

## EMERGENT PATTERNS OF LEADERSHIP IN AGDAO, DAVAO CITY: CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT IN AN URBAN POOR COMMUNITY

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### Introduction

The decades of the fifties and the sixties have witnessed the rapid pace of urbanization in many countries all over the world. In less developed countries particularly, the urbanization process has been characterized by the uncontrolled growth of primate cities resulting not only from excesses of births over deaths, but more significantly by massive rural-to-urban migration.

Such is the case for the Philippines. While total and rural population growth are recorded at 3.01 and 2.56 per cents respectively during the period of 1960-70, urban population has grown at 4.02. The urban population concentrated in metropolitan Manila — the primate city is estimated to have increased from 1,526,100 (29.4 per cent of the national urban population) in 1948 to 3,952,600 (32.8 per cent) in 1970<sup>1</sup>.

Such urbanward transfers however, have often ended up in the urban poor communities of the cities of destination. In a study of six Philippine cities, Laquian observes that the rate of increase in these areas tend to be higher than the city's population growth. Such increases are thus reported to range "from six to twelve per year while cities grew at the rate of four to six per year."<sup>2</sup>

Such growths in urban population have outpaced the increased of productive and service facilities of cities. The creation of new employment opportunities and the provision of electricity, water and sewerage facilities for these marginal sectors of urban society have lagged behind. The widening gaps between the demand for and the supply of basic urban services have posed challenges among urban planners and development workers alike. Clearly, alternative schemes in the provision of such needs have to be explored.

One strategy focuses on the need to harness community participation in local development efforts. Following this growing emphasis on a mass-based "bottoms-up" approach in development, this paper attempts to identify and describe the formal and

<sup>1</sup>Ernesto M. Pernia. *Urbanization in the Philippines: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, (Hawaii: Papers of the East-West Population Institute, 1976) p. 9-11.

<sup>2</sup>Aprodicio A. Laquian, *Slums and Squatters in Six Philippine Cities*. (Canada: International Development Research Center, 1972), p. 11.

informal community leaders as networks of assistance and influence in local community affairs. As local residents, they are similarly confronted by the growing demand for basic urban services.

### Objectives of the Study

This paper is an exploratory study of the patterns of local influence and mutual assistance prevailing in an urban poor community in Davao City patterns which represent indigenous attempts to meet the needs for basic urban facilities. Utilizing a local community in Davao City,<sup>3</sup> the specific research interests include the following.

1. To identify the formal and informal leaders as representing networks of assistance prevailing in an urban poor community.
2. To describe the patterns of community assistance extended so as to ascertain the viability of such networks as possible channels of development programs in the community.

With the imposition of martial law in the Philippines in 1972, a political institution enforced as early as the pre-Spanish period was revived and strengthened. Citizen's assemblies, more commonly known as the *barangays*, were created "to broaden the base of citizen participation in the dramatic process and to afford ample opportunities for the citizenry to express their views on important issues."<sup>4</sup>

The present *barangay* structure traces its roots to the pre-Spanish era wherein an average *barangay* consisted of thirty to one hundred houses under a headman called the *datu*. Restructured under the Spanish colonial rule and subsequently referred to as the *barrios*, the *barangays* were eventually maintained as the smallest and most numerous political units during the American period and on through the postwar years. Its revival under Presidential Decree No. 86 extends the system into the urban areas with broadened membership and an expanded role in national affairs.<sup>5</sup> Among its multi-dimensional

<sup>3</sup>These consisted of a survey of forty-three (43) oldtime residents and twenty (20) leader-nominees in the community. The current study is part of a three-city project on basic urban services conducted by the Integrated Research Center (IRC) of the De La Salle University (DLSU). The two other project sites are Cebu City and Metro Manila. The summary objectives for the project is to present a descriptive model of a cooperative management system relying on the joint efforts of the government, private and popular sectors.

<sup>4</sup>Presidential Decree No. 210, June 8, 1973.

<sup>5</sup>Antonio E. Lapitan, "The Barangay System in the Philippines: A Historical Structure with New Functions" In *Papers in Anthropology*. Vol. 19, (No. 2, Fall 1978) Department of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma, p. 76.

functions, Lapitan cites its mobilizational function as the most significant and that which will have the "most revolutionary impact on the future of Philippine policy."<sup>6</sup>

The present-day *barangay* has a minimum of 100 and a maximum of 500 families, with the *pook* (otherwise known as *purok*) as the lowest organizational level. The *purok* refers to a defined street, block, or an identifiable compact neighborhood headed by *purok* leaders. It has its own sets of officers, i.e., a *barangay* captain, six councilmen, and other necessary officials which constitute a *barangay* council. The City Mayor extends his administrative duties and powers to the *barangay* through the deputy mayor who coordinates with the *barangay* captain.

Utilizing the "elitist-pluralist" continuum as a framework for power distribution, various community studies have been made in identifying and describing local patterns of leadership and power. A review of the investigations made reveals that while studies in smaller cities like Baguio and San Fernando report definite trends towards a "pluralistic" type of leadership, the national picture is predominantly "elitist." Strong interlocks in business and political spheres inadvertently result in a rigid pattern of power and influence.

By using variants of the "reputational" and "decisional" approaches, including qualitative methods of network analysis, social scientists have identified diverse types of leadership and alliance systems in both urban and rural settings. Such findings then suggest that leadership is drawn in different contexts — whether in politics, business, education, "fiestas," and the like.

A related observation focuses on the source and permanence of such leadership, e.g., formal relative to informal channels, or whether temporary, cyclical or permanent in nature. In the same manner, the present paper builds on all these from an entirely different perspective, i.e., the use of "assistance-network" approach for identifying power and influence in the provision of basic urban services in a poor community in Davao City.

Initial considerations made in presenting this study focuses on the little systematic research efforts reportedly made in investigating small-group phenomenon and the repeated calls for "wiser," "firmer," more "flexible," and other kinds of leaders in various spheres in society. This study of local leadership thus attempts to provide some understanding of leadership behavior, specifically on the role of leadership in the integration of social action. Its significance is further underscored by the fact that it describes indigenous leadership prevailing in a depressed sector of urban society as it responds to individual and community needs for basic urban services.

### Methodology

The study employs a two-phase research design, that is, an initial phase consisting of interviews with forty three (43) old-time residents based on pre-listing activities and con-

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

sidered as "community knowledgeable" and a second phase focusing on interviews of the top 20 identified leaders in the community. Detailed discussions of each of these two phases follow.

Phase I. Using an "assistance-network" approach rather than strictly the "reputational" approach to arrive at the potential (reputed) leadership of individuals, forty-three old-time residents (living in the area for at least 20 years) of the community were asked to identify whom they considered as the leaders in the community. These same informants were similarly asked to specify their criteria for designating each of the leaders, i.e. why they considered one a leader.

Selected data utilized for this report consist of persons approached during emergency situations (e.g., disasters, fires, floods, etc.), in case of illnesses, diseases, or epidemics, during individual or group conflicts. Questions were similarly raised on the persons consulted for opinion or advice on issues relating to community politics, economic and livelihood issues (including employment), and community projects. Other survey information included three old-time residents' knowledge of influential people in *barangay* politics, the current issues in the community, and the community projects undertaken.

Phase II. The use of the "assistance-network" approach generated a total of 111 nominations, i.e., those individuals identified as leaders by these old-time residents. The frequencies of mention ranged from one leader nominated 46 times to those being mentioned once (81 individuals). Ranking these persons based on overall frequency of mention, the highest twenty (mainly *purok*-leaders<sup>7</sup>) were subsequently interviewed to get a leadership profile of the community.

Selected survey data from these leader-interviews consist of background characteristics (e.g. civil status, age, sex, religion, ethnic origin, educational attainment, length of residence in the area), including data on occupation or means of livelihood, employment status, and income. Other related information focus on their political (and non-political) affiliations and their perceived role in the community. Their perceptions and actions taken on current community issues, i.e. land issue, road improvement, water-intallation, cleanliness and sanitation drives, and crime prevention were likewise obtained.

*Data Analysis.* The present descriptive study utilizes both quantitative (frequencies, means, medians, and modes wherever appropriate) and qualitative methods of analysis. To check for overlaps between the individuals exerting various types of influence and/or assistance in the community, Kendall's coefficient of concordance (for tied ranks) was utilized to determine the presence (or absence) of relationships on the individual rankings based on frequency of mention in each of the different spheres of activity.

*Limitations.* The present study limits itself to the identification of indigenous leadership structure in the provision of basic urban services, including the nature of consultations made available by such leadership on local and immediate issues. Qualitative data are limited to the in-depth interviews of the identified leaders relative to local consultations and individual (rather than collective) expressions of community involvement,

without going into the dynamics of such consultations or participation which would otherwise have been revealed through participant-observation. No comparisons are made between leaders and followers. Finally, this paper is not concerned with the formal wider mechanisms of extending government (or private) assistance to the neglected sectors of urban society, i.e. the local government vis-a-vis Agdao. Nor does it attempt to determine the direct (or indirect) sources of power and influence in extending assistance to members of poor communities, as may be indicated by the presence of political or economic interest groups.

*The Study-Site.* The current study focuses on a six-hectare poor community along Agdao Creek, representing one of a string of settlements hugging the riverbank. Since its inter-*sitio* roads are limited, winding catwalks and plank bridges provide access into the community. Houses are mainly built on low marshy places; the area's proximity to the seashore results in regular flooding, especially during heavy rains. In the absence of any land use plan, there is no order in the location of houses. Dwelling units built too close to each other result in very high density among the slum dwellers. Open spaces, playgrounds, and an efficient water system are expectedly lacking. The community does exhibit a generally shabby and dilapidated appearance.

Agdao Creek has an estimated total of 324 households (3 per cent of total squatter's household in Davao City) as of 1971.<sup>7</sup> A subsequent report during the same year on the total number of families initially to be covered by the Slum Improvement and Resettlement (SIR) Program in Davao City placed a total of 540 families.<sup>8</sup> Eleven (11) *Kapilya* or chapels exist in the area, with the local residents spatially identified based on their chapel-affiliations.

Local leaders are involved in various community affairs, e.g. whether political, religious, and socio-civic in nature. Socio-civic programs responded to include road-improvements, beautification and sanitation campaigns. Non-formal community education for women consist of bi-weekly classes on flower-making, dressmaking, and cosmetology. They are likewise involved in the MSSD-sponsored Day-Care Program and the government assisted "Project Hope" for pre-school children. While the public health center is mainly responsible for the health needs of the residents, the community has a community-based primary health worker, popularly known as the *Katiwala*, five "Barangay Supply Point Officers" (BSPO's) one midwife, and one *hilot*.

As the basic organizations in the community, local chapel associations are generally

<sup>7</sup> *Profile of Davao City 1979*, Vol. 1. City Government of Davao. Davao City. 1979. p. 349.

<sup>8</sup> Ironically, while Agdao Creek has been identified as one of three SIR-priority areas, it has not been the recipient of any SIR-initiated development activities to date. The two others (Piapi-Quezon Boulevard and New Matina) have since then been undergoing the "upgrading-in-place" and "development-of-sites-and-services" — phases of the program.

involved in religious activities, e.g. fiesta-devotions, nine-day prayers for the dead, block rosaries, and the like. A significant function, though is the mortuary aid for the families of deceased community-members. As of this writing, the *barangay* council is reviewing a proposal for a community-wide mortuary assistance under the "Barangay Insurance Plan."

### Socio-Demographic Characteristics

The twenty leaders interviewed reside in different *puroks* in *Barangay* Agdao. Except for one who failed to give an answer, all these identified leaders are married. Sex distribution reveals a 6:1 male-female ratio or 85% males and 15% females. Their ages range from 29 years to 61, with more than half (60%) falling within the 45-54 age-bracket. The median age was computed at 50.2 years.

These leaders are generally of higher educational attainment than the national population, with a mean number of 10.05 years in school. Census data for 1970 reported about three-fourths of the country's population (76.4%) aging 6 years and above being literate.<sup>9</sup> The minimum educational attainment recorded for the leaders interviewed is at least five years of elementary education and the highest (three respondents or 15%) a college education. The single biggest group (seven leaders) have completed a secondary education. More than a third (7 or 35%) have received some elementary and secondary education.

A majority (80%) belong to the Catholic faith, with one claiming to be a "free thinker." Three others failed to mention religious affiliations. The majority (69%) are of Visayan origin, with the rest either from Luzon (13%) or Mindanao (18%). The mean length of residence in the community for these leaders is 20.5 years, with the median at 22.5 years. Thirteen (65%) are long-time residents, i.e., having been in the area for 20 or over, while only seven or 35% have stayed in the place for less than 15 years.

Comparable data from a census conducted in the same year by the Mindanao Development Center (MDC)<sup>10</sup> reveal that these leaders have generally lived for a longer period of time in the area than the average community residents. The MDC census mentioned about ... "61.3% out of a total of 525 households surveyed having lived in their present

<sup>9</sup>Gelia T. Castillo, *Beyond Manila: Philippine Rural Problems in Perspective*, (Ottawa, Ontario: IDRC, 1979) p. 383.

<sup>10</sup>An extension of the Jesuit social apostolate in Mindanao engaged in community organization in Agdao, Davao City.

dwellings for ten years and below, with 33.4% claiming they have been in residence for more than ten years."<sup>11</sup>

Results of the current study reveal similar occupational characteristics among these leaders, as those found in two earlier studies (1972 and 1974) in Davao City.<sup>12</sup> Hackenberg specifically found the lower-class community of Agdao with employers who were exclusively small enterprises and where industrial wages were far below the average for Davao employees.

All leader-respondents in the current study are employed with the single biggest group (50%) being engaged in sales, e.g., lumber dealers, small storeowners, fruit and vegetable dealers. Four are engaged in service-oriented occupations (e.g. a mahjong-den operation, a cook, welder and dental aide). Three others are performing clerical and related jobs. Employees and employers among these leaders are almost equally distributed.

Twelve out of the twenty leaders interviewed (60 per cent) earn a monthly income of P1,500.00 and below, with minimum and maximum monthly incomes recorded at P200.00 and P6,000.00, respectively. Survey data reveal a bimodal pattern of individual income-distribution, at P501-P999 and at P1,501-P2,000 a month. Mean and median monthly incomes are computed at P1,376.45 and P1,082.83, respectively.

Using an earlier definition of poverty by Mangahas and Barros as those households receiving an annual household income of less than P10,000.00<sup>13</sup> (approximately P833 per month), these leaders have income slightly above the poverty line considering that data on incomes commonly refer to individual wages rather than household incomes.

### Political Affiliations

Similar patterns of involvement are observed among the leaders interviewed in the present study. The multi-purpose nature of activities undertaken by the various political,

<sup>11</sup>*Balik-Lantaw*. Vol. 2, No. 2 (June 1982): 11.

<sup>12</sup>Robert Hackenberg, "The Poverty Explosion: Population Growth and Income Decline in Davao City, 1972." *Philippine Planning Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (April 1974), pp. 15-44 and *Fallout From the Poverty Explosion: Economic and Demographic Trends in Davao City, 1972-74*. Davao Research and Planning Foundation. Monograph No. 2. Davao Action Information Center, Davao City, n.d. p. 116.

<sup>13</sup>Mahar Mangahas and Bruno Barros. "The Distribution of Income and Wealth: A Survey of Philippine Research," Discussion Paper 7916, UP School of Economics, 1979. Mimeographed.

social, and religious groups in the community present difficulties in distinguishing the political from the mainly social or religious ones. As with Laquian's findings, "openly political associations," are not prevalent. Thus, asked about their political affiliations, a variety of community associations, including socio-religious ones, are mentioned by the leaders. Except for one, all the respondent-leaders consider themselves politically-affiliated with at least one political group (e.g., the *Barangay Brigade*) while the rest (7) have dual or multiple membership.<sup>14</sup>

The most popular political affiliation for these leader-nominees is the *Tanod Brigade*<sup>15</sup> (invariably referred to as *Barangay Brigade*) wherein *barangay*-based volunteers have assisted in crime prevention, the preservation of public safety, and the maintenance of peace and order. Twelve of the 19 leaders were members of the *Barangay Brigade*, while six singled out *purok* organizations. To a much lesser extent (by one or two leaders), other affiliations mentioned include membership in the "*Barangay Court*," the Lancer's Club, "*Barangay Tanod*," "*Association of Barangay Captain*" (ABC), the Ladies Auxiliary, and the *Barangay Youth Organization*. While these groupings are not political groups *per se*, certain activities of such groups have been known to be political in nature, such as engaging in campaign activities during election periods.

The Lancer's Club was a short-lived male-exclusive organization initially organized in the community in 1975. Its primary objective was involvement in male-type community projects like street improvements. A year after its organization, financial needs and employment priorities led to a gradual participation among the members. To date, it has a total membership of 60 community residents who meet at least once a year (during the Christmas season).

The Ladies Auxilliary is an extension of another local religious organization, i.e. the Santa Cruz Catholic Association. It is designed to strengthen the religious practices among the community members, particularly the women. It mainly sponsors prayer sessions during the week-ends and prayers for the dead. In 1979, it has assumed other roles within the area of human settlements, e.g. assisting the *barangay tanods* or providing local hospitality for government officials or other visitors in the community.

Local youth organizations, otherwise known as the *Kabataang Barangay* (KB), serve as a link between the youth (ages 18-21) and the government. As a development program, it aims to channel the potentials of the young towards development-oriented activities. In the case of Agdao, this organization has been involved in fund-raising activities such as

<sup>14</sup>See Appendix

<sup>15</sup>These are jointly initiated by the Ministries of Human Settlements (MHS) and the former Ministry of Local Government and Community Development (MLGCD). The authority of the Tanod Brigade is defined by the provisions of Presidential Decree no. 520.

benefit dances during weekends and raffles for the improvement of the community chapels. Its members have also helped maintain peace and order in the area through regular patrolling activities. Position-wise, more than half (11) claim to be members in the various associations mentioned. Those who held formal responsibilities (9 respondents) were, at one time or another, "zone commander," *purok* leaders, presidents, and sub-advisers.

### Non-Political Affiliations

Other forms of community involvement by these leaders may be seen in their membership in religious, socio-civic, and related organizations — holding various positions from the presidency to being plain members. Eight leaders interviewed hold formal positions in such religious organizations as the "*Barangay sa Birhen*" and "*Legion of Mary*," four of whom are presidents of the local Catholic associations. Nine others are simple members, while three claim non-membership. Socio-civic affiliations are confined to a few, specifically seven out of the twenty leaders. Four belong to a local settlers' organization, three of whom are holding formal positions. Other affiliations include the Boy Scout Layment Associations, the Lions Club, and the local PTA. The rest (13) do not belong to any socio-civic clubs.

### Positions Held

The political positions held by these leaders range from being the *Barangay Captain* to "zone commanders" of the *purok*-organizations, and others. Non-political positions held consist of the presidency or vice-presidency in local chapel organization, treasurers, secretaries, advisers, etc. Table 2 further reveals the multiple roles played by the group in the community, i.e., being officers or members with at least four individuals being both an officer and member in one or two organizations.<sup>16</sup>

Looking back at these leaders' organizational affiliations, one notes the high level of political participation by the group vis-a-vis the other area, with at least eleven holding official positions. A possible explanation may lie in the significant government efforts towards increasing *barangay* consciousness throughout the country in the past years, utilizing the pervasive *barangay* structure to encourage interest and participation on the grassroots level, even in a depressed community like Agdao.

<sup>16</sup>See Appendix.

In summary, this section has provided a brief profile of these leaders in the community. They are married and predominantly of the Catholic faith. While male-leaders outnumber the females at a six-to-one ratio, they are involved not only in such "male-type" organizations as the *barangay* brigades, local settlers association, and the like, but also in such "female-oriented" groups as the local chapel associations. They generally consist of the older community members (with mean age at 48.5 and median at 50.2 years). Most of them have had at least some secondary education (mean of 10.1 years) which is relatively higher than those of the general Davao City populace. They are old-time or long-time residents in the community, with the mean length of residence at 20.5 years, and more than half having been there for 20 and more years. Finally, their occupational and income characteristics classify them as single proprietors (e.g., lumber-dealers, small store-owners, fruit and vegetable dealers) and belonging to a group which is at least above that roughly defined poverty threshold (with mean monthly income at P1,376.45).

#### Spheres of Influence, Community Assistance and Consultations

Given the dearth of basic urban services particularly in poor communities, to whom do these dwellers turn for help? What are the sources of local assistance in a depressed and neglected community like Agdao? As discussed in the initial section, a total of 111 individuals were nominated in eleven different areas of assistance and/or influence. These include sources of local community assistance (during fires, floods, personal conflict, epidemic, and other emergency situations) and individuals consulted on local politics, economic and livelihood issues. Other indicators used included their perceptions on emerging opinion leaders and leadership in community projects.

Utilizing the elitist-pluralist continuum, the high number of nominations (111) would then suggest the existence of a pluralist-type of leadership in the different spheres of assistance and consultation. A closer look of the data, however, reveals otherwise. Of the total 111 individuals nominated, 73 percent (81 nominees) were mentioned only once. Such persons may aptly be described as "spurious" rather than serious community leaders. The distribution of nominations of the remaining thirty nominees are likewise widely dispersed. Twenty-five individuals were mentioned from two to eight times with the top five nominees receiving from as much as 22 to 46 nominations.

Except for those mentioned only once, thirty individuals were subsequently ranked based on frequency of mention in each of the different spheres. Kendall's coefficient of concordance  $W$  (for tied ranks) was utilized to determine the presence or absence of rela-

tionships between various rankings.<sup>17</sup> The higher an individual is ranked (or more frequently mentioned) in one area, the more likely will he be highly ranked (or more frequently mentioned) in the others. Noting the steep drop in the frequency of nominations received by each leader-nominee (especially in the first and second groups) in the various spheres of influence, survey results indicate the presence of a "core group" of local influentials. The top five nominees were mentioned from 22 to 46 times, with a "middle" and "bottom" – level of influentials – having been nominated from four to eight times (12 nominees) and two to three times (13 nominees) respectively. Re-casting the data into these three distinct groups of local influentials, reveals the top nominees having been nominated two-and-a-half times as much as the "middle" – group and five times that of the "bottom."

Area-wise, leadership and assistance during fires, floods, group conflicts, epidemics, and emergencies appear to be the most extensive for the three groups taken together. The total number of nominations is 1.6 times higher than those indicated in the second most popular activity-local politics. Utilizing individual rankings based on the absolute frequencies indicated earlier, the average number of nominations per person in each area of concentration is presented in Table 1.<sup>18</sup> The top nominee consistently receive the highest number of nominations per person in 111 spheres of influence.

Local *barangay* politics appear to be the most distinct area of concentration for all nominees, whether belonging to the top, middle, or bottom-groups. The second and third significant areas of influence for both top and middle-level nominees alike -- are during natural disasters (e.g., fires, floods, epidemics, etc.) and in community projects, respectively. The top nominees differ from both the middle and bottom-level groups in their fourth area of concentration, namely on economic and livelihood issues, while both the middle – and bottom groups are concerned with emerging opinion leaders. Finally, there is an apparent switch in their final sphere of influence, i.e., top nominees focusing on emerging opinion leaders and the other two concerned with economic and livelihood issues.

Assigning rank-values for each area of concentration for each nominees, there is a general concentration on local *barangay politics*. Four out of the five nominees are popularly identified in local *barangay politics* while one nominee (i.e., the *Barangay Tanod* Leader A) is most felt in areas of mutual assistance.<sup>19</sup> The second area of concen-

<sup>17</sup>The computed value of  $W = .40^1$  ( $\chi_1^2 = 42.56$ ,  $df = p .01$ ) indicates a positive though moderate relation between the rankings, i.e. the presence of overlapping of the individuals exerting various type of influence and/or assistance in the community. Yielding a chi-square value of 58 relative to a tabular chi-square value of 42.56.

<sup>18</sup>See Appendix.

<sup>19</sup>See Table 2 in the Appendix.

tration for nominees 1, 3 and 4 focus on community disasters. The barangay captain is noted for economic and livelihood issues while the fifth nominee, for community projects. Finally, the old-time respondents regard two of the five top nominees as emerging opinion leaders in the area.

### The Key Influentials

This section brings into focus the top five nominees described earlier — their specific areas of concentration as perceived by the old-time respondents, formal and informal positions in the community, employment characteristics, including their past and current community involvement. Absolute frequencies of nominations in the different areas of concentration for these top-five nominees reveal their significant influence during natural disasters, on local politics and community projects — in that order.

The foremost nominee is a 58-year-old *purok*-leader chapel president who appears to be of considerable influence in all three areas. In-depth interviews revealed that he has lived in the community for the past 25 years and is the stock-supervisor of a near-by saw-mill company, engaging in small lumber-deals to augment his income. He has assisted community members during such emergencies as epidemics or in settling family or neighborhood disputes. While no floods or fires have occurred in his immediate area, he has helped solicit assistance from local welfare agencies or the local *barangay*, including organizing local surveillance teams ("*ronda*") for fire prevention.

Other community involvements consisted of initiating the construction of fences in line with the beautification and cleanliness program of the city. Fencing materials were distributed free to indigent families. However, due to the numerous arson threats and constant fears of relocation, the beautification campaign has not gained wide acceptance in the community. As local chapel-president, he has spearheaded fund-raising activities for chapel-improvement, including the upgrading of the chapel-site by soliciting filling materials during the 1982 *barangay* elections.

The barangay captain is likewise an old-time resident, having lived in the area for the past 32 years. He has been holding the key position in the *barangay* for the last 14 years (1968 to 1982) and has been politically linked with the previous city administration.<sup>20</sup> He is likewise a marine-officer and the president of a local seamen's and laborers' association. He has been mainly involved in improving the peace and order conditions in the entire community, organizing the residents (mainly street corner gangs) to provide local security.

Infrastructure-related activities consist of the construction of the *barangay* hall on

<sup>20</sup>A new *barangay* captain has been elected during the 1982 *barangay* elections.

government-owned land, with assistance from the city government, and road construction. The latter has provided access to an isolated coastal part (Agdao Beach) of the community utilizing funds from both the city government and the *barangay*. Through *bayanihan* efforts, the *barangay* high school was established. Water installations were provided for the interior sections of the community (i.e., Jerome, Del Rosario Village, Agdao Beach, and San Juan). Asked about the current land-issue, the leader-nominee explained that permanent land titles are not available for the residents, merely squatters' rights.

Interestingly, the third key-influential-*Purok* Leader A is a recent arrival in the community, e.g., only for the last four years. He is a self-employed lumber dealer and is closely linked to the *barangay* captain. He is a member of the *Barangay* Court, and he acted in the capacity of both the *barangay* captain and the *barangay* judge three months before the May 1982 *barangay* elections.<sup>21</sup> As Chairman of the local board of the Rural Improvement Club (RIC), *purok* Leader A is preoccupied with the local nursery school "Project Hope" for children ranging from five to six years old. The project assists children in their early socialization process and initiates them in reading, writing, and drawing skills. Other activities includes re-activating a local Catholic association and acting as adviser for a youth organization. In addition to "Project Hope," *purok* Leader A has also assisted in soliciting used clothing and money for the fire victims last February 1983.

The *barangay tanod* leader — as the fourth key-influential — is a self-employed lumber-dealer. Having been in the community for the past twelve years, he is both an assistant chairman for the *Barangay Tanod* and "zone commander" in one *sitio*. He has likewise been appointed as "*teniente del sitio*" for two districts within the community under the revised *barangay* structure.

He has since initiated the establishment of local brigades, *ronda*, for security and fire prevention in the community. However, local support for these brigades has been minimal in the absence of any serious threat to the community lately. His other activities include issuing permits for public dances in his area (each permit costing approximately P5.00) and road construction in the interior area of the *barangay* in 1982 (approximately 150 meters in length and 30 meters in width). Local community support was provided in terms of free labor and refreshments.

He has provided assistance during two natural disasters — the fire in Agdao Beach in February 1983 and the tidal wave in Sto. Niño in September 1982. He has assisted in the evacuation of the victims to the local chapels and abandoned wooden shacks in an adjacent lumberyard. Possible relief measures were subsequently discussed with the *barangay* council e.g. relocation and housing needs of fire victims and soliciting relief aid from local welfare agencies.

<sup>21</sup>He has since been appointed as *barangay* secretary for the last three months when the incumbent *barangay* captain filed an indefinite leave of absence.

The fifth of the top nominees was a *purok* leader before the 1982 barangay elections and is currently a *purok* coordinator under the new *barangay* administration. He is self-employed and engaged in a buy-and-sell activity of metals and scissors. His community involvement included organizing local brigades and assisting in road improvements using *barangay* funds. He has noted the lack of enthusiasm and active support among local residents in the latter. His other recommendations to improve the chapel through contributions from the members were similarly not supported.

### Local Assistance

Differences are to be noted in the concentration of nominations by specific areas of activity. The subsequent discussions focus on such variations. Having been in the community for a minimum of twenty years, the respondents are presumed to have sought the assistance of others in the past, particularly in their needs for basic urban services. These situations or occasions include assistance during fires, floods, group conflicts, epidemics, and emergency situations. The nineteen individuals mentioned more than once are listed. The top four nominees, i.e. two *purok* leaders, the *barangay* captain, and one *barangay tanod* leader, are nominated from 14 to 20 times, while the rest (15 respondents) are mentioned much less (from two to nine times). It is interesting that one *purok*-religious leader is consistently mentioned on each occasion and ranks highest based on the total number of times he was approached for help. The *Barangay* Captain ranks third based on the overall frequency of mention. Along with the male-dominated list of nominees, some women were included.

### Consultation on Community Issues

In some instances, the residents have to consult or seek the advice of others regarding certain issues. Among those topics are community politics, community projects, economics, and livelihood issues. While the *barangay* captain is identified with the political administration, the community is not identified with any single political faction. In-depth interviews revealed, instead, that the residents belong to a number of political parties, e.g. KBL, NP-wing, and non-partisan groups. It appears that such an absence of political unity has worked negatively for the community, with the old-time residents claiming that the "local formal leaders have not done anything for the community," and still others attributing the same to the lack of *barangay* funds. Some respondents further claim that interaction with local leaders have been confined to the securing of permits for holding benefit

dances.

Discussion of issues relating to economics and livelihood reveal both a degree of individualism and helplessness on the part of the residents, i.e. believing that "economic problems are best solved on the individual level" ... other than through the local leadership. One instance provided is the application of KKK-loans by individual residents for which no concerted group effort is known for its favorable action by the local authorities. At least twelve individuals appear to have been consulted more than once by the old-time respondents regarding a variety of issues in the past. The *barangay* captain appears to be the most frequently consulted person relative to all three issues with the *purok* leader-chapel president following closely.

*Barangay Politics.* To probe deeper into the nature of political leadership prevailing in the community, the respondents were requested to name the persons considered to be the most influential in *Barangay* politics. The *purok* leader-chapel president is consistently mentioned highly as before, having been nominated by more than a fourth (28%) of the old-time residents. The second person mentioned as frequently (*Purok* Leader B) was cited by only half as many (14 percent), with the *barangay captain* a close third. The first five persons considered influential in barangay politics were similarly reported earlier as being consulted on issues pertaining to community projects. It appears then that the specialization of area leaders tends to contribute positively to their general influence.

*Opinion Leaders.* Both the oldtime residents and top leader-nominees interviewed are not generally familiar with the emerging opinion leaders in the community, given the limited response in this area. The old-time residents mentioned six individuals as emerging opinion leaders, three of whom were already nominated earlier as influential people in the *barangay* politics of the area: one *Barangay Tanod* Leader, one *Purok* Leader, and a local chapel president. Except for one nominee identified by both old-time residents and the top leader-nominees, the latter mentioned eight other residents perceived as potential opinion-leaders. Apparently there is no strong consensus on emerging opinion leaders in the area, i.e. with four nominees being mentioned only twice and the rest once.

### Leadership in Community Projects

A cursory view of Table 3 reveals that the old-time respondents' awareness of their leaders' activities are limited to those which are visible, e.g. road and chapel-improvements, and beautification (five, three and two leaders, respectively).<sup>22</sup> The rest are in-

<sup>22</sup>See Table 3 in the Appendix.

variably described as having assisted in the installation of a public water-system and lighting posts, bridge-repairs, and the establishment of a vocational school.

On the other hand, interviews with the leader-informants reveal that discussions were held in the past regarding community problems. The leaders were subsequently asked to identify the various issues or problems in the area, including the corresponding activities initiated to help solve them. These leaders appear to have limited knowledge of community issues with the majority (60 percent) identifying at most two issues. The issues mentioned were then ranked according to their self-perceived degree of importance, i.e. rank "1" for the "most important," rank "2" for the "second most important" and so on. Table 7 contains the leaders' perceived ranking of these issues.<sup>23</sup>

Sanitation appears to be the most important issue in the community, having been mentioned by nineteen of the twenty leaders interviewed. Such perceived priorities may be explained by the presence of the heavily-polluted Agdao creek which has served as the main drainage and garbage disposal system in the community. In a related manner, water as a prerequisite for sanitation, appears to be the second most popular issue (55 percent) based on the absolute frequencies of ranking given though it was only ranked fourth in importance.

Economic problems (e.g., unemployment and low incomes) appear to be the second most important issue perceived, (with a mean rank of 1.5), followed closely by the land problem. One notes that while the community is generally known as a haven for criminal elements in the city, petty crimes are assigned a low priority by the leader respondents. In-depth interviews revealed an attitude of tolerance and indifference towards local criminal elements seeking refuge in the area. In some instances, such individuals act as local mediators during neighborhood disputes to discourage the intervention of local police forces in the community.

Taking such perceived priorities within the context of Davao City, such needs follow closely the local government's own list of priorities derived from a series of district barangay leaders on their respective community needs. In a year-end report provided by the city executive,<sup>24</sup> infrastructure-related activities were similarly given top priority, i.e. repairs of city roads and streets, city cleanliness and beautification. The nine-month old local administration likewise embarked on an intensification of the government's program for health, sanitation, water supply, school-buildings, lighting, communications, and other facilities in an attempt to improve the livelihood and quality of life of the people.

In an attempt to allow the individual *barangays* to respond directly to their own local

<sup>23</sup>See Table 7 in the Appendix.

<sup>24</sup>"State of the City Report." Davao City. 1982 16 pp. (Typescript).

needs, the city government has allocated P15,000 for each of the city's 117 *barangays*.<sup>25</sup> *Barangay* Agdao utilized such funds for the maintenance of the feeder road which served as the main access into the community. The desire for more "Project Hope" classes throughout the city and its districts has similarly been expressed by the local administration. Such a priority recognizes the need to augment the educational opportunities of pre-school children of families who cannot afford expensive kindergarten schools. Finally, the community's perceived priorities correspond to at least one of the three goals specified under city planning, i.e. to provide the essential facilities and services in order to meet adequately the increasing demand for local services in terms of health, education, sanitation, infrastructure, and public safety.<sup>26</sup>

The issues having been identified, the leaders were asked to cite the various actions personally initiated to solve them. The high level of responses on the sanitation issue is one indicator of the seriousness of the problem in the community. As mentioned earlier, the area is traversed by Agdao creek which empties out to Davao Gulf. In the absence of basic urban services like drainage and garbage collection, the creek has served as a poor substitute for such needs by the residents. One can only infer an attitude of self-help and individualism among the leaders themselves inasmuch as no mention is made regarding submitting the problem to local government officials. Except for two leaders who have not done anything at all regarding the unsanitary conditions in the area, those who have (17) confined themselves to informal campaigns on the need for cleanliness and proper waste and garbage disposal. Fears of relocation have resulted in a general attitude of indifference among the residents. No significant projects are thus undertaken to improve drainage facilities and environmental sanitation.

To solve their waste problem, eight leaders claim that NAWASA water service (though limited) have been installed, with the rest of the community purchasing water for domestic use from those households with NAWASA installations. All five leaders mentioning the land-problem claimed that a petition has been filed by local residents to own the land presently occupied. In-depth interviews conducted further reveal that representatives from the National Housing Authority (NHA) have made an ocular survey of the community, identifying and listing the houses for relocation in the northern section of Agdao. Their present site has been earmarked for the extension of the Agdao public

<sup>25</sup>Based on Resolution No. 209, Ordinance No. 89. Series of 1981. *Republika ng Pilipinas, Lungsod ng Dabaw. Tangapan Ng Sanguniang Panglungsod.*

<sup>26</sup>The other two being related to appropriate zoning policies and increased productivity of local industries.

market.<sup>27</sup>

Crime preventive measures have likewise been undertaken in the community. These have consisted of regular patrolling activities by the *Barangay Brigades*, local investigations by *purok* leaders on gambling and petty thefts, and surveillance of known criminals in the community. There is apparently no concerted attempt on the part of these leaders to help alleviate the economic difficulties confronting the residents. Survey data reveals the single response to be negative, i.e., no action has been taken to solve it — despite the knowledge that it is a prevailing issue in the community.

What views do these leaders entertain for the future? What projects or activities do they envision for the improvement of life in the community? Survey findings reveal that while plans were identified, those related to infrastructure, again, are most popular, e.g., beautification and fencing of the area, upgrading of inter-sitio roads and establishing either a basketball court, an assembly area or a reading center. A limited group mentioned plans for improving the local nursery school "Project Hope," with an equal number expressing their desire for permanent residency in the area.

### Summary and Conclusions

This paper is an exploratory investigation of formal and informal leaders in the provision of basic urban services in a slum community in Davao City. It presents a descriptive analysis of local influence and mutual assistance as indigenous attempts to meet various community needs as fire and flood protection, water and lighting facilities, and consultations on local issues, among others. It thus identifies and describes the political, religious, and socio-civic networks as local change agents in the development process.

Briefly stated, the community leaders of barangay Agdao are typically the "small people" described in similar studies in rural communities. They are mostly males, married, of the Catholic faith, and have received at least some secondary education. They generally consist of the senior members of the community, both in age (usually in their forties) and in residency (having been in the area for approximately 20 years). Occupation-wise, they are single-proprietors (e.g., lumber-dealers, *sari-sari* storeowners, fruit and vegetable dealers) and earn incomes slightly above that defined as the poverty threshold.

<sup>27</sup> One city official subsequently interviewed revealed that the proposed relocation site is about less than a kilometer away from their present residences and hence, will not mean a substantive change in their present location. A mini-industrial estate has likewise been planned in front of the proposed relocation area to provide employment opportunities for the local residents.

Such characteristics are distinctly similar to those of local influentials described in Makil's earlier study<sup>28</sup> which included Davao City. Age characteristics, particularly, lends support to Laquian's<sup>29</sup> 1969 findings in Barrio Magsaysay of community leadership held by relatively older people. As in most traditional communities, leadership qualities appear to be associated with age. Likewise, the nature and type of leadership presented by these local leaders resemble that identified by Hollnsteiner in discussing six modes of people's participation in the planning and management of human settlements.<sup>30</sup> Consisting of ward leaders, community relations officers, or neighborhood chairmen, these local leaders act as representatives of the people and serve as legitimizing forces for programs drawn outside the community.

While 111 nominations were given in eleven spheres of influence and assistance, a core-group of five local leaders were significantly nominated from 22 to 46 times. These top nominees have overlapping influences in the community — specifically in barangay politics, areas for mutual assistance, and community projects, in that order. Such overlaps would then serve as the basis for identifying the group as closer to the "elitist" — and of the continuum as a framework for the distribution of community power and influence.

The nature of organizational participation expressed by these leaders reflect the dominance of a politically-based leadership, with the top nominees holding the formal political positions, e.g., the *Barangay* Captain, three *purok* leaders, and one *barangay tanod* leader. Similar patterns are observed for the middle — and bottom-level nominees. (Due consideration is likewise given the fact that these leaders similarly hold key positions in religious-based organizations, particularly the local chapel associations). Such seeming paradox of Agdao with a traditional politically-based power structure amidst a progressive and dynamic city like Davao may partly be explained by the distinctly rural migrant-origins of its residents — the "rurban" slum as a "zone of transition" aptly described as a distinct element in the process of "Pseudo-urbanization."

At the same time, the community issues identified in *Barangay* Agdao are similar to those described in other studies of depressed communities, e.g., better on-site services such as the need for piped water and improved drainage facilities. The desire for employment and the sheer lack of basic necessities and money eventually reflect among others, a

<sup>28</sup> Perla O. Makil. "IPC/PAASCU Study of Schools and Influentials, 1969-70." Report prepared for 1969-70 informants. Institute of Philippine Culture. Ateneo de Manila University. 1975. (Mimeographed).

<sup>29</sup> Aprodicio A. Laquian. *Slums are for People*. College of Public Administration. University of the Philippines. Manila 1969.

<sup>30</sup> Mary R. Hollnsteiner. "People Power: Community Participation in the Planning and Implementation of Human Settlements." *Philippine Studies* 24 (1976). p. 12.

pragmatic scale of priorities by local leaders. One notes, however, that the nature of activities taken in solving community-wide issues are mainly peripheral and temporary in nature. It thus reflects the limited participation of leaders and the mass populace in undertaking projects with a wider and more significant impact in the community. The limited perceptions given on the land-problem suggest that these local leaders do not have full control of the decisions for the community.

On the other hand, considering the political-cum religious-based leadership structure, these leaders may well serve as legitimate conduits for urban change and development. To say the least, the pattern of community assistance provided (e.g., during fires, floods, epidemics, etc.) and activities undertaken (e.g., beautification, sanitation, etc.) do reflect specific instances in which community resources are harnessed, thereby government and civic agency programs "trickle down" to the grass roots level. As lower-level bureaucrats, these local elites constitute a network of individuals with overlapping power and influence in day-to-day community problems. They then appear to be a viable group in mobilizing local residents for various activities, directing the neighborhood affairs and acting as spokesmen to higher authorities. Such inferences are closely related to those by Vancio and Fernandez in their use of network analysis, i.e., identifying political leaders, among others, as effective rural change agents in family planning. In the same vein, these local leaders serve as informal channels for the provision of basic urban services supplementing the more formal network of public utilities.

In the final analysis, while there is a general lack of consensus among both the old-time residents and the top-level nominees as to emerging opinion leaders in the area, the existence of a core-group of local influentials present possibilities for institutionalizing a cooperative and participatory approach in the provision of basic services and facilities in depressed communities like Agdao. Dialogues between local administration and the community itself are commended in plan formulation and management of local community affairs. In the case of Agdao, possibilities for cooperative management may be explored between the local government and community residents working through the barangay as the basic political structure and eventually down to the *purok*-levels. Considering that Agdao is an integral part of Davao City, serious attempts should be made to increasingly draw the community into the mainstream of local development efforts.

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TABLE I

AVERAGE NUMBER OF NOMINATIONS PER PERSON  
FOR EACH AREA OF CONCENTRATION

Type of Nominees	Mutual Assistance	Local Politics	Econ. & Livelihood Issues	Community Projects	Emerging Opinion Leaders
Top	3.04	5.10	1.40	2.30	0.40
Middle	0.53	0.71	0.17	0.42	0.33
Bottom	0.17	0.35	0.08	0.19	0.15

<sup>1</sup>Computed as follows: 
$$\frac{\text{Absolute Frequencies}}{\text{No. of Categories} \times \text{No. of Nominees}}$$

## APPENDIX

TABLE 2

AVERAGE NUMBER OF NOMINATIONS OF  
TOP NOMINEES PER AREA OF CONCENTRATION<sup>1</sup>

TOP NOMINEES		AREA OF CONCENTRATION				
No.	Designation	Mutual Assistance	Local Politics	Econ & Livelihood Issues	Community Projects	Emerging Opinion Leaders
1.	Purok Leader-Chapel President	4	9.5	1	3	—
2.	Barangay Captain	3	6.5	4	2	—
3.	Purok Leader A	3.6	4.5	1	1	—
4.	Barangay Tanod Leader A	2.8	1.5	1	3	1
5.	Purok Leader B	1.8	3.5	—	2.5	1

<sup>1</sup> Computed as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Absolute Frequencies}}{\text{No. of Categories per Area}}$$

TABLE 3

PERSONS CONSULTED OR THOSE WHOSE OPINIONS  
ARE SOUGHT ON CERTAIN ISSUES

Designation of Persons Consulted	Community Politics	Economic and Livelihood	Community Politics	Total	Overall Rank
		F	F		
Barangay Captain	9	4	4	17	1
Purok Leader/Chapel-President	7	1	4	12	2
Purok Leader A	5	1	2	8	3
Barangay Tanod Leader A	1	1	1	6	4
Purok Leader B	2	—	3	5	5
Chapel-President B	2	—	1	3	6
Purok Leader C	1	—	1	2	9.2
Asst. Barangay Brigade Leader	—	—	2	2	9.2
Barangay Tanod Member A	—	—	2	2	9.2
Purok Leader D	1	1	—	2	9.2
Purok Leader E	1	—	1	2	9.2
Brigade Chief	1	1	—	2	9.2
TOTAL	30	9	24		

TABLE 4

INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE IN BARANGAY  
POLITICS IN THE AREA

Name <sup>a</sup>	Number	Percentage <sup>b</sup>
Purok leader-chapel President	12	28
Purok leader B	5	14
Barangay Captain	4	12
Purok leader A	4	9
Barangay Tanod Leader A	2	5
Asst. Barangay Brigade Leader	2	5
Barangay Tanod Member A	2	5
Chapel President C	2	5
Barangay Brigade Member C	2	5

<sup>a</sup>Single and multiple responses.<sup>b</sup>Based on total number of respondents (i.e. 43).

TABLE 5

## EMERGING OPINION LEADERS IN THE COMMUNITY

Emerging Opinion-Leader	By Old-time- Nominees (No.)	By Leader Nominees (No.)	Total
Tanod Brigade Member	2	—	2
Chapel-President A	2	—	2
Barangay Tanod Leader A	1	1	2
Purok Leader B	1	—	1
Community Member A	1	—	1
President of Youth Organization	1	—	1
Chapel-Vice-President	—	2	2
Chapel President B	—	1	1
Lumber-Foreman	—	1	1
Asst. Purok Leader	—	1	1
Purok Leader-Chapel President	—	1	1
Youth Leader-KB Chairman	—	1	1
Chapel Vice-President/Businessman	—	1	1
Youth Leader-KB Vice-Chairman	—	1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>18</b>

TABLE 6  
COMMUNITY PROJECTS CROSS-CLASSIFIED BY LOCAL LEADERS

Designation of Leaders	Projects									No. t
	1 <sup>a</sup>	2 <sup>b</sup>	3 <sup>c</sup>	4 <sup>d</sup>	5 <sup>e</sup>	6 <sup>f</sup>	7 <sup>g</sup>	8 <sup>h</sup>	9 <sup>i</sup>	
Purok Leader B	1		1				1		1	4
Asst. Purok Leader/Brgy. Tanod Leader				1	1					2
Purok Leader/Chapel Pres.		1								1
Brgy. Tanod Leader A	1									1
Asst. Brgy. Leader		1								1
Brgy. Tanod Member	1									1
Purok Leader H	1									1
Chapel Vice-President		1								1
Others <sup>j</sup>	1		1			1			1	
Total	5	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	

<sup>a</sup>Filling up of soil in the streets.

<sup>b</sup>Improving the chapel.

<sup>c</sup>Beautification.

<sup>d</sup>School of dressmaking.

<sup>e</sup>School of hair science&make-up.

<sup>f</sup>Installation of water system for public use.

<sup>g</sup>Repairing the bridge.

<sup>h</sup>Project Hope-Kindergarten school.

<sup>i</sup>Installation of lighting posts.

<sup>j</sup>Include one community member, the wife of the city mayor and "community residents" (2Rs).

TABLE 7  
KNOWLEDGE OF COMMUNITY ISSUES

Number of Community Issues Mentioned	No.	Percentage
One	2	10
Two	12	60
Three	4	20
Four	2	10

TABLE 8  
LEADERS' PERCEIVED RANKING OF COMMUNITY ISSUES

Ranking of Current Community Issues	RANKING					F	% <sup>c</sup>	Mean Rank
	"1"	"2"	"3"	"4"	"5"			
Sanitation	15	4	—	—	—	19	95	1.21
Water	2	7	2	—	—	11	55	2.00
Land	2	2	1	—	—	5	25	1.8
Crime (gambling/snatching, vandalism)	—	2	3	1	—	6	30	2.8
Economic (unemployment)	1	1	—	—	—	2	10	1.5
Others <sup>b</sup>						3	15	
TOTAL						46		

<sup>a</sup> Includes single and multiple responses — from "most important" issue perceived by R. (Rank "1") and so on.

<sup>b</sup> Consists of issues mentioned only once, e.g. light, vandalism, illiteracy and increasing family size.

<sup>c</sup> Based on total number of leaders (20).

TABLE 9  
ACTION TAKEN FOR COMMUNITY ISSUE

Type of Issue	Action Taken			Total
	Yes	No	NA	
Sanitation	17	2	—	19
Water	11	—	—	11
Land	5	—	—	5
Crime (gambling, snatching, vandalism)	5	1	—	6
Economic (unemployment, poverty)	—	1	1	2
Others <sup>1</sup>	2	1	—	3

<sup>1</sup>Lighting facilities, illiteracy, large families.

TABLE 10  
ACTION TAKEN FOR COMMUNITY ISSUE

Action Taken For Each Issue:	No.	%
<b>A. Sanitation</b>	19	100
Yes:		
Initiate cleanliness and reminding people to avoid throwing their waste just anywhere	(9)	(45)
Leaders tell the people about the danger of poor sanitation	(3)	(15)
People burn their waste	(4)	(20)
No answer	(1)	(5)
No:		
People continue throwing their waste in the creek due to the limited area where they live	(2)	(10)
<b>B. Water</b>	11	100
Yes:		
Request NAWASA to improve/extend water services within the area	(8)	(73)
People have resorted to buying their drinking water	(3)	(27)
<b>C. Land</b>		
Yes:		
People have filed a petition to own their land	(5)	(100)
<b>D. Crime</b>		
Yes:		
Prevention of crime by efficient patrolling of the Brgy. Brigade	(2)	(40)
Minimize gambling and snatching through investigations by purok leaders	(1)	(20)
Surveillance of known criminals	(1)	(20)
No:		
People will always find ways to continue their gambling	(1)	(20)
<b>E. Economic</b>		
No:		
Economic problems throughout the area/people could hardly avail of education/Difficulties in making both ends meet	(2)	(100)
<b>F. Others</b>		
Yes:		
Implementing FP-methods	(1)	(33.3)
Request for electrical services	(1)	(33.3)
No answer	(1)	(33.3)

TABLE 11  
FUTURE PLANS FOR THE COMMUNITY

Future Plans <sup>a</sup>	Frequency
Beautification/Fencing of the area	8
Improvement of Project Hope "Nursery School"	4
Permanent Residence in the area	4
Upgrading of inter-sitio roads	3
Maintenance of peace and order in the area	2
Establish a basketball court	2
Others <sup>b</sup>	7
TOTAL	30

<sup>a</sup>Single and multiple responses (30 responses in all)

<sup>b</sup>Includes the desire to limit housing in the area, to make the community a barrio site, establish an office for general assembly meetings, develop the area into a fishing ground, free medical treatment and check-up, a reading center and other fund-raising activities.