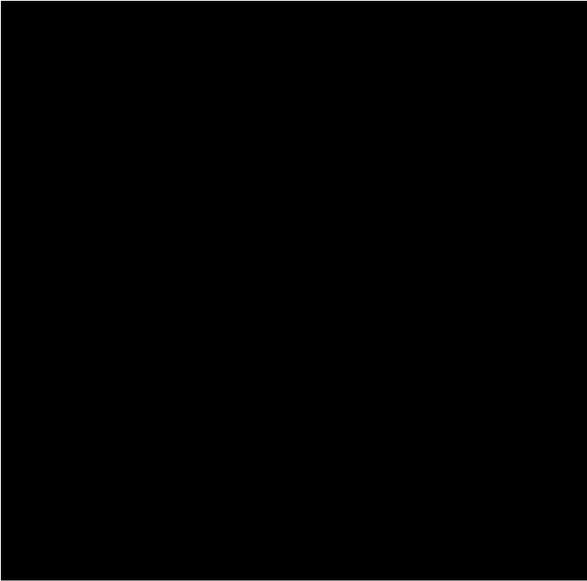


"It's not what you know, It's who you know."
(Woolcock & Narayan, 2000)

A Minor Field Study about social capital in a Philippine cooperative.

By Sara Axelsson

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Supervisor: Lars Harrysson

Abstract

According to the World Bank Group, social capital is an important factor in the process of fighting poverty in developing countries, and some researchers mean that *cooperative* organizations are the ultimate business model to create social capital (Majee & Hoyt, 2011). The aim of this study is to investigate whether or not social capital is emerging in a Philippine water cooperative, funded by the Swedish Cooperative Centre, located in Metro Manila. The methods used in this study are qualitative semi-structured interviews, and observations. For the analysis, Putnam's and Bourdieu's theories about social capital were used as tools to explain the empirical data. The results show that there are two things influencing the respondent's experiences regarding their membership the most. These two things are *trust* and *conflicts*, which makes it interesting to combine the two specific chosen theories since Bourdieu focuses a lot on conflicts, and Putnam on trust. The conclusion of the study is that both of the theories can be used to explain how social capital is created in this specific case, and that the cooperative is a positive factor in developing the community it is located in.

Key words: Social capital, cooperative, trust, conflict

Abbreviations

CWSC	Community Water Service Cooperative of Bagong Silang
ICA	International Cooperative Alliance
IPCSED	Institute for Philippine Cooperative and Social Enterprise Development
MFS	Minor Field Study
SCC	Swedish Cooperative Centre
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
WBG	World Bank Group

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Preface

In the spring of 2011, I spent approximately two months in the Philippines to do a MFS-study in Manila. That is where I conducted my interviews and observations that are the base of my research. My time in the Philippines was very instructive and interesting, and it is a memory that I will cherish forever. The surroundings I experienced, as well as the people I got to meet, gave me a bigger understanding and more knowledge about the life in a developing country. I would not have been able to experience all of this if it was not for the scholarship I received from SIDA, so I am very grateful for that. I would also like to thank the Swedish Cooperative Centre, and especially their country director Anneli Leina, for helping me to come in contact with my respondents. My supervisor at the university, Lars Harrysson, also deserves a big thank you for supporting me during the work with this thesis. Last but not least, I want to thank the respondents who made it possible for me to conduct my study. It would not have been possible without you.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

When I first got interested in doing a Minor Field Study, I searched information on aid work in the Philippines, and finally contacted the aid agency *Swedish Cooperative Centre*, from now on referred to as SCC, which is actively working in the area to help reduce poverty. The organization is focused on *help to self-help, empowerment*, and they work with study circles, microfinance projects and cooperative collaboration. From my contact person Anneli Leina, who is SCC's Country director in the Philippines, I got the information that thousands of people are being forced to leave their homes because of some problems with the authority. Urban growth, increasing poverty and an escalation of land prices in Manila has led to the urban poor having to live under constant threat of eviction in unauthorized settlements, which often means that the people are relocated to places far from, for example, their work (Crisol & Porio, 2004). What SCC believes would help the people, in situations like these and in other problems that they are working with, is to get *organized* to get stronger against the authorities. The question that Anneli Leina doesn't know the answer for is why a lot of people choose *not* to get organized when they see the impact it has with the politicians and authorities¹.

The way that SCC works in the Philippines is that they sponsor a number of partner organizations who work with various projects in different provinces in the Philippines. One of these partner organizations is IPCSED, and one of their projects is to work with a water cooperative in a community called Bagong Silang, which is located in Metro Manila. IPCSED was a part of setting up the cooperative and now they are helping them in terms of counseling, training, education, and development. The name of the water cooperative is Community Water Service Cooperative of Bagong Silang, and it is an organization that can help people get fresh water into their houses. The members participate on their own free will, and since it is a cooperative they all have the right to have a say in the organization. Anneli Leina says that creating cooperatives in problem areas like Bagong Silang, can be positive in the process of attempting to fight poverty because of the fact that it gives people power, and without power there is not much to do about the situation. By being a cooperative, instead of another form of organization, the risks and rewards are being spread out to more people instead of just a small group. This idea of SCC, to give people more power, can be linked to the principal of

¹ E-mail conversation with Anneli Leina, Country Director Swedish Cooperative Centre

Empowerment. Empowerment is used to strengthen individual's possibility to become more independent, set their own goals and through this gain power over their own lives (Nationalencyklopedin, 2011-04-27).

1.2 Problem statement

1.2.1 CWSC and social capital

In the initial contact with SCC I learned that they value a high level of participation in organizations for the poor people living in the slum. SCC has expressed concerns about the fact that there are quite a lot of people choosing not to join such organizations, and are wondering why that is the case. Having this in mind, while planning my field study that I wanted to be about the effects and relationships that comes from voluntary participation in organizations, I came to the conclusion that this research should be narrowed down to focusing on the ones actually being members of the organization CWSC rather than the ones choosing not to join. By emphasizing this *positive relation*, and learning what it means for the members we might also learn what possibly can be done to understand those who are not members. My interest with this study is to learn and gain more understanding for why the people are members of CWSC, which is a project within SCC's program for fighting poverty, and what it means for the members to be a part of this organization and what outcomes it has generated.

Going into the journey of this field study I had the theories of social capital by Robert D. Putnam and Pierre Bourdieu² in the back of my mind, as a base of what I wanted to study. Why these theories are interesting for my thesis is because they involve the meaning of belonging to a group and what this means for a community and society in a bigger sense. This can be useful for getting a better understanding of how the work of SCC is effecting the individuals, and in a bigger picture, how it is effecting the livelihood of their target group. If the study shows a possible amount of social capital, it might be seen as a positive and useful factor in developing the community towards a better livelihood, which in deed is the wish for SCC to achieve. Learning what the *participation* means for someone living in poverty,

² "Social capital" according to Bourdieu and Putnam will be presented in the theoretical part of the thesis.

battling with various problems on a daily basis, is something I find interesting. My guess is that participation in voluntary organizations in a developing country is a completely different thing compared to joining organizations in western, developed countries. In a well developed country, being part of different kinds of organizations is common and a big part of it is probably done just for the fun of it. From early ages, it is common to be a part of sports teams, musical groups or other types of after school activities. We can join organizations through the universities, through our work places and in a lot of other ways, but this is not the case for the poor people living in slum areas. They have a reality completely different from ours and I find it interesting to see how the phenomenon of being a part of a group is valued in a place like the one I got to visit in Manila. Organizations like the ones I am used to from where I come from, like gymnastics clubs or scout clubs, are of course not represented in this type of community. Instead it is, for example, organizations with the purpose of working with community issues, public utility organizations, probably not as much for the amusement of it.

When I started this field study, I had the intention of doing my research about the organization CWSC and its members' relationship towards IPCSED and SCC. After meeting with members from CWSC I changed my angle of the study, and I decided to focus on the relationships *within* the organization itself and the members' over all experience of being a part of the organization. I also want to know how much trust these people have for the other members and the management of the organization and the work they are doing, and what makes them feel this trust (or distrust), and this is something I in particular will focus on. Why trust is interesting, is partially because the Philippines is ranked third on a list ranking twelve of the most corrupt countries in Asia (Quah, 2001), which might have an affect on the level of trust through out the country.

An increased understanding of the possible trust that the members feel for the organization is, according to me, desirable because I believe that one of the foundations for providing this type of assistance that SCC is providing, where *empowerment* is one of the key words, is understanding how the actual people feel about the situation and why they want to be involved in the programs. I believe that, if you claim that you are working *for*, but most importantly *with*, the people in the slum, you have to take their opinions and their experiences into consideration. For getting people onboard with your ideas of work I think it is important to build a trust and a mutual respect so that they are comfortable in the situation.

1.2.2 Social capital and reducing poverty

Supporting the importance of studies regarding social capital in poor rural areas, is also the fact that the WBG³ has acknowledged the theory of social capital as an important factor in the work of fighting poverty. WBG lists a number of key sources of social capital in the context of social and economic development and one of these are *communities*. By this they mean that social interaction among neighbours, friends and groups generate social capital and the ability to work together for common good. This is especially important for the poor as social capital can be used as a substitute for human and physical capital. One of the other key sources is *civil society*; social capital is crucial to the success of any non-governmental organization because it provides opportunities for participation and gives voice to those who may be locked out of more formal avenues to affect change.

1.2.3 Cooperatives and social capital

As mentioned above, CWSC is a cooperative and SCC believes that the cooperative form of organization is a positive factor in their work. There are a number of definitions of what a cooperative is, and I will give a few examples of these. The United States Department of Agriculture defines a cooperative as “a user-owned, user-controlled business that distributes benefits based on use.” The definition of Fairbairn, Bold, Fulton, Ketilson and Ish views cooperatives as “associations of people who have combined their resources of capital and labor to capture greater or different benefits from an enterprise than if the business were undertaken individually”. The International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) defines cooperatives as “autonomous associations of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise”. The principals of cooperatives are; Voluntary and open membership, democratic member control, member economic participation, autonomy and independence, education, training and information, cooperation among cooperatives, and concern for community. In addition, “Co-operatives are based on the values of self-help, self-responsibility, democracy, equality, equity, and solidarity. In the tradition of their founders, co-operative members believe in the ethical values of honesty, openness, social responsibility

³ The World Bank Group is a part of the United Nation’s system. It is a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world. The mission is to fight poverty and help people help themselves by providing resources, sharing knowledge, building capacity and forging partnerships in the public and private sector (WBG’s official home page).

and caring for others”. Cooperatives bring people together to meet a shared need through operation of a democratically controlled business. They train and educate their members and promote group effort to address individual and community needs. They create employment opportunities and build capital in communities where they are located (Majee & Hoyt, 2011, p 50).

From both individual member and business perspectives, cooperatives promote interaction. This interaction enables members to use their knowledge of each other and of the cooperative to engage this in their conduct of business. It helps to build trust among members which, in turn, strengthens the business and the community. Because cooperatives create economic, human, and social capital, it appears they might well be the first-choice business model for locally based, locally controlled community development. In putting emphasis on social capital, the argument is not that the standard forms of capital (financial, human, physical and natural and environmental) are not important. Rather, the emphasis is that in addition to financial and human capital, people draw on social connections with other members of their communities for both social and economic goals. That is, social capital is not disconnected from other forms of capital (Majee & Hoyt, 2011).

1.3 Research objective

My objective is to better understand members’ experiences of being a part of CSWS based in an analysis using the theoretical concept of social capital.

1.4 Research questions

The objective above has lead to the following research questions. These will help me fulfil my purpose of the study.

- How do the members of CWSC perceive their relationship with the organization in terms of trust, and how is this trust (or lack of trust) characterized?
- What are the reasons for the members of CWSC to participate in the organization, and do they have any expectations of what the membership will lead to?
- In what ways has the membership meant a change for the members, and has it created social capital?

2. Previous research

Here I will present previous research regarding subjects related to my study.

2.1 Measuring social capital in a Philippine slum

Matous and Ozawa (2010) conducted semi structured interviews and a social capital survey in a community in Manila. They mean that it is very different to conduct a study in a slum district compared to do a study in western communities. Education, safety and language were factors that they constantly had to take into consideration. They also experienced that it is almost impossible do have private interviews in slum areas because of the fact that it is hard to get to be alone in room since they live very crowded. This resulted in that they ended up doing group interviews.

The goal for the study was to identify community activities that may provide opportunities for socialization. They wanted to measure what activities that led so social capital creation and which community members that gained most from them. Some of the results were that “slum dwellers”, as they call them, need to strengthen their social support networks, which can protect them in difficult times. To increase their chances of obtaining regular jobs, they need better contacts with the society outside. The researchers also mean that the slum dwellers have to use their social capital daily to deal with issues that are normally tackled by official institutions. Being part of various networks and activities has been proved to gain friendships and useful connections for the slum dwellers.

2.2 The importance of participation

Narayan (1995), conducted a quantitative study to find out how important participation is for water organizations to be successful. To answer this, 121 rural water supply projects in 49 developing countries were studied. The results of the study is that beneficiary participation contributed significantly to project effectiveness, even after statistically controlling for the effects of seventeen other factors. The proportion of water systems in good condition, over all economic benefits, percentages of the target population reached, and environmental benefits rose with participation. The analysis reveals that participation fostered individual and community empowerment. It strengthened local organizations, which then went on to

undertake other development activities. When people influence or control the decisions that affect them, they have a greater stake in the outcome and will work harder to ensure success.

2.3 A business model that creates social capital?

Majee and Hoyt (2011) say that economic and social welfare comes from social interactions between individuals in their homes, work places, and the community at large. Improvement in well being can partially be explained by social interaction among individuals. Formal and informal associations can mobilize assets and strengthen the social relationships that are important for growing local initiatives and create opportunities. To create opportunities for getting out of poverty, society needs communities that themselves create wealth, are self-sustaining, retain their citizens and thrive economically. Cooperatives, as democratically and community owned businesses, provide a first choice model for such development, as they can play vital roles in achieving all four of these requirements.

Further more Majee and Hoyt mean that cooperatives have repeatedly proven useful for promoting the interests of less powerful members of society. They gather local people and gather their resources to gain power to participate in and influence market forces and community development. They promote community control, local control of capital, local ownership, local hiring, business and community leadership development, and the development of trusting relationships. However, given the fact that market forces are not always perfect allocators of limited resources, and that cooperatives appear to assist the economically disadvantaged population, policy changes must be directed toward organizing and developing cooperatives in resource limited communities, to address old and emerging community concerns such as the provision of more and better access to health insurance, growing and selling of organic products, wind energy production, home care provision, and financial services for millions of rural community residents who are being squeezed out of most markets. Cooperatives have the potential to bootstrap far more people in low-income communities into the socio-economic mainstream than other business structures operating in these communities (2011).

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction to social capital

The concept of *social capital* has become very popular during the past years, and it is used in many fields. It is been brought out as a central term to describe the importance of social networks. The knowledge of social capital has become useful in issues regarding regional development and growth. Within political science and democracy research, the term is used to understand how “selfish” citizens can come to act collectively, and by that ensure a good democracy. Robert D. Putnam has made a big contribution in this area.

In the field of sociology, the concept is used to understand how individuals can sustain benefits by participating in social networks, and Pierre Bourdieu’s research belongs in this field. The fact that commitment and participation in networks has positive consequences for individuals and societies, can also be brought back to earlier theories, such as those of Durkheim and Marx.

As mentioned in the introduction of the thesis, the concept of social capital is even used in the economic field to bring out the importance of social relations for economical growth.

Even if the concept of social capital has become very popular, there is no uniformity when it comes to the definition of it, or for it is usefulness. This inconsistency gets even clearer when researchers want to measure it (Eriksson, 2003).

3.2 Two concepts of social capital

Further on I will describe the concept of social capital according to Putnam and Bourdieu. The reason why I have chosen these two specific theories of social capital is because the one of Putnam will help me understand the phenomenon partially through the collective aspect, and Bourdieu will help me see the social capital through the aspect of each individual, which I find to be a good complement to see the bigger picture in my study.

3.2.1 Social capital according to Robert D. Putnam

The social scientist Robert D. Putnam is famous for his theory about how the level of voluntary organizational participation affects a society's democracy. Putnam developed his ideas in relation to social capital in a series of publications, especially in his books *Making democracy work* (1993) and *Bowling alone* (2000). According to Putnam, social capital is trust, norms and networks that helps the effectiveness of the society. What these three components have in common is that the more they are used, the more they grow. If they are not used they get smaller and eroded (Putnam, 1993) *Making democracy work* is a study comparing different parts of Italy. The question that Putnam addressed in the study is why democracy appears to work in the North part of the country but not in the South. For getting an understanding of why democracy works, Putnam means that the issue of "social capital" is central. He suggests that social capital originates in the civic associations of society. The strength of society's civic associations is the key to solidarity, to national and democratic success. Putnam says that structures of the local government in the North are very effective and efficient when compared to those in the South. The pattern that he sees is that the government in the North produces positive results and gets support from the citizens, while the government in the South fails to produce positive policy results, and its citizens perceives politics and politicians as corrupt, divisive and antagonistic to their interests. Putnam's empirical evidence shows that in the Northern part of Italy, a big part of the citizens are members of different organizations such as, singing groups, soccer clubs, bowling leagues, bird-watching clubs, and other types of civic associations which are absent in the South. This phenomenon in the North builds trust among the members that then translates into other sorts of activities including political participation in government matters (Putnam, 1993).

3.2.2 Trust

Putnam defines social capital in direct relation to trust (Putnam, 1993). According to Putnam, a society needs to build up social capital to get democratic and national, or regional success. The trust in other members of the society leads to social cooperation and the acceptance of social and cultural rules. These levels of trust can translate into wealth creation and accountable, transparent governance. Creating solidarity and setting up norms and standards allows one individual to predict what another individual might do. Trust and solidarity may develop from a shared cultural background, set of values, symbols, and rituals. The most

important norm that is created in human networks is *reciprocity*, meaning; *I will do this for you, and I expect something in return*. According to Putnam, this will create trust within a group. Putnam speaks of *the logic of the collective action*. By this he means that people in general are better of cooperating, but the single individual gains more from pulling away and instead trust that someone else will do the work. If this mentality gets spread to other members, eventually all will stop collaborate and everyone will be worse of. In this type of situation the people would be better of if they were to cooperate, but the lack of trustworthy reciprocity makes them believe they are better of on their own. Social norms, and the networks which create these, can be useful in reducing this behaviour (Putnam, 1993, 2000).

3.2.3. Horizontal and vertical networks

Putnam means that all communities are characterized by informal and formal networks where the base is set for exchange and communication. Some networks are *horizontal* and bring people with the same amount of power and status together. Some networks are *vertical* and links unequal people with different relations of dependence and hierarchy (Putnam, 1993).

3.2.4 Possible effects of the social capital

In Putnam's discussions regarding social capital, he brings out two possible effects it might lead to. These are *bridging* and *bonding* effects. The bridging form of social capital grasps people across borders of different social groups, while the bonding social capital strengthens the identity within a certain group and can have an excluding function towards other groups. Putnam argues that the bridging social capital is the form of social capital that is more likely to effectively strengthen the civic solidarity. Meaning, that the bridging social capital is best suitable for creating integration between different cultural, social and ethnic groups, while the bonding social capital can even counteract the integration and trust for other groups. Putnam hasn't found any specific pattern for which type of organizations that creates which social capital, but he gives some examples. According to him, bridging organizations can be civil rights organizations and organizations with public utility purposes. Bonding organizations can be ethnical closed groups or luxurious sports clubs that rather strengthens the group within the organization than integrates it with the outside society (Putnam, 2000).

Putnam also means that a big amount of social capital leads to people being more understanding and tolerant, which are characteristics that are good for the whole society. He believes that this makes us smarter, healthier, more secure, richer, and better able to lead a fair

and stable democracy. The social capital has both an individual and a collective aspect, since it's positive for both society and individual people. People tie bonds between each other which benefit their own interests, as well as the society since it is positive when single individuals join social networks (Putnam, 2000).

3.2.5 Critique

In Sweden, the professor Bo Rothstein is probably the number one researcher of social capital and he has had a large interest in the studies of Putnam. Rothstein has critiqued Putnam's theory on several accounts. Rothstein has conducted similar studies about the Swedish civic society, and has also found a correlation between social trust and organizational level. But he means that it might as well be that individuals with a high level of social trust, is drawn to organizations, rather than organizations necessarily creates trust (Rothstein, 2003).

3.2.6 Social capital according to Bourdieu

Generally, capital is seen as symbolical and material assets. Bourdieu divides capital into four different forms; economic, social, cultural and symbolic (Siisiäinen, 2000). For my study I will use the theory of his social capital in my analysis, but I will shortly describe all forms of capital for the reader to understand Bourdieu's entire concept of capital. Bourdieu examines differences among the different forms of capital. Roughly the features are as follows:

3.2.7 Economic capital

Economic capital is grasped as directly convertible to money and is institutionalised through property rights. Economic capital is material assets and the knowledge of the economical rules. Education, science and literary capital are also part of the economic capital. According to Bourdieu, the income reflects your socio economic belongingness (Sokratis, 2008).

3.2.8 Cultural capital

Cultural capital is cultivated language, access to the "finer culture" such as art, classical music and so on. This form of capital is under certain conditions convertible to economic capital; its institutional expression is in the various presumptions of study such as university degrees (Sokratis, 2008).

3.2.9 Symbolic capital

Symbolic capital is the sum of the economic-, cultural- and social capital, and the bigger symbolic capital you have, the more symbolic power you get. An asset, of any kind, works as symbolic capital in a context where it is given a value. On an individual level, a graduation is an asset, but it has different values in different areas of professions. Graduating as a teacher or as an engineer has different values depending on what area you work in ([Sokratis, 2008](#)).

3.2.10 Social capital

This form of capital is about kinship, friendship, social contacts, networks and team spirit. According to Bourdieu, it is more difficult to measure social capital than it is to measure the economic capital. Having employment, or not, affects the social capital as well as engagements in club activities. Low social capital can be seen as isolation and alienation. Social capital comprises social responsibilities, “connections” or “linkages”, while under certain circumstances it is also convertible into economic capital. According to Bourdieu, social capital is formed, more or less consciously, via integration into networks and, unlike economic capital, it has no specific material form nor is it transparent. Instead, it is characterised by certain indeterminacy, so that there can be, for example, a leftover sense of an unspecified obligation. Social capital is in a sense “suspended” in mid-air, just like social structures, as it inheres in social relations ([Sokratis, 2008](#)).

Bourdieu’s concept of social capital puts the emphasis on conflicts and the power function, social relations that increase the ability of an actor to advance his or hers interests. He means that social capital becomes a resource in the social struggles that are carried out in the different social arenas or fields⁴ ([Siisiäinen, 2000](#)). According to Bourdieu, social capital is: “The sum of active or potential resources that are connected through the possession of a network of permanent relations of mutual acquaintance and mutual recognition, which are more or less institutionalized, or, in other words, with the inclusion into a group, as a sum of agents that are not only, endowed with common attributes, but also tied by bonds that are useful and permanent” ([Sokratis, 2008](#), p. 320). Such ties, get established and perpetuated on the basis of the recognition of the proximity of the members of the social group. Participation in a

⁴ Bourdieu does not speak much of the term society, but uses the terms *social room* and *field* instead. A field is a part of the social room in which it’s possible to separate the individual’s social position. A social field is a group of people uniting through common interests, an equal economic status or cultural status ([Koniordos,2008](#)).

group provides its members with collectivity-owned capital, a “credential” that entitles them to credit in the various sense of the word (Sokratis, 2008).

Bourdieu means that a strong sense of trust is not necessary to build social capital. It is more important with an exchange of different forms of capital and that everyone can be benefitted from the gathered capitals (Siisiäinen, 2000).

3.2.11 Group membership and social networks

Bourdieu means that there are two components to social capital. The first one is *group membership and social networks*. Membership in groups and involvement in the social networks developing within these and in the social relations rising from the membership can be utilized in efforts to improve the social position of the actors in a variety of different fields. Each individual in a network creates contacts and gathers capital; economic, cultural and so on. This capital is then an asset to all members within the group. As an example, Bourdieu means that a high education does not always guarantee a successful life, you also need support from friends, family or others. Group membership creating social capital, have a “multiplication effect” on the influence of other forms of capital (Siisiäinen, 2000). Concerning the size of the volume of social capital that a given agent of action has, Bourdieu means that, the volume is depending on the size of the network of connections and on the volume of economic, cultural and symbolic capital. (Sokratis, 2008)

3.2.12 Cognition and recognition

The second characteristic of social capital is *cognition and recognition*. Bourdieu means that the framing of the networks and the social capital is not something that is created by itself. The networks are rather a product of collective and individual investment strategies useful in either short or long term. The “connecting glue” in the networks consists of the exchange of different forms of capital which creates mutual cognition and recognition. Bourdieu means that social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or potential, that are available for an individual or group by having access to a sustaining network of more or less institutionalized relations of mutual cognition and recognition (Siisiäinen, 2000).

3.2.13 Social classes and social capital

According to Bourdieu, the differences between various social classes play a big role when it comes to how much social capital each network has. Classes with a big cultural and economic capital can follow a pattern of consumption that can lead to a big social capital. So, other forms of capital can be “traded in” and transform into social capital. The connection between class and the different forms of capital leads to Bourdieu’s conclusion that we are born with a certain “initial capital”, economically, culturally and socially, depending on your social class. To increase your capital, the individual might need to change class belonging (Sokratis, 2008).

3.2.14 Possible effects of the social capital

Bourdieu means that the effects of social capital have a clear aspect of power. A social capital exists, and is positive, only when it gets a certain value. Whether the social capital gets positive or negative effects depends on the power that the individual’s network consists of. One positive effect of social capital might be that it can enhance the chances to increase other forms of capital as well.

A negative effect of social capital might be the fact that what is considered positive social capital in one context might be considered negative in another. For example, the social capital consisting within the mafia might not be positive when a member wants out (Sokratis, 2008).

3.2.15 A comparison between Putnam and Bourdieu

One difference between how Bourdieu uses the concept of social capital compared to Putnam, is that he means that the exchanges within a network do not require trust and reciprocity. It is possible to use an accumulated social capital without feeling trust towards the people in the network you are referring to. Another difference that separates the two is the fact that Bourdieu does not believe that there is a collective aspect to social capital like Putnam means that there is. According to Bourdieu, the social capital is connected only to each individual. The final difference is that Putnam does not deal with conflicts at all, while this is one of the main focuses of Bourdieu (Siisiäinen, 2000).

4. Method

In social science, method is a very central thing, and It is part of the written material to illustrate the process of the research. By describing your method, you raise the status of the work. It is important to choose the method best suitable for the intended study, so that the researcher can reach the set goals (May, 2001).

4.1 Choice of method

In this thesis of mine, I have studied how members of Community Water Service Cooperative of Bagong Silang feel and think about their membership and participation in the organization. The purpose of this study is not to generalize, but to look deeply into the personal experiences of my interviewees. Because of the fact that I wanted to strive for meaning and understanding to do an analytical description, I have chosen to do a qualitative study (Grönmo, 2006). Trost (2005) means that the decision about making a quantitative or qualitative study, must be based on the choice of theoretical perspective as well as the research questions.

4.1.1 Case study

This field study is a form of “case study”, because of the fact that I have interviewed people from a certain organization and community. The purpose of doing a case study is that as a researcher you want to study a phenomenon in all its complexity and in a specific context because you believe that the certain context is important for the understanding. The benefit of doing a case study is that this type of study can help you answer *how-questions* and *why-questions*, which is what I am in need for, to be able to answer my research questions. A disadvantage with doing a case study is that your result might not be general and representative because of the fact that you are studying only one specific organization (Meeuwisse, Swärd & Eliasson-Lappalainen, 2008).

4.1.2 Semi-structured interviews

Since I decided that a qualitative study would be best suitable for my research, I found that interviews would be a good way to collect my data. Qualitative interviews are characterized by the fact that the questions are straight and uncomplicated, and the answers are powerful and long (Trost, 2005). The term *structuring* measures, describes whether the interview questions have strict answering alternatives or not. If a question leaves room for an open

answer it is, in this context, an un-structured question (Trost, 2005). During my field study semi-structured interviews were used as the main source of information in order to put the members own concerns in focus. Why I chose to do interviews in a semi structured form, is because of the fact that this lets me prepare interview questions, but the people I am interviewing still have the possibility to develop their answers in a way that they want to express themselves. This type of interviews are however, still structured enough to create comparability. Semi-structured interviews are more based on topics and themes, rather than bound to exact questions (May, 2001). The reason why I chose this form of interviews over unstructured interviews is partially because of shortage of time, and I feel that it would be a stressful method for a study that is only going on for 8-10 weeks. A disadvantage with doing semi-structured interviews can be that the people that are being interviewed start to talk about things far from the theme and the subject that is intended to be studied, because the interview lets them develop their own answers. As a researcher I have to let them be free to answer in their own way at the same time as I have to be able to lead them back into the theme I want to study. Being as prepared as I possibly can with follow-up questions is also important so that I do not miss opportunities in their answers by not getting them to develop their stories and experiences (May, 2001).

Standardizing measures to what degree the interviewer uses the same questions, same tone of voice and similarity in the different interviews for a study (Trost, 2005). For my interviews I used the same questions as a base, but the various answers from my respondent led to different questions and sometimes the respondents got to decide the order of the questions. This means that I believe my interviews to have a quite low standardizing.

4.1.3 Participating observation

In my field study I have done participating observations (May, 2001), in addition to my interviews. Participating observation means that the researcher gathers data by looking and listening to people who are in the environment that you intend to study. For the researcher to get an understanding of a certain phenomenon, he or she needs to participate and be in place of the people's natural situation. By conducting observations throughout the study, the researcher might distinguish patterns and changes in, for example, behavior and structures that can be meaningful for the study (Grönmo, 2006). Participating observations are characterized by that the researcher asks questions and interacts with the people in the field to learn their point of views to get a deeper understanding (Aspers, 2007).

In my opinion, observations was a good complement to my interviews since I got to see the members interact with each other, with their leaders and with IPCSED which made me understand their relationships a bit better.

4.1.4 Reliability and validity

Reliability means that you use a method that is reliable enough to come up with the same results if you would do the same study again at a later time, or if someone else would carry out the study (May, 2001). The reliability depends on my ability to conduct interviews and observations in a good way and on what methods and tools I use to analyze the data. The quality of the support from my tutor/supervisor can also affect the reliability. Al though, in a qualitative study, like mine, reliability is not always possible or wanted because it might not be possible for two different researchers to conduct the exact same study (May, 2001).

Validity means that you measure what you intend to measure (May, 2001). To achieve this I have to come up with suitable questions for my interviews so that I make sure that I ask questions that will help me get the answers I am in need for. I can also interview people with different relations to the problem that I am studying (May, 2001), for example, by interviewing someone who represents IPCSED, and someone from CWSC. For validating the actual paper I will write, I have to describe how I collected my data, who I interviewed and how these people were chosen, and how the analysis process went.

4.1.5 Sample and selection

The selection group for my interviews in this study is primary members of CWSC. I have in addition to this interviewed representatives from IPCSED to get a wider perspective in my empirical data. The sample selection for my study was made by self selection, which means that the organization it self selected who I was going to interview (May, 2001) I did have a request to not interview people of just one gender, because I thought that interviewing both male and female people would create more trust for my study. For me to be able to get in touch with the members of CWSC I had to go through various, so called, gatekeepers. Researchers with the intention to come in contact with people in weak and vulnerable situations are often dependent on, for example, organizations or institutions. These organizations or institutions work as gatekeepers and might not always have the intentions to protect the individuals from research. The gatekeepers might instead be more interested in protecting the organization from observation (Meeuwisse, Swärd & Eliasson-Lappalainen,

2008). I want to come in contact with people living in the slum, and to do this I need help from SCC, IPCSED and the manager in CWSC, which can cause problems. To come in contact with the members of CWSC I got help from the manager of the organization, which I appreciate, but I have to keep in mind that if she was in a position to “choose” who I was going to interview I might just come in contact with people that she wanted me to talk with, whether she was aware of it or not.

4.2 Practical implementation of interviews and observations

To come in contact with the CWSC, I have had help from the SCC and their partner organization IPCSED. During my first days in Manila, SCC’s Country Director Anneli Leina gave me a lot of information about their organization and their work in the Philippines. She also invited me to join their partner meeting that was going to take place for a few days during my first week of my field study. In the partner meeting I got to know the members of IPCSED and we started to plan for when I could go with them to Bagong Silang. IPCSED has played a big part in my study because I have been relying on them to come in contact with the water cooperative. Going to Bagong Silang from where I stayed in Manila is not very easy and I was told that it would not be safe for me to go alone. During my first visit to the cooperative in Bagong Silang I got to observe their general assembly, which is an annual meeting. I got to meet the manager and various chairmen and members of the organization. I believe that I was lucky to be able to visit them on a special day like this, to see how they all interacted with each other when a lot of people are meeting like that. I also joined a meeting that was just for the management of the organization.

For this study I did six interviews. The people I interviewed were four members of CWSC (respondents 1, 2, 5 and 6) and two members of IPCSED (respondents 3 and 4). Throughout my stay in Manila I continuously also got a lot of information from SCC’s Country Director, which has been very helpful to me even though it hasn’t been from formal interviews.

The interviews in CWSC were carried out in their community Bagong Silang in Metro Manila, and each interview took approximately one hour. Two of the interviews were held in the office of CWSC and two were held in the homes of the respondents. The locations of the interviews felt a bit out of my control, since I was in a very unfamiliar situation and it was more natural for the members of the organization to decide where we should sit. My thoughts

about having the interviews in the office of the organization are both that it could be comfortable for the respondents, but also that it might be hard for them to be critical towards the organization since they're in its territory. However, from what I can see in the answers I got, they seemed to feel able to speak freely. Conducting the interviews in the respondent's homes, was also good to make them feel comfortable. In fact, I think it was a harder challenge for me as a researcher since I am not used to seeing these living conditions up close. Before I had any interviews I visited some families' homes, which I believe was positive because it can be a quite special experience when it is the first time you see it.

When I first visited Bagong Silang, my thought was that it would be hard to conduct interviews because my experience was that it was very noisy, crowded and hard to be alone with anyone. Most families there have a lot of children and they live in small homes and you can clearly here sounds from outside while in the houses. During the interviews my plan was to record the respondents so that I did not need to take much notes, to be able to give the respondents as much focus as possible. Since I perceived the environment as a bit turbulent, I was afraid that I would not here much from the recordings. Due to this, I made the decision to have another person with me to take notes for me, so that I would have the chance to use these in case I needed them as a complement. I believe that it was a bit risky to add another person to the setting, because the respondents might feel intimidated when there were two *of us*, even though I was the one doing the interviews. Trost (2005) says that having two people conducting an interview might be scary for the respondent. However, I do not think that it turned out to be a problem in the end, because of the fact that there were other people present as well. These other people were, for example, their children and wife/husband, and this probably made them feel more secure even though I had another person with me. My wish for the interviews was to be able to be alone with the respondents, but this turned out not to be an option. Trost (2005) means that, interviewing more people at once can easily create problems if perhaps someone takes more attention or if there's group pressure. My situation wasn't that I interviewed more people at once, I was only interviewing one person at the time, but having these other people around could possibly have affected my respondent anyway. I believe that the location of the interviews would be different in a perfect situation, but I had to work with what I got, and make the best of it. Trost (2005) says that the important thing is to be aware about the fact that the location of the interviews can affect the respondents and this is something that every researcher has to keep in mind.

One thing that has crossed my mind as a possible limitation for my study is the language. In the Philippines, the English language is an official language and most people know it very well. My interviews were held in English and from my point of view it went very well. Even though, I have to take into consideration that my respondents might not have felt one hundred percent able to express themselves exactly like they wished to, if they in fact are more comfortable with using their Philippine language.

Another thing that might affect my interviews is the fact that I am from a completely different culture compared to where my respondents are from. I believe that a researcher always affect the interviewees, and the interviewees always affect the researcher, and it is all the more clear in a situation like mine when you meet people from, as I feel, *another world*. Through out my stay in the Philippines, I felt that the people I met had a lot of respect for me because of the simple reason that I am a white person from the west. They seemed to believe that I was automatically rich because of where I come from, which creates a lot of emotion when their most obvious problem is that they are poor. If the people I was interviewing felt like this as well, it might have affected they way that they felt in my presence. Perhaps they felt that I was *more* than them, which made them feel inferior to me. This is why I believe that it was good that I got to spend some time with them before my interviews, so that I was not a completely new face when we met for the interviews.

My interviews with the two members of IPCSED went very smoothly, and felt very comfortably from my point of view. This was probably because I had gotten to know them earlier and we had talked a lot about similar things that we talked about during the interviews. These two interviews were held in their office building which meant that they were in a very familiar environment, and I had visited them there before so I felt comfortable as well.

For every interview I tried to dress appropriate and suitable for the situation. I took into consideration that the Philippines is a religious country and I didn't want the people I met to think that I was disrespecting their culture. Trost (2005) says that the interviewer should try to find out what is suitable in terms of, for example, clothes so that this doesn't affect or distract the interview.

4.3 Ethical matters

All of my respondents in this study have participated by their own free will. In the beginning of every interview I thoroughly explained the purpose of me being there and what by study was about and why I was doing it, and asked if they had any uncertainties or questions about it. I told them that they at any time could end the interview or tell me that they didn't want me to use the information that they had given me. I informed them that the material I collected would only be used for this particular study and that I would destroy it once I finish the work. The respondents were all asked weather or not it was okay that I recorded the interviews and they were made sure that I would delete the recordings when I didn't need them anymore. The anonymity of the respondents were very important for me, and no named will be used in the thesis.

When it comes to ethical considerations I have to protect the weaker part, which in this case are the people living in the slum, members of CWSC. I do believe that the subject of my study is not such a sensitive subject so I hope they will not feel that I intrude on their most personal space. I am also well aware that I am home biased and do not know very much at all about their life in this type of area, and this is something I will have to remember throughout my study so that it will not be too much of an obstacle for me and the people I am meeting.

My empirical material was kept in safe places during my field study and after I got home, so that no one else but me could see it.

4.4 Processing the material

My interviews were all recorded, and so I hade to transcribe them later on. This means that I had a lot of material to go through. To sort out all of this empirical material I used the method of coding. In a qualitative study you can do the coding with either, paper and pen or with help from a computer program (Aspers, 2007). My method was by using paper and pen with different colours to code my data. To do this type of coding you sort your material according to various themes that are important for the study you are doing. This helps you to analyze your research based on the actual material rather than on what you are feeling or thinking (Aspers, 2007).

A representative from the MFS organization gave the tip that you should have a co-reader, especially if your writing the thesis alone which I am doing. During my field study I have regularly had another person at home reading my work.

5. Analysis

In this part of my thesis, I am using my choice of theoretical framework to analyse my empirical data that I have collected during my fieldwork. There are two themes that will be central in the analysis because of the fact that they, by far, were the most concerned topics during my interviews. These two themes are; *conflicts* and *trust*.

My respondents are;

I1 member of CWSC

I2 manager of CWSC

I3 member of IPCSED

I4 member of IPCSED

I5 member of CWSC

I6 member of CWSC

5.1 Type of organization

In this first part of my analysis I am trying to figure out what kind of organization CWSC is, using some of Putnam's theoretical definitions. Determining if CWSC is what Putnam calls a horizontal organization or a vertical organization is not perfectly obvious. The first thought is that it is a horizontal organization since it brings people with the same status and with similar positions, together as a group. The members all, more or less, live under the same conditions and can be considered as equals. I2 also told me, that she as a manager goes to other communities and tries to help them set up the same type of organization as CWSC, which can be seen as a horizontal relationship since these other communities are equal to Bagong Silang. On the other hand, you might say that it is a vertical organization because of the collaboration with IPCSED and SCC. In some sense you might see these three partners as unequal since CWSC is depending on IPCSED who in their turn depends on SCC. The conclusion must be that a group does not have to be vertical *or* horizontal, but instead that it can be both. If this is true, as it seems in this case, I would argue that this holds for a lot of positive benefits. Being connected to other people/groups/organizations of various dependence, equality, similarity and so on generates experience and knowledge in a wider sense, rather than just having relations to one homogenous group. As I3 said;

SCC is very confidence building for us. They give us inspiration to be our best. /13

Interacting with others, who you look up to and admire might make you want to *be better* and strive for this. CWSC is perhaps inspired by IPCSED to perform at their best just as IPCSED is inspired by SCC.

The different connections that CWSC has to different organizations might serve as, so called, bridging effects since the borders to the own group are being crossed to form relations to others. One of Putnam's other effects of social capital is what he calls bonding effects. This type of effects within the organization is something I believe is detected among the members. As I will explain further along through out my analysis I sensed a bit of *us and them-feeling* between the members of the organization and the management and this type of social capital might lead to the bonding effects Putnam is talking about. The risk might be that the bonding group does not let anyone in and becomes very closed up, which might affect the organization in a negative way. The gap between the bonding groups might become too big for them to work as a united organization.

5.2 Conflicts

Common for all my respondents were that they all, more or less, emphasised the level of conflicts and competition in the cooperative. Conflicts and arguments were also things I got to observe first hand during my visit for the cooperatives' annual assembly. These conflicts are first and for most between the members and the management, but also among the members regarding competition of certain positions in the organization. It also mentioned the conflict between the organization (or in fact the whole community) and the local government.

Here are some misunderstanding with the manager and board of directors going around, mostly about financial issues. As a former auditor here I notice many irregularities. There are a lot of conflicts and we have many arguments about the fact that no one takes charge or responsibility.

Many run for the positions for money, but if you ask they deny it. I

Do not blame them. They need money for their families.

They try to reach out to new members but not in a nice way. They want more members for their own intentions. The leaders do not show respects for the members, they only think of their own interests and the money goes into the pockets of the managers and board of directors.

There is a lot of competition among the members to get certain positions in this organization. Before elections they go house to house at night trying to get people to vote for them.

I think nobody is taking care of us. Our government is in charge of water supply here. They should be the ones doing the water lining here. Where are they? There is a government agency that should be in charge. It should be their responsibility. They have enough money, why do they not do it? Something is happening there. Corruption, I say no names. I can not name them. They use somebody. Why I tell you this is, if you step one hundred meters, there are waterlines from the government agency. Why can't they do the same here? Somebody is blocking. / I1

Here is a lot of gossip, but they have no proof. They think I get paid too much, even though it is minimum wage. This behaviour creates a lot of conflicts and arguments within our organization. /I2

Many members are jealous of other member's positions and here is a lot of competition because the men want to take over the women's positions and this leads to a lot of conflicts. There are a few members going around house to house with complaints. But that is just because they are jealous. /I5

Yes, there are lots of conflicts here. The conflicts are about complaints towards the management, and competition between members also causes conflicts. But we try to solve this by talking about the problems. /I6

The answers above might be applied to Bourdieu's thoughts that conflicts are central in social capital and that social relations and social capital increase the possibility for personal gain which is desirable for the individuals. Competing for certain positions might also be seen as an attempt to gain symbolic power. However, when I asked the respondents about the reason for why they are members the answers were as follows;

To help fellow members, to help the community. /I1

Now I can help others. I help others who don't have connection to direct water. /I6

I have always been an activist and here I get to express that. I want changes in society and I have to do my share. I want to improve the living condition for the people in this community.

/I2

I wanted to help. I want to solve the problem in my community. It is hard for many people here. /I5

In a bit sceptical way, Bourdieu might have an explanation for the answers above. He means that private interests can be concealed as universal at least in two ways. First, those who volunteer or are said to behave altruistically can simply try to present the necessary as universal. Second, the interests and calculations of the powerful can be presented under positive banners such as flexibility, subsidiary principle, or communality. When individuals can rise above their narrow interests and show that they have adopted the position of the community, the community interprets this as a recognition of collective values. The community will reward this kind of action by affording profit of universalization to the actors in question. On the other side, Putnam believes that actors can rise above their specific interests (Siisiäinen, 2000). So, what does this mean? It might either mean that the respondents genuinely are members for the sake of others, or it might mean that they just do not want to say that they have a personal intention with their memberships. Further more this might also be a norm in the organization; to claim that the reason for being a member is that you want to help the community. According to Putnam, if you do not follow the rules and norms in an organization you might suffer sanctions from the rest of the group. It means, as

mentioned above, that the money in the organization goes into the pockets of the managers and board of directors and that some run for the positions because of the money, and is this seen as not following the norms, the arguments and conflicts towards the management might be this type of sanctions that Putnam is referring to. Supporting this theory might be I2's comment;

They make sure that I know that I am not wanted here. /I2

Going back to Bourdieu's idea of individuals using personal relations for personal gain, both I1 and I5 says that members are going *house to house* to either recruit voters or share their complaints which is an example of how networking can be used to get support for your personal beliefs and interests. SCC's idea is that the community will get a better response with the local government if they come together as a group instead of fighting as single individuals and this can also be a way of using your relationships and the resources gathered from the social capital to get what you want, in this case water in the community.

Putnam does not discuss conflicts between interests or between civil society and the political society, which leads to him neglecting the power relations that are inherent in all modern associations. Putnam also has little to say about the problems of internal democracy in existing voluntary associations and their internal power structures (Siisiäinen, 2000). Him leaving out this gap in his theory can be seen as a shortage in my particular field study since one of the number one topics discussed during my interviews was, without a doubt, conflicts. When trying to understand why conflicts aren't illustrated in Putnam's theory I cautiously draw the conclusion that his work and studies were reduced to voluntary associations of a specific type, for example sports clubs and cultural associations. Interest organizations of any sort, were not approached and there for conflicts might not have been a central factor in Putnam's research, which would have been needed when analysing my material.

5.3 Trust

Trust is a term in which Putnam and Bourdieu do not agree. Putnam means that it is crucial for social capital to develop, while Bourdieu does not speak much of it at all as an important

factor. When my respondents were asked about their opinion regarding trust towards the people in the organization, these were the answers;

I do not feel trust for the managers because they are not managing the cooperative well and they only show respect when we have one on one conversations but not in front of the entire group, so if you are planning to donate money to us don't do it because it is not good. For the other members I do feel trust, I count on them. /I1

People here have no trust for organizations because they have experience of bad politics. They only trust me as a manager when I give them financial statements so that they can see where the money goes. /I2

Our leaders are very good so I trust them to fulfil their obligations. They are nice and they want to help us. If I did not trust them or the other members, I wouldn't be a part of this organization. But I know that some members do not trust our management. /I5

My relationship with the management is ok, I do not think I have any reason not to trust anyone here. /I6

Regarding trust I also got some interesting answers from the representatives of IPCSED;

People follow leaders if you see that they succeed. That's a part of the culture in the Philippines. If they see that it works, they want to join! Here, trust and respect is something that has to be earned. Philippines are quite suspicious and not very trusting, maybe because of bad experiences. People don't even trust family and friends lightly. On the other hand Philippines are quite tolerable and resilient. In this type of organization, trust is very important. It takes a lot for this people to participate, which probably means that they feel trust or else it wouldn't be worth it for them. But we know about some other leader who took all the money from a cooperative and this might make the people in our cooperative worried. /I3

The management can perhaps build trust by making members aware of what is going on. And maybe use an external auditor. But trust is difficult, Philippines are more "wait and see" and they do not trust at first. /I4

I2, I3 and I4 all addressed a general problem regarding trust and I1 specifically pointed out his issues with the management but also that he trusts the fellow members, while I5 and I6 had no problems at all regarding trust. What seemed to be a common opinion was the importance of participation;

Everybody should contribute and be active. They have to observe what is going on. It is their responsibility and it is not fair if some people do not contribute as much as the rest. Some people spend a lot of time working for the organization and this should be respected and appreciated by the others and that is why they should be active and not just pay the fee.

/I1

Cooperatives are good because the people need to help themselves and not wait for the government to help them. In a cooperative they are forced to be active and can not rely on others, they have to do the work themselves. That's why I believe it's important for all our members to participate. /I2

Because I contribute I will get help when I need it, and I will help others who contribute if they need help. /I6

If members participate they have control and see what the leaders are doing, and this will make them trust each other. /I4

Ideally all members should be active, to become stronger as a group. /I3

Trust seems to be an important issue among my respondents in one way or another, but whether or not it is a determine factor for the survival of the organization or for the developing of social capital is another question. Seeing this through Putnam's perspective we might say that the fact that all three members among my respondents fully feel trust for the members of the organization is what is necessary for them to develop social capital. This might mean that the organization in fact exists of two groups, two networks; the members-group and the management-group. And as long as there is trust within each group, social capital may occur. My own observations were that it actually was a quite segregated organization with a strong sense of *us and them-feeling* between the members and the

management. This was shown as I got to witness the people grouping against each other and talking behind each others backs to individuals belonging to their own group or to me as an outsider. One thing that seemed important to feel trust towards each other is that all members should participate equally. Anneli Leina means that for a cooperative to be successful it is not possible for all members to participate at the same level. Putnam speaks about reciprocity, the importance of getting something in return. If we take what I3 and I4 says about Philippines not being a trusting people into consideration, perhaps reciprocity is even stronger here since they *expect* to be let down. Maybe they wouldn't put in an effort if they couldn't be sure that all the other members would do the same and that is way they want all to participate just as much and this might have become a norm in the organization. And as we know, following norms is according to Putnam something that creates trust and we have learned that the members of this organization strongly feel trust for each other.

Seeing this from Bourdieu's point of view where trust is not the most important factor, but the exchange of capital and the fact that all members can be gained from the collected capital within a group is some what crucial, means that even though there is a sense of distrust towards the managers in this organization the members might feel that the positive effects of having access to the collective capital triumphs the lack of trust for the leaders. According to Bourdieu, what upholds a group is cognition and recognition which is created through exchange of capital between social relationships created for short or long term. Wanting access to these resources might be a reason to hold on to the group. By a stretch I would claim that this cognition and recognition might be trust hidden in other expressions. If mutual cognition and recognition is what holds a group together, isn't that in a way, trusting others to make sure you still have access to the resources of the group?

5.4 Outcomes from being a member

The previous part of this analysis was about having access to the gathered capital, and the importance of this. For learning why this is important I asked my respondents about what has changed in their lives since the joined the organization;

Before I was just a housewife, I was just washing clothes. Now I have learned a lot from education which makes my happy! It is usually just men who are involved in things like this

and we have to take care of the children, but now I know women can learn anything from training, and I want to be a part of this. I am also very happy for all my new friends. I was very shy before and I did not know many people. /I5

Here I get to interact with others, which means that I get more friends. So, I have more people to rely on now that I know so many! My life is easier now, especially with my children. Now we do not have to carry water anymore, so I have more time for other things, like helping my kids with homework. And my income makes it financially easier, because I sell water to other people in the community that can not afford to join the cooperative. /I6

First of all, what these two have in common is that they say that their amount of friends has definitely gotten bigger which means that their personal network of social relationships has grown and they can benefit more resources from these individuals. We can see what Bourdieu means when he says that possessing social capital can enhance the chances to increase other forms of capital. Being part of this organization and getting access to various resources like education has led to other positive effects. I6's comment about an increased income can be seen as a growth of her economic capital according to Bourdieu. This might also be applied to the fact that I6 can help her children with their homework and their education, which in long term can develop their amount of capital. One thing that can be seen as a struggle for my respondents to increase their social capital could be their relatively low economic capital. This is because Bourdieu means that other forms of capital, for example economic, can be traded in for social capital and with this I mean that my respondents might have a bit of a negative starting point due to their financial status. So, Bourdieu means that to increase your social capital you might need to change your class belonging, which probably sounds easier than it is. However, I believe that tendencies of this phenomena of changing class belonging is shown in some way, if still in a small scale. Being a member of CWSC means that you get water lines connected to your household, which might be seen as development in your *status* since not everyone can afford it. From one of my respondents I learned that this person's income has increased since she joined the organization because it lets her sell water to others. An improved financial status can also be seen as a positive development towards reaching a desired class belonging. When the community develops like this, the differences between various class belongings can become clearer, since it is shown quite obvious which people that have the resources to get connected to the water and then can make money of it. So, by joining CWSC and increasing the social capital, the economic capital has increased as well

which according to Bourdieu can lead to even more increasing social capital. It seems like a spiral towards a bigger amount of capital and perhaps even a change in class belonging might be in progress.

One of Bourdieu's wonderings was that humans, even though we basically can choose freely and often experience that we do so, seem to choose in line with the social context we are in and have experience from; that our environment decides our choices (Siisiäinen, 2000). This might be applied to the social construction of gender, which according to the announcements of my respondents seems to be strong in their society since they say that it is usually just men who joins organizations and the men are jealous of the women's positions in the cooperative. This way of not following the rules in the social construction might be an effect of social capital for the women. The majority of the members in the cooperative are women, which I believe is a positive development regarding increasing the gathered social capital in the community. This because, the women who join the organizations get out of their houses and interacts with more people which in that case is no longer just privilege for the men who does it at, for example, their work place. In long term this might also affect the younger generations since the social construction of women just doing housework on their own is some what vanishing, and the children in the community grow up learning that it is okay for both women and men to create and be a part of social networks and relations, and if more people join networks, groups and organizations the community will be better of, at least if we believe the theory of Putnam.

5.5 The cooperative model

If social capital is an important factor for communities to develop, as WBG means, then it is quite interesting to study what kind of organizational model that generates the most amount of social capital. Following, are the answers from my respondents regarding their take on being a cooperative organization;

Cooperative is best because the income goes back to the consumer. It also creates jobs that in long term might lead to fighting poverty. /14

Cooperatives have a set of guidelines that must be followed. Other organizations do not have guidelines. Here, everyone gets a vote and is able to say what they want and there is not a boss who decides everything. /15

What the government and private sector can not do, can be empowered by cooperatives and the people in them. The members of CWSC are happy now that they have a sense of organization and that creates strength that's not depending on the outside. Now the people are talking for themselves which is thanks to them being a cooperative. Their self esteem has improved. Before, they never thought they would be able to manage a business and money but now they do. As a cooperative they also get more attention from for example the government. In a cooperative they have to come together as apposed to other forms of organizations. /13

These statements agree with those of Majee and Hoyt (2011) who says that being a cooperative is trust building which according to them, as well as Putnam, strengthens the community. They mean that being a cooperative might well be the first-choice business model for locally based, locally controlled community development which is an opinion that seems to be shared with my respondents. If the principals of cooperatives (voluntary and open membership, democratic member control, member economic participation, autonomy and independence, education, training and information, cooperation among cooperatives, and concern for community) are being followed, it is quite easy to see how this would create trust since all members were to be valued equally and they would all be aware of what is happening and going on in the organization. This sense of control is probably what people are looking for when they choose to *let the guard down* and trust. If I were to analyze whether or not CWSC are following these principals based on the answers of my respondents, I would say that it is in the *member economic participation* they are lacking, since most of the trust issues I was told about regarded money. All though, I believe that the management might be trying to improve this flaw by now starting to give thorough financial statements.

5.6 Conflicts and trust combined

As mentioned before, conflicts and trust were the subjects most discussed during my interviews and this is what my respondents seemed to have the most to say about. When analysing these two factors related to social capital, neither Putnam nor Bourdieu theories that are useful to one hundred percent. One thing the two of them seem to have in common is that trust can not be combined with conflicts/interests, and there for Putnam does not deal with

conflicting interests and Bourdieu leaves trust out of the formation of social capital. Obviously, there seemed to be some trust issues within the organization in which I conducted my research, but yet the members seemed to have increased their social capital since they joined the cooperative. This means that Putnam's theory regarding trust being an important factor for social capital might not apply here. Trying to understand how this can be, Putnam's own research might have to be analysed some more. His studies were conducted in the western part of the world, in Italy and the United States of America, and my conclusion is that this can have something to do with the differences of the result. A developing country like the Philippines, that has been very corrupt which is fresh in the memories of the citizens, might not be fully comparable to all European and American countries. The Nordic countries are, in Putnam's sense of the word, the most trusting people in the world and there for we have a big amount of social capital according to him (Siisiäinen, 2000). Perhaps this connection between trust and social capital is not fully applicable in a society where people generally are seen as distrusting. The Nordic countries don't deal with the same problems as they do in the Philippines, and the Nordic citizens might feel a basic trust towards society thanks to the social safety net and welfare that is far more developed in their community compared to many other parts of the world. By this, I am not saying that trust and distrust is not a big issue, because according to my findings it absolutely is. I am just saying that it is not the presence of existing trust that seems to be the major factor in developing social capital or not, since it seems to be lacking here and yet the answers of my respondents regarding outcomes from being a member show development of social capital.

6. Discussion

In this part of the thesis, I am using my conclusions and thoughts from the analyzed empirical data to answer and discuss my research questions that were the base of my study.

6.1 Research question 1; trust

How do the members of CWSC perceive their relationship with the organization in terms of trust, and how is this trust (or lack of trust) characterized?

Over all, trust seemed to be a quite problematic issue within the organization. Not all of the respondents said that they do not trust the management, but some did, and also the manager herself claimed that she did not feel that she is trusted as a leader for the organization. This distrust is, for example, characterized by a lot of conflicts, by members doubting the management's work, by a lot of arguments, by grouping against each other, by talking behind each others back and by believing that the management is dishonest regarding the financial matters. What is interesting about this is that according to Putnam, trust is necessary to create social capital and to develop a community, but my conclusion is that social capital is an outcome for the members of CWSC even though trust is not a general factor among all members. That Philippine people are seen as generally distrusting people is something intriguing that I got to learn from some of my respondents. This might tell us that theories about social capital needing trust, is perhaps not fully applicable in all types of societies.

6.2 Research question 2; reasons and expectations

What are the reasons for the members of CWSC to participate in the organization, and do they have any expectations of what the membership will lead to?

All of my respondents had very altruistic answers for this question, and they mean that they are a part of the organization to primarily help others. However, Bourdieu teaches us that selfish agendas can often be covered up by altruistic purposes. I am not saying that this absolutely is the case in this study, it is just an interesting thought to think about. Generally, the people are hoping that their membership will lead to a better community and that the citizens will get a better livelihood. *Concern for community* is one of the cooperative

principals, and this is something that seems to be the most important thing within CWSC according to my respondent's statements when it comes to the reason for them to be a part of the organization.

6.3 Research question 3; creating social capital?

In what ways has the membership meant a change for the members, and has it created social capital?

First and foremost, one change for the members is obviously that they have gotten connected to waterlines, which means a lot to them. Further more, it seems that most of my respondents have gotten to know a lot more people since they joined the organization, which means that they have more people to rely on and interact with. It also seems that their self esteem has become better since they have gotten to do, and learn, things they never thought they would. Especially the women seem to have had a positive development from all of this since they now do things that only men got to do before. Another outcome for some members is the financial aspect, since an employment in the cooperative generates an income, and also that some people who have gotten connected to water have started to sell water to others who aren't members.

When it comes to the question about whether or not the members have gained social capital from their membership, we can start by answering this from Putnam's point of view. As mentioned earlier, he defines social capital as trust, norms and networks that helps the effectiveness of the society. If we begin with the part *networks*, probably all would agree that CWSC is a network that has contributed to the society's effectiveness a lot by improving the livelihood in the community. Getting this many people connected to water must be seen as a great step in the right direction. Continuing to the term *norms*, my conclusion is that the one norm that seemed to be the strongest was about the importance for all to participate and the fact that generally everyone follows this. If we are to believe the research of Narayan (1995), this is a positive norm to hold on to, to make the cooperative more effective and successful. If *networks*, *norms* and *trust* are three "checking boxes", in some way we might say that we just get two out of three. Through out my analysis, distrust has continuously been stated since this has been the statements from some of the respondents. If we leave it at this, Putnam's theory can not be used to explain social capital in CWSC. Al though, if we take what trust possibly

might be in this particular case we can be able to claim that Putnam's theory is applicable. My point is that there in some way might be trust "hidden" among the members but it is not expressed as trust. What I mean is that the *norm of participation* is maybe how they all show trust. By expecting quite much of each other regarding commitment to the group and by, from what I can see, living up to these expectations, some form of trust might appear even though it is perhaps not the traditional trust that the respondents think of when asked about it. So, if we go with this last theory the answer if CWSC has created social capital according to Putnam is; yes.

Now I am moving on to answer this question from Bourdieu's point of view, where the individual aspect is central and the focus is on power and conflicts, social relations that increase the ability for an individual to advance his or her interests. Here, the collectively owned capital that all members of the network can take advantage of is important. Bourdieu means that social capital is the sum of all resources that are connected through the possession of a network. One thing that has become very clear during this study is the fact that my respondents seem to have increased their social relations, and by this their possible resources, tremendously. By increasing their amount of friends, fellow members and acquaintances their "bank of capital" has grown which makes them develop in many fields such as both the social and the economical. My study has also shown the big amount of conflicts and personal interests that are to some extent what drives them, and some how this creating of social relations has gotten them what they want. By IPCSED and CWSC getting a linkage to SCC, they get financial help to succeed with their work and by coming together as a group they have gotten the resources to get heard among the government and authorities. In conclusion, my meaning is that the respondents have had an increasing amount of social capital according to Bourdieu as well as Putnam.

Perhaps, it seems a bit strange to claim that both Putnam's and Bourdieu's theories regarding social capital is useful and helpful in the same case study, but in fact it all depends on what theoretical glasses you choose to wear and from what perspective you choose to look at it. As mentioned in my analysis I some what think that Putnam's theory might be a bit "western", in lack of a better word, meaning, that his perspective is not fully meant for all types of societies. There for, I believe that the two theories of Putnam and Bourdieu complement each other in a way that makes them both helpful for a developing community like the one I visited during my field study. Conflicts and trust were the two subjects that stood out the most in my

research, and neither Putnam or Bourdieu deals with both of these two phenomena's, but only one of them each. Saying that the two theories complement each other is not a way of trying to make it easy to be able to explain exactly everything by choosing which theory is most suitable for each single situation. It is more that they are perhaps both lacking a bit to on their own be able to explain this specific type of social network; a water cooperative in a developing country.

6.4 Ending comment

Embracing the standpoint of The World Bank, who means that social capital is a key source for developing countries to evolve, research regarding the subject is important to learn what is actually creating social capital. My case study shows that this particular cooperative in fact does create this form o capital and all the resources that come with it. I can only speak for this actual organization and not generalize, but perhaps assumptions can be made about the fact that there is a chance that it might be the same for other similar organizations. Anyhow, this is something that needs to be studied, and from what I have learned, theories regarding social capital from Putnam and Bourdieu can in many ways be useful in the process.

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Appendix; Interview guide

Background information:

- Name?
- Age?
- Family?
- Employment?

The respondent and the cooperative:

- Why have you chosen to be a member?
- Has anything changed in your life since you became a member? What? Positive and negative?
- Are many of your friends and family members of the organization?
- Have you gotten to know more people since you joined the organization?
- In what way do you participate?
- What are you hoping your membership will lead to?
- Are you a member of any other organization?
- What do you want the organization to achieve?

CWSC

- How many members are you?
- Do you want there to be more members, why?
- Are most members active or passive members?
- Do you think it's important for members to be active? If so, why?
- How does the leadership and management in the organization work?
- How are the leaders chosen?
- Do you think you have the right leader? Why?
- How is the organization trying to reach its goals?

- What do you think “outsiders” think about your organizations?
- What do you think the organization means for your community?

Relations:

- How do you perceive the relationships among members?
- Respect within the organization?
- Trust within the organization?
- Competition between members?
- Conflicts within the organization?