

CASE 2
REQUIREMENTS FOR GOVERNANCE IN
A POVERTY-REDUCTION PROJECT
LOCALIZING THE CIDSS PROGRAM IN BALETE,
AKLAN
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1. INTRODUCTION

Many development practitioners hold that strong involvement of the community and of local governance institutions increases the effectiveness of poverty-alleviation projects. Community involvement is important because the community is usually better at identifying the main problems of its poor and pinpointing solutions. However, it is not as easy to recognize those aspects of local governance that result in better anti-poverty programs. In some cases, local governments might even hinder efforts to improve the living conditions of the poor, especially when corrupt or misguided local officials capture community institutions and use them for their profit.

This case study discusses the experience of the municipality of Balete, Aklan Province, in running the Comprehensive and Integrated Delivery of Social Services (CIDSS) program of the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). CIDSS is part of the so-called 'convergence strategy' for poverty alleviation.¹ It belongs to a basket of projects that include Agrarian Reform Communities, certificate of ancestral domain communities, and other communities of the basic sectors such as farmers and fisherfolk. Aklan considers itself the first local government unit in the country to localize CIDSS implementation mainly through local funding.

This study uses both primary and secondary data. The case study writer interviewed key informants from among local government officials, including the provincial governor, the provincial planning and development officer, the provincial social welfare and development officer, the municipal mayor, the municipal social worker, the municipal planning and development officer and the CIDSS worker. A second series of interviews was conducted among the constituents of the municipal CIDSS program

¹Projects under this 'convergence strategy' involved large groups of community members. Under the Ramos administration, these projects also were referred to as 'flagship' projects because they were assigned as priority activities of various Cabinet members.

(see Appendix IV). Interviewed were barangay officials, members of local peoples organizations, beneficiaries of the CIDSS projects and direct implementers of the programs. A conference was held to verify the findings of the case study (see Appendix V for a list of participants). Data on the CIDSS program and the state of governance and politics in the municipality were obtained from the Municipal Planning and Development Office, the Municipal Social Welfare Office and the Provincial Social Welfare and Development Office.

1. MUNICIPALITY PROFILE

Physical and Socio-Economic Description

Balete is a fifth-class municipality located 17 kilometers from Kalibo, the provincial capital. It has a population of 21,200. The town has an agricultural economy. Its main produce are palay and corn, coconuts, fruits (particularly cashew, papaya and pineapple), root crops (particularly, cassava), abaca, and ramie. In 1998, Balete produced 4,600 metric tons of palay (5% of provincial production) and 2,750 metric tons of coconuts (10% of provincial production). Of Balete's total land area of 13,200 hectares, about 8,000 hectares are used for palay and coconut production. Only 83 hectares are covered by national irrigation systems.

Politics and Governance in Balete

Teodoro Calizo Jr. formulated the vision and mission of the municipality when he became Balete mayor in 1998. The vision states that Balete "by the year 2003, should become a socio-economically stable, ecologically balanced, educated, peaceful and a God-fearing community." The municipal government is committed to provide agricultural technology, livelihood assistance programs and infrastructure support. It wants to encourage formal and informal education, and ecological preservation projects.

A number of municipal offices were devolved as a result of the Local Government Code of 1991. These included the Departments of Health, Social Welfare and Development, and Agriculture. All staff members in these offices received full-time positions in the municipality. Balete could afford to do this because the internal revenue allotment (IRA) it received from the national government increased significantly. IRA grew from P9.6 million in 1997 to P15.8 million in 2000, resulting in an increase in the municipality's public income from P10.2 million to P16.5 million. However, this was not accompanied by a proportionate increase in revenue from local resources. Sources of non-IRA income declined from 5.4% in 1997 to 4.2% in 2000. Like many municipalities in the Philippines, Balete still depends on the national government for resources. Not

surprisingly, Balete has always had an annual deficit (over P1 million during some years).

Table 1. Number of Municipal Government Personnel, 1999

Office	No. of Positions	Admin./ Elected Posts	Technical Posts
Executive	67	18	49
> Organic	45	14	31
> Devolved	22	4	18
Legislative	14	13	1
Total	81	31	50

Source: Interview with Bufv Biliones (2000).

Table 2. Municipal Government Income and Expenditures, in Current Pesos, 1997-2000

	1997	1998	1999	2000
Income	10,168,190	12,135,525	13,945,382	16,470,490
IRA	9,626,007	11,619,525	13,327,289	15,778,750
Expenditures	11,354,689	12,830,938	15,306,219	16,915,328
Surplus/ (Deficit)	(1,186,499)	(695,413)	(1,360,837)	(444,838)
% of income from IRA	94.6	95.7	95.6	95.8

Source: Provincial Budget Office (2000).

2. NATURE AND DESCRIPTION OF THE POVERTY-ALLEVIATION PROJECT

Poverty Situation and Recent Poverty-alleviation Initiatives in Balete

Aklan is among the top 20 provinces with the highest per capita incomes in the country. In 1997 per capita income in Aklan was P7,700 per annum (in 1985 real figures), nearly 19% higher than the national average of P6,500 for that year. The level of per capita income from agriculture and non-agriculture sources is similar to provinces of comparable population sizes. Income transfers from domestic and foreign sources are high, however, indicating that a sizable proportion of Aklanons live outside the province and regularly send money to their families.²

The relatively higher per capita income has not translated into improved quality of life. A large proportion of the population is poor and their 'quality of life' outcomes are meager. Poverty incidence was 33.4% in 1994, low compared with the national figure. Majority of households derives their income from agriculture. The literacy rate is at average of all provinces. Only a quarter of the population graduated from high school and less than 10% graduated from college. Water coverage is the lowest in the province while health facilities are below standard (see Appendix I).

²According to the 1997 Family Income and Expenditure Survey of the National Statistics Office (NSO), each Aklanon household received P9,277 and P4,958 respectively in remittances from foreign and domestic sources. The national averages for that year were P8,414 and P2,568 respectively.

The life expectancy index is below the national average. According to the Human Development Network (1996), which made the earliest Minimum Basic Needs (MBN) survey in 1995 based on provincially-aggregated data, health and sanitation conditions in Aklan are lower than average.³ The implication was that both the public and the private sectors make insufficient investments in social service infrastructure.

According to the MBN survey of the municipality, the basic needs that remain unmet are income and livelihood, food and nutrition, basic education, health, and water and sanitation. The percentage of households that reported their needs not being met are as follow: access to potable water (65%); children below 5 years attending pre-school (62%); no deaths due to preventable causes (63%); family members other than head of household not employed (56%). A large proportion of households also considered themselves as having incomes below subsistence level (40.6%), although this was not among the top 10 problems.

Table 3. Human Development Indicators, Aklan Province

Indicator	Value	Provincial Rank
Life Expectancy (1994)	63.8 years	
Functional Literacy (1994)	83.0 percent	
Real Income Per Capita (1994)	16,806 pesos	
Human Development Index		
- 1994	0.605	45 th
- 1997	0.652	42 nd
Poverty Incidence (1991)	0.368	
Illiteracy Rate (1990)	8.3 percent	
Infant Mortality Rate (1991)	54.7 per 1000 births	
Malnutrition Rate (1991)	24.7 per 1000 children	
Min. Basic Needs Index (1995)	0.6212	47 th

Source: Monsod and Monsod (1998).

Table 4. Top 10 Unmet MBN Indicators, Municipality of Balete, 1996.

Indicator	% of Households Reporting
1. Families without access to potable water	64.5
2. Family affected by natural disaster	63.9
3. Deaths due to preventable causes	62.5
4. Children 3-5 years old not attending school	61.6
5. Other family members other than head unemployed	56.1
6. Diarrhea episode of child less than five years old	55.8
7. Underweight newborn babies	53.9
8. Underweight children under five years old	52.9
9. Family member victim of armed conflict	51.7
10. Family member not involved in people's organization	51.1

Source: Province of Aklan (1996).

³The MBN is an index consisting of nine 'quality of life' indicators. It is different from the 33-indicator survey of the DSWD. For details, see Presidential Commission to Fight Poverty (1996).

There have not been many local anti-poverty programs in Balete. When the Ramos Administration launched the Social Reform Agenda (SRA) in 1996, the municipality started several poverty-alleviation initiatives, including environmental education and social forestry by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources, livelihood training by the Department of Trade and Industry, supplemental feeding for school children by the Department of Education, Culture and Sports, and reduction of malnutrition among infants by the Department of Health (see Appendix III). A Municipal Technical Working Group (MTWG), chaired by the municipal planning officer, coordinated these projects. Members included representatives of the municipal social welfare, agricultural and health offices, and the DECS district office. The MTWG had several meetings from 1997 to 1999, the period when the SRA was very active. The MTWG became much less active after that period, according to key informants.

Implementing CIDSS in Balete

The CIDSS program was carried out in Aklan in April 1996 at the request of Aklan Governor Florencio Miraflores. The governor believed that CIDSS could increase the province's pool of resources for social projects. CIDSS attracted him because it had many features similar to the projects he handled when he was an officer of the Ministry of Human Settlements (MHS) under the Marcos administration. Aklan actually did not meet the poverty criteria of the DSWD when Governor Miraflores first proposed it for CIDSS assistance. In Panay Island, only Antique province met the criteria. Governor Miraflores met with DSWD Secretary Lina Laigo, who is an Aklanon, and convinced her to include Aklan. She agreed on two conditions: one, that the provincial government would do an MBN survey at its own expense, and two, that it would provide counterpart funds and support for the project.

Selecting pilot barangays. The provincial government released P500,000 from its IRA for the MBN survey, which was done in June 1996 for all municipalities. The provincial branch of the National Statistics Office (NSO) also provided subsidies, as part of its commitment to the SRA. The provincial government mobilized barangay health workers and barangay nutrition scholars to do community census. The Provincial Planning and Development Office, with help from the National Statistics Office, coordinated the survey, which was completed in October 1996.

Following the survey, the provincial government selected pilot CIDSS municipalities. They included Balete and Altavas on the eastern side of the province, and Ibajay and Buruanga on the western side of the province. These were not necessarily the most needy municipalities, according to the provincial planning officer,

since the poorest municipalities in Aklan were those farthest from the capital, Kalibo.⁴ It should be mentioned that the hometowns of the governor and vice-governor were among the pilot communities.⁵

The provincial government hired two persons with social work experience to manage the projects in Ibajay and Balete. It assigned two other social workers already in its employ to Buruanga and Altavas. Three barangays in each of the municipalities were chosen as pilot areas.

In Balete, the CIDSS pilot program started by analyzing the MBN profile of all 10 barangays. Subsequently, three barangays – Morales, Calizo and Fulgencio – were chosen as pilot barangays because of their large population size and their access to the provincial highway. This last was an important requirement to the CIDSS organizers because it would make it easier to supervise the projects.⁶ Owing to this requirement, the two poorest barangays in Balete, namely, Barangays Oquendo and Guanko (which had the highest number of households reporting lack of employment and incomes below the subsistence level), were not chosen as pilot sites.

Among the top five basic needs of the three pilot barangays, the most common related to income and livelihood, including the lack of employment for members other than the household head and incomes below the subsistence level. In addition, Bgy. Calizo suffered from inadequate pre-school facilities and underweight children. Bgy. Fulgencio lacked access to potable water. Bgy. Morales lacked health facilities, especially for fighting diarrhea and mortality-causing diseases. In summary, the MTWG found that the top unmet MBNs of these barangays were lack of incomes, lack of education, and lack of nutrition and sanitation.

With help from the provincial government, Balete asked barangay officials to do an updated MBN survey in 1998. The local NSO office provided funding assistance and technical support in installing a data monitoring board in each barangay; it also trained barangay officers in community-based information systems. Part of the requirements after training was for barangay officials to display the results of MBN surveys in their barangay halls.

⁴A list of family names submitted by the Office of the Provincial Planning and Development Coordinator to the National Anti-Poverty Commission (NAPC) for inclusion in the NAPC's "Lingap para sa Mahihirap" project included households from these five municipalities: Malay, Buruanga, Altavas, Libacao and Nabas (interview with Mr. Renato Bautista, February 24, 2000).

⁵Separate interviews with the provincial administration and social welfare authorities have confirmed this. Bgy. Ibajay also has the largest number of voters outside of Kalibo.

⁶Some local officials said there might have been political considerations in the choice of barangays. Both Barangays Calizo and Fulgencio have large numbers of voters. However, it should be noted that CIDSS managers found it hard to carry out and monitor projects in the poorest barangays because these barangays were very remote. For example, Barangays Oquendo and Guanko could be reached only by walking for 4 to 5 hours on foot (interview with Ms. Jean Yatar, Municipal Social Welfare and Development Officer, March 6, 2000, and with workers at the Municipal Health Office, March 7, 2000).

Table 5. Top Five Unmet MBN Indicators, by CIDSS Pilot Barangays, 1996.

CALIZO	FULGENCIO	MORALES
1. Access to potable water	1. Assistance in natural disaster	1. Health services for solo parents
2. Pre-school facilities	2. Employment for household members other than head of family	2. Occupational safety for child laborers
3. Assistance in natural disaster	3. Incomes above subsistence level	3. Access to family planning service
4. Incomes above subsistence level	4. Access to potable water	4. Employment for household members other than head of family
5. Facilities for underweight children	5. Employment for head of family	5. Facilities for children with diarrhea

Source: Municipality of Balete (1996). See Appendix VI for details.

Community-based development planning. Capability-building seminars began in August 1996. There were two phases. The first was a 3-day workshop for barangay officials, including the barangay captain and barangay councilors (*kagawads*), health workers and nutrition scholars. They received an orientation on the CIDSS and then guided in making a community development plan (or a listing of development projects from a menu developed by the DSWD), based on the MBN surveys. They also chose the 100 poorest families in their barangay that would be beneficiaries of projects provided under the CIDSS. In the second phase, people from among the 100 poorest families were invited to participate in validating the results of the MBN survey and comment on the community development plan. At the same time, they received an orientation on the CIDSS and its role in poverty-alleviation. Conducted in the barangay hall or daycare centers, all capability-building seminars were completed by December of the same year.

Pilot CIDSS projects. During the first year (1997), CIDSS projects in the pilot municipalities included the construction of daycare centers, supplemental feeding, and education assistance. Bgy. Calizo completed construction of its daycare center in 1997, while Bgy. Fulgencio began construction its center during the year. The barangay captain and the CIDSS officer in these barangays opened joint bank accounts, where funds for the construction were deposited. As their counterpart, barangay officials provided the labor. Barangay officials also planned the basic layout of the building. Funds were also released for the construction of a daycare center in Bgy. Morales (completed May 1998). Bgy. Fulgencio would develop its proposal for a daycare center a year after.

A total of P31,000 of CIDSS funds was released to the three barangays in Balete to buy basic commodities, such as rice. The money augmented municipal subsidies to the poor. Among those supported was a supplemental feeding project in Bgy. Fulgencio,

supervised by the barangay nutrition scholar and implemented by a volunteer mother, for second- and third-degree malnourished children. This project started in August 1997 and ended in February 1998. Vitamin and mineral supplements were distributed to these children. A nutrition education and food demonstration seminar was also held to teach mothers how to prepare meals that met minimum daily nutrient requirements.

The CIDSS fund was also used for education assistance, particularly to buy school uniforms, classroom materials, and books for school children belonging to some of the poorest families in the pilot barangays. They included 72 students, mostly at the primary level in Bgy. Morales.

Micro-credit project. Among the CIDSS projects was a micro-credit scheme called "Self-Employment Assistance Kabuhayan" (SEA-K), which was patterned after the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh. Like Grameen, most of SEA-K's beneficiaries were married women who were organized into credit support groups of five members each. SEA-K members underwent a workshop on values orientation and how to prepare simple business project proposals. After the workshop, members met every month to organize themselves into credit groups. They developed project proposals under the supervision of a CIDSS worker, who consolidated these proposals into a 'mother' proposal. It took about five months after each workshop for members to finalize their proposals. During this period, they were required to contribute P20 each a week to a group savings fund as a requirement for loans.

Micro-lending activities under SEA-K began in 1998 in Barangays Calizo and Morales, with a combined total of 55 women members (the project took longer to launch in Bgy. Fulgencio because of initial disagreements among the community people⁷). The provincial governor himself handed over the credit funds to SEA-K members in formal ceremonies at the provincial capitol. Once they received signed credit vouchers, beneficiaries had to submit weekly status reports to the CIDSS worker. They also prepared and submitted monthly reports during their group meetings.

Many of the SEA-K projects involved small-scale trading (sales of agricultural produce in the municipal market), expansion of operations of *sari-sari* (small retail) stores, tricycle operation (the center of the barangays were located at some distance from the national highway), and the purchase of agricultural inputs.

Institutionalizing the CIDSS projects. From 1997 to 1999, the total amount invested by the DSWD in pilot CIDSS projects in

⁷Projects in Bgy. Fulgencio were hindered by difficulties in choosing beneficiaries. Historically, Bgy. Fulgencio had been divided into two divisions, North Fulgencio and South Fulgencio. If a project were carried out in North Fulgencio, residents of South Fulgencio expected a similar project in their area (interview with Mr. Dennis De Los Santos, February 24, 2000).

Balete reached P1.5 million. Most of the funds allocated in 1999 -- about P200,000 -- were for building a water-impounding project in Bgy. Calizo (barangay officials planned to begin construction by summer 2000). Other government agencies provided a total of P907,000 during this period for other poverty-alleviation projects.

The municipality had a yearly memorandum of agreement with the provincial government and the DSWD field office in Iloilo. Under this agreement, the municipality would give administrative support to the CIDSS worker, including use of municipality facilities and vehicles for meetings, site visits, follow-up, and monitoring of pilot projects. Starting 2000, the provincial government was supposed to have turned over the cost of paying the salary of a full-time CIDSS worker and other project costs to the municipality. The regional office of the DSWD also absorbed another CIDSS worker paid by the province and assigned this worker to CIDSS projects in Aklan.

In the agreement signed February 2000,⁸ Balete agreed to assign its social work and development officer to monitor CIDSS projects. The provincial government and the DSWD would continue to provide most of the project funds for new projects. For the year, the DSWD and the provincial government committed funds for another water impounding project in Bgy. Fulgencio and the construction of additional daycare centers. For its part, Balete would tap its development fund to share in the cost of electrification projects.

As a whole, CIDSS projects in Balete are considered successful. The DSWD regional office recognized the quality of CIDSS implementation in Balete by choosing it as the best project in the 1998 SRA-CIDSS regional year-end evaluation. Balete was presented as a case study in the April 1999 CIDSS National Evaluation and Social Mobilization workshop in Manila.

Table 6. Summary of Key Events in CIDSS Program

Year	Key Events
1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MBN survey implemented in Aklan; base-line survey implemented in Balete - CIDSS worker hired (Ms. Teresa Delfin) for Balete - Capability-training seminars in Calizo, Fulgencio and Morales
1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Construction of day care center in Calizo - SEA-K training seminars in Calizo and Morales - Supplemental feeding in Morales - Food and education assistance and MBN survey in all barangays - Resignation of CIDSS worker and hiring of new CIDSS staff (Mr. Dennis de los Santos)
1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SEA-K projects in Calizo and Morales; SEA-K training in Fulgencio - Day care center in Fulgencio and Morales

⁸Parties in the agreement explained that localization was necessary to concretize the implementation of Executive Order 443, an order issued during the Ramos administration that authorized the decentralization of the implementation of the SRA -- and thus the CIDSS (interview with Roger Feliciano, Municipal Planning and Development Officer, March 7, 2000).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supplemental feeding in Fulgencio - Food and education assistance and MBN survey in all barangays
1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proposals for water-impounding project in Calizo - Youth and male parents training in Calizo - SEA-K proposal in Fulgencio; Day-care center proposal in Morales - Education assistance in Fulgencio
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Localization of CIDSS; assumption of CIDSS activities by municipality - Water-impounding construction in Calizo - Expansion of CIDSS in Morales

Main Features of the Project

Design. CIDSS projects in Balete were designed to respond to the social service needs of the community, especially in education, health and sanitation, nutrition and livelihood, as part of an over-all strategy to reduce poverty. Projects catered mainly to the 'traditional' social sectors, such as women, children, youth, senior citizens and persons with disability. Admittedly, the projects addressed short-term welfare needs, although the hope was that they eventually would have enough momentum to become long-term solutions to local poverty.

Results of the MBN surveys and the resulting community development plan guided the design of the CIDSS projects. A clear example was SEA-K, which was prominent in all pilot barangays because of the priority they placed on income-generating activities. Perceived community needs determined the general type of CIDSS intervention; the actual mechanics of the intervention were already set. In the case of SEA-K, CIDSS required that these be of the Grameen-type.

Social preparation of project beneficiaries was a main requirement before projects could be carried out. Values education (including sessions on the importance of community organization) served to change long-held attitudes and beliefs, and were given mainly to encourage beneficiaries to become self-sufficient.

CIDSS also required counterpart contributions from the community. Women-beneficiaries of the livelihood projects had to save a small amount every week for five to six months before their project proposals could be approved. The budget for daycare construction was enough only for materials; the barangay had to contribute the labor.

Implementation. In Balete, the provincial government -- not the DSWD regional office -- initiated the program. Balete opted to be guided by the provincial leadership. The barangay development plans were important roadmaps. In theory, barangay leaders were responsible for carrying out CIDSS projects since they were better situated to understand the needs of their constituencies. In practice, CIDSS workers had plenty of discretion in terms of project planning and implementation. Before the DSWD office in Iloilo could allocate project funds, for example, the CIDSS worker had to

develop and submit a project proposal for approval.⁹ Only when funding became available did barangay officials start becoming directly involved in the project. Only barangay officials and beneficiaries who had undergone capability training at the start of a project could participate in the project.

In Balete, as in many CIDSS areas, projects were implemented through barangay committees. Kagawads who were in charge of barangay livelihood projects were assigned to SEA-K projects. Those in charge of education activities were made responsible for providing classroom materials for the daycare centers. In Bgy. Calizo, the kagawad in charge of infrastructure projects was made responsible for construction of the daycare center. He even personally contributed his labor to the project.

Monitoring. Projects were supposed to be monitored through regular MTWG meetings, although in practice, much of the monitoring work was done by the CIDSS worker. He coordinated barangay project meetings and helped each of the beneficiaries. He also helped barangay officials determine how they could effectively implement the project, and when necessary, provided oral reports to the mayor and social work office. The DSWD project evaluation officer in Kalibo also performed some monitoring tasks. As the highest-ranking department staff member in the province, she was required to endorse project proposals to the regional DSWD office. She also assisted in determining the types of proposals that would get higher priority, based on amount of funding available.¹⁰ In turn, she had to coordinate with the provincial social welfare officer for funding assistance from the provincial government.

The type of project determined the kind of report prepared. Beneficiaries of livelihood projects had to submit progress and financial reports on how they used their loans. For the water-impounding project in Bgy. Calizo, barangay officials had to submit a report of completed construction. Every year, the CIDSS worker, together with the municipal social welfare officer, submitted a summary evaluation on the impact of the project using a municipal survey form.

The MBN survey was also used to monitor CIDSS projects. Changes in the different indicators could partly reflect the socio-economic impact of the projects. Each pilot barangay was required to have a community data board containing the results of the MBN

⁹According to the municipal social worker office, some important CIDSS projects were not approved because project proposals got misplaced in the regional office (second interview with Ms. Jean Yatar, March 8, 2000).

¹⁰For example, Ms. Calizo, apparently in consultation with the regional office, determined which of the SEA-K credit groups would be eligible for a second round of funding, which included loans of higher amounts (P10,000 to P25,000, compared with an average of P5,000 in the first round) for housing improvements (focus group discussion with Bgy. Morales SEA-K beneficiaries, February 23, 2000).

so that community people would know the poverty situation in their barangay and check on the progress of the projects.

Results of the Poverty-alleviation Project

Changes in MBN indicators. According to MBN surveys made from 1996 to 1998, there were some changes in the proportion of households reporting unmet basic needs and the composition of the top unmet needs among the different barangays. The most significant were in the number of households reporting severely and moderately underweight children under five years old and those with children under five years old not receiving daycare or pre-school education. As of the latest survey in 1998, these indicators disappeared from the top 10 unmet indicators (see Appendix VII).

Table 7. Top Five Umet MBN Indicators, by CIDSS Pilot Barangays, 1998

CALIZO	FULGENCIO	MORALES
1. Access to potable water	1. Assistance in natural disasters	1. Participation in organizations
2. Employment opportunities for household members other than head	2. Employment opportunities for household members other than head	2. Employment opportunities for household members other than head
3. Employment opportunities for head of household	3. Employment opportunities for head of household	3. Incomes above subsistence level
4. Incomes above subsistence level	4. Incomes above subsistence level	4. Pre-school facilities
5. Health care services for solo parents	5. Access to potable water	5. Employment opportunities for head of household
Source: Municipality of Balete (1998). See Appendix VII for more details.		

The construction of barangay daycare centers reduced the problem of the lack of pre-school facilities in the three barangays. These centers were located near barangay halls, which were accessible to most residents. The supplemental feeding projects helped to bring down the number of underweight children during the survey period.

There was little improvement in employment opportunities for household heads, employment opportunities for household members other than heads, and incomes above subsistence level. These indicators remained at the top of the list of unmet needs in the 1998 MBN survey. The SEA-K livelihood project was a main feature in all of the pilot barangays. However, the number of beneficiaries was still too small to make a measurable impact on the entire barangay. According to a focus group discussion with SEA-K participants, they experienced improvements in income due to higher coconut prices in 1999 but the increase was marginal. Beneficiaries reported income increases of from P50 to P100 because they used the micro-credit to expand their small

businesses. However, they reported that the extra earnings merely supplemented the total incomes of their households.

In terms of the education projects, they did not significantly reduce the number of households with children not attending school. The figure for this was already very low in the baseline MBN survey. One explanation offered was that the education projects did not cover tuition, daily transport and food expenses,¹¹ items that accounted for a large proportion of household education expenses.

The list of other unmet needs included the lack of access to water facilities. Although several water impounding facilities were planned in the barangays, not one was completed during the period. Another unmet need was the lack of nutritional supplements for pregnant or lactating mothers. A third unmet need was the lack of participation in community organization.

Increased interaction among barangay members. The CIDSS projects used existing barangay structures, mainly the barangay committees. According to one kagawad, committee meetings were spent talking mostly about the CIDSS projects. Beneficiaries said their barangay officials became more 'visible' to them. There was enhanced community interest in projects.

Training for leadership. New organizations surfaced as a result of the CIDSS projects, including women's group under the SEA-K, youth employment groups, male parent groups, and associations of mothers of children who attend the daycare. Many of the beneficiaries had never run an organization before but were encouraged to facilitate meetings and decisions on how to allocate resources for their projects.

3. TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN BALETE

Program Design and Implementation

In the table below, a score of either 1, 0.5, or 0 indicates strong presence, neutral presence or weak presence, respectively, of a factor contributing to good poverty-alleviation program design and implementation.

Table 8. Factors in Improving Program Design and Implementation

Factors	Score	Explanation
1. Focused Targeting	1	- Existence of MBN survey to focus on neediest communities and households - Selection of project beneficiaries based on neediest households
2. Clear Linkage to MBN Continuum	1	- Consistent use of the MBN framework to gauge community needs
3. Clear Policy	0.5	- CIDSS program is based on a national

¹¹The subsidies covered a small clothing and book allowance for school children.

Table 8. Factors in Improving Program Design and Implementation

Factors	Score	Explanation
Framework		framework of convergence in poverty alleviation - However, limited by the lack of clear anti-poverty policy in the provincial and municipal levels
4. Clear Implementation Plan	0.5	- Creation of the barangay development plans at the start of the program - However, the plans were not used consistently throughout the program life
5. Convergence and Collaboration of Efforts among Stakeholders	0.5	- Creation of provincial and municipal technical working groups to coordinate poverty-alleviation projects; however, meets rarely
6. Appropriate Social Preparation of the Community	1	- Presence of capability training seminars for barangay officials and project beneficiaries - Presence of preparatory meetings between beneficiaries before project is implemented
7. Transparent and Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation	0.5	- Project reports made during the project beneficiary meetings and barangay and sitio assemblies - Beneficiary assessments are informal and not included in final project evaluation
8. Facilitative Bureaucracy	0.5	- Tacit, but not outright, support of the local government

Note: 1=strong presence 0.5=neutral presence 0=weak presence

Focused targeting. Identification of the poorest families in the pilot barangays helped the projects target truly needy households. This resulted in decreasing the proportion of households with unmet needs. At the start, barangay leaders and community workers chose the 100 most needy households based on the baseline MBN survey. From this list, beneficiaries for each CIDSS project were chosen. Beneficiary households with unemployed members were included in the SEA-K project. Those with children suffering from malnutrition were included in the supplemental feeding project. However, one can speculate that the impact on the municipality might have been different if political considerations did not come into play in the choice of pilot barangays. Barangays Guanko and Oquendo the two poorest barangays in Balete, were not pilot areas. By 1998, the number of households with unmet livelihood and employment needs in these barangays remained the highest in the municipality.

Links with MBN framework. CIDSS projects employed the MBN index as their framework. The MBN survey proved to be an important tool for systematically identifying and analyzing community problems and proposing solutions. The validation exercise with barangay officials, which resulted in a barangay development plan, also assisted in identifying the community's top unmet needs. The public posting in every pilot barangay of MBN information kept community members updated on the socio-economic status of their barangay.

Clear policy framework. In Balete, CIDSS projects followed a clear national convergence policy framework. This meant that communities gained consistent access to basic services and resources. In many cases, the community participated in managing the delivery of these basic services. Access to basic services and resources raised the poor's capacities through improved health, nutrition, education, skills, credit, and public utilities. This empowered them to engage in gainful economic activities.

What the municipal government in Balete did not have was a local anti-poverty policy framework that could have integrated with the national framework. For example, the municipality had no specific poverty-reduction targets. It merely stipulated that its main goal was to increase agricultural productivity since it believed this would result in greater poverty reduction. Because a local framework was absent, the role of the CIDSS projects in Balete's over-all anti-poverty program was not clear. Opportunities to maximize or give value-added to CIDSS projects were not exploited. This was the case with the SEA-K credit program, which could have benefited from an already existing livelihood training program of the Department of Trade and Industry in the municipality (see Appendix I).

Clear implementation plan. Barangay development plans were prepared at the initial stage of the project. These plans served as roadmaps for carrying out anti-poverty projects in the community. They also clearly delineated the responsibilities and accountabilities of each CIDSS stakeholder. Barangay development plans were not updated regularly, however, although the pilot barangays conducted yearly MBN surveys.

Convergence and collaboration of efforts among stakeholders. Unfortunately, the CIDSS worker had little formal coordination with other local agencies. Although he was the lead coordinator of the CIDSS projects, he was not part of the municipal technical working group (MTWG) formed when Balete was carrying out activities under the Social Reform Agenda (SRA) of the Ramos administration. In any case, the MTWG was largely inactive at the time of the case study since most SRA projects had already been completed.

Social preparation. Both barangay officials and project beneficiaries underwent capability-building workshops. These workshops helped them to understand the objectives and mechanics of each project. A few beneficiaries even took over some of the functions of the CIDSS worker after the training, including supervision of the weighing of infants, construction of daycare centers, and planning the distribution of credit assistance. In addition, there were formal and informal orientation sessions on

each CIDSS project in order to explain its contribution to the community's over-all poverty alleviation strategy.

Transparent and participatory monitoring and evaluation. On an individual project basis, especially in the livelihood program, beneficiaries implemented an evaluation and planning exercises to assess the impact of the project in the community. But no barangay-wide evaluation of CIDSS projects was undertaken as there are no formal mechanisms for evaluation and monitoring. The CIDSS worker (and now the social welfare officer) undertook the municipality-wide evaluation of CIDSS projects and their comments were sent to the DSWD regional office. There has been no feedback of their evaluation from the DSWD.

Facilitative bureaucracy. The municipal government can be described as a 'benign' implementor of the CIDSS program. While local officials were verbally supportive of the whole program, the mayor and local planning officer had only cursory knowledge of the project and had to be briefed by the local social welfare officer on the project details. Thus, while CIDSS projects were encouraged, there was no strong ownership on the part of the municipal government and counterpart support (in terms of resources nor personnel) was minimal.

On the other hand, the CIDSS worker and municipal social welfare officer had no political interference from municipal and barangay officials in the choice of projects in the community and on project beneficiaries. Although the choice of pilot barangays may have been partly a result of political choice, they had encountered no intrusion in the choice of project participants or in the design of the project. They had complete autonomy in project implementation.

Community Factors that Affected Project Implementation

Tenacity and dedication of the CIDSS worker. CIDSS projects in Balete have been widely praised by the DSWD regional office for the quality of project implementation, due mainly to the efforts of CIDSS worker Dennis de los Santos. He stayed several nights a week in the barangays to monitor the projects and get feedback from the community. He participated in nearly all meetings of the barangay committees implementing the CIDSS. He had the respect of municipal and barangay officials. Because of his performance, the DSWD regional office hired Mr. de los Santos to supervise CIDSS projects in the whole province.

Counterpart resources provided by the community. To increase the sense of project ownership of the barangays, the CIDSS program explicitly asks them to provide counterparts, either in cash or in-kind (such as manual labor). According to project beneficiaries, part of their satisfaction with the CIDSS projects

owed to their large stake in the projects. Because of this strong sense of project ownership, they carefully watched over the use of project resources.

Direct release of funds to beneficiaries. Among the positive design features of CIDSS was the absence of an intermediary between the CIDSS regional office and the barangay in the handling of funds. This increased the cost efficiency of projects by reducing administrative and transaction costs. This also removed from the province and the municipality the added bureaucratic burden of financial administration.¹²

Lack of unity among project beneficiaries. Many of the projects in Bgy. Fulgencio, such as the SEA-K livelihood project and water impounding facility, were delayed because barangay officials and the CIDSS workers could not agree on the site for these projects. In terms of land size, Bgy. Fulgencio was the largest in the municipality. Beneficiaries in the northern part of Fulgencio would not have easy access to a project if it were located in the southern part.¹³ In time, barangay officials and other community leaders were able to negotiate agreements on where to locate CIDSS projects.

Limited funds. It was difficult to find resources for large projects, such as water and electricity facilities, even if these ranked high in the list of unmet needs of pilot barangays. The priority of the regional DSWD office was to distribute funds to as many barangays as possible. On the average, only one large priority project was implemented every year.¹⁴ Since CIDSS had been ongoing for only a short period, it was not surprising for barangay officials to say that their barangays still had many unmet needs.

No criteria for sustainability in projects. Although the CIDSS approach emphasized the importance of community self-help, it might actually have worsened some poverty conditions in the pilot barangays because of the methods used. For instance, the infant feeding project in Bgy. Calizo was discontinued after six months partly because infant weights had improved and funds had become depleted. Shortly after the feeding project was stopped, the local health office reported cases of infants reverting to moderately underweight status. CIDSS also tended to emphasize the end result instead of the process of community participation that led to

¹²As the provincial planning coordinator remarked, "this [direct funding of beneficiaries] has reduced the role of the province to coordinating the poverty plans among different municipalities" (interview with Mr. Renato Bautista, Provincial Planning and Development Coordinator, February 23, 2000).

¹³The CIDSS worker said that, in the past, there were 'disagreements' between residents of the northern and southern parts of the barangays over the location of development projects (interview with the CIDSS worker, Mr. Dennis de los Santos, February 23, 2000).

¹⁴On the other hand, this may be considered an advantage, as this approach tries to provide a long 'learning curve' for barangays to manage their own projects.

the result. The CIDSS monitoring report also might have reinforced this view.¹⁵

Lack of capability building. The municipal social welfare officer continued to rely on the former CIDSS worker for developing project proposals for submission to the regional DSWD office. Although the two continued to coordinate during regular meetings, the social welfare officer said she needed to improve her skills so that she could deal directly with the DSWD regional office.

Change in the national government's anti-poverty focus. With the change in national leadership, the Social Reform Agenda gave way to the "Lingap para sa Mahihirap" program under the National Anti-Poverty Commission. The new program de-emphasized the role of institutions that used to monitor anti-poverty projects. In Balete, the MTWG became inactive with the result that the provincial offices of national agencies coordinated with one another less and less.

Good Governance Factors Affecting Anti-poverty Efforts in Balete

Table 9. Governance Factors for Successful Anti-poverty Projects

Governance Factor	Score	Explanation
1. Leadership	1	- Presence of provincial governor in setting-up CIDSS program
2. Accountability	0.5	- Regular reports on project outputs available to community members and beneficiaries - Lack of substantial decision-making in the development and design of poverty-alleviation
3. Transparency	0.5	- List of project beneficiaries and project funds open to general public and project beneficiaries
4. Responsiveness	1	- Barangay and sitio assemblies are important source of feedback of needs of constituents - Residents may direct their feedback to mayor's office and other municipal offices
5. Participation	0.5	- Consultative mechanisms through barangay and sitio assemblies present; PO-NGO members present at local special bodies - However, PO-NGOs have not made substantial inputs to municipal-level programs
6. Interdependence	0.5	- There are coordinative mechanisms to ensure programs and projects at the municipal level are connected, but these are informal
7. Continuity and Sustainability	0.5	- The mayor continued projects from the previous administration; but there is a greater emphasis on agricultural projects
8. Adequate Resource Mobilization	0	- National government funds primarily build-up the CIDSS projects; there is very little local counterpart, except coming from project beneficiaries
9. Efficient and Professional Capacity	0	- The CIDSS worker had been doing most of the work; little counterpart from LGUs in terms of poverty project planning and implementation - The LGU staff has expressed the desire for training

¹⁵ This problem was discussed among CIDSS implementors in the provincial social welfare office as one of the main limitations of the program (interview with an anonymous provincial social welfare staff, March 6, 2000, Kalibo).

		programs for planning, implementing and monitoring poverty-alleviation projects
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Note: 1=strong presence 0.5=neutral presence 0=weak presence

Leadership of the provincial and municipal LGUs. Provincial government support for poverty-alleviation projects was crucial in the continuing sustainability of CIDSS in Balete. This support was especially crucial during the early stages of the CIDSS pilot projects. Had Governor Miraflores not pushed for the program, it would not have been sustained given the changing poverty policy framework of the national government. Governor Miraflores's experience as an MHS project manager also made it easy for him to understand the rationale and methodology of the CIDSS. The province assigned a full-time employee to monitor CIDSS projects.

For its part, the municipality also provided CIDSS workers with support, including an office in the local social welfare unit. The CIDSS worker worked in tandem with the municipality's social welfare officer and enjoyed broad powers to link with other municipal and barangay officials in the implementation of projects. The municipal government also increased its share of resources for food and education assistance projects.

Accountability. According to municipal and barangay officials, there were enough mechanisms in the local government structure to ensure that local officials remained accountable to their constituents. Local officials gave regular reports on CIDSS results and other socio-economic projects during barangay and sitio assemblies. They answered questions from the community on how these projects were faring. Nongovernment organizations, such as farmers groups and communal irrigation associations, were present when projects were discussed. Community leaders and beneficiaries maintained financial records of projects and reported these during meetings.

However, it should be noted that, in contrast to the regular reporting of CIDSS projects, there was little effort to develop accountability for a broader range of socio-economic programs in Balete. This hampered the development of an integrated and broad-based poverty alleviation program that could anchor CIDSS and other socio-economic projects in the community.

Transparency. Most barangay officials and the CIDSS officer were very transparent in reporting on the status of CIDSS project funding. This reduced suspicions regarding possible misuse of funds. The community people knew how their counterpart contributions were being used. The list of project beneficiaries was always open to public discussion and was, indeed, discussed often during barangay general assemblies. Barangay leaders believed

this openness reduced envy and suspicion among community members.

Responsiveness. Use of the MBN framework in gathering poverty information in the community helped prepare the list of projects in the pilot barangays. The self-perceived needs of the community also became part of the baseline data used to determine CIDSS projects. Barangay officials and other community members requested the mayor to fund other projects outside of the CIDSS program. When funding allowed it, some of these projects were implemented.

Participation. Although there were consultative mechanisms, community members actually had very little input to the design of a CIDSS project. This was because peoples organizations in the pilot barangays did not have sufficient participation in project implementation. The CIDSS worker and barangay officials opened themselves to questions from the community. This did not result in substantive suggestions from stakeholders on the design and implementation of projects. Most of the peoples organizations in the pilot barangays were developmental in orientation and had very little experience in advocacy. At the municipal level, the mayor had discretionary powers over the allocation of local government funds.

Compliance and continuity. CIDSS started in Balete when Mayor Calizo was still vice-mayor and even then, he already supported it. As mayor, he provided CIDSS with greater support. For instance, he made possible substantial increases in funding for projects of the Municipal Social Welfare and Development Office.

Interdependence and co-management. Barangay officials, municipal officials and the CIDSS workers had good cooperation. Joint implementation of CIDSS in Balete improved the knowledge and skills of barangay officials in administering projects and eased the work load of the CIDSS staff and the municipal social welfare officer. Unfortunately, the absence of dynamic peoples organizations in the community meant the absence of watchdog agents in the community. One result of this was that the municipal government did not feel compelled to think of a strategic anti-poverty plan.

Adequate resource mobilization. CIDSS projects depended entirely on national government funds. Project beneficiaries provided counterpart funds, in cash or in kind (such as labor for infrastructure projects), but this comprised only a small portion of total project costs. The municipal government provided some direct resource support for the projects, mostly cash assistance for households in emergency situations. However, even if the CIDSS were devolved to the municipality, there was no planned regular allocation for CIDSS projects in the municipal budget. This was

because municipal officials believed that the resources from the national government were sufficient for financing the program.

Efficient and professional capacity. There was no organized system to improve the service orientation of the municipal and the barangay government, although informally, individual local officials tried to improve their service to the public. There was no public affairs desk in Balete and no system for recording inquiries. Local officials said they needed to attend training programs to update themselves on project management methods. Mayor Calizo tried to compensate by spending a lot of time in the municipal hall's reception area to discuss issues and answer queries from the public. He and several members of the *sangguniang bayan* (municipal council) also regularly met with individual barangay leaders during barangay assemblies. He made it a point to visit each barangay at least twice a month.

Specific Community Factors that Affected Governance

Need for a strategic view. Although provincial and municipal officials were very open and supportive of the CIDSS projects, they did not have a comprehensive blueprint for reducing poverty in the Balete. Many decisions made during executive and planning meetings were ad hoc. Coordination among municipal offices tended to be weak. Special bodies, such as the MPC and the MTWG, had insufficient authority to do development planning. Barangays had development plans based on the CIDSS program and their MBN surveys. The municipality did not match this with a similar kind of development planning. Indeed, the municipal plan did not contain enough to make a reliable annual plan.¹⁶

Mayor Calizo also expected a major portion of the funding for CIDSS to come from the national government. He did not expect the municipality to make any major change in social spending, even if the CIDSS were completely localized. The social welfare officer saw future difficulties since she expected additional CIDSS responsibilities but not additional staff. The social welfare office also felt handicapped by being a mere unit under the mayor's office. Not being a full municipal bureau, it could not easily hire new workers or increase the salaries of existing staff.

Interface with existing structures. There was very little new bureaucracy created by the CIDSS program in Balete. The one coordinating body consisted of existing municipal officials and was chaired by the municipal planning coordinator. Existing barangay committees helped the CIDSS worker in monitoring projects. Barangay health workers and nutrition scholars helped do the MBN

¹⁶The municipal planning officer said that no profiling exercise had been implemented since the early 1980s, when the comprehensive land use plan was completed. He said that there had been discussions in the municipality to develop a comprehensive profile but this would have cost a substantial amount (P200,000) and thus needs authorization from the *sangguniang bayan* (interview with Mr. Roger Feliciano, Municipal Planning and Development Coordinator, March 7, 2000).

surveys. Thus, project administration was not difficult since few new responsibilities were imposed on public officials although the CIDSS worker had to do much of the monitoring work. The most significant weakness of the existing structures was that they steadily became lethargic through the years of the program.

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Appendix I. Physical and Socio-Economic Profile

1. Profile of the Municipality

Six other municipalities, namely Banga, Madalag and Libacao on the west, and New Washington, Batan and Altavas on the east, surround Balete. A portion of Aklan's border with the province of Capiz lies on the southeastern part of the municipality. The municipality is drained by the northward flowing Jalo-Magadinan-Pulajan river system that stretches toward the Sibuyan Sea, north of the Capiz Island. A hilly area, the Agtwagon range, which in turn covers the poorest two barangays, Oquendo and Guanko, borders the southern part of the municipality.

Of the approximately 13,200 hectares of land area, 10,900 hectares are classified as cultivated land (alienable and disposable), 1,800 hectares are vegetative forest cover and around 185 hectares are covered by an integrated social forestry project of the national government. A large portion of the cultivated land, however, is upland, covering approximately 1,700 hectares; 2,200 of the alienable and disposable area is classified as timberland and 400 hectares is classified as a mangrove area. More than two hundred hectares have been used as fishponds.

Balete has 10 barangays, with population sizes ranging from 1,080 to 4,500. The largest of these barangays, in terms of population, is Calizo and the smallest is Guanko, which incidentally has the largest land area. The order of barangays according to population size after Calizo is Arcangel, Aranas, Morales, Fulgencio, Cortes, Poblacion, Feliciano, Oquendo and Guanko.

Table A. Highest Educational Attainment, Proportion of Balete Population, 1995

Education Completed	Total	Male	Female
1. No. Grade Completed	8.10	4.06	4.05
2. Pre-School	2.59	1.25	1.34
3. Elementary	54.81	28.41	26.40
- First to Fourth Grade	29.62	16.01	13.61
- Fifth and Sixth Grade	25.19	12.41	12.79
4. High School	24.04	11.69	12.35
- Undergraduate	14.14	6.96	7.17
- Graduate	9.90	4.72	5.18
5. Post-Secondary	1.25	0.54	0.71
- Undergraduate	0.31	0.12	0.19
- Graduate	0.94	0.42	0.53
6. College Undergraduate	3.54	1.73	1.81
7. Academic Degree Holder	4.43	1.90	2.52
8. Post-Baccalaureate	0.01	--	0.01
TOTAL	100.0		

Source: National Statistics Office (1995).

Table B. Barangay Population and Land Size, Balete 1998

Barangay	Population	Land Area (has.)
Aranas	3,085	1,227.5
Arcangel	3,318	851.2
Calizo	4,462	1,623.8
Feliciano	1,769	771.5
Fulgencio	2,592	889.4
Guanko	1,060	2,715.3
Morales	2,916	901.8
Oquendo	1,332	1,368.1
Poblacion	1,848	7.5
TOTAL	24,230	11,757.0

Source: Municipality of Balete (1998).

Table C. Formal Employment, By Sectoral Source of Income, Balete 1995

Employment	Number	Percentage
1. Professional, Technical	441	10.1
2. Administrative, Executive, Managerial	31	0.7
3. Clerical	49	1.1
4. Sales	195	4.5
5. Agriculture, Fisheries, Forestry	3,383	77.3
6. Mining, Quarrying	0	0.0
7. Transport and Communication	26	0.6
8. Freight	7	0.2
9. Service and Sports	0	0.0
10. Unclassified	247	5.6
TOTAL	4,379	100.0

Source: Municipality of Balete (1998).

There are also some livestock and poultry and fishery enterprises in the community. There is a sizable hog and cattle population in the municipality, with some cattle and goats. There is also a sizable chicken population and eggs and broiler are sold in the market and outlets outside the municipality. Forest-based products include narra, rattan, bamboo and nipa; around 200 hectares are devoted to narra, acacia, mahogany, teak and jemelina production.

There is also some small manufacturing and trade business in the area, particularly pina cloth and fiber weaving. There are five pina and abaca weaving enterprises and ten handicraft businesses registered with the municipal government. These firms are supported by nine trading enterprises, which sell handicrafts, handmade paper products, pina cloth, buri bags and banana chips to other areas in the province.

Retail trading is substantial as well, with four large grocery store, two hardware businesses, a drugstore, and over a hundred small sari-sari stores and market vending stalls. Almost all of these retail outlets had capitalization of less than 25,00 pesos. The municipal market is located near the center of town, near the plaza, and the market day is Saturday. A rural bank, the Rural Bank of Balete (Aklan) Inc., is located outside the town center. A small

percentage of the community derives their incomes from tricycle driving (delivery and transport of people and goods between the town center to the barangays) and there is a jeepney association that plies the Kalibo- Balete route.

A total of 13,500, or 64 percent, are in the labor force. Around 6,000 are involved in gainful occupations; of this number, 4,600 are involved in agricultural occupation as farmer-landowners, tenants or agricultural workers. More than 800 are involved in government service, trading, and small and medium cottage industries.

In the municipality, there are 12 kilometers devoted to national roads, another 12 kilometers of provincial roads (of which only 1.8 kilometers are in concrete), 2 kilometers of municipal road and 32.3 kilometers of barangay roads (of which 2.3 kilometers are concrete). The national highway from Kalibo to Roxas City to the east and Ilo-ilo City to the south passes through the town. While it is easy to navigate the barangays near the national highway, it is difficult to reach barangays Oquendo and Guanko because of the lack of roads.

Around 2,200 households or roughly more than half of total households in the community are serviced by the provincial power cooperative, Aklan Electric Cooperative. Telephone connections are difficult in the municipality, despite the proliferation of telephone companies in the province; in fact, there is no phone in the main building of the municipal offices.

Balete is served by a rural health unit, which is equipped to handle basic medical services, staffed by a doctor and nurse and barangay health units served by a midwife. Most residents, however, proceed to Kalibo or Altavas (which both have district hospitals) for more life-threatening diseases.

The leading causes of mortality are pneumonia, hypertension and pulmonary tuberculosis, while the leading causes of morbidity are respiratory tract infection, bronchitis and wounds (of all types). These diseases mirror the cases in the province. In addition, thirty percent of all children in 1999 are considered moderately and severely underweight; this compares favorably to 53 percent in 1996.

Water facilities are generally poor; in 1995, Balete had the lowest water coverage among all municipalities at 13 percent, or 500 households covered by level 1 facilities of 4,100 total households. Sanitation facilities are a little better with 70 percent of all households having sanitary toilets.

There are nine public elementary schools and four primary schools (schools which have facilities up to the fourth grade) with a total enrollment of 3,800; there are two public secondary schools, the JBL National High School and the Calizo National High School. There is a small technical school and a private school offering up to

high school in the center of town. The literacy rate in the municipality is 98 percent; however, the cohort survival rate is at a low 70 percent. Facilities are adequate with a 1 to 27 teacher to student ratio.

There is a small police unit that is housed near the municipal offices. The municipal agriculturist and the municipal post and telegraph office is also located in the same building as the police force.

Appendix II. Politics and Governance in the Municipality

1. Politics in the Municipality

A few families have dominated municipality politics. The Calizo family has headed the municipal government since the 1930s. At the time of the case study, the town mayor was Teodoro Calizo, Jr., a third-generation member of the political family. His father and grandfather used to be mayors of the town from 1945 to 1965 and during the 1930s, respectively. His family has substantial landholdings in the municipality, especially in the upland areas. He has described himself as a "small farmer" until he ran in 1987 as one of the town councilors and from 1992 to 1995, town vice-mayor. The town vice-mayor is Bernard Rodriguez, Jr., the son of the former mayors in the municipality. These executives ran unopposed as part of the winning Laban ng Mamamayang Pilipino (LAMP) ticket which has won throughout the province.

The mother of the town vice-mayor, Jean Rodriguez, was mayor from 1981 to 1986. She was provincial vice-governor at the time of the case study. The father of the mayor, Bernard Rodriguez Sr., also used to be the municipal mayor during the Marcos period; he broke the chain of the governance of the Calizo family in the 1965 elections. A cousin, Potenciano Rodriguez, M. D., was mayor from 1987 to 1998. According to local government officials, the Rodriguezes own several fishponds and businesses (Potenciano currently owns a trucking company) in the municipality.

There are also several dominant political families in the municipality. According to Vice Governor Rodriguez, the other prominent personalities include members of the Cortez and Cloepe families.¹⁷

The source of political power in the municipality has been derived from the landholdings of these families. According to documents from the Department of Agrarian Reform, the number of landholdings held by private landowners has declined; of the 1,000 hectares to be distributed, less than 200 hectares remain to be accomplished. In fact, DAR expects 42 hectares of Calizo and Rodriguez families are to be distributed to tenants this year. Nevertheless, these families remain to be politically formidable in the absence of other alternatives.

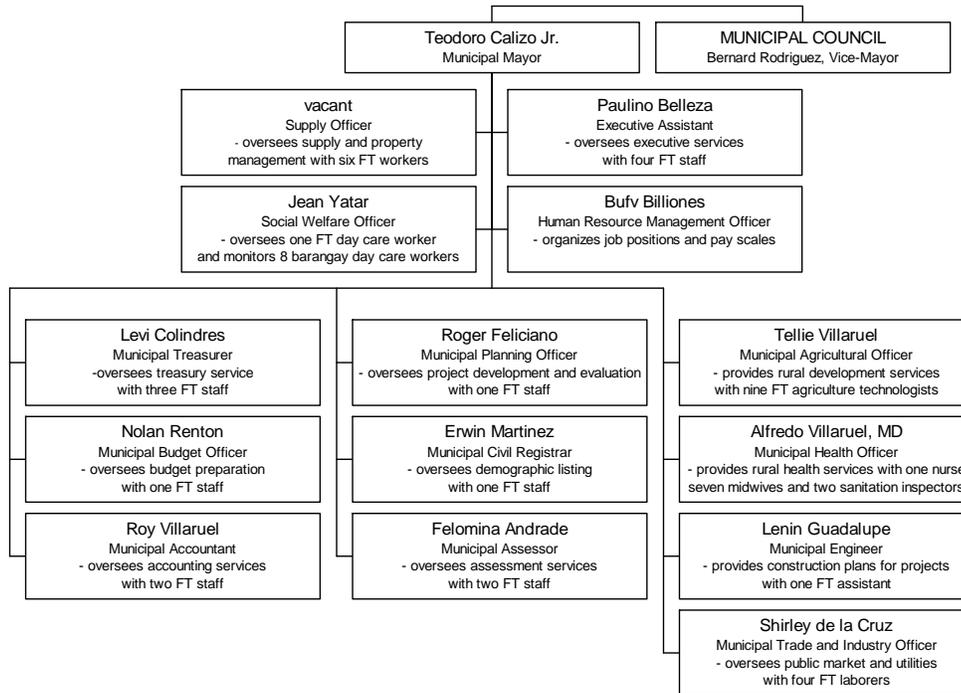
¹⁷There is a Cleope in the sangguniang pambayan (SB), Apolinar Cleope, while one of the barangays is named Cortez. There is also an Oquendo member of the SB and one of the barangays has the same name.

2. Structure of the Municipal Government

National government offices in the municipality that have a continuing presence are the Department of Agrarian Reform, which maintains four staff for land distribution and transfer, and the Department of Education, Culture and Sports, which maintains a district office near the municipal office. Other offices, such as the Departments of Agriculture, Health and Social Welfare and Development have devolved their functions to the municipal government.

There are several offices under the municipal government including the Office of the Mayor, Social Welfare Services, Municipal Treasury, Municipal Accountant Office, Municipal Budget Office, the Planning, Project Development and Evaluation Office, the Municipal Assessor, the Civil Registrar, the Municipal Engineer, the Municipal Health Office, Agriculture Office and the Trade and Industry Office.

Organizational Structure of the Municipal Government, 1999



Source: Interview with Bufv Billiones (2000).

Table D. Number of Personnel in the Municipal Government of Balete, by Office, 1999

Office	# of Positions	# of Admin./ Elected Positions	# of Technical Positions
Mayor- Executive Services	10	4	6
Mayor- Social Welfare Services	2	1	1
Mayor- Supply and Property	9	1	8
Mayor- Business Operations	5	1	4
Sangguniang Bayan	14	13	1
Treasurer	4	1	3
Municipal Accountant	4	1	3
Municipal Budget Officer	2	1	1
Municipal Planning Officer	3	2	1
Municipal Assessor	3	1	2
Municipal Civil Registrar	2	1	1
Municipal Engineer	2	1	1
Municipal Agriculturist	10	1	9
Municipal Health Officer	11	2	9
TOTAL	81	31	50

Source: Interview with Human Resource Management Officer (2000).

Many of these offices are two or three-staff affairs; however, there is a substantial Agriculture and Health Office, following the current government's track of strengthening agricultural productivity

and improvement in health. After the Office of the Sangguniang Bayan and the Office of the Mayor, both these offices have the largest personnel appropriations. The agriculture office has ten staff, including nine technologists, while the health office has twelve staff, including eight midwives.

The mayor calls an executive meeting of all heads of departments every month to be appraised of major undertakings and concerns of the local government. During this meeting, other government officials, such as the chief of police and the municipal agrarian reform officer are requested to attend the meeting. According to attendees, these meetings are unstructured and the local chief executive usually dictates the agenda. There is a much lengthier meeting twice each year for planning purposes, especially the preparation of the budget and the approval of new development plans. However, again according to the attendees, the procedures for planning and evaluation of projects are not standardized.

The municipality is largely dependent on internal revenue allocations (IRA) from the national government. At least 95% of total revenues are derived from IRA. Last year, it had an income of P13.9 million, of which P13.3 million came from the IRA; locally sourced revenues are generated mainly from real property taxes and business taxes. On the other hand, the largest expenditure has been for personnel services, more than P9.8 million was spent on this alone in order to maintain 81 employees. Maintenance and other operating expenses took another P3.3 million, while capital outlay reached P2.1 million.

Balete used its 20% IRA development funds for infrastructure, such as the construction of market stalls, rewiring of the municipal building, and improvement of the municipal drainage system. Some of these resources also went into social services such as the purchase of medicines and the maintenance of day care centers.

Table E. Balete Municipal Government Income and Expenditures, in Pesos, 1997-2000

Items	1997	1998	1999	2000
<i>INCOME</i>	10,168,190	12,135,525	13,945,382	16,470,490
1. Tax Revenue	9,975,468	11,994,525	13,784,382	16,290,309
- of which: Internal Revenue Allotment	9,626,007	11,619,525	13,327,289	15,778,750
2. Non-tax Revenue	192,722	141,000	161,000	180,782
<i>EXPENDITURES</i>	11,354,689	12,830,938	15,306,219	16,915,328
1. Current Operating (Personnel) Expenditures	7,083,225	8,225,257	9,817,797	10,332,646
- Mayor- Executive Services	1,053,673	1,139,313	1,080,300	1,390,383

Table E. Balete Municipal Government Income and Expenditures, in Pesos, 1997-2000

Items	1997	1998	1999	2000
- Mayor- Social Welfare Services	159,194	180,893	186,027	200,733
- Mayor- Supply and Property	n. a.	405,947	604,644	778,159
- Mayor- Business Operations	329,592	361,921	343,654	370,821
- Sangguniang Bayan	2,219,156	2,759,278	2,781,852	2,894,729
- Treasurer	498,485	512,329	501,616	798,930
- Municipal Accountant	322,657	n. a.	444,479	478,947
- Municipal Budget Officer	245,584	278,187	289,951	314,048
- Municipal Planning Officer	351,584	403,651	384,969	458,746
- Municipal Assessor	313,487	322,508	360,090	409,230
- Municipal Civil Registrar	248,685	286,770	300,100	323,824
- Municipal Engineer	178,059	249,228	300,100	323,824
- Municipal Agriculturist	1,008,123	1,176,507	1,157,167	1,243,585
- Municipal Health Officer	504,220	1,697,756	1,776,395	1,872,579
- Non-Office	60,000	31,200	31,200	n. a.
2. Maintenance and Other Operating Expenses	2,236,063	2,506,776	3,332,694	2,961,622
- Mayor- Executive Services	331,000	441,000	541,000	461,000
- Mayor- Social Welfare Services	115,000	100,000	150,000	150,000
- Mayor- Supply and Property	n.a.	670,000	565,000	660,000
- Mayor- Business Operations	223,000	251,000	221,000	n. a.
- Sangguniang Bayan	105,500	255,000	25,000	221,000
- Treasurer	65,000	n. a.	n. a.	195,000
- Municipal Agriculturist	150,000	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.
- Non-Office	846,776	1,204,664	2,078,600	1,994,575
3. Capital Outlay	2,035,201	2,098,90	2,155,458	2,961,622
- Mayor- Executive Services	50,000	50,000	75,000	n. a.
- Mayor- Supply and Property	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	660,000
- Sangguniang Bayan	20,000	n. a.	40,000	n. a.
- Non-Office	1,863,905	1,053,00	2,415,000	3,866,000
BALANCE	(1,186,499)	(695,413)	(1,360,837)	(444,838)

Source: Aklan Provincial Budget Office (various years).

There are functioning local special bodies, including the Municipal Planning and Development Council (MPDC), the Local Health Board (LHB), the Local School Board (LSB) and the

People's Law Enforcement Board (PLEB). The municipal mayor heads all bodies, except for the last. The MPDC meets twice a year during the preparation of budgets; the rest also meets once or twice a year depending on the concerns of the executive. The LHB, on the other hand, was built on the Municipal Family Planning/ Health Committee.

Despite the lack of development people's organizations in the area,¹⁸ there has been some non-government representation in local decision-making. The president of the transportation association and heads of three barangay-based 'farmers' groups' are represented at the MPDC, the president of barangay health workers is a member of the LHB, the president of the parent-teacher associations is present in the LSB, while a retired police colonel is the chairperson of the PLEB. However, these organizations have little influence, at best, on the politics in the community.

¹⁸There are a few farmers' organizations in the municipality; the most organized date to the 1970s . There is an irrigation association also partly organized by the government in one of the municipalities. According to Maximo Salavante, president of PEASANT, a provincial-wide farmers organization, there were some attempts in the early 1990s to organize new chapters in the municipality. But since tensions with the New People's Army, the armed wing of the Philippine communist movement, were high then, their group disbanded after a few months (interview with Maximo Salavante, March 6, 2000).

Appendix III. Poverty-Alleviation Projects in Balete, 1996- 1999

Table F. Summary of Poverty Alleviation Projects in Balete, 1996- 1999

Institution	Poverty-Alleviation Project
1. Department of Agriculture	- MAKAMASA Agricultural Productivity Program - Animal dispersal
2. Department of Agrarian Reform	- Agrarian Reform Community (planned)
2. Department of Education, Culture and Sports	- Supplemental Feeding (school lunches)
3. Department of Health	- Botika sa Barangay - Population Planning (UN Fund for Population Activities) - Immunization (US Agency for International Development)
4. Department of Environment and Natural Resources	- Community Based Resource Management Program - Solid Waste Management Training Program
5. Department of Trade and Industry	- Livelihood Training Programs
6. Department of Social Welfare and Development	- Early Childhood Development (World Bank)

Source: Municipality of Balete (1999).

A solid waste management-training program (SWMTP) was implemented in 1998, while a community-based forest management seminar (CBFMS) was started in 1999, both in Bgy. Guanko. The SWMTP tackled an orientation on sanitation; the result of the seminar was a municipal ordinance enacted last year providing for a comprehensive solid waste management program for the town. The CBFMS, on the other hand, provided for training on community foresters in the barangay, and according to DENR, a program to reforest 29 hectares has started.

Several livelihood-training seminars were run by the DTI in the municipality; this included two training seminars on handmade paper products and bath soap making. The DECS, on the other hand, provided for supplemental feeding for school children in the form of school lunches.

More than 1,100 hectares of agricultural land have been transferred to farm tenants and landless workers. The local Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) office has planned to develop an agrarian reform community (ARC) program in the municipality but there are still discussions on where to implement the program. The former mayor had wanted it in Barangay Fulgencio, near the highway; but the present mayor and sangguniang bayan wanted it at Guanko, Cortez and Oquendo, where the poorest municipalities are located. These discussions had delayed the introduction of the program as the change in project site has to be approved by the DAR central office in Manila.

Table G. Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program Accomplishment, by Barangay, 1993-1999

Barangay	Scope (has.)	Accomplishment (has.)	% Accomplished
Aranas	294.9	166.4	56.4
Arcangel	259.6	119.7	46.1
Calizo	144.8	62.5	43.2
Cortes	360.0	158.7	44.1
Feliciano	--	--	
Fulgencio	112.5	64.9	57.7
Guanko	773.4	116.7	15.1
Morales	109.4	79.3	72.4
Oquendo	573.2	362.4	63.2
Poblacion	--	--	
TOTAL	2,628.0	1,130.6	43.0

Source: Interview with anonymous MARO official (2000).

The municipal government runs several social and economic services, with the support and funding of national agencies. The municipal health office, under the Poverty Alleviation Fund-2¹⁹, provided for supplemental feeding and deworming for infants, and iron supplements for mothers in all the ten barangays. A "Botika sa Barangay" program was also initiated in three barangays, Aranas, Fulgencio and Calizo, to assist households in the purchase of medicines. However, these projects lasted until mid- 1999, due to lack of financial resources.

There are two other health projects coordinated with the health office. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) has a pilot project in Bgy. Aranas and its programs include family planning, maternal and child health, counseling, the establishment of a blood bank and others.²⁰ Health resources in the municipality are also augmented by a province-wide Local Policy Program, which is funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). It includes immunization, reproductive education and family planning.

The municipal agricultural office has projects several projects related to agricultural productivity and raising farm incomes. These include integrated support (seeds, inputs) for rice and corn under the national MAKAMASA program, livestock and animal dispersal, dispersal of small farm tools and promotion of 'improved farm management systems.'

With regards to the social welfare programs implemented by the municipality, the sangguniang bayan has continually appropriated

¹⁹The Poverty Alleviation Fund-2 or PAF-2, is a special fund approved by Congress in 1997 to provide for poverty-alleviation initiatives for the poorest (5th and 6th class) municipalities in the country. PAF-2 funded programs in health, basic childcare, basic education, livelihood, water and sanitation, and housing. Bautista (1999) reported that P411 million of the original P2 billion PAF-2 budget was appropriated as of 1998.

²⁰Sources from the municipal health office told the case writer that the midwife assigned to Aranas had no difficulty purchasing health resources as a result of the UNFPA project.

funds for food and burial assistance and subsidies to day care workers. A supplemental feeding program was discontinued in 1998. A provincial-level Early Childhood Development Program, funded by the World Bank, will begin by mid-2000 and will provide health and education services in Barangays Calizo, Fulgencio, Arcangel, Guangko and Cortex.

Appendix IV. Questionnaire Respondents

1. Barangay Calizo
 - Susan de Manuel, Pina Fiber Weaving Shop owner (SEA-K organization bookkeeper)
 - Rex Cuadernos, Pinipig Shopowner (SEA-K beneficiary)
 - Armando Felipe, Barangay Captain
 - Divina de Pablo, RIC (Irrigators' Association) President
 - Lynce Felipe, Day Care Worker
 - Jean Tullo, Sari-Sari Storeowner (SEA-K beneficiary)
 - Sergio David, Barangay Councilor (Livelihood committee)

2. Barangay Fulgencio
 - Salvador Nadora Jr., Barangay Councilor (Infrastructure committee)
 - Paul Salabante, Barangay Councilor (Livelihood committee)
 - Nimfa Florencio, Day Care Worker
 - Radigondes Revensencio, Sari-Sari Store Owner/ SEA-K Beneficiary
 - Cielito Reporen, Barangay Councilor (Education committee)
 - Leoteria Vidal, Day Care Worker

3. Barangay Morales
 - Bertulo Morales, Farmer
 - Tessie Ruiz, Day Care Worker
 - Uldarico Ambrosio, Barangay Captain
 - Arsenio Revesencio, Irrigators' Association President
 - Sotero Quinico, Barangay Councilor (Livelihood committee)
 - Sandra Quinico, Farmer-Tenant/ Food Assistance Beneficiary
 - Violeta Quinico, Barangay Councilor/ Education Assistance Beneficiary

Appendix V. Exit Conference/Focus Group Discussion Participants

1. Barangay Calizo
 - Felipe, Armando. Barangay Captain.
 - Oquendo, Teodolito. Barangay Secretary.
 - De Pablo, Divina. RIC (Irrigator's Association) President.

2. Barangay Fulgencio
 - Rose, Inocencio Rose. Barangay Captain.
 - Aladura Jr., Salvador. Barangay Councilor.
 - Reporen, Cielito. Barangay Councilor.
 - Salabante Sr., Paul. Barangay Councilor.
 - Florencio, Nimfa. Day Care Worker.
 - Vidal, Leoteria. Day Care Worker.

3. Barangay Morales
 - Ambrosio, Uldarico. Barangay Captain.
 - Reyesencio, Arsenio. Barangay Councilor.

4. Municipal Government of Balete
 - Feliciano, Roger. Municipal Planning and Development Officer.
 - Yatar, Jean. Social Welfare Officer.

5. Provincial Government of Aklan
 - Villanueva, Thelma. Provincial Social Welfare and Development Officer.

