on this, but the organization didn't. The members were asking a lot of questions, why is this happening? Why can't they have their own election for the president. But the barangay council pushed through (..) I wonder what the other organizations in the barangay will think about this. What does this mean for organizations? They can not make their own decisions!

(Respondent 5, 2007, 1)

- Church and barangay council

The church is a very important actor in these barangays, but also in the Philippines in general. Almost everyone goes to the church and people will try to obey the rules of the church. The church also has some influence on national and local politics. Barangay captain of Suba, Joel Sable (2007, 2);

Well we have the church with ideas about natural family planning. But I think these methods don't work in practice. People get so many children, sometimes ten or more per family. The population of the barangay keeps growing, this happens in more places in the Philippines. Natural family planning doesn't turn out to work. But we don't want to openly disagree with the church. But still we do provide contraceptives, because we think the people really need them.

- Inhabitants and NGO's

When the inhabitants have to give their opinion about NGO's, some don't really know what to say. This is because NGO's are not very well-known in both barangays. But this doesn't mean they don't operate. Even though most people don't have experience with NGO's, some of them explain that their children receive free education or medical care from a NGO. There are some well known NGO's, for example WRCC, Bidliziw and Lihok Pilipina. Inhabitants receive help from NGO's and depend on them, so there is no interdependency.

After this short chapter on the relationships within both barangays, we will now continue with the topic of participation. In chapter 7 the surplus value of participation in neighbourhood organizations will be discussed.

7. Surplus value of neighbourhood organizations

This thesis started with a theoretical framework, in which the importance of community participation was stressed. But it was also clear that it would be very difficult to mobilize the urban poor, because of their lack of time, income, knowledge and skills.

Despite all the constraints, there are many advantages of community participation. These advantages will be elaborated in this chapter. First I will describe the way in which the urban poor and neighbourhood organizations are involved in local politics; their amount of participation. The second section will discuss some advantages of participation; representation, democratization and empowerment. The third section will state that participation in the form of neighbourhood organizations will lead to more community involvement and better decisions in the two barangays.

7.1 Participation in Suba and Inayawan

Both Suba and Inayawan have a number of neighbourhood organizations active in the barangay (see chapter 5). These organizations have various interests and members. The results of the survey show that many inhabitants of both barangays are member of an organization. This is very positive, because people are involved and the neighbourhood organizations can represent the interests of their members. The organizations have realised many things for their members; public toilets, foot paths, street lights, a reduction of drug abuse, free medicines, and classes about several topics (SPSS File). That's why people appreciate the work of neighbourhood organizations. They consider the organizations as very important and active.

Especially in the areas with a particular problem, neighbourhood organizations are very big. A good example of this is the large number of members of home owners organizations in the dumpsite area of Inayawan. Especially in the areas close to the dumpsite, people have been relocated and they don't own the land their house is standing on. That's why they are in a risky situation. When the city council decides to, they can be relocated again. This causes a very insecure situation for the inhabitants close to the dumpsite. That's why almost all people have become a member of a 'home owners organization'. These organizations try to obtain the land rights of the land their house is standing on. In Inayawan is a number of these organizations, with Tierra Dulce or 'Sweet land' as the umbrella organization (Jimenez, 2007, 2). The home owners organizations are very active involved with the barangay. Besides the land rights, they also work on topics of street lights, garbage collection and drainage.

Even though these organizations have many members, this doesn't necessarily mean that there is real participation. Many people are busy with their family and with earning an income, that they can not spend so much time to the organization. For example the members of the Dumpsite People Solidarity Organization who help with cleaning the barangay, but in general are not so supportive (Orbiso, 2007, 4). And also the members of the home owners organization, most of them fulfill their paying duties but don't visit the regular meetings (Jimenez, 2007, 1). There are many passive members within

organizations, this shows that real participation is difficult, right now many people prioritize other activities.

Another constraint for participation has to do with the lack of political awareness within the barangays. Many people are not informed about the activities of the barangay, they hardly know the names of the barangay officials. They don't know what opportunities they have to improve their situation. When they have to answer the question on projects of the barangay, many respondents mention that the barangay only acts when it is election time. Some people mention projects, but most projects were a long time ago (SPSS File). People are not so aware of political processes within their barangay.

That is why neighbourhood organizations are so important. Since people don't become involved by themselves, they should be involved via neighbourhood organizations. Neighbourhood organizations play a bridging role between the inhabitants and local politics. They act on a local scale and represent the interests of inhabitants.

Other constraints for participation have to do with organizational structures. Organizations are dependent on the barangay, for their income as well as their activities. It is very difficult for members to criticize the barangay, or to complain about the barangay, because this might influence the situation of the organization.

It is clear that the level of community participation in Suba and Inayawan is not very high. Participation is difficult, due to several reasons. However, this chapter will argue that community participation has important advantages and should therefore be realised more in Suba and Inayawan.

7.2 Advantages of participation

This section will describe the advantages of participation in neighbourhood organizations. These advantages are applied to Suba and Inayawan. Some advantages are not fully realized yet, despite the fact that there is organizational membership. It is argued that there is potential for real participation, but in the present situation many people are not actively participating. It should be a goal of everyone to achieve a high level of participation, because this will lead to representation of the urban poor, to democratization and empowerment of the urban poor.

7.2.1 Representation

Urban poor are often excluded from effective participation in the formal political decision making process (Pacione, 2002, 571). Because they lack the knowledge, the skills and the contacts to participate in political processes, they are underrepresented in local politics.

This general observation by Pacione is also recognizable in Suba and Inayawan. Many people have no idea of the activities of the local government. They don't know the name of their barangay officials. Many people have the impression that the barangay officials would never listen to their requests, only when it is election time. During the elections barangay officials try to win votes by doing some projects in the barangays. After the election, they don't visit the barangays anymore (SPSS File).

Inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan are not so much involved in local politics. Also members of neighbourhood organizations are not so involved, because they have representatives who go to the local government for them. These representatives (which are often higher educated) have all the information and contacts. The majority of the poor members don't know what is happening. So the representation of the urban poor is indeed very small. They don't have contacts with the barangay council and they don't have any information about what is happening.

In the case of real participation of the urban poor, they would be represented more. They would be more involved and they would have a voice in the political decision making process. In this situation, the inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan would be aware of what is happening in their barangays. They would have a chance to talk with each other about these topics, and then discuss their opinion with the barangay council and other actors. They would have the chance to be informed, or to inform themselves and also to influence the decision making.

At this moment, neighbourhood organizations have too many passive members, who only join the organization for its advantages. If people really want to have influence on what is happening in the barangay, neighbourhood organizations are a good way to realize this. But before the goal of participation will be reached, members should take their responsibility and play an active role in the organization. Organizations have to mobilize their members, instead of only representing them.

Once active participation of poor people is reached, this will lead to better representation. They will accept higher positions within the organizations, visit the meetings and share their opinions with others, discuss about topics, in short; their opinion will be heard more often. In the organizations as well as in local politics. This will lead to better solutions for problems, since the solutions are supported by the population.

7.2.2 Democratization

Since a small group of people holds all the power within neighbourhood organizations, it is not a very democratic system. Ordinary people don't have contact with the barangay officials, here are some answers on the question; do you think the barangay council would listen to a neighbourhood organization and also act on it? (SPSS File, 2D4ext)

'They will act, when they can also profit from it.'

'The barangay is always promising, but there is no action.'

'They will listen, but not act: acting costs money, and the captain only invests money in gambling!'

'It depends. In terms of crimes they are responsive but in terms of sanitation not really.'

'If the organisation goes to the barangay, then they will listen to them.'

These answers show that people have different opinions about the willingness of the barangay to help them. In general there are many people doubting the willingness of the barangay council to help them, or simply not having an answer. But in fact, none has real experience with cooperating with the barangay. (Besides from some groups complaining to the barangay and sometimes receiving help.) For the inhabitants of Suba and

Inayawan, the barangay council is 'far away'. Some of them have a feeling of being ignored.

One characteristic of a democracy is that every person has the right to speak up and has the chance to influence political decisions. In the present situation it is clear that there are many constraints for the inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan to speak up for themselves or to influence local politics. One can say that they are being excluded from the political processes. When these people would become more involved in neighbourhood organizations and learn to formulate their ideas about their own neighbourhood, this would lead to democratization. Hopefully the barangay council would give the neighbourhood organizations a chance to operate independently from the barangay. At this moment the organizations are still barangay directed, which means that they are highly dependent on the barangay. The barangay has to approve all activities and will facilitate them (Baliguat, 2007, 3).

When more members become active in the neighbourhood organizations, and the barangay council gives the organizations more freedom, this will lead to democratization. People have the chance to speak up, to criticize, to give their opinion with the support of a group. This will give them more influence and lead to a more democratic system.

7.2.3 Empowerment

According to Friedmann (1992), there are eight bases of social power; defensible life space, surplus time, knowledge and skills, appropriate information, social organisation, social networks, instruments of work and production and financial resources.

Households may be regarded as having different levels of access to each of the bases of social power (Pacione, 2002, 565). The households in Suba and Inayawan have low scores on these bases of social power:

Bases of social power	Average in Suba and Inayawan
Defensible life space	Small and vulnerable houses (average 25m ²), 80% ownership of the house, 15% ownership of the land
Surplus time	People are busy earning an income and taking care of their children and extended family.
Knowledge and skills	An average of 7,4 years of education. Most people don't have other diplomas and mention that they want to learn more.
Appropriate information	People are not aware of barangay politics and barangay projects. They don't know their rights and possibilities.
Social organization	59% of the people are (passive) member of an organization. There are many organizations.
Social networks	People have much contact with their friends and especially their family. They have many contacts with people living close by.
Instruments of work and production	Most people have a rice cooker (some have a tricycle) but not more instruments because they earn a living in services.
Financial resources	An average household income of 6499 pesos a month (=E100)

It is clear that the inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan are not very powerful, since they don't have the necessary resources. This doesn't mean that their situation is hopeless. The previous table shows that especially in the social organization and social networks is much potential. There are also chances regarding education, since many people are willing to learn more.

When people can cooperate in neighbourhood organizations, this will lead to empowerment. According to Boholst (2007, 6)

'They are afraid to be critical, because they are seen as an individual. But when they join groups, that are identified to really have a voice. Then they can be very critical and brave. But that's an universal phenomenon.'

People will become more critical when they join a group. When they are only an individual, they are afraid to criticize the local government. This was an important observation when conducting the survey and in-depth interviews. Many people answer all questions, but don't want to criticize too much. That's why they often continue talking 'off the record'. Sometimes they gave very critical information, which we were not allowed to write in the interview. This shows that people are very careful when it comes to criticizing. When they are alone, they are weak. But when they are organized in a group, they can become very powerful. And when people become involved, they will learn necessary skills and obtain more knowledge, which will also empower them.

7.2.4 Bottom-up policy

There are two different approaches in policy making. The first one is top-down policy. In this situation there is a problem and policy makers think of a solution. They will present their solution to the inhabitants, ask for their cooperation and realize it. This approach works very fast compared to bottom-up policy.

In the bottom-up approach the inhabitants will be mobilized and asked to think about the problem and find possible solutions themselves. The inhabitants have to come up with ideas and identify their opportunities. According to Tesaluna (2007, 3);

'Bottom up means organizing from the base to up. Rather than top-down having to bring a project and then asking the people to participate. It's different. Top-down organizing is much very faster, it's swift, because you already have something in your mind that you could sell, present to the community. While bottom-up is different, you have to mobilize people, gather them together and let them identify what their resource is. Bottom up organizing takes so much time, and if you use that technique for a pre-plan, organizing having already infrastructure, that would delay, it would cause delay, because it would take so much time. But bottom up organizing is the most effective one.'

Bottom-up policies are more effective, because the people that are organized are more cohesive. They understand what they are doing and why they are doing it. In top-down policy you let them see what you want them to see, you let them do what you want them to do. You already have a planned set of activities, goals to reach within a time frame. In bottom-up policy you have to convince people to gather together, to let them understand

that the most effective way to address the issues is for them to organize. And do the things that they see what they need (Tsaluna, 2007, 3).

It is much better to make bottom-up policy, because there are many people supporting these plans. Besides from the fact that some goals will be realized, there are also many positive side effects. People will learn to organize themselves, to identify their problems, to formulate these problems and to think of ways to solve these problems. This will be a learning process that is so needed in Suba and Inayawan. Many people mentioned that they would like to learn things about their environment and living conditions (SPSS File). Because bottom-up solutions will be supported by the inhabitants, these solutions will be better long-term plans. Bottom-up policy gives the inhabitants the opportunity to think about the future of their barangay.

7.3 Conclusion

Even though there are many organizations, with many members, there is a low level of participation. Neighbourhood organizations have a large group of passive members, who don't join any activities, nor contribute anything to the organization. This low level of participation might also be due to the fact that the barangay council has much influence on these organizations, so they can never be called independent. The barangay subsidizes most organizations and plans their activities. This leads to a very powerful role for the barangay and a very dependent role for the neighbourhood organizations.

Within organizations is a small group of people which organizes all activities and fulfills many responsibilities. This small group of people is often very busy because they are involved in more organizations. The majority of poor inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan don't play an active role in an organization.

It would be better if these people became more involved in their organization. They would have the chance to speak up, to give their opinion about their own problems and situation, they would have an opportunity to fight these problems with the help of the organization. People are much stronger when they are organized in a group!

That's why there should be a higher level of participation within the neighbourhood organizations. The boards of organizations should involve their members, the members should take their responsibility and join meetings and activities. This will lead to a situation of stronger and more independent organizations, in which especially the urban poor will be represented and have the chance to speak up. There will be a more democratic system, since more people become involved. In this way poor inhabitants will be empowered and have the chance to learn more.

8. Mobilization

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have tried to describe the social capital that exists in Suba and Inayawan. This chapter will be more practical in character, since it deals with opportunities to mobilize people for the purpose of improving environmental health.

The previous chapters have described the cognitive social capital in Suba and Inayawan. It was argued that people have many social relationships in their environment, and therefore feel attached to it. Despite problems of drug abuse and criminality people feel safe and are willing to participate in improving their environment.

People think that neighbourhood organizations should be involved with the environment. Inayawan has many active organizations, because this neighbourhood knows many problems regarding criminality and land property rights. Suba has less organizations. In general people appreciate the work of neighbourhood organizations.

There are many other organisations and institutions active in the barangays, such as the barangay council, the city council, NGO's and churches. People have the most appreciation for the church and neighbourhood organisations. These actors are sometimes cooperating with each other in environmental projects.

Participation in neighbourhood organisations has some important advantages, which are representation, democratization and empowerment of the inhabitants. Bottom-up policy will be supported by the inhabitants and is better adapted to the felt needs of these people.

After the theories and analysis of the social capital in Suba and Inayawan, chapter 8 will be more practical in character. Section 8.2 will focus on the potential to improve environmental health. Topics such as willingness of the inhabitants, existing organisations and shared interests will be mentioned. After that, section 8.3 will continue with the constraints that might have a negative influence on the mobilization of people. The author argues that reducing these constraints is an essential pre-condition for the improvement of both neighbourhoods.

8.2 Potential to improve environmental health

There are certain chances for the people to improve their neighbourhood. This section will list the potential that exists in both barangays. After that some essential pre-conditions will be elaborated in section 8.3.

8.2.1 Willingness of the inhabitants

The survey results show that there is much cognitive social capital in both barangays. Inhabitants know each other and have trust in each other. According to Halpern (2005), this offers much potential for neighbourhood improving activities. People that have many family members and friends in their neighbourhood, will be more motivated to work together on the improvement of this neighbourhood. Especially when their family members will benefit from it, they are very motivated to cooperate.

And indeed, most people say they are willing to join an organization and to join activities that benefit the community. Many people say that they would like to learn things about their environment and their living conditions. Even though there is a lack of knowledge and experience within the population, there is a willingness to learn things about and to become more involved in the topics of living conditions and environmental health.

This willingness is probably one of the biggest potentials in Suba and Inayawan. People are not ignorant of their situation. They realize that they are living in bad and unhealthy circumstances and they are willing to learn how to improve this. The only problem is that at this moment they don't know how to do so. They can only be involved by carrying out the simple tasks of joining clean-up drives and cleaning public toilets. There is not much space for own initiative or the possibility to learn things about the environment. As the results of the survey show, the inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan are in a difficult situation, since they don't know how to improve their environment and none teaches them how to do this. There is a big potential which is not being utilized.

8.2.2 Existing organizations

In Suba and especially in Inayawan are many active organizations. These organizations have many members and they have experience with organizing activities. Even though these organizations are not independent, they are important actors in the barangays. They represent the opinion of the inhabitants and function as their voice towards the local government.

Neighbourhood organizations have the best knowledge about the barangays. They know the inhabitants, they know how to operate in this socio-political situation, they know the problems in the barangays and they will surely have ideas about the solutions of these problems. That is why neighbourhood organizations are the most important actor in solving problems in the barangays. Organizations represent the people who are indispensable for neighbourhood improving activities and who are the ones that will benefit from the improvements.

The fact that there are so many organizations, shows the high level of social capital in Suba and Inayawan. It is not new for people to organize themselves and to cooperate with each other. During the interviews with neighbourhood organizations, it became clear that most organizations have their own goals. Some of the organizations are aimed at obtaining land rights for relocated people, while other organizations want to reduce violence and drug abuse or work for the benefits of tricycle drivers or religious people. Even though these organizations all work on different topics, all of them admit that living conditions are important. Some organizations are already involved in 'clean the barangay' projects, while others are not involved in these topics. Still it is obvious that almost all organizations would like to be involved in the improvement of their barangay. The willingness of inhabitants is the same, perhaps even stronger within the neighbourhood organizations.

8.2.3 Shared interests

As follows from the previous sections, most people and organizations are willing to do activities that benefit the community, to do activities to improve the barangay. Ofcourse it is important that everybody is willing to cooperate, but there should also be consensus about which problems to tackle. If there are disagreements about the kind of activities, they will never be realized. It is important to find the problems that the inhabitants consider the most important. If they agree about what the most urgent problems are, there is a big potential for cooperation, because people have the same goals and the same interests.

The results of the survey show that inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan largely agree with each other about the problems within their barangay. Their answers on the following question are very clear. *‘There are many concerns regarding living conditions in your sitio, such as waste collection, sanitation, air pollution and smell, safe drinking water, housing, health, education, crime prevention, violence prevention against women and children, sport facilities, muddy roads, other issues. Could you mention the 3 that you consider the most serious ones?’*

From the eleven issues, the inhabitants of Suba chose sanitation, housing, crime prevention, waste collection and education as the most urgent ones. The inhabitants of Inayawan chose for the topics of air pollution and smell, sanitation, health, muddy roads, waste collection and education. The issues of sanitation and air pollution (in Inayawan) were mentioned the most often. Most people agree that these problems should be tackled. Since there are similarities in the answers given, this offers potential for neighbourhood improving activities. People give priority to the same issues. If they would join an organization, they would prefer to work on these topics. Here is another potential for neighbourhood improving activities; consensus within the population about what their problems are.

8.3 Essential pre-conditions for improvement

In practice, in improving the living conditions in Suba and Inayawan there are many constraints. Some of these constraints are experienced on an individual level, for example a lack of time. Other constraints are structural and historical in character, for example the absence of land property rights. Some constraints are relatively easy to solve, while others will probably never be solved. In this section, I would like to make an overview of the constraints that exist when people want to improve the living conditions in Suba and Inayawan. This list is based on the results of the survey, the in-depth interviews, literature study and observations. The list of constraints is probably not complete and the list is written from a Western-European perspective¹⁰.

¹⁰ The process of data-gathering is conducted in the Philippines, together with Philippine students and supervised by Leny Ocasiones (USC). The first chapters were also written in the Philippines. The analysis of the results has been done in the Netherlands, without the help of Philipinos. This should be mentioned, because Philipinos might have other interpretations of and solutions for the problems. However, the author has tried to ground the conclusions on the survey and in-depth interview results.

8.3.1 Land rights

Many inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan are within the group of 'Urban Poor'. They neither have much of an income nor a stable financial situation. Most of them have built a small house by themselves. They don't have enough money to buy the land their house is standing on too. This is why many people do own their house, but don't own the land. The question '*Are you or your spouse owner of the land your house is standing on?*' lead to the following results;

Location	Yes	No	In between (for example; trying to buy the land rights with neighbourhood org)
Suba close	14,3	85,7	0
Suba far	25,9	74,1	0
Inayawan close	14,8	66,7	18,5
Inayawan far	3,6	96,4	0
Mean	14,5	80,9	4,5

Because the majority of the inhabitants don't own the land, people might be less motivated to work on their environment. Many families have been forced to move a number of times. These so-called 'relocations' are forced by the city government, who has found another destination for this particular land area. The poor inhabitants of the area are forced to move, sometimes the city 'gives' them a new location. Other times they have to find a new place by themselves.

In Inayawan sitio White Road, close to the dumpsite, are many victims of the relocations. These people have organized themselves in five home owners organizations, which are fighting for the landrights of White Road. They have to fulfill monthly paying duties from 1995 until 2015, after that they have obtained the land rights. According to the chairwoman of the home owners organization, this might become difficult, because many members can not afford their payments. However, the members are active, because they all attend the general assembly meetings (Jimenez, 2007, 1).

Besides this active group of people, most people neither have the land, nor the chance to obtain the land. That's why these other people are still in a risky situation, because they might be forced to move again. This causes many tensions within the population of both barangays.

Because people are not sure whether they can stay in a particular place, they will not invest in this place. This is certainly true for inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan, as the following table proves. It shows the answers on the question; *Do you have experience with organizations working on living conditions?*

	Not a land-owner	Land-owner
Yes I am a member	9,1	31,3
Yes I was a member	25	31,3
Other ¹¹	9	25,1
No	56,8	12,5

There is a lack of experience in working on living conditions, within the non land-owner population. It is clear and very logical that people will only join neighbourhood organizations and barangay improving activities, when they know that they will benefit from it. If they have the risk of being moved again, they will surely not invest time and money in their barangay.

This is why obtaining the land rights is an essential pre-condition for the improvement of both barangays. As long as these two barangays are just a passing station for the Urban poor, the inhabitants will never be motivated to invest in their house or in the living conditions in their barangay. There are also other negative effects, because people can never find a stable job and start building on their future. Giving (the possibility to obtain) land rights will be necessary a necessary precondition for the improvement of both barangays.

8.3.2 Independent organizations

The majority of organizations in Suba and Inayawan are so-called ‘barangay directed’ organizations. This means that they are dependent upon the barangay, for their financial resources as well as barangay permission for their activities. The GAD Focal persons are in general very cooperative, but there are some examples of barangay councils interfering in organizations. A barangay council that replaces board members of organizations, as well as forcing an organization to act in a particular way. This situation of highly dependent organizations, leads to a very low level of community participation.

In both neighbourhoods inhabitants don’t usually criticize the barangay council during the survey or the in-depth interviews. Sometimes they did provide us with critical or negative information, but this was ‘off the record’. When the respondents have the possibility to talk anonymously, without audience and off the record, they are more likely to criticize. This is an important observation, apparently people are not likely to complain and criticize. One possible reason could be that people feel vulnerable.

‘People can become very powerful when they are organized’ (Boholst, 2007, 6).

At this moment people are organized, but not in a democratic way. People are only asked to help in the projects of the barangay. People are asked to participate in clean-up drives, people are asked to clean the public toilets. But when it comes to real participation¹², the inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan are excluded. Organizations are barangay directed, not

¹¹ The category of ‘other’ answers refers to people who were not member of an organization, but answered: ‘yes, I was involved’ ‘I was not a member, but did some supporting activities’

¹² For example agenda setting, problem discussion and decision making in the barangay often happen without the involvement of inhabitants.

member directed. This should be changed, in order to make people more powerful and more active. When people feel safe within an organization and they will speak-up for themselves. They will find more people with the same ideas. They will unite together and formulate their own goals. They will work on these goals in their own way. This will lead to more enthusiasm than they have when they only clean streets and toilets, at the moments the barangay council calls them.

8.3.3 Real community participation

‘When people criticize a government official with a good position, they are afraid that they will be harrassed. Those stories are still alive in the Philippines’ (Boholst, 2007, 6).

At this moment it is not without risk to criticize the local government. Most organizations are still under control of the barangay and have to ask permission for their decisions and activities. This makes real participation difficult, because also inside the neighbourhood organization people can not safely share all their ideas. That is why more independence would be positive for the neighbourhood organizations. When neighbourhood organizations are operating outside the formal political system, and operate independently, this offers certain advantages (Pacione, 2001, 422). One is that there will be more space for real and active participation. It would be positive if Suba and Inayawan could rise on Paciones ladder of community participation.

At this moment there are many people with organizational membership, who have never participated in activities. They are just passive members who want to benefit from the organization. Some of them say that they want to become more involved, but don’t know how to realize this. Apparently there are many constraints before people can really participate in organizations. These constraints might have to do with a lack of time, knowledge, skills and contacts. And perhaps people give more priority to their own family, instead of activities that benefit the community.

Despite the problems people might have with participation, it is very important that many people participate. Especially those poor people who experience the most problems, might have the best ideas of how to solve these problems. Community participation is necessary to realize neighbourhood improving activities. Without real active participation, there won’t be any good activities because the solutions won’t have a broad social basis within the communities. If the people are not involved, they won’t know the ideas behind the activities. They won’t understand the activities and will certainly not feel involved. The cooperation that is essential in community projects will be missing.

As described in section 7.2, bottom-up policy has many advantages over top-down policy. Bottom-up policy requires active participation from the inhabitants of barangays. That’s why people should become more aware of the problems in their barangay and why people should become more involved in organizations that want to work on these problems. As the ‘extended’ questions in the survey show, many people want to learn about their living conditions and environment. They want to know about the problems and a majority of the respondents want to be involved in finding solutions to these problems. When people know and understand their situation, they will be more

enthusiastic to work on it. They will become more critical and give a valuable contribution to the development of their barangay.

8.3.4 Capable and independent leaders

At this moment there are only few leaders in Suba and Inayawan and some of them are chosen by the barangay council. Most leaders are involved in many organizations, which makes them very busy. It would be much better if every organization had its own board members, whom would be dedicated to their task. If there would be decentralisation of leadership, these people would lead only one organization, they would have more time to inform themselves and their members.

Board members should not be chosen by the barangay council. This will cause dependency and nepotism. The leaders should be chosen by the members of an organization. This will give the leaders more support and cooperation from the members.

8.3.5 Resources

With an average household income of 6500 pesos a month (=100 euros), it's hard for the inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan to make ends meet. Besides households, also organizations have problems with finding enough resources to realize their projects. During the in-depth interviews with neighbourhood organizations, practically all of them asked for money from the Netherlands. Even a barangay captain and his wife asked for it.

This lack of financial resources is a problem in both barangays, because money is needed to realize community projects. When there is no money, it would become very difficult to realize neighbourhood improving activities. That's why there should be external help. This help could be from the city council; the Department of Welfare of the Urban Poor, who wants to help the inhabitants of the most poor areas of the city. Another possibility is that NGO's are willing to invest money in both barangays. There are already some NGO's involved in Suba and Inayawan, which are mainly working on women and children's rights.

Another resource which is lacking is information. The inhabitants of both barangays don't know about the environmental problems in their neighbourhood. When they don't know the problems, it is impossible to mobilize them and think about solutions. Information is an important resource for solving environmental problems. Education and information will change behavior (Havemann, 2005).

8.4 From potential to mobilization

The previous sections showed that there is much potential for neighbourhood improving activities. First of all there is so much willingness within the populations of both barangays. Almost all people say they want to learn about their environment and help with the improvement of it. The organizations are positive too, most of them consider living conditions very important. Even though they don't have much experience with these topics, most organizations are willing to join these neighbourhood improving activities. This offers many advantages because the organizations are the ones with the

most experience and knowledge within the barangays. The third potential is the fact that people see the same problems. They agree on what they consider as the most urgent issues in their barangay, the problems that should be tackled first. This consensus also offers good opportunities for the mobilization of people and organizations. The mobilization of people and organizations will be the topic of this section.

Section 8.3 described some essential pre-conditions for improvement. Land rights, independent organizations, real community participation, capable and independent leaders and enough resources are necessary to make participation and neighbourhood activities work. It would not be realistic to expect these pre-conditions realized within a couple of years. This would probably take a very long time. Still there are some steps that could be taken, to make a start with neighbourhood improving activities, that are carried by the inhabitants. It would be good if a NGO would take a leading role in the first stage of the activities. A NGO can take a political neutral position and has knowledge, experience and resources for community organizing.

- **Inventarisation of problems**

The inventarisation of problems as was conducted in our survey, is too superficial and short to plan activities. That's why there should be an in-depth analysis of the problems that exist in both barangays. Especially the experiences of inhabitants are important in this inventarisation.

- **Education on environmental health**

As most respondents mentioned they have a lack of knowledge and they would like to learn things about their environment, education is a logical step. The education can take several forms, but it is important that people learn something about their environment. They should know about the pollution, dangers and other problems in their barangay. But more important they should learn their own responsibilities and possibilities to improve their barangay. If the membership of an organization or committee would cost them too much time, they should have the opportunity to learn to become more environment friendly in daily life. Examples are the treatment of garbage, recycling and visiting public toilets.

- **Start of committees**

Everybody that feels involved with his or her barangay, can join a committee. These committees can exist within a neighbourhood organization, or it can be a cooperation between members of more organizations. Committees will think about the problems that were mentioned in the inventarisation. They should have regular meetings and try to find the most supported solutions.

- **Integrated approach**

If the neighbourhood organizations and committees are working on several topics, it is very important that they have regular meetings with each other. They should try to adapt their ideas and projects to each other, and try to make an integrated plan for their barangay. Issues like garbage, sanitation and smell are related and one solution that

integrates all issues is probably the best solution. It also offers more possibilities for cooperation and the exchange of information.

- Promotion

Because active and passive community participation is crucial in solving these environmental problems, all activities should be actively promoted so the inhabitants know what is happening. When people know (the reasons behind) the activities, they are more likely to participate. Besides that it is good to promote these activities for the awareness and knowledge of the inhabitants.

- Patience

Since the problems are big and financial resources are scarce, it's going to be very difficult to solve all these problems in a short period. The people involved should not have too high expectations, but think on a small scale and be patient in waiting for the results of their activity.

8.5 Conclusion

The high level of social capital in Suba and Inayawan offers many opportunities for improving environmental health. People are willing to cooperate, they have the same interests and there are many organizations active in both neighbourhoods.

However at this moment there is no active community participation, most people are not involved with environmental health. Most of the respondents are passive members of an organization, but are not involved in activities or decision-making. As was posed by Barthen (2006), participatory governance is the solution for reducing health inequities. The author of this thesis also found many advantages of participation; there will be representation, democratization and empowerment of the excluded inhabitants and participation will lead to activities to improve environmental health.

There are some essential pre-conditions before inhabitants can be mobilized to improve their environment. First of all they should have the possibility to obtain land rights, this will motivate them to improve their environment. Other pre-conditions are independent organizations, real community participation, capable and independent leaders and the availability of resources. Important resources are money and information. At this moment many inhabitants are unaware of the environmental risks in their own neighbourhood. Hereby the author refers to the research of Havemann (2005) which shows that education changes behavior. When people have knowledge about the environment, the risks and the chances, this will have positive effects. People will be motivated to change their behavior, because their behavior affects the physical environment and by consequence their own health!

When neighbourhood organizations, the barangay council, a NGO or other actors want to mobilize the inhabitants of Suba and Inayawan, they should utilize the potential that exists, and at the same time work on the pre-conditions for improvement.

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Maria de Lange

Summary in Dutch / Nederlandse samenvatting

Dit onderzoek bestudeert twee arme wijken in Cebu-city; Suba en Inayawan. De hoofdvraag van het onderzoek is als volgt: *Welke mogelijkheden zijn er om burgers te mobilizeren voor het verbeteren van de omgevingsgezondheid?*

De auteur beschrijft eerst de theoretische concepten sociaal kapitaal, participatie en omgevingsgezondheid (hieronder wordt verstaan: gezondheidsomstandigheden die voortvloeien uit de fysieke omgeving). Ze vervolgt met het hoge niveau van sociaal kapitaal in beide wijken. De inwoners kennen elkaar, vertrouwen elkaar en hebben veel relaties in hun omgeving. Dit biedt kansen voor structureel sociaal kapitaal, of organisaties en activiteiten. In beide wijken zijn organisaties aanwezig, maar ze zijn jong, hebben weinig leiders en ze zijn afhankelijk van de lokale overheid. Ondanks deze zwakke punten, vertrouwen mensen de organisaties en hebben ze er grote verwachtingen van. Ze zijn bereid om lid te worden en aan hun eigen leefomstandigheden te werken. Vooral de mensen met landrechten zijn gemotiveerd.

De belangrijkste actoren in de wijken zijn de lokale overheid, wijkorganisaties, de kerk, non-gouvernementele organisaties en de overheid op stadsniveau. De inwoners hebben de meeste waardering voor de kerk en de wijkorganisaties. Het zou positief zijn als de inwoners meer zouden deelnemen aan de wijkorganisaties. Dit zou leiden tot hun representatie, democratisering en verzelfstandiging. Alle data ondersteunen de voordelen van bottom-up beleid.

Het doel van dit onderzoek is om mensen te mobilizeren deel te nemen aan het verbeteren van de (aan gezondheid gerelateerde) fysieke omgeving. Er is een aantal randvoorwaarden voordat deze verbeteringen gerealiseerd kunnen worden. Zo zouden alle inwoners landrechten moeten kunnen krijgen. Daarnaast zouden de organisaties onafhankelijk moeten zijn en zou er echte participatie van de bevolking moeten zijn. Een andere belangrijke randvoorwaarde is dat organisaties capabele en onafhankelijke leiders hebben. Tenslotte zouden er meer financiële middelen en informatie beschikbaar moeten zijn voor de bevolking.

De twee wijken hebben een hoge mate van sociaal kapitaal. Dit biedt kansen om de omgeving te verbeteren. De inwoners zijn bereid samen te werken, deel te nemen aan activiteiten en hun omgeving te verbeteren. Er zijn al organisaties actief in de wijken, die bereid zijn activiteiten te ondersteunen. In beide wijken zijn mensen het er over eens wat de meest dringende problemen zijn, bijvoorbeeld sanitaire voorzieningen en luchtvervuiling. Deze gemeenschappelijke belangen maken samenwerking makkelijker.

De auteur stelt dat het het beste is, om het mobilizeren van inwoners te beginnen met een inventarisatie van de problemen, gevolgd door onderwijs over 'leefomstandigheden' en de start van commissies. Men moet werken met een integrale benadering, activiteiten goed promoten en niet meteen zichtbare resultaten verwachten.

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2. Interview with Barthen F, Public Health Department, University Medical Center St Radboud, Nijmegen, April 23, 2007
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9. Interview with Jimenez V, chairwoman Nagkahiusang Kabus sa Riles, White Road, barangay Inayawan, Cebu-city, July 3, 2007
10. Interview with Orbiso H, Chairman Basic Ecclesial Community and Barangay Anti Drug Abuse Council, Member of Dumpsite People Solidarity Organization and Barangay Intelligence Network Inayawan, Cebu-city, July 13, 2007

Annex 1. Survey SOAN – URG Research Project 2007

CONFIDENTIAL

**Participation, Health and Environment Research
Questionnaire June 4 2007**

Names of Interviewers:&.....
Place: 0 Suba 0 Inayawan
Date:

1. Profile of the respondent

Name (*Pangalan*)
Address (*Pinuy-anan*)
Sex (*Sekso*).....
Age (*Edad*).....
Place of birth (*Lugar diin gipanganak*).....
Marital Status: (*Minyo o daga*).....
No. of children: (*Gidaghanon sa anak*).....
Age of children (*Edad sa mga anak*).....
Occupation: (*Panginabuhi*).....
Educational Attainment: (*Edukasyon nga Nakab-ot*).....
Number of years living in the neighbourhood (*Pila ka tuig sa gipuy-an*).....

2 A Health determinants: household

1. Who are the members of your household?
(*Kinsa ang mga miyembro sa imong panimalay?*)
2. How many of them earn a living (have an income)?
(*Pila sa imong mga miyembro ang adunay kita?*)
- 3 Occupation spouse...
(*Unsa ang panginabuhi sa imong bana/asawa?*)
- 4 Occupations other members of household
(*Panginabuhi sa ubang miyembro sa panimalay*)
5. What is your (personal) monthly income?
(*Pila ang imong binuwan nga kita?*)
6. What is the income of the household (total)?
(*Pila ang kinatibuk-ang kita sa inyong panimalay?*)
7. How much of this income is spending (approximately) on:
(*Pila sa inyong kita ang gigasto alang sa:*)
 - Food (*Pagkaon*)
 - Household facilities = water, sanitation, electricity, garbage collection
(*Pasilidad sa Panimalay= tubig, kalimpyo, elektrisidad, pagpanghipus sa basura*)
 - Health (*Kahimsog*)
8. Did you participate in courses/seminars on health, food, physical environment? (*Nakaapil ka ba ug mga pagtuon o seminar kabahin sa kahimsog, pagkaon, palibot*)

0 yes; what course?
0 no

9. How do you assess the health conditions in your household? (*Unsay imong ikasulti kabahin sa kahimtang sa kahimsog sa imong panimalay?*)

0 good because of.....

0 fair because of.....

0 bad because of.....

2B Health determinants: house

1. How big is your house in square meters? (*Unsa kadak-a ang imong balay hisgutanang metros kwadrados?*)

2. Do you own the house you live in? (*Ikaw ba ang tag-iya sa balay nga inyong gipuy-an?*)

0 yes

0 no

3. Are you or your spouse owner of the land your house is standing on? (*Gipnag-iya ba nimo o sa imong bana/asawa ang yuta nga gitarukan sa inyong balay?*)

0 yes

0 no

4. How do you assess the quality of your house? (*Unsay imong ikasulti sa imong panimalay?*)

0 good

0 fair

0 bad

5. What would you like to improve in your house? (*Unsa ang imong gustong palamboon sa imong balay?*)

6. How do you obtain clean water? (*Diin nimo kuhaa ang inyong limpyo nga tubig?*)

7. How is the sanitation in your house? (toilet) (*Aduna bay kasilyas ang inyong balay?*)

8. How is the waste collection organized? (*Giunsa pagkolekta ang inyong basura?*)

9. How healthy are your house and the immediate environment? (*Unsa ka himsog ang inyong balay ug ang palibot?*)

The interviewer mentions the following categories:

0 very healthy

0 healthy

0 nor healthy, nor unhealthy

0 unhealthy

0 very unhealthy

Could you explain your opinion? (*Pwede ba nga imong palawman ang imong giingon?*)

2C Health determinants: barangay governing

1 Whom do you know by name or personally of the *barangay officials* ? (*Kinsa ang imong nahibawan sa pangalan o sa personal nga opisyal sa barangay?*)

(barangay captain and/or members of the barangay council)

2. Do you know their functions? (*Nakahibaw ka ba sa ilang mga gimbuhaton?*)

3. There are many concerns regarding the *living conditions* in your *sitio* such as: (*Adunay daghan nga mga problema ang inyong sitio. Pipila niini mao ang:*

- waste collection; 0 yes 0 no
- sanitation; 0 yes 0 no
- air pollution and smell; 0 yes 0 no
- safe drinking water; 0 yes 0 no
- housing 0 yes 0 no
- health 0 yes 0 no
- education 0 yes 0 no
- crime prevention; 0 yes 0 no
- violence prevention against women and children; 0 yes 0 no
- sport facilities; 0 yes 0 no
- muddy roads; 0 yes 0 no
- other issues such as.....

Could you mention the 3 that you consider as the most serious ones? (*Pwede ba nga makahatag ka ug tulo ning maong mga problema?*)

4. What are projects/programs of the barangay council regarding these living conditions? (*Unsa ang mga proyekto\programa sa barangay kabahin sa inyong panimuyo?*)

5. Do you think these projects are effective ? (*Epektibo kining maong mga proyekto alang kanimo?*)

0 yes

0 no

Could you explain your opinion?

6. What kind of a project would you have wanted? (*Unsa nga proyekto unta ang imong gusto?*)

2 D Health determinants: neighborhood organizations and barangay governing

1.. Do you think neighborhood organizations in the barangay are; (*Sa tan-aw nimo ang mga organisasyon sa inyong sitio?*)

active; 0 yes 0 no

important; 0 yes 0 no

willing to listen to the inhabitants; 0 yes 0 no

independent; 0 yes 0 no

effective; 0 yes 0 no

2. If there is an organization that could work on the improvement of living conditions, would you join it? (*Kun adunay organisasyon nga naningkamot alang sa paglambo sa palibot, muapil ba ka?*)

0 yes

0 no

Could you explain why yes or no?

3. And do you think the barangay council would listen to this organization? (*Sa imong tan-aw paminawon ba kini sa barangay?*)

0 yes

0 no

Could you explain why yes or no?

4. Do you think the barangay would act on it? (*Sa imong tan-aw, molihok ba ang barangay sa mga yangongo sa mga organisasyon?*)

Could you explain why yes or no?

3 A Social capital: structural

1. What neighborhood organizations do you know in your barangay?

(*Unsa ang mga organisasyon nga anaa sa imong barangay?*)

2. Are you a member of one or more neighborhood organization(s)? (*Miyembro ka ba sa usa o daghan ning maong mga organisasyon?*)

☐ yes ☐ no

3. If yes, what kind of neighborhood organization? (*Kung oo ang tubag, unsa nga klaseng organisasyon?*)

☐ women ☐ political ☐ other
☐ religious ☐ sport
☐ professional

4. If no, would you like to be a member of a neighborhood organization? (*Kung dili, gusto ka ba nga magpamiyembro sa usa ka organisasyon?*)

☐ no, because

☐ yes, because

5. Do you think neighborhood organizations should work on improvement of barangay living conditions? (*Sa imong tan-aw ang mga organisasyon ba sa inyong barangay kinahanglan nga molihok alang sa lalambuan sa inyong palibot?*)

☐ yes ☐ no

6. What kind of neighborhood organization should be involved in improving barangay living conditions? (*Unsa nga klase sa organisasyon ang kinahanglan nga muapil sa pagbag-o sa palibot?*)

(If respondent find this question difficult to answer, the Interviewer can mention some options, such as women organization, or health organization):

Could you explain your answers on questions 5 and 6?

7. Do you have experience with neighborhood organizations that work(ed) on barangay living conditions? (*Aduna ka bay kasinatian sa mga organisasyon nga naglihok alang sa palibot sulod sa barangay?*)

Interviewer mentions the following categories:

☐ yes, I was a member
☐ yes, I was not a member but did some supporting activities
☐ yes, I was involved
☐ other
☐ no

Could you elaborate on your experiences with emphasis on the actions taken to protect/ promote environmental health? (*Pwede ba nga imong mapalawman ang imong kasinatian labi na sa mga kalihukan nga gihimo alang sa pagprotektar ug pagpalambo sa palibot?*)

3B Social capital: cognitive

1. How many relatives are living in the barangay? (*Pila ka paryente nimo ang nagpuyo sulod sa barangay?*)
2. How many relatives are living in Metro Cebu? (*Pila sa imong mga paryente ang nagpuyo sulod sa Metro Cebu?*)
- 3 How many of your friends live in the sitio? (*Pila sa imong mga higala ang nagouyo sulod sa sitio ?*)
- 4 How many of your friends live in the barangay? (*Pila sa imong mga higala ang nagpuyo sulod sa barangay?*)
5. Is it safe to walk in the streets of this sitio alone when it's dark? (*Luwas ba nga mulakaw dinhi sa inyong sitio nga mulakaw nga mag-inusara sa ngitngit?*)
0 yes 0 don't know 0 no

Why do you think it is safe or unsafe?

- 6 If nobody is in your house and you forget to lock the door, do you think your things are safe? (*Kung way tawo sa inyong balay ug nakalimtan nimo pagsira ang pultahan, wa bay mohilabot sa imong mga butang?*)
0 yes 0 don't know 0 no

Why do you think it is safe or unsafe ?(Nganong nakaingon ka man nga luwas siya o dili luwas)?

What do you like in your barangay in general? (Unsa ang imong ganahan dinhi sa inyong barangay?)

Interviewer explains: peaceful (*malinawon*), community spirit (*panagtinabangay*), good location (*nindot ang nahimutangan*), clean (*limpyo*) etcetera

3C Social capital: individual versus group

1. Do you like to have company when you're doing your job? (*Ganahan ka ba nga aduna kay kauban kung nagtrabaho?*)
0 yes 0 no

Could you explain your answer? (Pwede ba nimong palawman ang imong tubag?)

2. Do you prefer to do your household activities individually or in a group? (*Mas ganahan ka ba nga himoon ang gimbuhaton sa balay nga nag-inusara o adunay kauban?*)
0 individually 0 in a group

Could you explain your answer?

3. Do you like to do activities that benefit the community? (*Ganahan ka ba nga mohimo ug mga gimbuhaton alang sa kaayohan sa komunidad?*)
0 yes 0 no

3D Social capital: Mobilisation of community members

1. What neighborhood organizations discussing and improving living conditions in the barangay: would you support: (*Unsa nga organisasyon nga naglihok alang sa kalambuan sa palibot sa barangay ang imong suportahan?*)
- waste collection; 0 yes 0 no

- sanitation; 0 yes 0 no
- air pollution and smell; 0 yes 0 no
- safe drinking water; 0 yes 0 no
- housing 0 yes 0 no
- health 0 yes 0 no
- education 0 yes 0 no
- crime prevention; 0 yes 0 no
- violence prevention against women and children; 0 yes 0 no
- sport facilities; 0 yes 0 no
- muddy roads; 0 yes 0 no
- other issues such as.....

2. What are your 3 priorities for neighborhood organizations discussing and improving living conditions in the barangay? (*Unsa alang nimo ang mga prayoridad nga angayang tukion ug palamboon sa mga organisasyon?*)
(interviewer can refer to question 1)

3a. Under what circumstances would you join an organization: (*Unsa ang mga sitwasyon nga makapaawhag nimo pagsalmot sa organisasyon?*)

Interviewer mentions the following circumstances:

- 0 if it does something for the family (*kung adunay himoon alang sa imong pamilya*)
- 0 if it does something for the sitio (*kung adunay himoon alang sa sitio*)
- 0 if it does something for the barangay (*kung adunay himoon alang sa barangay*)

3b. Under what circumstances would you join an organization: (*Unsa ang mga sitwasyon nga makapaawhag nimo pagsalmot sa organisasyon?*)

Interviewer mentions the following circumstances:

- 0 if your family members joined as well (*kung muapil ang miyembro sa imong pamilya*)
- 0 if your neighbours joined as well (*kung muapil ang imong silingan*)
- 0 if your colleagues joined as well (*kung muapil ang imong mga kaubanan*)

4. How effective are the following organizations with regard to improving living conditions? (*Unsa kaepektibo kining mga organisasyon nga akong ibatbat hisgutanang pagpalambo sa palibot?*)

- barangay council; 0 very effective 0 fairly effective 0 somewhat effective 0 not effective
- neighborhood organizations; 0 very effective 0 fairly effective 0 somewhat effective 0 not effective
- NGOs; 0 very effective 0 fairly effective 0 somewhat effective 0 not effective
- municipality; 0 very effective 0 fairly effective 0 somewhat effective 0 not effective
- church; 0 very effective 0 fairly effective 0 somewhat effective 0 not effective
- other;

Could you explain your answer?

5. Do you think that there should be cooperation between NGOs and neighborhood organizations? (*Alang kanimo, kinahanglan ba nga adunay kooperasyon tali sa NGOs ug mga organisasyon dinhi sa barangay?*)

6. Do you think that there should be cooperation between NGOs and the barangay council? (*Alang kanimo, kinahanglan ba nga adunay kooperasyon tali sa NGOs ug sa konseho sa barangay?*)

Could you explain your answers on questions 5 and 6 (Pwede ba nimo nga palawman ang imong tubag sa numero 5 ug 6?)

EVALUATION AND IMPRESSIONS OF RESEARCHERS (Pls. use a separate sheet if necessary):

Annex 2. Interview with Francoise Barthen, Public Health Department, University Medical Center St Radboud, Nijmegen, April 23, 2007
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FB: Francoise Barthen ML: Maria de Lange TL: Timon Lely

ML: Ik weet eigenlijk nog niet precies waar u zich mee bezig houdt.. Wat is uw hoofdthema?

FB: Ik ben oorspronkelijk getraind als arts. Maar ik heb lang in het veld gewerkt, in achterstandswijken in Midden-Amerika. Ik heb me gespecialiseerd in public health en met name in het stedelijk gebied. En mijn interesse is op gezondheidsverschillen en de relatie met sociale determinanten en één van de determinanten is stedelijke omgeving, urban setting. Wat zijn de kenmerken van de urban setting? De formele en informele settlements, leef- en werkomstandigheden van mensen.. en wat is dan de invloed daarop op de blootstelling op mensen. Dus je hebt een gedifferentieerde blootstelling, bijv als je in een betere wijk woont. Dus mijn interesse gaat niet uit naar een bepaalde ziekte of blootstelling, maar naar het feit dat mensen in die structuur, settlement, blootgesteld worden aan meerdere risico's. En dat dat tot een synergie leidt in gezondheidseffecten, die verschillen, hoe kun je die door beleidsinterventies op hoger niveau beïnvloeden. Dus het is het omdraaien van het medische model, waarin we gericht zijn op het behandelen van mensen, wachten tot ze ziek zijn. Maar hoe voorkom je, en hoe verbeter je de leefomstandigheden en met name de weerbaarheid van mensen.

TL: Hoe bedoelt u weerbaarheid?

FB: Ik merk dat er vaak onduidelijkheid over bestaat... Als men het heeft over gezondheid, denkt men aan ziekte en sterfte, en daar ligt onmiddellijk de associatie met gezondheidsposten, centra, ziekenhuizen.. Nou wij zeggen; gezondheidszorgsystemen, de artsenpost en ziekenhuizen, is een van de sociale determinanten... die komt vaak aan de orde als mensen ziek zijn, om dingen te repareren. Maar uiteindelijk als je gezondheid ziet, wat gerelateerd is aan tal van andere aspecten; voedsel, huisvesting etc. Beslissingen die je dus in die sectoren neemt, kunnen een impact hebben op gezondheid. Een vervuilende industrie in een dichtbevolkt gebied.. Veel beslissingen hebben impact op gezondheid.

Maar wat bedoel ik met weerbaarheid? Participatie zie ik niet zozeer als het mobiliseren van mensen, dat is natuurlijk een onderdeel. Maar ik zie participatie door het hele proces heen. Identificeren van problemen, invloed hebben op prioriteiten stellen.. jullie kennen het besluitvormingstraject.. definiëren van acties.. Als het gaat over participatie denken mensen vaak aan efficiency, het besparen van geld door mensen te mobiliseren dingen te doen, maar zo bedoel ik het niet. Ik bedoel. In de situatie van sociale onrechtvaardigheid en uitsluiting, hoe kunnen kansen vergroot worden om tot een betere verdeling te komen van middelen. Dus het gaat veel meer over empowerment.

ML: Over dat identificeren van de problemen met de inwoners van een wijk.. dat was ook mijn eerste vraag... Welke environmental health problemen worden direct door de bewoners ervaren? Want ik kan me voorstellen dat sommige problemen wel op macroschaal spelen, maar niet op micro niveau worden genoemd.

FB: Dat is moeilijk, dat hangt van de context en het proces af. Om je een voorbeeld te geven uit Nicaragua; daar vond transitie plaats. Er was een gesplinterd systeem, men probeerde tot meer integraal beleid te komen. Dit ging vooral over landbouwhervorming, alfabetisering, voedselzekerheid, dat was één pakket. De behoeften en vraag van mensen werden gestuurd door professionals. In de jaren die erop volgden zag je dat de capaciteit vd mensen achter de tafel minder werd en mensen kwamen zelf aan met allerlei problemen die wij niet meteen hadden herkend. Bijvoorbeeld een enorme groei van de sloppenwijken door de

vluchtelingenstroom, de hoofdstad verdubbelde haar inwonersaantal binnen vier jaar tijd. Zij waren bezorgd over toegang tot water, sanitair, angst voor epidemieën. Dus ja allerlei gezondheidsrisico's. Het wisselt. In een andere wijk waren de bewoners bezorgd vanwege loodvergiftiging bij kinderen. Vaak wordt gezegd; wanneer je onderzoek doet, zullen mensen niet meteen komen met gezondheid als hoogste prioriteit. Educatie is belangrijk. Gezondheidszorg wordt pas belangrijk als mensen ziek zijn. Maar als je de prioriteiten bekijkt; dat zijn determinanten of essentiële precondities voor gezondheid. Meer voedsel, meer water.. Dus je hoort vaak, zo'n cliché; gezondheid is voor mensen niet belangrijk. Maar je eigen visie is vaak een ziekte. Wat voor mensen vaak prioriteit is, is vuilnis.

ML: In één van de twee wijken waar wij onderzoek doen is een vuilnisbelt. Maar in het oplossen van de problemen; welke partijen zijn daarbij betrokken en hebben ze verschillende belangen?

FB: Het voorbeeld van vuilnis; het zijn niet meteen de mensen in laagste inkomenswijken die het meeste afval produceren, zij recyclen vaak. Het zijn vaak de middenklasse en hoogste inkomenswijken die veel afval produceren, maar doordat zij wegen hebben komen de vuilniswagens daar wel, maar in de arme wijken met bochtige straatjes komen niet. Dus hoewel deze arme mensen het minste vuil produceren, hebben zij vaak het meeste last omdat bij hen de vuilnis niet wordt opgehaald.

Wie zijn erbij betrokken? Dat hangt ten eerste af van hoe zon wijk georganiseerd is. In mijn ervaring in Managua waren de burgers georganiseerd in vrouwen- en jongerenorganisaties, er is veel industrie dus ook vakbonden. Dus je had allerlei organisaties en die waren erbij betrokken. Maar je kunt je voorstellen dat in Bolivia, daar heb je hele andere structuren. Daar had je op een gegeven moment de wet op bevolkingsparticipatie, die maakte dat formeel het gemeentelijk budget besteed werd in overleg met de OTB's, organizaciones territoriales de base. Dat zijn basisorganisaties op lokaal niveau, dus daar hadden ze een gestructureerde organisatie voor. Binnen die organisaties hangt het er natuurlijk vanaf wie het meest sterk vertegenwoordigd is. Verschillen; vrouwen participeren minder dan mannen. Dus het betekent niet automatisch dat wanneer je de bewoners erbij betreft, dat je meteen de meest arme en uitgesloten bewoners erbij betreft. Wie nog meer? Afhankelijk van de inzichten vd lokale overheid, mensen van verschillende sectoren. In sommige landen is het proces van gezondheid en stad gezien als iets wat zich binnen de gezondheidssector afspeelt. Dus dan krijg je iemand afgevaardigd van de gemeente die zich specifiek bezig houdt met gezondheid en niet met verschillende sectoren. Terwijl het goed zou zijn om ook sanitatie, water en educatie erbij te betrekken. En dan zijn er nog NGO's he?

ML: Vindt het goed om zulke wijkorganisaties erbij te betrekken? Voegen zij echt iets toe of kost het alleen maar extra tijd?

FB: Dat hangt van de context af. Mijn ervaring in Nicaragua was dat het een sterke aanwezigheid en mobilisering van mensen was. Dat was de context van dat moment, oorlog en revolutie. Dus een mobilisatie van mensen. In die eerste jaren bestond heel veel hoop; dat mensen geloofden dat ze met hun inzet iets konden bijdragen. Het is niet alleen politiek correct. Het voegt ook iets toe aan het professioneel perspectief. Anders vaar je in je besluitvorming puur op professionals, die een bepaalde kijk hebben, terwijl het die mensen zijn, die in die omstandigheden leven en de meeste belangen hebben bij het veranderen van de omstandigheden.

ML: In de projecten die u gezien hebt, waren de bewoners uit zichzelf betrokken of moesten zij er bij gehaald worden?

FB: In Nicaragua was het al een aanwezige factor in de wijk, je kon niks in die wijken doen zonder ze er bij te betrekken. Iets anders is dan dat je kunt voorstellen dat tal van sectoren met elkaar moeten integreren, een strategische visie. Anders komt die integratie op de schouders van die paar community health workers, die paar vertegenwoordigers van wijkorganisaties dat die activiteiten steeds gemobiliseerd worden. Om je een voorbeeld te geven; in El Salvador staat een programma van de faculteit geneeskunde dat de studenten elke week een dag naar de lage inkomens wijken gaan. Dat gaat zo; de faculteit stelt vast wat het thema is, vervolgens gaat de student de thema's met die bewoners bespreken, heel top-down. Ik ben wel eens mee gegaan. In die wijk was veel dengue, een ziekte die verspreid werd door muggen die broeden in water. Studenten hielden een verhandeling dat de mensen goed hun aquarium en afval afdekken. Vervolgens kwam de leider van de wijkorganisatie en zei; kom eens naar buiten, dit zijn onze problemen. Ze liet ons zien; die gemeenschap woonde op de bodem van een groot ravijn. Andere gemeenschappen gooiden hun afval op de bodem van dat ravijn. Ze zei; Kijk, elke zaterdag komen wij bijeen om dit afval te verzamelen en te verbranden. Alleen door de rookontwikkeling krijgen kinderen astma. Dat is ons probleem'. Dan zie je de discrepantie tussen de capaciteit van mensen en de a priori vastgestelde prioriteiten. En toen zei ze; we hebben de volgende dag zelf een vergadering bijeengeroepen met mensen vd gemeente, om dit probleem op te lossen...Ja voor mij voegt het wel wat toe.

ML: Ja iedereen is positief over participatie.

FB: Het is makkelijk om je eigen perspectief te volgen, gewoon top down

TL: En als je merkt; we betrekken ze er wel in, maar dat doen we alleen voor de medewerking en de vorm. Maar niet voor de inhoud want daar geloven we niet in.

FB: Je zou kunnen denken; 'ik weet de oplossing zelf wel' maar bij duurzaamheid moet het een oplossing van henzelf worden. Waterpompen die geslagen worden, waarvan vervolgens wordt verwacht dat mensen die zelf onderhouden.. als het geen ownership is voor mensen.. Meer dan ownership en duurzaamheid, gaat het om het verwezenlijken van rechten die mensen nu niet hebben. Bewustwording, kennisneming, dus het is hun proces, waarin wij faciliteren of katalysatoren zijn. En waarin wij technische oplossingen kunnen aandragen. Maar je kunt geen technische oplossingen aandragen als het politieke problemen zijn. Dan zijn dat lokale processen, maar waarin informatie wel heel belangrijk is.

ML: De volgende vraag gaat over uitsluiting. Er zijn altijd mensen die niet betrokken zijn, eigenlijk zijn dat de mensen die het meest nodig hebben. Zij zijn moeilijk te betrekken bij de oplossing van het probleem. Hebben deze mensen geen tijd, geen kennis of vinden zij het niet interessant? Wat zit daarachter?

FB: Je zult wel van Ton gehoord hebben; een gemeenschap is niet homogeen. Er zijn verschillende belangen. Je werkt met mensen die bereid zijn zich in te zetten en dat kleine beetje tijd kunnen missen. Ik werkte als arts op een eiland, met veel kinderen aan de diarree. Velen van hen stierven op het laatst. We vroegen ons af; waar komt dat door? Er kwam een aantal vrouwen die dit zagen als een populatie probleem en niet alleen als probleem van hun eigen kind. Zij hadden enthousiasme en wisten ook meer mensen te mobiliseren.

In die eerste jaren was er veel hoop. In de tijd dat de oorlog verhevigde en mensen gemobiliseerd werden naar oorlogsgebieden, zag je dat participatie veel moeilijker wordt. Je participeert al aan zoveel dingen, dus dat kleine beetje extra kon niet. Nogmaals, het gaat er niet om activiteiten te realiseren waar normaal geen geld voor zou zijn, ik heb het niet over efficiency. Maar het voorbeeld van El Paradiso, die sloppenwijk op de bodem van het ravijn, daar zag je dat de bodem zelf het probleem hadden herkend en ze hadden zelf het initiatief genomen er andere sectoren bij te betrekken.

ML: Dat is een betere uitgangspositie dan van bovenaf beoordelen.

FB: Het is een interactie denk ik

ML: Kunt u verschillende succesvolle en minder succesvolle participatie projecten noemen?

FB: Ik denk dat je onderscheid moet maken of je participatie ziet als middel of als doel. Het is een langdurig proces. Als je het hebt over projecten, dan spreek je vaak over externe interventies, door donoren gefinancierd, met een begin en een einde. De projectduur kan soms wel eens te kort zijn om die veranderingen te meten, waar je eigenlijk naar streeft. Omdat die veranderingen vaak mogelijk worden in een bepaalde sociaal politieke context, die heb je niet in de hand. Het is een samenspel van factoren die maken dat die empowerment wel of niet ontstaat. Eén van die dingen die in Midden Amerika vaak erkend wordt, is dat de empowerment van vrouwen veel groter is geworden door die revolutie in Nicaragua. Enerzijds omdat de mannen vertrokken naar het front en zij meer verantwoordelijkheid kregen. Maar ook doordat door het hele proces, mensen heel betrokken werden bij besluitvorming. En educatie natuurlijk hé? Alfabetisering. Dus ondanks dat er zich de afgelopen tien jaar een hele andere politieke context heeft ontwikkeld, schijnt dat een buffer geweest te zijn. Deze maakt dat kindersterfte (afhankelijk van educatie en invloed van vrouwen) verminderd is, ondanks het feit dat de sociaal economische context verslechterde.

FB: En in Managua kwam een Healthy city project, door de WHO en het UNDP, en wij waren erbij betrokken. De reden dat Managua werd gekozen was vanwege haar historie met participatie; dan moest het zeker lukken. Er was sprake van sociale polarisatie tussen de overheid en het sociale middenveld. Er was een zuivering van het overheidsapparaat, er ontstaat een enorm maatschappelijk middenveld. Iedereen die uit de overheid kwam zette een NGO op. Dus toen het healthy city project ontstond, was er een sprake van conflict tussen overheid en NGO's. De overheid wou hen controleren en hun functioneren inperken.

ML: Wat waren de verschillen tussen de overheid en de NGO's?

FB: Gezondheid als product, het commercialiseren van de gezondheidszorg. De één zegt universele toegang, de ander is meer voor marktwerking. Het waren twee totaal verschillende visies op maatschappij ontwikkeling. Door dat project is een situatie ontstaan, waarin een dialoog gecreëerd werd tussen die NGO's en de lokale overheid. Wat is daarvan over gebleven? Het heeft geleid tot heel veel netwerken in de stad, het versterken van invloed, dialoog met lokale overheid, maar 'business as usual'. Want de overheid ging door met haar planningsproces en was daarnaast in dialoog met anderen, maar zij konden geen invloed uitoefenen op dit de facto planningsproces.

TL: Dit heeft met mijn onderzoek te maken. Het verhaal over Managua doet mij denken aan de Filippijnen in de jaren negentig. Op een gegeven moment is het Marcos regime afgezet en ontstond een extreem hoopvolle situatie aan het begin van Aquino. Maar als je de mensen in NGO's vraagt wat er van die hoop is overgebleven, dan blijkt dat weg. Zou dat vergelijkbaar zijn? Uw verhaal met de Filippijnen?

FB: Er is een oorlog geweest in Nicaragua.

TL: In de Filippijnen was ook een conflictsituatie.

FB: Ik noem dit, omdat door de revolutie en oorlog, de sterfte onder jongeren enorm is toegenomen... In de jaren negentig is de participatie in Nicaragua enorm teruggelopen. Er ontstaan wel NGO's, maar de participatie liep enorm terug. Dat probeert men nu weer meer te stimuleren. Maar even terug naar wat je zei; in hoeverre werkt het? Dat hangt er vanaf wat je beoogt te bereiken...

ML: Het uiteindelijke doel van ons onderzoek is het verbeteren vd gezondheidsomstandigheden.

FB: Ik zou het scherper willen stellen; het verminderen van gezondheidsverschillen in de stad. Je wilt ook omhoog, maar je wilt met name de gap sluiten. Dat is een strijd, dat gaat om de toewijzing van middelen, de inhoud van beleid, belangenverschillen.

ML: Kunt u wat van die belangenverschillen noemen?

FB: Politici willen herkozen worden, dus die kiezen voor structurele projecten, zichtbare aanpassingen. Bijvoorbeeld de bouw van ziekenhuizen, dat is op zich niet slecht, maar het is heel erg downstream. Je wacht tot mensen ziek zijn. Als je gezondheid ziet als een deel van beleid wat ook meer upstream policy vereist, komt daar wat spanning op. In Bolivia bijvoorbeeld, toen die wet op bevolkingsparticipatie ingesteld werd, kozen mensen voor het opzetten van ziekenhuizen in alle gemeenten. Zichtbare dingen. Niet in educatieve processen. In El Salvador werd door externe donoren (Nederland en de WHO) werd een participatief planningsproces financieel gesteund, waar in meerdere sectoren actie gevoerd werd en de mensen waren daarbij betrokken. Een uitzonderlijke situatie, want er waren veel vluchtelingen die terugkeerden naar hun eigen woonplaats. Ze eisten hun recht om te participeren in de besluitvorming. Op een gegeven moment verliest de overheid in dat gebied de verkiezingen, ze wijten dat toe aan het participatieve planningsproces. Op dat moment besluiten zij zich terug te trekken. Ze zetten de Nederlanders het land uit en conflicten met de WHO. De bevolking wordt voor de keus gesteld; we gaan dit project heroriënteren. We zetten een ziekenhuis neer of we gaan door... en de mensen wilden doorgaan. Dus het verbeteren van de essentiële voorwaarden voor gezondheid. Dus toen ze de verkiezingen verloren hebben ze het teruggetrokken en toen is het verwaterd. Dus het zijn belangenverschillen.

ML: U zegt dat je gezondheid integraal moet zien en dat er veel verschillende determinanten zijn. Wat ziet u als de belangrijkste sectoren waarmee de gezondheidszorg samen zou moeten werken? U hebt al educatie genoemd..

FB: Als je het hebt over de stad zou ik zeggen; stedelijke planning, water, sanitatie, huisvesting, educatie. Maar het gaat daarbij om een proces waarin je zorgt dat de invloed van mensen op allocatie van middelen vergroot. Dit is essentieel, ook voor gezondheidszorg, om de link naar de bevolking te hebben. Wat wij noemen 'advocacy'. Je hebt een belangrijke rol als gezondheidszorgsector omdat je continu geconfronteerd wordt met effecten van falend beleid. Dat zie je weerspiegeld in de gezondheidsindicatoren. Dan kun je je aandacht richten op het individueel behandelen van mensen. Je kunt ook de data samenbundelen en zeggen: dit populatieprobleem is gerelateerd aan deze factoren en dit gebied en dat dan op de agenda proberen te leggen. Dat noemen we advocacy. Evalueren en monitoren. Dat is een rol die ik zie voor de gezondheidssector, om te zorgen dat gezondheid iets wordt van alle sectoren samen. Je begrijp dat daar ook een belangenverschil ligt hé, want veel actoren in de gezondheidszorgsector zijn daar mogelijk niet in geïnteresseerd.

De gezondheidszorgsector is natuurlijk een sector waar heel veel geld in omgaat. Iets wat ik wil benadrukken; het is niet óf óf hé? Wanneer je alles inzet op water en sanitatie, zal je uiteindelijke rendement veel groter zijn dan wanneer je alleen kinderen behandelt tegen diarree. Je moet dus én én doen.

ML: Mijn vragen zijn behandeld, maar ik vroeg me af of u nog tips hebt voor bronnen of literatuur.

FB: Ja ik vroeg me af, jullie hebben het verdeeld he, tussen agency en structure. (.....)

Hebben jullie de tekst gelezen van de commissie van sociale determinanten, ik heb de folder doorgestuurd naar Ton van Naerssen. Heeft hij die jullie gegeven? Als je kijkt naar wat wij definiëren als sociale determinanten, dan is het de positie en macht en invloed die iemand heeft. Niet tussen formal en informal settlement. De commissie van sociale determinanten

heeft het over de social gradient. Dus door alle niveaus heen, hele soc economische klassen zie je de verschillen. Afhankelijk van de hiërarchie en de macht die je hebt over de determinanten. De hypothese is; Naarmate jij meer controle hebt over de factoren die jouw gezondheid beïnvloeden, beïnvloedt dat jouw gezondheidsstatus. Het is bewezen dat gezondheidsverschillen afhangen van de maatschappelijke positie die jij inneemt.

Ze hebben bijv onderzoek gedaan in Engeland en de VS, waarin ze alle sociaal economische posities met elkaar vergeleken hebben. Dan zie je dat op alle niveaus verschillen zijn, waaruit blijkt dat de verschillen in Engeland.. De hoogste sociaal economische groep vergelijkt met een lagere sociaal economische groep, dan is dat beter. En zo door de hele situatie heen. Dat wijst op factoren die te maken hebben met je hele maatschappelijke context. Het werk van Wilkinson; Unhealthy societies. Hij stelt dat de invloed op gezondheid mede wordt bepaald door de gezondheidsverschillen die er in een stad zijn. Naarmate er grote verschillen zijn voelen mensen zich uitgesloten, dat heeft invloed op het geheel (niet alleen op de mensen die uitgesloten zijn).

FB: Het voorbeeld van Malaria; malaria was geen stedelijke ziekte, maar is dat wel geworden door migratie. De malariamug beperkt zich echter niet tot de sloppenwijken, ook al zijn er daar wel de condities voor broeden. Maar ook de rijkere wijken zijn er ook de dupe van, het wordt uiteindelijk een probleem van de hele stad. Jullie gaan helemaal in die arme wijken kijken, dat gebeurt heel vaak, doen donoren ook.. maar als je het ziet als een probleem van de hele stad, dan wordt je beleid ook anders. Dan gaat het om de besteding van middelen binnen de hele stad.

De burgemeester van Managua bouwde een grote fontein, terwijl er 240 informele settlements waren waar geen water was. Maar wanneer mensen hadden mogen meedenken, was het besluit anders geweest.

TL: Dat zie je ook in de Filipijnen... In de praktijk, hoe krijg je de politieke structuur... die is gewoon lastig..

FB: Gezondheid is altijd iets wat veel mensen interesseert. Het feit van die mug, en dat malaria een probleem wordt van iedereen. Ik zeg niet dat het makkelijk is, maar je krijgt wel mensen om de tafel om zoiets op te lossen. Nouja, een ander probleem; geweld. Dat is ook iets wat te maken heeft met uitsluiting van mensen. Dus kortom; je kunt betrokken worden bij je leefomgeving vanuit eigenbelang. Gezondheid is in mijn ervaring iets wat een makkelijke ingang is om mensen bij elkaar te krijgen. Maar het gaat er dan even om; hoe vertaal je gezondheid, ga je dan kijken naar de essentiële voorwaarden? In de komende 15 jaar gaat het aantal inwoners in sloppenwijken verdubbelen. Hoe zorg je dan voor voldoende water en sanitatie?

Ik zal jullie de folder sturen van de commissie van sociale determinanten, die gaat over het reduceren van gezondheidsverschillen. Verschillen die man-made zijn, die te maken hebben met onze structuren. Dus het concept sociale determinanten moet je duidelijk krijgen. Daar ligt de nadruk op. Het is belangrijk dat het maatschappelijke middenveld dat helder krijgt.

We kunnen het niet met technische maatregelen oplossen.

Wij organiseren hier in mei een consultatie, daar zijn we bij betrokken, de WHO en de commissie sociale determinanten met vertegenwoordigers van het maatschappelijke middenveld uit alle continenten, gaan ze kijken naar de draft van de commissie van sociale determinanten.

Bijv uit India, een sterke beweging van onderaf om het recht op gezondheid, de gap tussen wat in theorie beschreven staat (universele verklaring van de rechten van de mens) en de praktijk, te verkleinen.

**Annex 3. Interview with Fredrick Boholst, Organizational and family psychologist,
Department of Psychology, University of San Carlos, Cebu-city, July 4, 2007**

Before the interview I explain to him why I requested an interview. First of all to talk about Filipino culture and habits. Secondly because I'd like to discuss the answers given in the questionnaire.

Here you have the questionnaire. First we ask for some general information, then about the house, household, barangay, then social capital. Do you know that term?

Yes

The social capital part is my part of the questionnaire, about organizations and possible improvements for the environment. There are some questions, for example; if there would be an organization concerning living conditions, would you join it? And everyone answers 'yes'. And actually I don't believe it. So I have doubts about the result of our questionnaire.

So you're not sure whether this is a valid answer.

No, and that happens with more questions.

And I also have some questions about Filipino culture. First of all, could you explain to me what it means, a collectivist culture?

I don't know.. in many levels, in terms of identity. If you look at the pronounce they use... 'we' rather than 'I'. So in terms of identity, in terms of aspirations, the typical student here, unlike the Western student who thinks of education as the best that you can be.. The Filipino student wants to get an education, because my dad wanted to.. so in that sense, if I had to operationalize what collectivist culture looks like here, that would be one of the examples.

Another example is decision making. It will always be referenced to the other, the authority, the family, the parents, the grandparents. In terms of taking pride, embarrassment, it's all part of the collectivist culture. I think this is also not alien to the west 'bringing shame to our name, to our family'. Well ofcourse the living conditions here force people here to live in one tiny house, with extended families. So economically collectivism is reflected in that. I'm just speaking from my head..

I would think that the collectivist culture is very manifest in many levels of society and human functioning. But since I'm a psychologist, I most times feel the collectivist culture in their decision making, their sense of identity, of propriety, in the concepts of shame.. these are all collectivist.

And what are the most important collectivities?

That's the family. We have a word here 'barricada' it's a group, a clique that you join. A system in itself. It's a group that you join, which manifests collectivism. If someone joins you for lunch and you ask: 'what do you want to eat?' they say: 'Oh ask the others' And 'Where do you want to go?' 'Well ask the others'. That happens in the Philippines and it reflects our collectivist culture.

If someone has an opinion: 'the barangay council doesn't give us good facilities, for example safe drinking water' do you think they would tell that to me? And if their family doesn't agree, do you think they would still tell it? Because I've had only few people who gave such answers, most people just say: 'It's oke'.

Another treat of the Philippine culture, is the non-confrontational, they don't want to confront. Some authors would rather call it an SIR, a smooth interpersonal relationship.

Are the services in the barangay oke? 'Yes it's oke, it's oke'. In terms of methodology it would have been better if the way in which the questions were asked would be an indirect

way of asking them whether they perceive something, a service oke or not. Rather than saying; Are the water services oke? The tendency is to say 'it's oke'. It's better to ask them: 'How do you think the services here could be better?' So they see what's deficient in the services. And they have to tell it.

Do you think organizations in the barangay are active, independent, and they say 'yes' 'yes' 'yes'...

This questions should have more follow up questions. Do you think organizations are important? And then you should ask for true explanations, experiences, what do you see, what do they do?

Yes we did, we asked such questions. Very often they say: Yes it's oke! But if you ask them for the projects, they don't know anything.

So I really doubt the value of all these 'yes' 'yes' 'yes'.

The validity of the answers can always be questioned.

Why is there always an audience? If I do an interview there are always at least 10 people standing around us. Why is that?

If you see a person getting ran over by a car, or getting murdered... people are naturally curious. If you think there's a typhoon coming and a roof of the house will be blown of, the people will be there, waving their hands.

They see something new and are curious. There is a wake, somebody dies, and the wake is usually in the barangay hall, people congregate there. Even those who are not invited. It's a natural phenomenon for Philipinos to gather around in some occasion.

If someone's white or if there is an interview.

It's oke if they are curious and join, but very often they also intervene in the interview. They also start answering the questions.

That's why in terms of research, what usually works better is a focus group discussion.. if your methodology demands interviews... but otherwise you should do group discussions.

For me it is impossible, because I don't speak the language.

Yes. You should do it very very structured. You should hold the discussions in the barangay hall, one by one, in the presence of a translator. And none can come in here while the interview is going on.

The Westerners usually find this habit very intrusive, very intrusive, people joining the interview. I don't know if it's part of the collectivist concept. I'm a psychologist, I would say the personal boundaries of people are very thin. You have a line here, you get in. Boundaries are too fluent, people just encroach and you would often times feel... They are unaware of these structures.

Sometimes during the interviews people even touch me and say: 'She's white and they touch my arm' They are really curious.

Sometimes I go with the DSWD, because I work with them if children are abused. We conduct family sessions. Adolescence, these are particularly true in the provinces and lower socio-economic straits, so the boundaries are very thin. If somebody calls for attention..

These are the things that you should include in your report. Also these observations. And whether or not the data you have gathered are valid. It has to be evaluated, just like the other questions. 'Are you aware of the barangay programs?' No, but they are very active.

People here want to give socially desirable answers.

In the Netherlands, in Europe people have a tendency to be critical, to complain. To talk about negative things. But in the Philippines they tend to be positive, they don't complain. For me if I walk there, I see rats.. and then people say: Yes it's oke to live here, it's clean.

Could you also tell something about the patriarchal society or hierarchies?

Do you think it would help you if I would give you psychological articles that describe our culture? I have this book, Forty years of Philippine psychology. I read it a while ago, it discusses many of the topics you mention.

Theories of research. 'Child rearing and gender socialization in the Philippines.' And about hierarchies; 'Four meanings of fatherhood'.

Some authors would say this is a patriarchal culture, but others wouldn't agree. Because most of the decisions, in terms of influence of children, there's a more influential role for the mother. And we have an expression here in our dialect: 'Under the *saria*, which means, under the skirt'. *Saria* is skirt. It means that if a husband is under the *saria*, it's a very common thing. Then his wife is the boss.

Personal preferences of Philippine students. I think the authors compared Philippino students with the West. And the article; How we raise our daughters and sons, it's very interesting. I think this book is very helpful for you. I can lend you this book, I don't immediately need it.

I will copy it and bring it back to the psychology department.

Everyone is talking about collectivist culture, but for me it's very strange. The public space, the streets, side walks, parks, it looks as if none cares about it. The houses are clean, but the streets are so dirty. Nowhere are trash bins, none has it. They throw their waste in the streets, they don't have toilets, they just do it in the streets. I see it in Inayawan, one of our research areas.

I would expect if you have a collectivist culture, that you care more about public space.

Interesting irony you observe. However this situation, I think I came across an article that explained it in another way. Unfortunately the collectivist culture doesn't include that anymore. There is a limited consciousness of the Philippine culture. There was an article that said that our level of consciousness is like that of an adolescent. Or some others would say that the consciousness of the Philippino doesn't extend the limits of his house. He just throws his waste to the neighbours. Others call it an adolescent level of maturity, some call it.. that is a well-known fact, it's an admitted fact of the Philipinos.

Don't they think public space is important?

What is more important is.. their sense of territoriality is just about what is within. So it's a very limited.. if you notice here, no matter how small the houses are, they are always fenced. No matter how small the houses are, the houses of the rich and the poor, generally are fenced. With wire, or hardboard. But the sense of territoriality is very salient. Environmental awareness is also limited in that.

In the Netherlands you will receive a high fine if you throw waste in the streets.

That's also here, there is a city ordinance against that. We have an ordinance about waste segregation. But it is not supported by the system. One month you receive a fine, but next month there is no follow up. People use their provincial habit of spitting, throwing their waste anywhere.

In the Netherlands people don't spit so much. It's not normal to do that during an interview. But on the other hand, I will also do things that they perceive as rude.

Like?

Well for example saying no, or telling someone that they should not touch me, while they don't mean anything with that.

So you had your first taste of culture shock.

Yes. I also have another question, which I already discussed with mr Caral. It's about the difference between what people say and what they do. Attitude behavior discrepancies. I have a very clear example of that; the respondents all mention the waste in the street, this is a

serious problem. They would like to find a solution for the waste problem. But in the same time, after the interview I give them two breads to thank them. Mostly they immediately eat from it. And the plastic around the breads, they just throw it on the streets...While they just told that the waste in the street is a problem.

Mr Caral said that this is attitude behavior discrepancies, but what should I do about it? It's so strange, if you notice that they say something, but you see they do something else.. what should I write in my report.

Mr Caral is a social psychologist, so he said this is a discrepancy in attitude and behavior. Here's a priest, he calls it a split level Christianity. There's an interesting author, who describes a sari sari store, they cheat on their customers. From every kilo they take something for themselves, the mother instructs the daughter to do that. And after a day of work, she asks her daughter: Did you take salt, rice, sugar, did you get it from the customers? Yes, mother. And then the mother says; oke, now let's pray. You understand?

Yes. This is my first survey, and I don't know what to do about it.

This is a practical research right? Because in a theoretical research, you just write it, observe, explain it. But in an applied research you want to do something about it. It's focused on development and change. First you should enforce a system of enforcement there, it has to be, values education ofcourse, but you also need something to maintain. How do you punish people if they don't listen. You need a good system.

In Singapore they renovated their slum area, built high rise buildings, that accommodated what used to be the squatters, people who used to live in the slum area. They built hundreds of apartments, but how do you create a transition from provincial living.. where in they have three pigs here that they are taking care of... and twelve chickens there. How do you change them, how can you expect to house them in apartments. It took Singapore at least ten years for the transition. I read that in the first five or six years, people would be carrying their pigs and chickens into the elevator. They eradicated this system, and I really think you need a system to make things work. It's not just a personal decision. You need a system. Education, and support of law enforcement. Without that it will not last.

Like jay-walking, there used to be a time here, the late eighties and early nineties, when the people in the streets are very organized. They follow the rules, only use the pedestrian crossing. Everything was in order, because you get a fine when you cross the streets. But when the law enforcers left, everything went back to the usual. There has to be a system of law enforcement.

About being critical. I also did some in depth interviews, besides from the standardized questionnaire.. In the in depth interviews I talked to the old people who lived in the barangay for quite a long time. And I noticed that they were so critical. They really dare to criticize. They criticize the barangay council, they tell that the barangay councilors and tanods will sell drugs.. I was wondering why old people are more critical, or more honest.. I don't know if it's true but I noticed this.

Could it be true that it's more accepted from old people?

Old people are very respected here, yes they are. This is embedded in our system. In terms of criticizing, I think it has something to do with awareness and education. It just happens that old people are more aware now of what's going on.

And I only spoke to people who know English. Perhaps that's also a factor.

Yes, more education, more English, more awareness. This is a factor.

Councilors and policemen involved in selling drugs. They are more outspoken, maybe because of their age, their education. But there's a new group of youth that is also very critical and outspoken.

In the interviews this is not so much.

In terms of governance here, we have SK, the youth division of the government. It's part of the barangay structure of government, although I'm not very familiar with its operations. It provides a venue for the youth, maybe like people from 15-25 years old. They have officers, every barangay has an SK officer. That is a system of government, within the barangay.

Do they only advise or also make decisions?

Yes. They make decisions as regards to their own projects. They link up with the barangay in terms of operations, budget, they also have a budget, even corruption is already going on in their level SK. They are very critical about the current situation. But they are the leaders that we're talking about.

I think there's much empowerment in the youth now. They have many opportunities for expressing their opinions.

And the media is very critical here, very critical. Even our radio programs, unfortunately in our dialect, but it is very very critical. It's a mixture of adults and youth. In fact our political system here is more active than in Singapore. There people don't know government, they just earn their daily wage. Here people are highly politicized, this is good to some extent, it's beneficial, this awareness.

An example; in Suba, they built a second health center. An additional health center, they built it, but they did not finish it. The building is there, but it's only being used for cock fights. But there is only one respondent who told this to me. The others just said that they were happy with the health facilities. But the woman who told me this, she said: Don't write it, just remember it, but don't write.

But why does she do that? Will she be punished if someone finds out?

They are afraid to be critical, because they are seen as an individual. But when they join groups, that are identified to really have a voice. Then they can be very critical and brave. But that's a universal phenomenon, that's why she said: don't write it. Because it can be traced to her.

But if one councilor finds out that she told it to me. What happens to the respondent?

She won't get punishment in the sense of the word. This is not a very sensitive case, health facilities. If you went to the radio and give this information, this would be leading to action. People are just afraid to be exposed as whistle blowers. Whether or not they will get, their targets will take revenge on them, I'm not very sure about that. But people are just generally afraid, maybe because of the past decades here, they were under martial law. 1972-1986, where if you criticize a government official in a good position, you will be harassed. Those stories are still existing, those stories are still alive.

How long are you here?

Seven weeks.

A couple of months ago there was an activist kidnapped in the mall. Several media persons have been shot. So our history has many of things like this. It's a scenario here.

Yes. If you objectively look at their answers in the questionnaire, you can almost say: the problems are not that serious, because they think their situation is ok.

However there is a situation that people would say: no. Maybe because they don't have any point of comparison. We live in a deprived house, water service and hygiene is poor. But they have not been exposed to better options. They don't know of better situations. Once you have this insight, then you can compare. However our level of governance, of addressing problems is still very in its infantile stage. The mature ones will be critical, but more often than not it stops there. It's a matter of social action now. Gossip, subject of criticism is a subject for gossip. People in the barangays would usually use gossip and it somehow fills their day. At least they have expressed their problems and complaints. But if you ask them: what do you want to do about it? They don't know what to do.

About this questionnaire. Do you have an idea how to make it more useful? Because some answers I just don't believe.

Number 1, one practice of research is triangulation. You have a questionnaire, but you also have other sources. For example objective facts. If they say the health services are oke, you compare with the true facts. Are the services really oke? What do the facts tell you? The discrepancy.. you see a wide gap between the objective facts and their answers. But how do you extract a meaning out of that?

You're taking geography, human geography... This is.. I'm not a geographer.. This can also be a very theoretical, academic discipline. I love theorizing. I see discrepancy here, they say this, but I see this. . This is also science, theorizing. I think the people just don't know what the ideal situation is.. They don't know how their situation could be, they are habituated to this for such a long time.

But still they do know.. because they always ask me if I am in the Dutch government, if I can help them. So they know something is wrong.

That is another source of information. How do you theorize this. Perhaps they are highly submissive people, highly adapted people, that don't know how to propose changes to improve society. In other words, this is not entirely just a questionnaire, it could be very well compared with your other sources. The Philippino tendency to please the interviewer, a tendency in social research to say yes, to please the interviewer. To say it's oke. A tendency not to rock the boat, otherwise it might be controversial. So even the disparity of their answers, with the objective facts.. this can't be it. Ofcourse, the questions could be probed further in another approach. People tend to give socially desirable answers.

In my country the social desirable answers are completely opposite to the desired answers here. In the Netherlands it's good to complain, to mention the negative characters..

So in the Netherlands they would look for a mistake, even if the project is very good.

Yes. I think they are very critical. But the truth must be somewhere in between I think.

But I also admire the people here, they don't complain. That is also a strength, it's really good. Because if you live there, and you want a good environment and complain about everything, then you will become crazy.

There was a German psychologist who visited Manila when I studied there. He was driving a Mercedes and his blood pressure went up. The traffic was so chaotic. I told him, you should imagine it as a chariot race. So what he did, he gave up his Mercedes, he bought a stainless steel jeepney and thought of a chariot. And he started seeing it as a race. And after 6 months he was one of the top drivers in Manila. And he enjoyed it so much and his blood pressure went down.

Do you think the barangay council would listen to this organization? And everybody says yes. But if you ask them to tell their experiences, to tell what they have seen, why they give this answer.

We have some questions, the underlined ones. We ask for their experiences, but very often they just don't have so many experiences.

But in Inayawan there is a good organization, NKR, United Poor of the Railways, and they got street lights, they are improving the roads. So it is true, the barangay council can listen to the organization.

I think one of the most important things is good organization and education. But one thing we miss here is a good system, that sustains. Corruption is very intense here.

I give you an example. Our national institute of mental health had a huge budget for the construction of a mental health facility. The limited consciousness of the Philippino is.. why

do the people lack the confrontation.. How much does a barangay captain earn, 12.000, 15.000? And a councilor, 9.000? While they spend hundreds of thousands during a campaign. One of the political analysts would say they only think about their own position, their own earnings. It's important to have education and transparency in an organization. An example; all the board meetings have to be live aired and public, for all the employees. If a NGO comes helping the barangay, give funds to the barangay and the funds will disappear. So now they give directly to the people, they have their own bank accounts. They have to contact the office of public works and highways. There is corruption again, but the department never gave up. The people have to build roads.. They hire contractors, their accounts are transparent, the banks are given permission to publish transactions, no confidentiality, because this is the people's money. This project is in the Department of Social Welfare and Development. They call it the Kalahi project. This is one of the ways we can...

By the way, your research project, what is it about. It's for the development of a particular barangay?

It's a research project from Sociology and Anthropology in San Carlos and Human geography in Nijmegen. We want to do research about environmental health and we chose to barangays which have environmental problems. Suba has the fish port and fish market which causes smell and garbage. Inayawan has the dumpsite and waste problems. I think in Suba the barangay asked for research about the smell problem. And in the end we will do recommendations about how to improve the environment.

I am only here for 3 months, analyzing the situation. But I'm thinking about doing some experiments, for example taking one road in Inayawan and putting trashbins there. Or cleaning one road and just see what happens..

But I don't know if there is enough time, I first want to finish my in depth interviews.

Annex 4. Interview with Virgie Piccio, social worker, Department of Social Welfare and Services, DSWS Office Labangon, Cebu-city, July 4, 2007

Could you tell something about your work?

I work in the Department of Social Welfare for 23 years now. First I worked in Mindanao, and later I went to the DSWS in Cebu, I've been working here for 16 years.

My job is to integrate people, community organizing, organizing of children, women, people with disabilities, out of school youths, elderly and men. And disaster emergency.

You work with all these groups?

Yes, I'm a general social worker. We're also handling community organizing. Youth social work. We teach the people to become self reliant, hereby we focus on the organizations. Self reliance is so important. We look at their capacities and skills and we organize them. It's a daily routine. But social workers can also work in a hospital, in business and in public offices.

If you organize groups, how do you do that? Do you cooperate with an existing NGO or organization, or do you start a new organization?

We coordinate with other non government organizations, because there are non government agencies in the city that work on these topics. There are plenty of organizations here in cebu city. But still we are still organizing those children, who are below 18 years old, who are out of school. So non governmental organizations have different programs, most times they have only one topic or one target group. They are not the ones sending children to school. We are field workers and we are the ones to organize the out of school youth. If they use drugs and have bad behavior, we can do something about it.

In Suba and Inayawan drugs is a serious problem.

Yes, but we can not also reconsider the societal problems in those barangays. They are selling food, carinderia and the fishport. But they are not the ones selling the fish, that's the vendors. So there are so many societal problems, we can not work on them all. But some of them, we work on. We organize seminars, capacity building, training.. it is close that there is a close relationship between the people in a neighborhood. That they know eachother and are able to cooperate with eachother . Alliances. We want to improve their livelihood. There are some people who want to earn an income, without any sweat. They want to earn money, without working. And we can not help them, we can not give them what they want. We can not control them, even when the governments does more efforts to file a case against them, but some others are also helping them.

For us in our office, what we are only to.. part of our program... we do it with limited financial assistance. Because of our..

What are the target areas in Cebu? In which areas do you have the most projects?

All 80 barangays of Cebu city, the north and the south barangays, have an equal share of services. Because the mayor supports all the projects in Cebu city, with financial plans. So here in Cebu city we are very actively offering services to the people, for the children, day care centers, education, health care center, child health care center, the neighborhood center. Each barangay has a GAD focal person, to talk with the barangay officials to extend services, to help the social workers to extend services, related to their programs in the development plan for the barangay. Cebu city is very supportive to help the barangay, to make solutions in the event of needs for programs and services. What I said a while ago, we can not judge, we can not tell the people what to do. The awareness..

In your program, you only help, you offer services.. But you don't fight problems, like drugs?

We also have meetings and seminars as well, for the out of school youth, for the barangay, a forum conducted to talk about drugs, that it ruins their lives. So what happens if people use drugs, children using drugs, what does it do to people? There is a challenge in doing that. Cebu city asked other non government agencies, for rooming daily or monthly activities bypass operations, acting against drugs, they are in the area, calling to other people.. But still there are people doing that thing, you can not control them. It is their own decision.

Can you explain what your biggest problems are in your work, the problems you see in the neighbourhood?

In our work, it is not a problem, because we are dedicated to help others who need our help. But our congressman, two congressmen, were giving financial assistance to livelihood, that's a problem, acceptance of not citizens in the barangay.

What do you mean?

Acceptance of the people. We need acceptance of the people, before we can operate. Some people don't want help. Even though they have a problem. Some people don't want structural help. There is also non governmental help.

Do you also focus on the living conditions, like drinking water, the environment?

Our projects focus at helping the people. Improving the situation. People throw their garbage everywhere. We organize information meetings to the families and people. To Cebu city we report about the segregation of waste, like plastic. We teach that it is good to segregate the waste. But when the truck of the waste comes picking up our waste, the waste is not separated. All waste disposal.. All people of Cebu city and Suba know how to segregate their waste, but they just don't do it. Some barangays have projects on that. But it goes bottom up, they initiate. And in Talamba.. the president will be the one to organize the waste. We really need awareness, how many years have we been doing this? We realize that throwing waste is not going properly. We have groups of women, orientation seminar, about prevention of malnutrition, how to use medicine, how to prepare medicine, how to clean.

Are these seminars popular, do many people come?

Yes, we have 30 or 25. Apart from that we also have our services, teach the parents how to become a good mother and father.

If you have all these groups, like women and youth...

We do a survey before we start seminars and organizing.

Which groups are good and which are difficult to organize?

Yes that's every time different. Sometimes women are good to organize. We organize..

They don't know how to take care of their environment, their family. The husband neglects them.. And the household.. sometimes the social worker can not adapt to their needs, we are limited. And that's when we ask organizations and the GAD focal persons. They are the extension of our services in the barangay. Because one social worker has to work in 12 to 25 barangays, so that's so much. Time management is a more important thing, in prioritizing the needs of the clients.

And we don't have enough funds, we are underpaid but we do our best. We are dedicated, we have enthusiasm, that's very important for social workers.

About your office, which organizations do you start? Let's take a look at the list of organizations in Inayawan. What organizations did you start?

For example the Senior citizen organization, the women organization, youth organization etcetera. And we help the organizations to accept their responsibilities, applying for registration as legal organizations in the barangay.. The organizations are helped by the

DSWS, they do supporting work. Lower Torre Palawan, is also organized by the social worker. Many organizations exist through the help of the social worker, in Inayawan it used to be Rose Marie Gabiana.

Sometimes we also send the organizations to other offices to ask for help.

But some organizations on this list came into existence without our help, they are bottom up organizations. So as a social worker, you organize people, so they can stand on their own. It's about self reliance. And then you leave. But if there is a problem they can contact us via telephone, and we help them.

Why is it called Gender and Development? Why this word gender in the name?

Because in the gender and development fund, the rights of the women get a fund for 20 percent. There is a 8percent for gender and development, meaning the women, men, children, disabled, elderly. Gender and development had a low fund from the national government. Each city had to have a family commission affair, on women and children. Now it's family commission, children, disabled, etcetera. The 8 percent shall be divided into 5 shares for every target group. So that's why there is a gender and development person in each barangay. She will extend the services for the people in the barangay. So through our office.. the social worker before in the year 1999.. four years of implementation of GAD. Before there was no gender and development, only a barangay development fund. Women were left out. Barangay officials mind were only set on infrastructure, about the people, they neglected. That's why it's a long path. All the barangays are divided, getting 8 percent for gender and development. The gender and development focal person extend our services to the constituents, if they want to ask our assistance. And they are specialized in one barangay, they can give the services to the people.

So the purpose of DSWD and especially GAD is to organize the people, to make them self reliant. And the assumption behind this purpose is that if people become organized, they will be more powerful and take responsibilities, to improve their neighbourhood.

Yes! If there is a problem in one barangay, for example gambling. If they ask us to prevent that, we say try to do it on your own. We are only making them aware of their rights and obligations, and responsibilities in the sitio. If you see problems in the sitio, do something about it. We are only to inform them, to motivate them. That's the work of a social worker.

Oke. I always thought that the Gender and Development person was only working on women, abuse of women etcetera. So they have more groups.

Helping one another, what are the problems, what is a good methodology, we are working for the better. A social worker handles 25 barangays.

If you organize people, do you also give them money?

We teach them how to stand alone. In our recommendation, we motivate them, what are their rights and obligations. They should ask money from membership. That's all. We are not giving money to them, only services and support.

If you are a legal organization... Cebu city has an ordinance against begging. That even the person who gives money, can be caught. It's illegal to give money in the streets.

Do you also organize the relocation organizations?

Those people are not belonging to our initiative. When we talk about relocation, it's about the division of the welfare of the urban poor. It's in front of, besides left or right.. I don't know, next to the city hall. They have information about relocations. They have reports on neighborhood organizations and are in the Utibu building.

Are you enthusiastic about the organizations you started?

A social worker has to be enthusiastic, have energy, humane feeling, dedication, commitment to people that are organized. Because as a social worker, you are idolized. Because if they have a meeting and you are not around, the people will attend another meeting? No, ofcourse not. So you need enthusiasm and energy.

But I assume that you start an organization, but then slowly you pull back and they have to stand alone..

And the organization dies a natural death.

Does that happen? Because it's logical that the social worker doesn't come so often anymore.

We have a strategy to the organization. A federation, each barangay, each sitio or organization has a president, and all of the presidents, has one representative to the barangay. And that barangay will have to equal to tell what happens in the meetings. If the president informs that he or she needs the physical appearance of the social worker, to explain something.. the social worker can go there. It's about time management and scheduling. We have a daily schedule of activities.

Do you have a newspaper, newsletter of website?

Well our reports are in the city hall. PIO, they make our reports. Public Information Office. They make the reports of all the departments of cebu city. Because the mayor needs it, that's why they make these reports.

Can you give examples of barangays that are a success story of neighbourhood organizations?

You can get it in the division of the welfare of the urban poor. In the organization, one problem is about the relocation site. (...) One subject is flooding. We give a meeting and talk about flooding, garbage, how these problems can be solved. How cebu city can handle that. The people just don't know where to go.

If you start an organization do you work with the barangay council?

Yes, we attend their meeting. And we tell them why we are here, why we are going to organize ourselves, and what our purpose is in the barangay. We are giving a service to their inhabitants, we are their partner. We are dedicated to social work.

Isn't the barangay council afraid of all these organizations, because it could also be some sort of opposition?

No.

I think that organization members are more critical to the barangay.

Because what you told about the barangay.. you are alert in your constituents. Because some people are organizing themselves, they use only the people who snap snap, photograph, photograph. That's a shame for the barangay. The barangay council becomes angry. There are laws and regulations in the barangay. If you want to organize an organization, you must be known first. What is your purpose? So that your organization will be credited as a member. They can also probe the name of the barangay in the future, so the organizations must inform the council who they are and what they are doing.

There are risks on miscommunication, but it's important that they keep on communicating. No communication is very bad. That's why the barangay council becomes angry. Sometimes they don't know what an organization is doing, is doing to the name of the barangay. Sometimes the association doesn't give knowledge and that is bad. The president of the organizations should go to the meetings and tell the barangay council.

If a barangay has many organizations, they will talk with all the presidents about the barangay development plan. Money and services to the constituents of the barangay and of Cebu city.

And the youth organization, who is in the board? The youth themselves?

No, older people. First we have a survey, to ask the inhabitants of the sitio, what kind of organization they want. What organizations are already there, what kind of organization they would want. And then we organize that. So that means that we first listen to the wishes of the inhabitants. If they don't want an organization, leave that. We go to another.

In Suba are not so many organizations.

Suba is a little barangay.

But relatively, Inayawan has many organizations.

Inayawan has a large population.

Yes, but relatively, Inayawan has much more organization.

They have a mixed population, with relocations. They don't know where to go for services. But the organizations in Suba are only for fiesta. Because they have only one.. in Inayawan it's different, there are mixed people living there, with different backgrounds, different lifestyles, different wishes...

Suba and Inayawan are very different. Inayawan has more active people I think. Suba is so crowded.

One family has eight children. They are selling fish, that's why they live there. But when it comes to organization, it's only a little. Only what the barangay council wants.. other organizations.. The youth organization is there, the womens organization is there... the senior citizen organization. You can not compare these barangays. Inayawan is unique. In solving their problems, in their lifestyles. In Suba it's different.

We chose these barangays, because they both have environmental problems. The dumpsite and the fishport.. We are doing a survey now, asking the people what they consider as the most serious problem. In Suba it's drainage and drugs.

The vendors in the fish market are not from Suba, they are from other places, neighbouring municipalities. So they are not involved, not responsible, they are throwin their waste everywhere. The people in Suba know how to treat their waste, but not the people from the fish market. The right place where the water flows, because of the drainage system...

I would expect organizations in Suba as well, because there are also problems.

It's not as in Inayawan, it's unique. In Inayawan are so many relocation sites. Not in Suba.

So relocation is an incentive for people to organize themselves?

No. Before relocation they are organizing themselves, so they can be of help and avail of services in relocation. There must be representation. The city residents want representation. So in relocation, the city of cebu gives assistance. But they are the ones to pay... That's why. The aim of Cebu city is no squatters anymore. But what's the problem behind? Relocated families are selling the rights, once they have obtained the land rights, they will sell it. Because they need money. They are active to obtain the land rights, but when they have it they sell it. I have seen it often. I am very active in organizing people, also relocation people.

But they are so active in obtaining the land rights..

The problem is their economic way of thinking. That's why. Cebu city can't just buy it alone with itself. It needs another authority. But if the people there have a socio-economic situation that is not good.. how can they buy. That's the reason why these families live on relocation sites. And some of them are what we call illegal squatters.. They have houses in other barangay but also want land in this barangay. What you see in Inayawan, Mambaling is transferred there. They also wanted me to go there, but I said no. Some members just want to drink more beer, they don't pay the membership fee, they don't pay their contribution, they only want to drink beer.

The NKR has 23 members, but only 5 are regularly paying.

That's a pity for the government of Cebu.

Cebu borrows money from the bank, and than the people who are living there just sell it.. In Inayawan they have many home owners organizations. Until they finish paying the land, they are squatting. They are only drinking beers, rums... I can give you the name of a good and successful home owners organization, it's in Mambaling. The name is Suba, home owners organization. The president is Mr Felix, I forget. The president before.. they own the land next to the UC building of Mambaling. The people resigning in that place are working, making, manufacturing rags. Selling rags on the street. Why they pay only five years for the land, owned by George Ivani.. The president is Felix... I don't know his family name. He is selling rags, little rags.

They are also relocated, Tugas, Mambaling.

I was also involved, I could have also had 50 square meters. I have 3 organizations, also in Mambaling, I lived there before.. But I didn't obtain the land, because I am a social worker. Out of the three organizations, two were demolished, because they didn't pay their fee. The other paid. They were demolished in the court. But they are still paying to Cebu city a monthly fee.

They applied to additional housing authority. They pay for 25 years. But I was not there, according to my children, it's interior the land of .. there are 350 houses there (...)

I have 50 square meters of vacant land. But I don't use it. I will give it to the institution.

As a social worker you have to follow up. To help the organization, the local people.

(.....)

--She gives many information about this relocation project in Mambaling, the financial regulations, circumstances, her own rejection of the land because she is a social worker.—

If I want to know more about organization, I can talk to the GAD focal person?

Yes

They have office in the barangay hall?

Yes

5. Interview with Edwin Tesaluna, Community organizer and researcher in Social Science and Research Center, University of San Carlos, Cebu-city, July 24, 2007

Mr Tesaluna has been involved in many community projects. Most of these projects are about the environment, for example organizing the fisher folks to protect the coasts, and organizing people to work on clean air in Cebu city. I interview him, because he has experience with community organizing, and I'm very curious for his ideas about improving the living conditions in Suba and Inayawan. The interview takes place in the SSRC in USC.

We are doing research about environmental health and living conditions in Suba and Inayawan. After conducting the survey and interviewing neighborhood organizations, we found out that people say the environment is very important. They want to be involved in improving their living conditions. But so far there haven't been any initiatives. So our main question is; how can we put their words into action?

If you want to do something like a community project, that would address the basic needs of the community.. you would take many considerations. First and foremost, you need someone who would provide you with logistical and material support, to implement whatever project you have in mind to address these issues.

So there are lots of organizations here into environment and other community issues. These organizations should have their own sets of parameters and own areas of intervention. They have their own pre-selected areas of intervention, according to their programs. So if you want to intervene in that particular area, you should identify their most felt needs. And identify their resources, which could be tapped for the implementation of the program.

The most mentioned need is sanitation.

But is it normal here to go to the barangay council to ask for resources?

Yes, you have to conduct what we call a rapid oral appraisal. The most felt need and then the potential resources of the community, to obtain the personnel, manpower, the skills that could be tapped for the project. So then you have to package everything, and then try to find somebody or some institution who is willing to finance your kind of project. Then meet with the people, if they want this kind of project to be implemented in their area. It would be very easy to say that; yes, we like to improve our situation, we like to do some project on the environment, but if nobody in the community would give directions on what to do, bring them together, talk about what to do.. if nobody would support them.. Nothing would happen. Because although there is a local government unit, the barangay council, has their own committees with include health and sanitation, usually the programs implemented by structures within the government are not so effective in addressing the issues. Because projects implemented by local government units are tainted with politics.

What do you mean with that?

Tainted with politics. Meaning that the first consideration with the project, is for them to gain a number of electorates for that. That's how it works, if the project comes from the structure of the government. So it would be a neutral organization, some non governmental organizations, to implement a project that would address their needs in the community.

If you want to do such a project, who do you think should be the leader? Should it be a local leader?

Yes it's part of the rapid oral appraisal, to find the manpower skills. You should find somebody who is influential in the community.

What we have seen, is that there are many organizations, but very few leaders. I interviewed for example Henrick orbiso, here you see the list of organizations in Inayawan. He is the leader of several neighborhood organizations; the dumpsite organization, he is in the barangay intelligence network, the drug abuse council and the basic ecclesial community. So he is involved in so many organizations.

This is LGO..

What I mean is that one person is chairman of more organizations. So it looks as if there are not so many capable leaders.

That is sometimes the problem within the community, because of some special persons who are already handling some organizations. They participate in the organization, or in the formulation and formation of another organization. They get elected in the new organization. Usually in the barangay, you would find one leader, representing many organizations. But yes, it is not good for one person to handle so many things. He will be too busy and he can not provide enough direction in the organization which he handles.

What I see here, in which organizations Orbiso is involved, are under the structure of the barangay. So usually the directions that he got is from the barangay council, the DILG and from the municipal council. So that is usually.. they have a pre-planning, and they have already a set of activities.

In this case we need the dynamics of the community to identify first relations, to identify steps that need to be taken to address these issues, address the resources that are needed, so these are the things that you have to do. And the selection of the leader is very important, to implement a project. Because the leader will provide sustainability to the project, once you pull out of the area.

What kind of projects have you done? Is it also working with the urban poor?

I have done so many projects already. I have done a project with the Australian government. It's a community-based project for the supply of potable water for 16 barangays in one municipality, down south in cebu. My first project here in San Carlos was with a fishermen's community, the university in partnership with a national agency. To set up a fish sanctuary in one of the most coral rich areas in Bantayan. And from there I was also involved in another project, in Pangan Anao involving power and lighting, using renewable energy sources. Potable types, so I have been involved in various types of projects already.

And what is your experience with organizing poor people? Because I would think that they perhaps don't want to be involved, because they need time to earn money. They'd better spend their time on their own needs and children, instead of community projects.

Yes, if you compare what you call bottom-up and top-down organizing. Bottom up means organizing from the base to up. Rather than top-down having to bring a project and then asking the people to participate. It's different. Top-down organizing is much very faster, it's swift, because you already have something in your mind that you could sell, present to the community. While bottom-up is different, you have to mobilize people, gather them together and let them identify what their resource is. Bottom up organizing takes so much time, and if you use that technique for a pre-plan, organizing having already infrastructure, that would delay, it would cause delay, because it would take so much time. But bottom up organizing is the most effective one.

Why?

You could see the people that are organized bottom-up are more cohesive. They understand what they are doing and where they are going. Because with top-down organizing, you let them see what you want them to see. You let them do what you want them to do. And that for all of them who support your intentions to complete the project in the planned time frame of the project. So you already have a planned set of activities, within a time frame, you have to achieve this and this. So you are recognizing would be tailored towards that technique, while here if you do it bottom up, you have to convince people to gather together, to let them understand that the most effective way to address the issues is for them to organize. And things, do the things that they see what they need.

And if you look at our survey; many people say that the environment is important, that living conditions are important. They want to improve it. But when you look at how they act, it's different. There are not so many initiatives to improve the environment. For example in Inayawan, people say they are very concerned about the environment, about the waste problem. But after the interview they receive a bread and just throw the plastic in the streets. This is really strange. They don't act.

They will admit that things are important to do, but they don't specifically know what to do. What are the things to be done?

But do you think they are really worried about the environment? Or do you think they just say 'yes' to give a correct answer?

If you see, they are serious, they want to get out of their situation. One thing that prevents them from doing so, is their lack of income. Because their time, with their work, what ever they are doing to provide them with enough food per day. It's just a matter of living for them. They will spend many hours scavenging on the dumpsite, for something to sell, so they have something to eat at the end of the day. And then at the end of the day, they are so tired, and they can forget what are the notions they have, regarding the environment, regarding the situation they want to be in. That's where an effective organization comes in, to think with them, in the time they are not on the dumpsite, but when they are alone. Time to convince and educate them. That's usually the most effective way.

If you say educate them.. what do you have in mind? A seminar or..

No a seminar is a more formal one. It's too difficult to gather these persons in a formal setting, and ask them to stay 4 to 6 hours in one day. That will be very difficult for them. Unless you provide them with an incentive for having attended your seminar. Like giving something in return. That is not ideal, because you would see they are just attending, because they receive something.

The barangay council in Inayawan has a clean up drive, and if the people help for a couple of hours they receive a free lunch. So many people help.

That's because of the free lunch. They are not really trying to improve the barangay, it's only because of the free lunch. If the free lunch wouldn't be there, nothing would happen again. So you have to make them realize that it's very important what you're doing. You have to show that that is more important. You have to do this and this...

It's very difficult. I think most people, well if you don't have enough food and your children can not eat. You won't think about the environment, because you have other concerns.

Perhaps you will think, but you couldn't do too much because you're occupied with trying to do something to provide your family with something to eat, at the end of the day. You won't think about what would happen tomorrow.

Do you think it is possible to improve the environment, for example in Inayawan?

Yes it's possible, but it will take longer time and lots of resources. And lots of vacant resources. With vacant resources I mean livelihood programs for them, alternative livelihood programs, to pull them away from the dumpsite. That's something. If you have no alternative program for them, it will be very difficult. And important is also to educate them, based on what their felt needs are. Educate them and provide them with steps, that would help them achieve what they need, what is good for them.

I think it's very difficult. We also have to write recommendations, how to improve the situation. But actually I don't see so much hope. Because if you want a bottom-up project; there aren't any initiatives. And if the people would really think this is important, there would be projects. But there are not.

I think because there are no organizations that have focused on these issues yet. If there is an organization that would focus on these issues, you would see some difference, after maybe 5 years.

I think this is the last question. If you do community projects, which parties or actors should be involved? Which are very important? (I show him the list from the survey; neighborhood organizations, barangay council, municipal council, church, NGO's)

NGO's.

Funny, because the people had to give a score, how effective do you think that the barangay council is? And we asked this for every actor. And the NGO's had the lowest score. The church has the highest.

Because some NGO's are not so visible in some areas.

But you think they are the most important?

Yes.

Because they have more money?

No, because they have the skills. And they are more neutral, when it comes to politics.

Ok, that is clear.

Did I help you?

Yes! Perhaps you could give advice, what projects are good examples of good community projects. Do you have an example of a successful community project?

There are some projects, but not so related to the situation in Inayawan.

Perhaps about another topic? Improving houses, improving the environment in general?

Let's see. What projects there are..

Or nature protection.. that is also part of taking care of the environment.

There are lots of environment projects. I don't have a website. But you could look at CCEF, the Coastal Conservation Education Foundation. I don't know their website. You can scan through it. Because they have succeeded in providing assistance in organizing fisher folks along these sea shores. That's also more on environment preservation.

**Annex 6. Interview with Perlita Baliguat, Gender and Development Focal Person,
Barangay Hall Suba, Cebu-city, July 10, 2007**

Perlita Baliguat is the GAD focal person in Suba. She started working for the barangay in 1999. She worked for barangay Suba for 3 years as a teacher in the day care. This was voluntary work, she never received any salary. She also helped the GAD office. In 2002 she was asked to become the new GAD focal person in Suba. Even though she sometimes doubts her own capacities, she tries to make the best out of her work. She studied computer engineering, not social work. Sometimes it's very strange for her to work with families and children, because she didn't study this and she also doesn't have her own family. But she is very dedicated to this job, she tries her best to help the barangay, to help the people in Suba.

The first question is about the activities of GAD, what do you do?
Well first of all we do the protection of children, address the needs of the children, advocacy of children. That's the mission of the Gender, as the GAD Focal I try to take care of the children. That's what Gender and Development does.

Is children your only group, or do you have more target groups?
Children is not only a group, it's a concern for all children. We look at the problems, raping, thieves, offenders. As a GAD we have sessions, activities, much better we have a program for parents. They must know their rights and responsibilities concerning the children.

So you have programs for children and parents?

Yes

Can you give an example of the program for parents?

We have the parents effectiveness program, this is a seminar. We have a neighborhood program for parents. To tell about the responsibility of parents, to educate their children, and the relationship with the children. This is an issue, there can be emotional problems. If they have been abused, raped, it's so hard for me to handle these things, but this goes through the communication with the social worker.

How many social workers are active in Suba?

Well at this time, we have 2. One is the head of supervising, the other one of Children in Conflict with the Law. We are very busy. We work with different NGO's, working together on programs. The NGO's are Free Lava and Bidlisiw. Free Lava has a program for education, back to school program. And children in conflict with the law.

About the cooperation with NGO's, is it all about children?

Yes, it's about children.

Do you cooperate with other NGO's?

Lihok Filipina, that's on women. And Lihok Filipino. And we work with the DSWD and DSWS.

I have been in the office of the DSWS, I interviewed Virgie Piccio.

I know her. She is the one who handles the disabled activities.

She told me that there are six target groups? Women, men, children, elderly, disabled, out of school youth. Is that correct

Yes that's true. But we mainly focus on the children. But we also have programs for women and the other groups. For women, we have 'disabled awareness' this concerns health. And in august, we have 'parents effectiveness' follow up for parents. And in September for the Senior citizens; 'walk for health'.

And what do you do in that program?

We teach them skills, supervising with their health, kids, motherhood, livelihood. Aside from that we have the livelihood program also. We teach them how to make products they can sell. *Do you also have programs about cleaning the environment?* Yes, sanitation, Health and sanitation, Solid waste management, coastal management. We have every quarterly and activity, called 'clean up drive'.

What does this mean?

Clean up drive. We drive around, we clean, together with the people, the barangay and the different organizations. We are focused on coastal management.

Aside from recycling program, we also have that.

About organizations in Suba, how many neighbourhood organizations are there?

We have the following:

- Barangay Suba Childrens Organization
- Barangay Suba Youth Organization (twelve plus)
- Barangay Suba Womens Organization
- ERPAT, Empowerment Reaffirmation... I don't remember the rest.. It's the Barangay Suba Men's organization. This organization is not so active.
- Barangay Suba Senior Citizen organization
- Barangay Suba Disabled Organization
- Children in Conflict with the law (CICL)
- Solo parents organization

And we should make a difference between the organizations of children who are offenders, who have cases and children without cases.

All these organizations, did you start them?

Yes. But I think my schedule is very full, I'm very busy.

The DSWS and the GAD focal persons start organizations, but why? What is the idea behind it? Is it to make the people more active?

Yes more active. And to involve the community here in the barangay. To raise awareness in the population. To help them. To talk to the leaders of the organizations. We advice them.

Are there also organization that started bottom up, without your help? Spontaneous?

We started organizations, what the barangay will do is just ask what are the activities, what are their plans, goals. Talk about the issues. The barangay is involved in their activities. The organization comes to the barangay hall and what the barangay will do is consult them. Talk about their problems, give services to the organization, helping the organization.

So when people want to start an organization, people come to you, you help them, and you try to make them self reliant, or independent. So they can do their activities on their own.

Actually they ask for help. And we help them. We want the best solution for them to solve the problem. We advise them.

And if you look at all these organization, children, women, men, elderly, disabled, out of school youth etcetera.. Which of the organizations are functioning very good?

As for now very active, is the womens organization, the senior citizen, the solo parent organization. They are the most active organizations.

The youth, disabled, ERPAT, they are not so active?

No. Some of the organizations are not that active. But I can not help all of them, I'm also very busy.

Can you explain why some organizations are functioning well and why others are not so active?

Every time an organization has a meeting, they inform about the activities. And because the GAD focals have many things to do..We have more like a coordinating task. We try to know

when all the activities are, we try to adapt the schedules of all the activities of all the organizations. So I'm very busy, I have to help them with planning the activities ahead. We want to make a planning in advance, so we can adapt. The GAD has more of a coordinating task. We have to give permission for all the activities and facilitate them.

Did you ever object against an activity, or canceled an activity because you didn't agree with it? That you didn't give permission?

No that never happened. Most times we give permission and we facilitate the activity. It never happened that I said no. I'm here to help the people, not to work against them. I will do my best to be open minded, listen to their ideas and help them. I'm not so strict.

My priority is with the children, sometimes we sign for data and we do a training for the children organization or for parents. Then a member of the organization...

We organize seminars, we prioritize activities. We report to the communities..

So you have to coordinate the activities of all the organizations in the barangay. And you also have to give permission for an activity.

Yes an activity for children, we are not responsible, but we help. Also with the other organizations.

About barangay Suba. We have conducted a survey in Suba, with 80 inhabitants. And we also discussed the problems in the barangay. Very often, people use the drug problem. Does the GAD also work on drugs?

Yes this is true, but it's not only in Suba. It's in the whole area, also in Pasil and other barangays.

Do you have a program against drugs?

Actually we have a anti drug campaign. But we don't organize this, it's the BCPC, the barangay council for Protection of Children. We try to accomplish a decrease in the drugs abuse in Suba, and in the last years we actually had a decrease. We coordinate these activities. We also have a back to school program for the youth that is using drugs. We avoid them to use drugs again and try to get them back into school.

If you look at the environment, the living conditions in Suba.. who is the most active organization that works on these living conditions?

In Suba that's the womens organization. And the senior citizen organization.

What does the women organization do?

They have a health and sanitation program. After we got the communal toilets in Suba, the womens organization is taking care of the maintenance of the public toilets. But they work with volunteers, they manage the communal toilets. The womens are tasked to manage the toilets, to stop people throwing their waste just everywhere. So they also have a waste program, to guard that the people won't throw their garbage everywhere. They work with community volunteers.

And what does the senior citizen organization do?

They have exercise programs for their members, so that their members have a nice time.

But concerning the environment?

They have a clean up drive. Once in three months. This means that the garbage truck drives through Suba and all the people, the organizations, the members help to clean the barangay. We also make a difference between the degradable and non degradable wastes. The members of the organization pick up the garbage, sell it, and give it to Lihok Filipina and they will take care of the recycling. Some of the residents here separate their garbage, but most of them don't do that.

Lihok Filipina uses the money she earns, to improve the houses of the members. It's just an additional source of income for them. Recycling the waste. Lihok Filipina is very involved in recycling. They want to improve the livelihood in Suba. From the wastes they make and sell products for example baskets. So they receive more money, because there is money in waste.

And about the future, what are your future goals for barangay Suba?

Well I won't be here for a lifetime, I am only in service for a couple of years so I don't have real future plans. I will be gone in some time. I'm looking for a new job, please help me. I don't earn very much. I think in the future I won't be the head of GAD anymore, I won't be GAD focal for a lifetime. But it's good to change the barangay. Improvements are good.

But what kind of improvements?

Yes I want to improve the neighbourhood. For me the situation of children is very important. So I would like to decrease the number of child abuses, battered wives, reduce the abuse. And also I want more protection for these groups.

It's hard for the women and children to trust anyone. They are in such a bad situation and they really don't know who to ask for help, to whom they have to go.

But for me, I'm so busy. I don't have time for love, no time for children, only working in the barangay. I have been working here since 1999, in my first years I didn't earn anything. I was a teacher in the day care center. From 2002 till now I have been a GAD focal person. I earn P2500 a month, this is not so much. So I will look for another job. But the barangay won't let me go. They need me.

But I don't have children, no husband. It's such a responsibility. The people here need someone they can rely on, they can talk to, they can trust. And very often the people come to Perlita. I'm trying to help these people, it's my responsibility to help them. Whenever the barangay council encounters some problems, they will just refer to her. Just go to Perlita. The people here really need me.

But the salary is just like a house maid. It's so low. And if people would offer me a higher salary, I would certainly grasp that opportunity. I don't want to complain about my salary, but it is low. But I am very dedicated to my work.

Did you study social work?

No, I studied computer science.

Do you think that you need more people, more staff? Are you understaffed?

Yes. I am pretending I have experience with family members, and the people come to me. And it's effective, I can help people. I cooperate with social workers, NGO's etcetera. Apparently I have the charisma. People listen to me, if I talk to NGO's or other organizations, they listen to me. Even though I don't have so much experience, I am always willing to face the situation. I just pretend I know everything.

Annex 7. Interview with Joel Sable, barangay captain Suba, Barangay Hall Suba, June 19, 2007

The interview takes place in a busy environment, because there are many people sitting on the couch, listening to our conversation. The audience consists of two councilors, Noemi and her friend, Lovelyn and Rudimar. I have an appointment to interview the barangay captain, but he doesn't talk much. His spokesman is Jun Malazarte. The barangay captain is listening and sometimes adding something to the conversation.

First I give a short introduction of our research. I tell the barangay council that we have done interviews in Suba regarding health and environment. We are very curious to hear about their vision on health and environment.

Can you tell something about the barangay policy regarding the environment?

Well there is a standard policy for every barangay, which is being formulated centrally. On the city level. There is a committee of health, this is a legislative body with an executive function. They also work on health and sanitation.

And how are the water facilities in Suba?

We have a water filling station, from MCWD, Metro Cebu Water District. It is not allowed to tap water ourselves, only MCWD has permission to tap water. The water in Suba is oke, we don't have a special policy on water. We try to keep the price of the water as low as possible. There is a socialized price structure and the price is at the minimum level.

And how is the waste collection organized?

The city government organizes the waste collection. But we also have our own garbage truck and there will be one more. The garbage from the fish port and fish market causes many problems. The garbage leads to health risks for the inhabitants. We are lobbying for this problem in the city hall, but we don't know what will happen.

How about air pollution and smell?

Well here used to be the a dumpsite. Now this is removed to Inayawan. But for us the major cause of air pollution and smell is gone, so we are very happy. For us this smell is not a problem.

By the way, this area is mainly built on garbage. This used to be a dumpsite and houses and other buildings were being built on the dumpsite. This is why we can not build high buildings, that is not safe on this soft ground. Even the barangay hall is built on garbage. This area used to be a beautiful beach, there are even old pictures and stories about it. We reclaimed land from the sea by the dumping of garbage in this area.

Do you receive many complaints concerning smell?

No, there are only complaints around the fish market. But this only happens if the garbage has not been picked up and stays in the street.

And the sanitary conditions in this barangay? I heard you built a public toilet?

Yes we have a public communal toilet. We got permission from the city to build that. But to be honest, this is not enough. We have such a high population density, we can not meet the needs of all our people. Our area is 8 hectares and contains more than 10,000 people. There are many people living in one house. You know the Filipino way of living? You marry and live in the house of your parents. And when you have children, they also live in the same house. And sometimes uncle, aunt, cousins etcetera. We have extended families, so this causes a high population density. Suba is not so large, it's only 8 hectares.

Unfortunately we don't have budget for more communal toilets. We depend on other people. Perhaps NGO's can help us or the city government. We don't know. Besides the money problem, we also have a space problem. I really don't know where a public toilet should be built, it's so crowded here.

We have the Slum Improvement and Management Office, they think about these topics and help us. Actually there is a subdivision plan, this is some sort of spatial planning. It comes from 1975 and describes the spatial planning. There is such a fast population growth, we really don't know what to do about it.

How big is the population growth?

Actually I don't know the exact numbers. But I can see it when we have elections. After three years we have elections and every time there are about 1000 more registered votes. That is very much in a barangay of 10,000 people. I think there is a population growth of 10 to 20 percent. This is not only natural population growth. We also have many migrants in Suba, especially from Bohol. These people are looking for a job and for better chances in the city.

What does the barangay offer concerning health?

We have a health center, which has a very good quality. This is much better than the health centers in other barangays. We offer low cost drugs, low cost pharmacy. There are Barangay Health Workers active in Suba. Besides that there are doctors and a dentist (mobile dentist clinic) from the city. They visit our barangay every once in a while.

We also have medical missions from NGO's and civic organizations. We offer pre-natal care for mothers who are poor. And if our medical services are not enough, we are very good located. The public hospital is very close, within 1 kilometer. And the Maternity public hospital is only 3 kilometers away.

O, we also offer programs for people with specific diseases. For example a program for people with TB, tuberculosis. And in case of immediate concerns, we also undertake actions. For example the CAR syndrome, that is a respiratory disease, which is an immediate concern for us now. We try to take prevention measures, to make sure there won't be an epidemic.

Are you planning to make more health facilities? Because you face such a fast population growth, more facilities will be necessary.

Well we have the church with ideas about natural family planning. But I think these methods don't work in practice. People get so many children, sometimes ten or more per family. The population of the barangay keeps growing, this happens in more places in the Philippines. Natural family planning doesn't turn out to work. But we don't want to openly disagree with the church. But still we do provide contraceptives, because we think the people really need them.

Does the barangay council often cooperate with other groups?

O yes, we even depend on other groups, because we have only limited resources. For example NGO's, we cooperate with many NGO's. Free Lava, Lihok Filipina, WRCC, Bidlizio and Nazareth.

Can you describe these organizations?

Yes. Free lava is concerned with legal aid. Especially concerning kids who are in conflict with the law. They make sure that children can go to school. So in general they are doing children advocacy.

Women Resource Center Cebu; they are also active in Suba. They take care of the livelihood of women. For example helping them with courses and seminars, education on several topics. They also help women who have been abused.

Nazareth is an organization that doesn't represent a special groups. They have no generic advocacy. They are a general organization, they just help. For example they helped with the building of the communal toilets. They are also active in Pasil.

Lihok Filipina; this is also a womens organization, they focus on the prevention of women abuse and teaching the husbands not to beat their wives.

Bidlizio focuses on livelihood. They give scholars and seminars, they do the same things as the barangay, but on a lower level. They are active on a micro scale. They help people to earn a living, for example by teaching them how to make dresses.

Do you also cooperate with neighbourhood organizations?

Well sometimes, but not so much. There are different organizations in Suba. As you know Suba is divided into blocks. Every block has its own organization. Besides that there are religious organizations, there is a quire, a basketball association, the Cross rental organizations. We important is teaching people about human rights. That is also very important for us in the barangay. We hope that people know and respect the human rights. That's why we teach about it.

What are your future goals for barangay Suba?

We don't have future goals. Let's call it a future dream. Actually it is not allowed for us to make long term plans. The city hall formulates the policy for every barangay. The barangay council only follows and executes this policy. So we can only make one year plans. That's why we don't make long term plans. For us it would be a future dream to improve the funding conditions. Now we often lack money, it would be very good to have a stable source of funding.

Couldn't you organize something in your country? You are our ambassador now. The Netherlands gave funding before, so we would really like to cooperate with your government. Can't you ask them?

Well I'm just a student. But the report will to the Philipines and to the Netherlands. But about the future plans. What has the city hall formulated for your barangay?

Well in general the city government wants to scale down the poverty level. Improving the people's living conditions. Right now there is too much pressure on the social services. The city government is actually our supervisory power, they decide what is going to happen in Suba.

And when the city wants to scale down the poverty level, is Suba mentioned as a target area? Or are there more poor areas?

Well, Suba is surely a target area. We are a very poor barangay. We are targeted for the aid of children and for the slum improvement program. Besides that we are a pilot area in case of the communal toilets and coastal management. In a recent research it was found that on average, inhabitants of coastal areas are very poor. Suba has often been a pilot area for several projects. We are open for projects, because we face many problems and we really hope to solve them.

Oke, that were all my questions. Thank you very much for your time and your answers.

Thank you too. We really appreciate if foreign researchers visit our barangay. We really hope that it will be of help. And besides that I also hope the best for the barangay. I hope we can improve and make a step forward.

For now we experience many difficulties because there are so many migrants coming from other islands, from Bohol mainly. There are so many immigrants, because there are many advantages of living in Suba. You are very close to the city center and you can earn a better living. But I hope there will be less migrants coming, because it's already too crowded.

I think the key for development is education. We need to educate the children. Right now there is too much pressure on the education system. There are so many children, we can not teach them all. They can go to elementary school, sometimes high school and even college. But it is too much, there are too many people. There are only low chances in the education system for poor people. They can not afford the tuition fee, the school uniform. And they don't have the contacts that are so essential in Filipino society. If you lack the contacts, you will never be able to receive a good education, to get a good job. You really need contacts. But if you are poor, you only know other poor people. We really try to give more chances to the poor. To shift from the rich to the poor. But so far it doesn't work. It is very difficult. Just like the land reforms. We gave land to the poor people, but in the end it turned out that they lost it if they sold it to other people. Giving to the poor doesn't work. You really have to teach them. Giving them a good education.

Annex 8. Interview with Rose Marie Gabiana, vice-chairwoman LoSaNiKnai and Bantay Banay, member of KTAH, Basic Ecclesial Community and PREX, Lower Santo Nino, Barangay Inayawan, June 1, 2007

Rosemarie started the homeowners organization Losaniknai in 2005. Now Rolando Espejon followed her up as the new chairman of Losaniknai. He also joins the interview. During the interview there are about 10 members of Losaniknai present. They talk with Leny and Sara (WRCC) about the living conditions in their neighbourhood, in a group topic discussion based on the survey questions. This report only represents the interview with Rosemarie Gabiana.

What do you do as vice president of Losaniknai?

We do all the paperwork of the organization, we have contact with all of our members in a monthly meeting. And we keep on lobbying to Cebu city hall, in the department of welfare and urban poor, for having a housing program. In which the organization can avail.

Most of our members, actually all of the Losaniknai members have no landholding. That's why we are having this kind of organization. If ever this land will be already used by the owner, maybe we are about to vacate. So if there is no relocation site for us, what will happen you know? So the purpose of this organization is to have a relocation site, if ever they are planning to vacate the area. Because we are only squatters you know.

Are they planning to relocate you?

Until now we have not yet talked to the owner.

Who is the owner?

In the name of Vicente Rilion. He is supervising this land.

If you have a monthly meeting, what do you talk about?

We keep on updating the members on the proposal, regarding the organization. Because we have already brought our proposals to the civil city hall, the department of welfare and urban poor. They assist and provide us if ever relocating this area.

Do you think the department is willing to help you?

Yes that is their duty and responsibility, to relocate us, we have no landholding. But they won't.. even you will be entitled, only if the people are indigent to landholding, the income does not exceed 50,000 a month, but anyway they will validate if you are willing the good of your indigent or not. Because what we have observed, mostly of the clients of Lihug are claiming that they are indigent, but from two years and two months after they have awarded on the same land. They built things, they are urban rich.

About your members, how many do you have and who are they?

We have 180 families that are member. Here look at our report.

We count the households.

When did your organization start?

We started in 2005

Who started it?

It's me. Actually, I am not one of the squatters, we have our own land. But our neighbors live side by side, they don't have land, they occupied without permission of the real owner. There are stories of demolished squatters. Because I live that close, I feel responsible for the families. They came to me for ask for help. If we are going to vacate what are the chances? If we relocate to new land? Please let us be owner. That's why I found that we should organize, start an organization and go to city hall, to ask for property rights.

Did the members come spontaneously or did you ask them?

They came voluntarily and kept on asking.. They came to me, but I own the land..

Why is that? Is it because you work in the city hall?

Yes I work in the city hall. I used to work in the barangay hall, in October I gave my resignation and from November I am working in the city hall.

When we came here, the people living here, did not really try to elevate the construction of the houses.. (?) All the people here are poverty line people.

When the rain was so heavy the whole neighbourhood flooded and the garbage came into the houses. Even to here.

The members, are they all families or individuals?

They are families.

With many children?

Yes there are many children. Almost 300 children. 1-2 years, there are 30 children. From 3-10 there are 100 children and from eleven to twelve I think 40 to 60 children. There is a family with sixteen children. Some children live in difficult situations. They can go to elementary school, because the government pays for it. But they don't go everyday, sometimes they go scavaging at the dumpsite. Highschool is too expensive, so from 12 years and up the children work. Sometimes the parents work to earn money to send their children to school, but most times it is impossible. It is too expensive, the tuition fee, the school material, bag, school uniform, but it is also very difficult for them. The people here are poverty line people. Mostly of the families have one job, but the job doesn't mean enough money.

So the children leave the house to work in the city. For example to become a child domestic worker, clean houses. There are many problems of children, which are actually problems of the parents itself. They don't mind if their children cannot go to school. They will send their children to the dumpsite, according to them it's waste of time to send children to school. Day care is not available. So they think that going to highschool is not useful. That's why they prefer their children to work. Some of them are scavaging at the dumpsite, and there are child domestic workers who earn money for the family. They don't want their children to go to school. They prepare their children to work, otherwise they don't earn money and it's useless. We have a report of our barangay organization about child domestic labour. We interviewed the employer of children. And we also give additional supply, with the barangay. (.....)

Are you also involved in other neighbourhood organizations?

Yes I am also a member of Barangay Inayawan Womens Organization. I am in more organizations, I am involved in the start of many organizations. I am also in Bantay Banay organization, which is about family watch. I am the vice president. And KTAH, Katungod Tahura, Abuso Hununga. This is about abuse. There was an incident of a 14year old who was abused, hit for 120 times. She is taken care of by SWD, a fraternity in the barangay.

But can you tell something about your own role in these organizations?

It's very important to have organizations in a barangay, who listen to the people. That's why I started or was involved in the start of many organizations. For example the womens organization or organization for crime prevention. I start an organization and first I am the chairwoman. But later, when more people become involved, I try to find someone to replace me and I become vice-president. That's why I am vice-president of so many organizations. In Losaniknai Rolando is now the chairman. I also started the youth organization in Inayawan. For now I only supervise them and help them if they are in trouble. During the day I have my job in the city hall, but in the evenings we have our meetings.

I am also member of a catholic organization, the Basic Ecclesial Community. And PREX, the Pares Renewal Experience, I'm also vice president of that organization. Everything I do is voluntarily, for the sake of everybody.

If you are so active in the barangay, why did you accept a job in the city hall?

Yes. I used to work in the barangay, but we had an important project against child labour. We wanted to fight against the abuse of children and child labour. We applied at the barangay hall and they seemed interested, but in the end they couldn't support us. That is because a very large factory in Inayawan has 50 child laborers. Child trafficking. We wanted to fight the abuse of children, but this factory is very important for the economy and is very powerful in the barangay. So they influenced the barangay to vote against our project. And when that happened I was so disappointed and I didn't want to work for the barangay anymore. So I quit my job in the end of 2006. But after a short period I could find a job in the city hall, where I represent Inayawan for the whole city.

What do you do in your organization, Losaniknai?

We are an organization of 180 families who have their house built on land they don't own. This is very difficult because there is a risk that they might be evacuated. Actually it's very strange that I'm in this organization because I own my house and my land, so I'm not in trouble. But very often people, neighbours came to me. Rosemarie, please help us, what should we do? And I felt that I should really help them, because they don't know what to do. So I started a homeowners organization for the people in different sitios. There are now 180 families member of our organization, most of them have a lap of 35 square meters. The land is from the Vicente Railion family, and they might claim their land back one day. Then we'll have to move, there can be demolition or eviction. We really want to prevent this from happening, so we try to buy the land and obtain the legal rights over the land. That's why we're talking to the city hall, different departments and if we get an order to vacate we will also talk to the owner and try to buy the land together.

Is your organization also involved with living conditions or environmental health?

Well it is very important, living conditions. But for us the land rights are the first priority. We don't work on living conditions, but some other organizations do.

But I agree it is an important problem in Inayawan and in Lower Santo Nino, people live in very bad conditions. Sometimes there is so much garbage in the area or smell and this is not good for the health. The problem here is that people don't take their responsibility. They don't feel responsible for their environment, they don't take their responsibility. We don't work on this topic, but the barangay does. For example the 'back to basic' recycle program, in which we use plastic bags. We make biodegradable bags, back to basic, so the use of paper bags. This is a barangay program.

Inayawan is also very working on the position of women. They work on problems relating to children and women, that's why they received the title of most gender responsible barangay.

Do you often cooperate with other organizations?

Yes, sometimes we have separate meetings with the Barangay Inayawan Womens Association or with Bantay Banay. We meet in the evenings.

But do you have a full time job? Than you must be very busy.

Yes I am very busy. I am always busy. That's why I can not even clean my own house. I work from 8-17.

Annex 9. Interview with Virgie Jimenez, chairwoman Nagkahiusang Kabus sa Riles, White Road, barangay Inayawan, Cebu-city, July 3, 2007

Can you tell something about your role or position in the organization?

I am the president of the organization NKR. What I do is, I will listen to the members, we have meetings, I try to unite them, we talk about problems and take them into action.

What are the main activities of your organization?

The only meetings that we have now, regularly is the payment now to the city. We own our houses, but we don't own the land we live on. We are trying to buy it from the city hall, we have an arrangement. We find it difficult to have a meeting, because some people are working outside.. Meetings are difficult, so the payment is the main activity. Some of the members are working in the carbon market and they also sleep there. So if we have meetings, it's always the same people who attend, because some don't show up. But if we have a general assembly, all the members show up.

We have a problem with paying to the city, not so many can afford to pay regularly. They don't have enough money, to fulfill their paying duties.

So you pay in the group? Everyone pays to the organization and the organization pays to the city?

Yes we pay as an organization NKR to the city hall. But only 5 members are paying regularly. The members are 23 families who can not afford.. So NKR has only 4 or 5 regularly payers.

How much do you pay?

Every month P200, 300 or 400. The total is P46.000 per member, this is for an area of 50 m2. Right now it's even 9 months ago that we paid, because the members are not paying to NKR. We have a book in which we have our administration, but not everyone is paying regularly. It's difficult for our members.

Does the city hall punish you if you don't pay?

No punishment. You know, they will just remind me that we have to pay.

For how many years do you have to pay?

For 20 years, we started in 1995 and were supposed to finish the payment in 2005, but we didn't make it. Now it's extended until 2015.

What did you do to get the extension? What's the reason?

We went to the city hall, we made a request for them, to ask for extension. With the organization, we asked for extension and we got it.

How much should you pay as a resident of this area?

It's P46.000 per member, if you have 50m2. But it depends on the land, how large the area is..

Do you think the payment is ready in 2015?

No, not yet ready. We have members who still do not pay.

You used to live in the old railway station?

Yes, we all lived in the old railway area. The city government had other plans for that area and decided to relocate us. We already expected that this would happen, so we were organized from 1989. But we insisted to stay, we really wanted to stay, unless the city could offer us a really good relocation site. And there were many offers from the government, but this was the only site that we liked. So that's why we agreed to be transferred to White Road.

But the organization already existed at that moment?

Yes we existed from 1989, and the relocation was in 1995.

What kind of organization was it before the relocation?

The same, just NKR. The same name.

What did you do before?

We unite, we got help from another organization, it was 'All up'. This is another, larger organization that helped us.

What were the reasons why you already had the organization?

Because we already had the notice of relocation. We already knew that we would be relocated, so that's why we were already organized.

Can you tell something about your members, who are they?

They are families. 23 families, and they are all relocated from the old railway station. The reality now is that some of them decided to stay where they work, so even though they (almost) own the land here, they sleep in their work, for example in Carbon market. It's only occasionally that they come here.

Where you involved in the start of the organization in 1989?

Yes I was always involved. First I was the secretary, now I am the chairwoman. It used to be Marineth, who was the chair, but she laid off.

Can you tell something about cooperation? For example with other organizations or the umbrella organization?

We have a problem, because other organizations want to cooperate with us. But what the government says, we obey. We don't want to cooperate. For the other organizations; the city hall punishes them if they don't pay, they have to pay more. But with the NKR it's different, because it's such a strong organization. So if we don't pay, we just get a warning, but no punishment. That's why the other organizations want to cooperate. But the government doesn't allow them.

The other organizations don't want to rally against the government, they don't want to work, they just want to join and profit from the NKR. That's why the NKR themselves also don't want to cooperate. Other organizations don't want to work, only make profit from the work of NKR.

The umbrella organization for home owners is called 'Tierra Dulce' it means Sweet land. The names of the four other organizations are: Magkahawak Kamay, Day-as Home Owners Association, Maria Veloso Association, Sto Rosario Organization. They are all working on the land rights of people in Inayawan. But the members of the four other organizations have to pay more, because they don't have this agreement with the city hall. Marineth is the chairwoman of these five organizations united, the Tierra Dulce.

NKR has a problem with the federation, because first we said that the process is not the right one. When we had this election, there were so many appointed positions, and Marineth for example, she's not an officer of any of the lower organizations, so she became the chair. So that are the things they object. They will not operate..

Basically our rejection is.. during the election, the renters also joined in the organization and we didn't agree. It's a home owners organization, not a renters organization. The officers were not also members of any of the lower organizations. So if you are a member of the umbrella organization, you should not be a member of any of the lower organizations. So NKR did not agree, we did not cooperate. So there is a conflict between NKR and Tierra Dulce.

Besides the other organizations, do you also have relationships with NGO's?

Yes we work together with organizations.

What organizations? –Leny explains what NGO's are.. for example WRCC..—

Yes WRCC, and we also cooperate with Panag Hugpung, this means city wide urban poor organization, Unity and Solidarity of urban poor residents. That's the English translation. And then the Cebu urban poor womens league. We cooperate with these organizations.

What do you do in this cooperation?

Well.. yes.. hm.. I attend when there are activities. We receive invitation letters..

So it's not organizing together, only visiting eachother?

Yes. But I am also a member of NGO's. I'm in committees.

Do they pay for these activities, or do they receive from the activities of NGO's?

Before we paid Panag Hugpung, but we stopped. Directly stopped. We have a disagreement with Marineth, and since Marineth is the direct contact with the NGO, we no longer pay.

And do you have contact with the barangay council? Or do you only contact to the city hall?

We have contact with the barangay. We are known to the barangay and I 'm a member of committees, for example Bantay Banay this is a womens group that guards against violence against women.

And do you enjoy the cooperation of your members?

Yes, I enjoy the cooperation of almost all. But only one member not, they cause some trouble. But the cooperation of the others is good.

One person assumed the ownership of the land, without telling the organization. When they questioned that, they were angry, why the organization intervened.. But the land is registered on the name of the organization, it becomes on the name of the member, when they have fully paid. Until that time the land is the organizations property.

Because of that, the organization asked to hold the payments of that family. So they go to the organization and ask for permission.

How does your organization make decisions? Is it voting?

Well we have meetings and we discuss the problems. We ask assistance from Panug Hugpung during that meeting.. they help us. And we talk about it and most times it's just consensus. But sometimes in official occasions we do it by voting, raising hands. But if it's just ordinary decision making, it's just consensus.

Do all members attend the meetings?

Sometimes only some members come to the meetings. But during general assemblies, they all attend.

And what are your goals for the future, of the organization? Is it only obtaining the land or are there more goals?

First we want to buy the land. Continuing the payment and owning the land that's our goal. But besides that we also like to improve the relocation site, work on the benefits of the community, of the members. So we are actually also constantly looking at the requests of the people. Requests for drainage or street lights. So in those cases, when they are working for the lights and drainage, then all organizations cooperate. They all benefit from this cooperation. But when it comes to rallies, meetings, they don't cooperate.

Is your organization involved with the environment? And can you explain what you have done so far?

Well yes, we often ask the barangay for assistance for improving the environment. For example for drainage and lighting.. Garbage collection, this comes two times a week. The barangay truck comes two times.

Does the barangay listen?

Yes

Do they also act?

When there is a typhoon, the barangay goes round in the barangay, warning them, telling them what to do. So yes they help. And there are quarrels, that the neighborhood can not stop. So then the barangay comes to help.

But about the environment... did they improve the drainage?

Well they are talking about it. Concrete things are not done yet. But yes, there is something done about the lighting, we received street lights.

Do you have more wishes that you want to improve your neighborhood?

We want to develop the roads, improve the asphaltting of the roads. And also the roads at the back, these must be better.

Do you discuss these things in the meetings of the NKR?

Yes. We want to improve the streets, the drainage. All our members live close to here.

The NKR has a cooperation with the city government. Because the city gives them extension in the payment, they help them obtaining the land. But what does the NKR do for the city, is there some sort of bargaining?

Well we give our payment, we try to pay regularly, that's what we give to the city.

But why is the city government so good to you?

The city is not tough to us. There come officers, but they see that the members of our organization simply can not pay. We don't have the money, so that's why they give us extension.

Many of the members are vendors in Carbon and they also sleep there. But when there is a general meeting, they show up.

Can you tell something about what happens during election time? If the officials try to influence them, do they give promises if the people vote on them.. does it look like propaganda?

The city councilors and candidates come here, they hold meetings (for example for the city election, the major and councilors from one political party, they come here as a group). And they hold meetings, they also invite the organizations members to join, they make promises.

In the last election there was a congressman running in the opposition, the other one was getting my support. But in the same time I was also actively involved in the barangay supporting the other candidate congressman.. I had a problem with my members, who didn't like what I did. Because what I did was, I voted the other congress man in the other party, and for the existing party I voted the major. So I was supporting different parties on different levels.. So the major wanted me to vote for him and for the congressman of the same party, but I didn't.

When you said that your members were angry, what did they do, mom Virgie?

So the barangay did not like what I did. Because I coordinated the campaign for the other candidate, and I spoke openly about my own voting. The people didn't like it.

But didn't you want to join in the election yourselves? I remember you told that in the previous interview, for the barangay I think??

No that was a joke, I don't want to join in the election. And besides that, the barangay elections don't come yet..

Annex 10. Interview with Henrick Orbiso, Chairman Basic Ecclesial Community and Barangay Anti Drug Abuse Council, Member of Dumpsite People Solidarity Organization and Barangay Intelligence Network Inayawan, Cebu-city, July 13, 2007

Timon and I visit Henrick Orbiso on Friday the 13th, in the beginning of the evening. I really like to interview this man, because he was involved in so many organizations. But he was very difficult to reach because his number was wrong on the contact list of organizations. In the end, the GAD office gave me his correct phone number.

It is very strange to be in Inayawan, to be on the dumpsite in the dark. The interview takes place in front of his house. There are many things going on around us, on the dumpsite. Teenage boys are playing basketball, other people are burning the garbage, many animals walk by and sometimes the grandchild of mr Orbiso starts crying. After Timon and I have introduced ourselves, mr Orbiso tells about his work in the organizations, starting with the DPSOI.

You are involved in many organizations!

I used to be the chairman of the DPSOI, that is an organization in this area only. We have about 200 members, actually 200 plus.

So this list is not so good, because it says 130 members.

We have meetings, every first week of the month. And in the second week of every month we have a general assembly meeting for every month. So our members form a group in the area, we have prior meetings with bible sharing. It's Monday to Saturday, almost every day. That is also organized by DPSOI. Every year we change our president of the organization. Right now I am only a member.

Before we start talking about the organizations, could you first tell something about yourself? How long you live here, what you do for a living..

First I came here in 1995, this whole area was full of garbage. Then the brother of the barangay president asked me, Jaca, he told me to go to this area. So I bought my house in this area and found my job here. I also work here, my job is on the sanitary landfill. I am the operator of the bulldozer.

So that's why I know these people here, speaking with each other. We need support. Some people here have a job only in scavenging.

In what year did you start the organization?

That was in 1995.

And was it your own idea? Or did the barangay come with that idea?

It was my own idea.

The dumpsite organization, is it about land rights or about living conditions?

No, it's an organization for the people here. If there is a problem, the organization will be help, and the barangay will be supportive also. They have a clinic in the barangay.

So you live here since 1995, and before did you also live in Inayawan?

No I lived in Mambaling.

And can you tell something about this barangay, about the people and about the barangay itself?

This barangay is good. But.. also the people is very.. there are some problems with the people here. So I can put some money, and then they will buy drugs. There is a drugs problem. But we are trying with the barangay to penetrate in the drugs trade and try to find the people who sell them..

And how are the living conditions in this barangay?

The living conditions in this barangay are good.. but what did the people in the GAD office tell you?

I talked to Alma. She also mentioned that there is a drugs problem and children who don't go to school. But that's not living conditions. I am also talking about air pollution and smell, sanitation, safe drinking water, waste collection etcetera.

Yes there are also problems in this barangay. But for me it's oke. If I need water, I have to walk for 100 meters and then I obtain water from MCWD. Some other people are also drinking mineral water. And se have a deep well here, from the barangay. The barangay gave a deep well to every sitio.

And smell?

That's oke, according to the city health department our water is ok.

But I mean smell, from the dumpsite.

The water here is ok, really ok. We have to walk a little bit, and then we have MCWD water which is safe. And the deep well water...

About your organizations.. you already told something about the DPSOI. Could you describe the main activities of your organizations?

For the DPSOI we have two meetings, first a normal meeting and the second week we have general assembly meetings. We have also prior meetings for bible study, every day. Yes every day, this is organized by area. Divided in six areas, Monday to Saturday bible study in this area. And also we have a meeting, but this is canceled already. We get support from JPIC (Justice Peace and Integrity of Creation). One of the children here was supported by JPIC with his study. Until highschool, uptil 4th year highschool...

And about the BADAC, the drugs council?

The means of badac is barangay anti drug abuse council. I am the chairman of the badac.

We have about 20 members, most of them are in this sitio. Fifteen of them live in the dumping area.

We try to find the person who sells drugs, direct to the barangay and the barangay will arrest them. The barangay arrests people. So in this barangay, we have it under control, because we have 15 caretakes that there won't be any more drug abuse. This area is drug free. We penetrated it all. We're fighting drugs, it's so bad for the children. They should be able to get out of that.

How often do you meet?

We have a meeting every month, every last week of the month we have a meeting in the barangay. With councilor Jerome Jaca, he is from Peace and Order.

O we met him, he sent us from the barangay hall to your house.

But do you think this sitio is free from drugs?

Yes. Last year this sitio had a drug problem, but now it's controlled.

How do you fight drugs in other sitios, if the BADAC doesn't have many members there?

If we know that an area has drugs, than the badac of that area will go there and penetrate, look for the drugs.

And how do you penetrate?

We make a poster, we show that drugs is not good to the people and the children. And at that time the seller of the drugs, he knows that the barangay is against drugs.

And the intelligence network?

There was also another one, did you see? The basic ecclesial community.

It says Gloria bacalso.

That is the president of...but now I am the chairman of whole Inayawan. We want to help the people to live for God. We take care of the chapel. We have members of the BEC, we have meetings every Saturday and Thursday. Organized by BEC. And in every division of Inayawan, BEC members take care of the chapels. We have 24 chapels in Inayawan, active for BEC. Every chapel we have also a prior meeting in the barangay hall on Thursday. And then we have also that we want to serve the people. If there is a member who is dying, then the organization will be supportive. We give financial support to the family.

The intelligence network, is it something like the badac? Is it also about drugs?

Yes it is about drugs. City Citizen Police Organization, Barangay Inayawan..

You are chairman?

No, just a member.

Where do you meet?

We have meetings with the barangay. We are a support for the barangay and the police here. It's like voluntary police. We look what is the problem in that barangay, like drugs or snatching. We support the police and we try to find the people who commit a crime. And we tell the police our suspects. Then the people will be arrested by the police.

I see that you are involved in four organizations. Do you think in average if you look at Inayawan, are many people active? Or are they only thinking about their own family and interests?

O yes. They are busy with themselves.

I go to the organization to support, to help people who have a problem.

What do you think are the largest problems here?

Drugs. The whole barangay has a drugs problem. But it's also in other barangays.

We are more researching about the environment and living conditions. What do you think are the most serious problems about living conditions?

I observed, if children are sick the mother brings them to the barangay health center. But some will bring them to the Bantay Bata Organization, so the father and mother.... Scavenging.. Bata Banay organization. Care taker for the children, that is what it means.

Do you think if you want to improve the living conditions in Inayawan, for example make the barangay more clean, do you think it is easy to involve the people? To mobilize them to help improving the environment?

Yes because we already did that. The people support the clean-up drive. The people in Inayawan help in the operation, also in this area.

So you think they would also help with cleaning the barangay. But do you think they would also change their behavior? For example separate your waste, don't throw it in the street.

Well there are people that want to help, there are also many people who don't want to help. In general I think that the people are not so supportive.

I am going to ask now some questions about the cooperation between the organization and the government and about leadership. How does the cooperation with the government work out for the different organizations you are working with?

The government has last year also been helping. DWUP (Department of Welfare of Urban Poor) has helped DPSOI. They have also been helping with the decisions, DWUP. And then, I think that is not good, because the people do not need that. We have already here that the DWUP did find an area where to put the people that needed a relocation site. And I think the DWUP gave them an area, but the people did not need it anymore, so they did not go to the area, because their job was already done. It was not necessary anymore, but the government helps with decisions. Also, the barangay also helps to make the decisions.

And do you have experiences with other departments than the DWUP?
Yes, I have more experiences. Because in 2004 I already communicated who was assigned from there to here. Every month he will go for me to communicate how about the problems of our decisions and he told me what he has done and so forth. Every month he came here, to look to support what is the problem of the decisions. So you can not prove that the government does not support, because the government shows the people what is the problem. So the government supports the decisions. But, only the people do not cooperate.

Do you work together with other government organizations than the barangay and the city council? Like for example national organizations?

No, we are not working with national organizations, only local government we are working with.

NGO's perhaps?

No, not. We only work with the local government, that is what we want our decisions are not national. I only work there with the city government.

Can you tell me how the decisions are made in the DPSOI?

The decision-making now is not functioning, because now the president of the DPSOI is not functioning. The current president does not coordinate to his members, so now the members are not in good now. So the members will collapse, until now decision-making does not work?

And can you tell me how they are made with the BADAC?

The BADAC is good until now, also because of Jerome Jaca, every month we have a meeting we meet with the barangay officials in the barangay office. We call a meeting and talk about the problems of every sitio, about the BADAC. Between the sitio leaders, and the barangay officials and the person of peace and order.

How many sitio leaders are there? From the BADAC?

Yes. We have, I think we have 5.

About the intelligence group BIN. The decisions are made on a municipal level, by the police. How does that go?

Every month we have a meeting in the office of CPPO. Then, all the members talk about the problems of the sitios, of the problems of every barangay. So we meet each other every last sunday of the month, between 8 am to noon.

How long has Liceria Jaca been barangay captain?

I think it is 3 years.

Can you tell us what has changed since he has become the barangay captain for organizations? For the functioning of the organizations?

Actually, the barangay captain in Inayawan is supporting also all our decisions in the barangay and in the sitio. And I think we have a meeting every Wednesday, first wednesday of the month. We communicate the problems of the sitio and the decisions.

Neighborhood organizations often try to improve the living conditions in their area. What do you think can be improved in doing that, from the side of the government?

I think the government supports, but the problem is the people. The government is willing to support the decisions of the people, but the people just want to see that the government gives to them. The people are not so cooperative.

Could you give an example of something that could have been realized if the people would have cooperated more?

Yes, the city government asked to the people to go to the Cebu City Sports complex. Everybody was invited to go there but the people from the dumpsite (DPSOI) did not go, they did not follow. Because, I don't know why don't go while the government is cooperative about decisions. When I was the president of that organization, every other day I would go to the city hall to follow up about the decision. So the government also is also active and supportive. But the last year I was not the president anymore, the government asked again the people to support but they did not cooperate.

For example if you have the relocation site: the government gives this to the people and then the people did not want to give priority. The government already was giving them the lowest price, but they did not want to cooperate.

And there is the example that people did not want to relocate to Talisay from the sanitary landfill, I don not know why. There is already that relocation site in Talisay and one of the supporters of that is the government. Many of the members of DPSOI have already a relocation site there in Talisay but the others did not go, because it is so far from here.

And you also have that relocation near Marinette, you know her?

Yes

So you can say the city is really supportive, but the people don not cooperate, they do not want to transfer to another location.

So you are saying the government sometimes does not reach it's goal because the people are not working with them. But do you think the government can also try another way to reach it's goal, to motivate people more?

The government is looking to another solution to transfer these people. They are looking to a solution to relocate this area and the people. But it did not succeed so far.

But do you think there is also a solution to get the people more involved, like a solution to activate the people?

I do not know, because the people here do not want to improve it, because they only earn small money from the scavenging and then they will get drunk. So we can not say that the improvement will be reached for the life's, for the family.

Are you also working together with an umbrella organization or a political party?

The function of an umbrella well.. DPSOI is also like the umbrella. The BEC is also itself an umbrella. But the DPSOI is not functioning as an umbrella.

Who inspires you in your work for the community?

I get my inspiration if I look to the people, not for myself. I am doing it for the neighbors, not for myself only, I work for the community. But not only here in this sitio, I also look to other sitios. That is my inspiration: to support and help the people.

Do you think it is a good thing that neighborhood organizations also involve a little bit into politics, by supporting party list?

I do not think that this happens, because the people have their freedom to vote. They can not handle the people. Maybe they want to support the one politician or the other one.

You always tried to stay out of the politics?

Yes, because we have a freedom of voting, we can not talk the people. It is your own decision who you support.