

Mobilizing Social Capital for Social Service Delivery in Marginalized Coastal Communities in the Province of Iloilo

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Poverty has always been a socioeconomic issue in the Philippines. The task of poverty alleviation is deemed the concern of government, nongovernment organizations, and donor agencies. That communities—the more immediate stakeholders in any development process—play a critical role in development, not only as mere beneficiaries but also as partners and leaders in the development process, is often overlooked. This case study focuses on the community as a critical link to development.

A multi-axial framework of analysis serves as guidepost in presenting the case study. A paradigm towards a social development that encompasses geographical, ecological, economic, social, and cultural dimensions is used. It departs from an economic-biased perspective of resource mobilization for social development. It weaves together aspects of development that were once treated as if they were mutually exclusive categories. Perhaps the most significant contribution of the study is the focus it gives to social capital as a force in social and economic development.

There are numerous theories proposing that social networks or aggregations of people for a particular purpose create a stock of facilitating and cooperating social arrangements, roughly referred to as social capital. In particular, these are social arrangements that would likely lead to an accumulation of a social stock that allow for the exchange of and access to goods, services, and entitlements that may subsequently contribute to the general welfare and to the improvement in the quality of life of a community (Massam and Dickinson 1999).

“Social capital,” Pauline Gardiner Barber (1999) writes, “refers to the ways in which exchange networks are mobilized to allow people to gain access to various resources necessary to their survival. In effect, when people use social capital, they are mobilizing social relationships, in accord with cultural norms, to secure access to things that either have monetary value that they cannot afford, or which they could otherwise not gain access to. Some things which are exchanged through social capital networkers include gifts, labour, actual capital, technologies, knowledge, information (for example about jobs and other resources), accommodation, transportation, and so on. Social capital networks are those of kin, community and class. Typically, social capital depends upon reciprocity, perceptions of obligation, and mutual trust between members of similar social groups (in class terms). When exchanges are based on reciprocity

and obligation among people of similar social positions we may speak of horizontal social capital. When the exchanges cross class lines and happen between unequal social positions and are based upon reciprocity, obligation and dependency, we may speak of vertical social capital. In many ways, social capital networks and exchanges provide people with social safety nets.”

In debates about sustaining life, human beings have often forgotten that living is not just about acquisition and distribution of material resources. Rather, it is also about the acquisition and distribution of social endowments. The continued decline and underdevelopment of communities may be attributed to the weakness and erosion of social networks as much as to the depletion of natural resources (e.g., fish stocks) or the lack of access to or poor mobilization of local and external resources.

Confronted with the multiple facets of poverty, can marginalized communities—which suffer from lack of access to much-needed financial resources for development and to basic human entitlements, i.e., food, clothing, shelter, good health—rise above their state of underdevelopment to bring about a better state of well-being for their members?

The following is a comparative case study of coastal communities in the province of Iloilo. The first one is an urban-poor coastal community in Iloilo City, where the accessibility to urban centers of employment and a changing landscape due to urbanization have transformed it into a workers’ community. Fishing has become a marginal livelihood. The second one is a rural-poor coastal community whose relative access to fishery resources has transformed it into a likely migration site for fisherfolk suffering from dwindling fishery resources in their areas of origin. The case study attempts to identify key actors in the social development processes in the localities, describe the strategies used to achieve social development goals in the communities, and draw lessons about the forces that help and those that hinder social development in the areas under study.

CASE ONE: BARRIO OBRERO, ILOILO CITY

Community profile

Presidential Proclamation No. 251 (1951) declared Barrio Obrero as public land owned by the Philippine Government and segregated it as a workingman’s village reservation in Barrio Lapuz Norte, Municipal District of Lapaz, City of Iloilo, Island of Panay. It is a coastal area, with a nearby international port, oil depots, and electric barges. The area was designated as a relocation site for the victims of the 1951 fire and of subsequent fires that hit the city of Iloilo (Pastoral Council 1971). It also became a residential area for some internal migrants who wanted to have access to job opportunities either at the nearby international port or at Iloilo City’s central district. Barrio Obrero was classified as an urban area, specifically, an “urban poor” area that has become a project area for the Slum Improvement and Resettlement Program of the National Housing Authority (NHA), following a directive issued by then President Corazon Aquino during her visit in October 1986.

In the early 1980s, over 50 percent of the population was unemployed. The primary occupations of those employed were craftsmen, sales workers, or

workers in the transport and communications establishments, such as the Domestic and International Ports of Iloilo. Secondary occupations involved services, sports, vending, clerical work, professional/technical work, and military service. These data mostly reflect the primary occupation of men; most women were either not employed or were self-employed. However, the informal economy in the area partly thrives on informal livelihoods among women, such as occasional vending of fish, vegetables, and other food products, and doing laundry.

In the early 1980s, only nine percent of the population had graduated from high school and a minuscule percentage had benefited from a college education. About 52 percent had gone through a primary, intermediate, or high school education. A significant 20 percent had not had any schooling at all. Of those who dropped out of school, 81 percent did so for financial reasons.

Living conditions in Barrio Obrero vary according to zone. Some sort of geographic socioeconomic zoning exists due to social mobility rather than to land-ownership status. All Barrio Obrero residents enjoy the same land-tenure status by virtue of the 1986 land title grants handed out by then President Aquino. The poorest live closest to the coast, living in bamboo-stilt homes without access to sanitary toilets. The relatively better-off live closer inland and have semi-concrete or concrete houses with water-sealed toilet facilities. Those who have gained access to higher education opportunities have relatively more stable sources of livelihood and/or have family members who are migrant workers abroad, and have attained some degree of upward social mobility; they tend to cluster in one neighborhood group. Those who have less stable sources of livelihood also tend to stay together.

Actors in the social development process

Delivery of social services was not much of a priority concern for many government and donor groups working in the area around the 1970s and 1980s. In government projects, focus was primarily on infrastructure (e.g., construction of roads) and resettlement and land titling schemes. Donor agencies, on the other hand, looked into basic sanitation concerns such as access to water facilities and sanitation. A nongovernment organization, the Auxiliary Missionaries of the Assumption (AMA), decided to start extension service initiatives in the late 1960s, which in turn launched the social development initiatives of the Assumption Socio-Educational Center (ASEC). The ASEC is located on a two-hectare piece of reclaimed land donated by the government in Zone II, Barrio Obrero, Iloilo City.

While it cannot be denied that the role of the nongovernment organization was significant in the social development initiatives, the critical role which community members played—the youth and women of Barrio Obrero in particular—cannot be downplayed. The openness of the youth and women sector to social change paved the way for a partnership and volunteer program with ASEC. Many graduates of the basic education program of ASEC, for instance, volunteered while still in their teens in the various social development initiatives within Barrio Obrero. And many opted to return service to Barrio Obrero through ASEC and the local Church during their college years, and even after they had earned their undergraduate degrees. To some extent, their social

response may be attributed to the training they received and the applicability of their training to the challenges they faced in Barrio Obrero, as well as in society in general.

On the other hand, while ASEC had not originally planned to target women as partners for development, the significant role these women might play became more apparent as ASEC realized the limitations of focusing on children alone as engines and partners of social development. The role of the women in the development process became more evident as they were the most receptive and eager participants in the social development initiatives of ASEC. Women, from mostly female-headed households, participated in training programs and seminars sponsored by ASEC, and actively volunteered in community development initiatives, particularly those that focused on issues and problems of social welfare. This may be explained by the feminization of poverty in many urban-poor households. Women tend to be most affected by poverty in the households, so they tend to be more responsive to initiatives of poverty alleviation.

Mobilizing social capital

Sowing the seeds of social capital by building up human capital: The social development initiatives of the Assumption Socio-Educational Center (ASEC)

ASEC confronted the challenges presented by Barrio Obrero through formal and nonformal education approaches. The approaches used initially targeted children of less privileged households as beneficiaries and, later, as partners in the development process. Thus, education was both a means and an end of social development.

However, ASEC saw the need for broader participation of the children's parents and of other members of the community in the process of social development. It also envisioned a broader goal of development as being directed towards the various sectors of the community and addressing all aspects of human life. Growth is aimed for in each individual's social, economic, political, and religious life, at the level of the person as a social being and as a member of a community. ASEC offered community-based, community-oriented value formation and skills training to urban poor residents, both children and adult, female and male residents, to achieve its desired outcomes.

Thus, its value formation and education initiatives did not solely target a particular sector or gender, although a great deal of emphasis was placed on the education of children. However, the responsiveness of the female sector to the nonformal education activities produced a greater ratio of female, compared with male, participants. As earlier mentioned, this

may be due to the rising feminization of poverty and to the fact that the women of Barrio Obrero, being mostly unemployed or self-employed, have more control of their time than men.

❖ **Formal education**

Basic elementary education was provided for the children at six-year levels under a sponsor-child program. Each child's minimum education needs were partially financed by a donor, usually from another country, but a tuition fee counterpart was required of the child's parents. The mode of subsidy was socialized and depended on the income of the child's parents. The sponsorship continued through the secondary and tertiary education levels, depending on the generosity of the sponsor, the academic performance of the child, and the willingness of parents to participate in the child's education, not only financially but socially as well.

❖ **Nonformal education**

Perhaps unique to this education program was the emphasis it put on alternative education strategies such as intensive value formation. As ASEC shifted its strategy, it recognized not only the critical role parents play in the social development process, but the contribution of other sectors of the community as well.

ASEC's nonformal education program sought to enable the community to respond to the total needs of its members through community-based structures that aim to build an empowered community of persons. Among ASEC's major nonformal education initiatives were the Community-Based Health Program (CBHP), the Economic Self-Reliance Program (ESRP), and the Youth Formation Program (YFP).

Each program component of the nonformal education carried a specific mission and a corresponding structure. Each was tasked with a target base group to develop. The CBHP and the ESRP had the neighborhood groups as their base, while the YFP had the small youth communities.

Despite the specialized goals of each program, coordinators of the CBHP, ESRP, and YFP collaborated with each other and with the other program coordinators of ASEC. Together, they defined a team that worked towards the realization of a common vision. It is important to note that coordinators of the nonformal education programs were members of the Barrio Obrero community itself. They were once schooled through ASEC, formally or informally, and have now chosen to work with nuns and volunteers from Assumption schools all over the Philippines.

The Community-Based Health Program provides basic health education to families in Barrio Obrero, trains community members, utilizes medical resources of the community for the health needs of the residents, and provides medical, dental, and laboratory services for a minimal fee. The CBHP is involved in basic health education, basic health services, local human and material resource development, collaboration with the government and nongovernment organizations, and inter-sectoral collaboration within ASEC. Women are the primary target partners of this program.

As its name indicates, the health program of ASEC started out as community-based. However, the program metamorphosed into a “community-managed” health program where the guiding principle is no longer “health with the people” but “health by the people.”

A pool of organized community health workers (CHWs) manages the program and runs an office outside of ASEC, establishing a health organization registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission. ASEC merely plays a supporting role to the organized health workers, assisting in staff development and formation programs when needed.

To empower people, the CBHP utilizes Basic Health education, local human and material resource development, and participative planning, decision-making, action, and evaluation. The primary vehicles for Basic Health education and resource development are the trainings and seminars coupled with value formation.

The Basic Health seminars, often given in the vernacular, were moved from the ASEC office to barangay halls and chapels of Barrio Obrero, as part of the CBHP’s strategy to reach out to people towards a Community-Managed Health Care. Participative decision-making, planning, and evaluation find venues in regular meetings. The health workers are also given the opportunity to administer basic health care to their respective neighborhood groups.

Since the CHWs work on a voluntary basis, the CBHP came up with built-in income-generating projects for them. Herbal medicines are prepared by CHWs at ASEC every other week and sold at the Barrio Obrero Consumers Cooperative, where most of the CHWs are members. Likewise, the CHWs have been given the privilege of selling snacks to children at ASEC on school days. Proceeds are divided among the CHWs. Honoraria are paid to CHWs who help facilitate Basic Health seminars, given five times a year.

The CBHP has a coordinator who oversees the delivery of health services by health team leaders and community health workers, and is responsible for the staff development program in the CBHP. Health team leaders in each zone report to the CBHP coordinator, monitor the community health situation, and at the same time spearhead the implementation of health services and programs in the different zones of the community. At the heart of the CBHP structure are the CHWs who do household visitations, deliver primary health care to the needy of the community, and assist the coordinator and health team leaders in the implementation of the CBHP programs.

The Economic Self-Reliance Program, for its part, focuses on micro-enterprise development through skills training coupled with value formation, and through consultation services, social credit, a multipurpose cooperative, and collaboration in Barrio Obrero. The ESRP primarily seeks to increase the income of its beneficiaries, provide training, and revitalize the already existing Barrio Obrero cooperative, which also has a social credit and savings system managed by the people themselves.

The loan assistance program sets interest at 2 percent, and this is accumulated to allow beneficiaries to put in forced-savings capital as a requirement for

membership in the Barrio Obrero Consumers Cooperative. Once the principal of the loan is fully paid and the interest payments reach P100, the interest is used to buy a share in the cooperative.

The ESRP structure includes a coordinator who supervises the formation and training program of the ESRP and takes charge of the loan assistance program. The coordinator is also the community worker who handles and reviews cases of ESRP beneficiaries. Zonal coordinators, in turn, follow up on ESRP beneficiaries in their respective zones and coordinate with the community worker. The ESRP creates linkages with the Barrio Obrero Consumers Cooperative, provides technical assistance to the cooperative, and helps facilitate the cooperative's seminars and training programs.

The Youth Formation Program focuses on a single mission: the formation program for the youth through value formation, work, and study. The YFP serves as the base of *Balik-Ugat*, the ASEC alumni program that encourages ASEC graduates to give back service to the community. The YFP also uses street theater as a vehicle to raise the social consciousness of the community on issues that beset the community and the country as a whole.

Transforming human capital to social capital: Homegrown social development initiatives of community members

At the outset, it would appear that human capital through education was the only capital being developed. But the eventual use of local human resource to serve as a driving force towards social development in Barrio Obrero illustrates the transformation of the acquired human capital into social capital. It must be understood that, in this particular case, when education remains untapped in distributing social entitlements, the human capital developed fails to evolve as social capital. No matter how intensive the development programs of a change agent in a community, participation by the community members in the development process is the more critical factor. In the case of Barrio Obrero, the education provided by ASEC seems to have motivated members of the community to mobilize existing social relationships as vehicles in accessing their social entitlements and the resources needed for the social, political, and economic transformation of their community.

The most evident transformation of human capital into social capital can be gleaned from the experiences of the women and youth of Barrio Obrero, who tried to put social capital to use to ensure the survival of their own families and to achieve the transformation of their community.

❖ **The women's way**

The primary strategy used by women is the formation of household communities or neighborhood groups in their respective zones. ASEC-trained members usually head neighborhood groups, but membership in these groups is not limited to direct beneficiaries of ASEC projects. While they were not immediately able to put zonal centers for social services in their neighborhood area, household communities or neighborhood groups discussed community social problems, feasible solutions, and action planning. In the absence of a formal people's organization in Barrio Obrero, the household communities

undertook these initiatives to develop a more proactive role in finding solutions to the social problems confronting them.

The dynamism of the women in the neighborhood groups may be partly attributed to the value formation, as well as skills training, given to the women. The women participated in numerous group sessions and nonformal education initiatives, such as human relations training, self-discovery training workshops, community-organizing skills training, and community-leadership seminar-workshops. ASEC did not consider the women as mere project beneficiaries. Rather, they were treated as full partners in development right from the start. Thus, these women were given the social and political space to make decisions, to plan, and to execute ideas that they deemed to be of greatest service to the development interests of the many in Barrio Obrero, while at the same time addressing the women's particular needs. This helped build up local capacities for eventual leadership in neighborhood groups.

The neighborhood groups have developed linkages with, aside from ASEC, other groups such as the barangay council, parish organizations, and the Coast Guard (which is located in Barrio Obrero), to enable them to find better ways of dealing with the social issues they confront. They cooperate and coordinate with barangay officials on matters that concern them, such as land titles, water supply, and cleanliness. Some have become active members of the Task Force that tackles the issue of land titling in Barrio Obrero. Neighborhood groups and household community members participate actively in the barangay campaign for zone beautification and often respond to the call of the barangay captain to clean the plaza.

Members of these neighborhood groups also extend social assistance to other residents of Barrio Obrero. They help others look for employment, offer labor services when needed, give advice to neighbors in need, provide primary health care services, re-echo skills trainings, and even share their own material resources.

Most of the assistance women extend to their neighbors is non-material in nature. Women who were asked about this say that non-material resources are all they can afford to give, since they are also in financial difficulty. However, some women say that, even with the very little income earned from vending, they were still able to help their neighbors who were more in need. One woman remarked that prayer is not enough for those who have not eaten for three days. Some tangible assistance has to be offered, if possible. Often, women express their concern for their neighbors through donations and by empathizing with their problems or offering sympathy when somebody in the neighbor's family passes away. They also offer solidarity to families who are in crisis, mediate in neighborhood conflicts, engage in home visitations, offer herbal medicines to the sick, and engage in a more socialized scheme in charging for traditional midwifery services.

Furthermore, the women also take active roles in informing their neighbors on social and political issues confronting the community (e.g., water and land-titling problems) and are careful that their own sanitation practices do not inconvenience neighbors. On certain occasions, the use of their social capital earns them some form of financial capital for their survival needs. For instance,

some women participate in preparing nutritious snacks (e.g., rice cakes and fruit juices) to ensure that the children studying in ASEC get better nutritional content from what they eat. They also prepare very affordable herbal medicine to address the health concerns of many in the community. The food products are sold at the ASEC canteen; the herbal medicines are made available to community members through the cooperative outlets.

Concern is shown largely through relational expressions that are very characteristic of rural communities. However, such use of social capital may be more broadly attributed to what Virgilio Enriquez, a renowned Filipino psychologist, calls the Filipino cultural trait of *pakikipagkapwa*. Using social networks to distribute certain entitlements (e.g., knowledge, material goods, social services), in this case, may be driven by a culture of reciprocity as much as the inherent desire to simply help without expecting anything in return.

❖ The youth and social development

The youth undergo the more basic training in human relations, leadership, community organizing, and value formation, on top of work camps and creative arts training. Just like the women of Barrio Obrero, however, the youth were never just treated as project beneficiaries. They were partners for development all along. Thus, just like the women, the youth were taught that they could be active agents for development. Given social and political space to design their own development approaches, these young people use creative arts to build up the community's social consciousness. But the transformation of human capital into social capital in the case of the youth can be gleaned from the spirit of volunteerism that seems to pervade graduates of ASEC. Many of these young people have returned to render service through nonformal education to other members of the community and to help build up ASEC as an institution ready for eventual management by community members themselves.

❖ Outcomes of strategies for people empowerment

1. The CBHP (Community-Based Health Program) continues to train more CHWs (community health workers). From 1978 to 1996, nine batches of CHWs—a total of 89 persons—graduated from the training course on Primary Health Care Training. Training modules were modified, changing the paramedic concept to one of holistic health.

On November 8, 1990, the volunteer health workers still under the CBHP felt that because of the numerous trainings in health and those related to community development, they were now ready for a Community-Managed Primary Health Care Program. They elected a set of officers and registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) on March 23, 1992, as *Gugma Kabug-osan sang Kabuhi Inc.* (GKKI, or Love and Fullness of Life Inc.), with 24 members. With this development, the CBHP, now GKKI, became a “people’s organization,” and the role of the Assumption Socio-Educational Center was limited to providing technical and financial assistance whenever needed.

GKKI then put up a center on the parish grounds where members now meet, prepare herbal medicines, and conduct their activities. At present, 27 active members run the five programs: Health and Nutrition Training, Health Services,

Herbal Medicine, First Aid Center at the houses of volunteer health workers (VHWs), and Child Deliveries Lying-In Center (trained *hilot* or midwife). The rest of the 89 CHW graduates are employed either in government or in private agencies as health aides, community organizers, teachers, catechists, etc. Others have migrated or worked abroad. The CBHP has become a stepping-stone for many in improving their life situation. Although their work as CHW is purely voluntary in nature, they remain committed to the vision and mission of their organization. The CHWs were able to provide services for the children of ASEC and the households within their neighborhood groups. It may be safe to say that they have significantly made basic health services more accessible to residents of Barrio Obrero. However, as the transformation of the social and economic landscape of Barrio Obrero makes health services within the community more accessible with the entry of other health service providers (i.e., those from the government), GKKI is currently looking for its niche to infuse more dynamism to the group and ensure its sustainability as a group.

2. The Barrio Obrero Multipurpose Cooperative Inc. (BOMPCI) started out as a consumers' cooperative in 1982. The Volunteer Health Workers of the Community-Based Health Program of ASEC organized it. Efforts to expand its services were initiated in 1986, and it was registered as a multipurpose cooperative in 1992. Since then it has increased its membership by 40 percent, and its capital base by 60 percent.

In 1986, the Economic Self-Reliance Program (ESRP) was a new program. It started to challenge the Children Christian Welfare Association (CCWA) to move from a welfare approach—100-percent sponsorship, feeding program, free school supplies and medicines—to more development-oriented activities. In 1989, the Barrio Obrero Multi-purpose Cooperative Inc. (BOMPCI) switched from being just a consumers' store. Now BOMPCI serves the community through programs such as credit assistance on income-generating projects, providential and appliance loans, land acquisition (which covers 200 families), and a savings program, the Community Savings Bank.

3. The Assumption Socio-Educational Center, a project of the Auxiliary Missionaries of the Assumption Inc. since 1968, is now managed by its graduates. The executive director, Mrs. Heide Gustilo Foulc, is a member of the first batch of graduates in 1975. Other graduates of ASEC are now administrators of the school. ASEC used to be managed by an executive committee composed of the executive director, the principal, and the head of the Social Development Project. The committee directs the center's life and is accountable to the president of AMA Inc. The strength of the management lies in its uniqueness: three of them are from the community and are graduates of ASEC. However, in 1997 the Social Development Project office took the backseat, handing over the work to the new people's organization, the Barrio Obrero Multi-Purpose Cooperative Inc., which is now the umbrella organization of all the people's organizations organized by ASEC through its social development project.

4. When one visits Barrio Obrero today, the slow but certain transformation of the community from an urban-poor area, plagued by many social problems, into a community seeking a better quality of life is evident. Structures of houses have

become more stable, roads are paved, there is better access to water, homegrown health services are made accessible to community members, community members are not only more literate but are also more articulate, and children have a chance of attending school. Perhaps the most significant of the outcomes is the sustained quest for social development that community members engage in, despite the absence of donor assistance. Such initiatives provide fertile soil for a growing consciousness—that they have every right to good health, to education, and to a better life—to take root and prosper.

CASE TWO: BAYBAY NORTE, MIAG-AO, ILOILO

Community profile of a migrant community

Barangay Baybay Norte, which has a total of 412 households, is located along the coast, in the town of Miag-ao, Iloilo. The economic geography of the area suggests that those living inland are the better-off members of the community, while those nearest the coast are the most in need. This is also, perhaps, because those nearest the coast are fisherfolk migrants from the neighboring island of Negros.

The small settlement nearest the coast supposedly began 10 to 12 years back, when an itinerant fisherman from Negros married a woman from Miag-ao. A barangay survey in 1999 revealed that there were about 38 households in this coastal settlement located beside a river at the back of the municipal cemetery. This settlement is called the “Cebuano Area” because Cebuano, rather than Ilongo, is the primary language used by the community. The number of households in the settlement has now risen to about 45 households. The lot where the settlement is located is the privately owned property of the family of the current municipal mayor.

Most of the so-called settlers in Barangay Baybay Norte did not have access to higher education, even though the barangay has better access to government-subsidized schools in the Miag-ao town proper. A few graduated from high school; many have been through different levels of elementary education. The community has been able to produce only one college graduate, a scholar of a religious organization. However, she chose to marry right after graduation rather than pursue a career.

Most of the homes in Baybay Norte are nipa huts with earthen floors and a small piggery at the back. Of the total number of households in the settlement, only 11 have toilets in their homes; the rest use the sea as privy. The primary source of potable water is the deep well, the supply of which is dependent on the abundance of water that flows through the river traversing the cemetery. Moreover, the community does not

have a garbage-dumping site. Perennial flooding is a major problem in the area, affecting livestock and sanitation in the community, as waste is carried back into homes and into the community in general. These raise health concerns among development workers.

The primary livelihood in the area is fishing. Men do the fishing, and the women do fish sorting, processing, and marketing. Women also engage in bartering activities with other barangays for agricultural produce, among many others things. Bartering enables some of them to acquire appliances and motor vehicles. Some of the fisherfolk own boats, a number of which are motorized. However, the quality of living conditions is far from ideal, as many of the residents are dependent on fishing activities alone and do not have access to alternative sources of income during periods when the fish catch is low.

Actors in social development

Except for being beneficiaries of sporadic extension activities by some classes in the University of the Philippines in the Visayas, the community mostly relies on the government for basic social services. There is one NGO working in the area, *Taytay sang Kauswagan* (Bridge of Progress), but it does not specifically address concerns of people in the migrant settlement. Barangay leaders observe that there seems to be some difficulty in drawing the support of community members for social development initiatives. Thus, apart from services offered by the government, there is an absence of volunteer services from community members to address social issues in the area.

Social development initiatives of the local government units in Barangay Baybay Norte, Miag-ao, Iloilo

There is just one daycare center with one teacher in the barangay. The daycare center accepts children ages 3-6 coming from the area. The barangay does not have a health center of its own, but it has a barangay service point officer (BSPO) who, together with the municipal midwife, gathers data on the nutritional status of the community and other pertinent data on the population. Barangay Baybay Norte also has two volunteer health workers, but has limited access to medicine because of the limited internal revenue allotment (IRA) the community receives. Regular services conducted in the area are immunizations, prenatal/postnatal services, and health education.

THE DIFFERENCE: MAKING USE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Although the communities featured in this case study differ in terms of sociological characteristics (one is urban and the other, rural), they have a number of similarities. Barrio Obrero in Iloilo City and Barangay Baybay Norte are both coastal areas, and both take on the nature of resettlement areas, with the former community designated for victims of fire in Iloilo City, and the latter inhabited by migrant fisherfolk. Residents were drawn to both areas because of access to employment and resources. Both communities have some sort of economic geography—clustered areas for the relatively better-off and another for those more disadvantaged by the impact of poverty. They share common social issues—lack of more stable housing structures, unemployment, absence of or limited access to sanitary toilets, highly vulnerable health situation, limited access to educational opportunities. But the similarities stop here.

The rural-poor community in Barangay Baybay Norte in Miag-ao remains dependent on government initiatives alone in accessing resources for development. Despite the accessibility of educational and health institutions in the nearby town proper, which is very close to the community, provision of basic social services in education and in health are still wanting. The social capital and local resources of the community have not been efficiently utilized to serve the social needs of the poor members of the community.

Barrio Obrero, on the other hand, has a rich experience in intensive social development initiatives. The community members, together with concerned nongovernment organizations, aimed for social development and have woven an intricate path from a community-based to a sustainable community-managed development program focusing on education and health for the last 20 years. Through such initiatives, the community was able to successfully utilize its social capital (social networks and relationships) to establish strong base groups that would propel the community members into taking active roles in shaping their own development.

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