

MODEL OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND COMMUNITY SERVICE: CASE HISTORY OF UNOCAL/PHILIPPINE GEOTHERMAL, INC.'S EXPERIENCE WITH THE MAK-BAN AND TIWI FIELDS

Mae Z. Meidav, Ph.D.

San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit District

Marichu C. Calica and Emmanuel E. Enalpe
Philippine Geothermal, Inc.

Keywords: Philippines, environmental impact, sociology, sustainable development, community service, outreach

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the history of the UNOCAL/Philippine Geothermal, Inc. experiences in the initiation and execution of social services and programs in conjunction with development of two major geothermal resource areas. The necessity for aggressive community and social development programs evolved from the great societal impact that the geothermal development had on two subsistence level agricultural communities in the Philippines. The geothermal development is responsible for the transformation from an agriculture-based livelihood to one that is partially industrial based. The disruption in the source of livelihood and the cultural conflict endemic to an agrarian society in close proximity to a high technology installation necessitated the involvement of the developer in the community process following power plant construction. This is in contrast to major geothermal development areas in the United States, where the socioeconomic assessment precedes the development and most often terminates after acceptance in the environmental approval process. In the present case, not only does the impact assessment continue into the operating phase, but a pro-active stance by the developer seems to be required in initiating and continually supporting social programs throughout the operating phase of the power plant.

BACKGROUND

The Philippines, like most countries since the 1973 oil crisis, has had to reshape its energy policy. In 1977, oil constituted 95 percent of total commercial energy use, all from imported sources (Madrid, 1977). This was a central concern in the Philippines economy. By 1980, the geothermal power production capacity in the Philippines was 168 MWe. In 1981, the National Energy Program forecasted that approximately 1400 MWe of geothermal power could be on line by 1988.

In 1994, the Philippines was second only to the United States in electric power generation from geothermal energy with an installed capacity of 894 MWe, or about 15 percent of the national installed power plant capacity. (Geothermal power plant capacity in the U.S. for that year was 2600 MWe.) With several major fields in operation, geothermal energy provided about 25 percent of Luzon's electricity. Prospects for increased geothermal power production appeared promising due to the favorable economics of replacing imported oil or coal for power production. The Philippines has an estimated 3,000 MW of total geothermal energy reserves; less than one-third has been developed. The estimated resource potential of about 2 billion bbl of oil equivalent/yr could readily supply the 263 million bbl of oil-equivalent energy requirement of the Philippines by the year 2000 (Datuin and Roxas, 1990; Gazo and Datuin, 1992).

National corporations, local governing entities, and foreign and domestic companies have been effective in developing the geothermal resource. It is recognized that development needs to be accomplished in a manner that: would create sound environmental programs and not contribute to air or water pollution; would offer commercial profitability in the case of a private entity, would best contribute to the national and regional economy; and would provide fair and adequate compensation to those communities immediately affected.

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE PHILIPPINES

In the Philippines, as in any developing country, adverse effects of resource development, such as relocation of population, health hazards, change in sources of livelihood, disruption of living patterns, is exacerbated by poverty. Thus, an energy resource developer like Philippine Geothermal, Inc., a subsidiary of the UNOCAL Corporation, had to come to grips not only with environmental management challenges but also with the environment of poverty itself. The government frequently lacks adequate financial and organizational resources to carry out the gargantuan task of elimination of poverty. For this reason, corporate entities operating in the countryside take it upon themselves to contribute directly towards local development, which would raise local standards of living.

The Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP) is a private, national, non-profit foundation established in 1970 by leaders of top Philippine corporations with the goal of formalizing and effecting a policy of corporate social responsibility. Members of the PBSP viewed poverty as the foremost cause of social unrest in the early seventies. They recognized that previous efforts had been fragmented and uncoordinated, with little impact on the prevailing social problems. They recognized the need for a mechanism that would deliver organized, professional and continuing development assistance. It was the PBSP that provided the catalyst for the evolution of corporate social responsibility in the Philippines.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM OF PGI

The Community Development Program of Philippine Geothermal, Inc. (PGI), a subsidiary of the UNOCAL Corporation, stems from several sources; from the evolution of corporate social responsibility in the Philippine milieu, the response of multi-national corporations to this concern and the particular experience of PGI due to the proximity of local communities to the power plant site, and to the residential and community dwellings remaining within the locus of the geothermal wells, power plants and feeder systems.

In 1988, PGI embarked on a Community Development Program after identification of the need for a community assistance program as well as the need for an informational and educational program about geothermal energy and PGI. An entirely new department was organized within PGI to foster economic, social and human development in the community. Programs were initiated that extended support for education, health care, nutrition, employment-based organizations, and ecologically attuned activities. The PGI stated position with regard to community development program was that the "community is an essential partner for growth and progress," and that "these programs stress the company's commitment to fulfill its social responsibility and contribute to improve the quality of life in communities where it operates."

Assessment of Issues and Needs

The preliminary step taken in formulating the Community Development program involved a thorough and methodical

assessment of relevant issues and the pressing needs and concerns of the Bulalo and Tiwi communities, the locations of greatest impact of PGI's development. The assessment was made by administering and executing: (1) Community investigations by a PGI community relations officer through arm-familiarization process, the assessment of the economic resources, and social problems, (2) Consultations and dialogue with community leaders of the local governments, barangay (village) officials and community elders, (3) Consultations with established Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) and civic groups, and (4) Interviews with staff of the National Power Corporation (NPC), and with staff of PGI's power plant operations, to elicit their thoughts on appropriate responses to issues that were raised. The wealth of information which was gathered served as a guideline in determining appropriate forms of social intervention programs to undertake.

PGI's Community Development Program was formulated with three main objectives. (1) To serve as a vehicle by which PGI will meet its social responsibilities as a corporate citizen of the communities where it operates; (2) To promote goodwill and appreciation of the company; (3) To promote rapport and close interaction with policy-makers and regulators on the various levels of the local government structure. These objectives were attained through the following activities: (A) the initiation, establishment and support of meaningful and relevant welfare and development programs in the project communities; (B) the establishment of linkages and networks with government organizations, non-government organizations and people's organizations whose mission and objectives are consonant with those of PGI, and (C) supporting the National Power Corporation's activities in the project areas in the realms of information, education and welfare activities.

Criteria for Program initiation and Support

The determination of which programs should be funded by PGI was based on the following criteria: (1) Projects that directly improve the well-being of the community or contribute significantly to environmental awareness and safety; (2) Projects that demonstrate the company's involvement with its communities in areas where it does business such as Albay, Laguna, Batangas and Metro Manila; (3) Projects that encourage self-help and community participation; and (4) Projects that create a positive awareness of PGI's role in the project areas and its contributions to the national economy.

PGI's 1994 budget for Corporate Affairs and Community Development programs in Metro Manila, and the Tiwi, Bulalo and Maibara Fields was US\$423,500. This was 1.1% of the Net Income Before Taxes (NIBT) of the preceding year, a benchmark that was recommended by the Philippine Business for Social Progress to its corporate members. Prior to the establishment of the 1 percent benchmark, the question that persisted within PGI was whether the corporation was giving enough. Table 1 contains the Corporate Social Responsibility Budget for five years through 1994.

Table 1. PGI's Corporate Social Responsibility Budget

Year	US\$	%NIBT
1990	243,500	0.5
1991	636,000	1.5
1992	387,000	0.87
1993	401,000	0.7
1994	423,500	1.1

THE MAK-BAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Background, Mak-Ban

A presidential proclamation in February 1973 established the

Makiling-Banahaw (Mak-Ban) Geothermal Reservation of 163,000 hectares in the three provinces of Laguna, Quezon and Batangas, under the administration of the National Power Corporation. Within this reservation area, the Bulalo field covers approximately 1600 hectares spreading over three different barangays, Bitin, Limao and Santa Elena, located in the provinces of Laguna and Batangas. The barangay of Bitin, one of the fifteen barangays within the Municipality of Bay, Laguna, is situated at the foot of Mt. Makiling and is the community most immediately affected by the geothermal development. In the Bulalo field, land use is categorized as residential and commercial settlements; agricultural lands, planted mostly with permanent crops such as coconut, coffee, bananas and fruit trees, and garden vegetables; forests, thinly or thickly covered with forest-type vegetation mainly on the steep slopes, and geothermal development, which overlies all other land uses. The geothermal steam gathering and power generation equipment, roads, camps and support facilities dominate the landscape. (PGI, 1981, Bulalo ECR)

Two principal impact areas were defined around the Bulalo project. ("Bulalo" is the name of the developed commercial field situated within the Mak-Ban Geothermal Reservation.) The outer limit of the environmental impacts of the project was designated to be one kilometer from all parts of the geothermal project, an area that encloses approximately 2580 hectares, or 1.6 percent of the total Mak-Ban Geothermal Reservation. The second area encompassed the project facilities, the power plants, plant stations, and satellite separators which generate the largest sources of noise, odor and traffic. This high impact zone encompassed approximately 1100 hectares and encloses about 50 percent of the settlement areas. (PGI, 1981, Bulalo ECR)

Demographic and Socio-economic Profile, Mak-Ban

Based on the 1980 municipal census, Bitin had a population of 1,800 inhabitants, with an average household size of 5.2 persons. Agriculture and farm-related activities were the main means of employment and income. Approximately 40 percent of the families engaged in agriculture stated that they owned the lands they cultivated, the other 50 percent were tenant or "nangungupahan" and "kaingeros" (slash-and-burn farmers). The majority of the dwelling units for approximately 350 households were of wood or other light construction material. No municipal sewer systems existed in the Bulalo area, individual systems were used by a single household or shared between households. Prior to geothermal development, lighting was by kerosene lamps for 70 percent of the households.

The number of households with electrical facilities increased after development. The water supply was obtained from two main sources: rainwater and purchased by local residents from privately-owned deep wells. The medical health center was staffed by a health technician in the absence of a doctor; emergency cases were brought to Les Baños or to Manila. Bitin had one elementary school and a vocational high school, with 21 teachers and 429 pupils. Public transportation was mainly in the form of the jeepney and tricycle. The leading cause of illnesses reported in the Bulalo area in 1978 was upper respiratory tract infection. In 1975, tuberculosis was reported to be the leading cause of reported deaths. Other major illness were parasitism/malnutrition. A high percentage of malnutrition occurred in children ages 10 to 14. (PGI, 1981 Bulalo, ECR)

Land Expropriations, Mak-Ban

Land expropriation payments were difficult to conclude and constituted a major concern of the affected landowners. By October 1980, total payments made in the immediate Bulalo area for improvements and land purchases amounted to 2.6 million pesos (US\$346,000). An additional amount of 2.1 million pesos (US\$279,000) was not paid because of problems encountered in payment of right-of-way claims. Approval of surveys by the Bureau of Lands were delayed. Tax clearances were not issued by the Municipal Government because of small landowners' failure to pay estate taxes. In the cases of deceased landowners, extra-judicial

partition by the heirs required publication for three weeks which caused a delay in the expropriation proceedings. In cases where the heirs were abroad, extra-judicial partitioning was unlikely. The refusal or failure of some heirs to pay inheritance taxes contributed to further delays in expropriation proceedings. Landowners refused to pay the capital gains tax levied on the property expropriated because it reduced the consideration received, even in cases where the National Power Corporation offered advanced payment. Absentee landowners who were abroad neglected to leave any special power of attorney. In cases of mortgaged property, the consent of the mortgagee could not be secured until payment was guaranteed and directed to the mortgagee. Boundary disputes could not be settled amicably or extra-judicially. Affidavits of two adjoining landowners could not be secured easily for judicial settlement. Landowners also failed to reflect compensation for disturbance improvements in their tax declarations or refused to execute a waiver in favor of tenants because of legal implications.

1994 Survey, Barangay of Bitin, Bay, Laguna

In a 1994 study commissioned by PGI of the Barangay Bitin, Bay, Laguna (Tulungan SA Tubigan, 1994), the native residents expressed the view that their life before the development was one of abundance within a forested area, that they were able to harvest fruit from the then abundant fruit trees, although there was no means of transportation to market the fruit. There was no electricity, but they had a supply of water carried from the springs less than one kilometer of their houses.

Their lives changed with the geothermal development in the early 1970's. Initially, residents felt that they had not been given what was promised in exchange for the portions of their property which were taken for the development of the project: A road to make the community accessible to the main roads, and an abundant and free supply of water and electricity. The land was now criss-crossed with large pipes, the residents could not plant crops the way they used to, and they claimed that the soil had lost its fertility due to the heat radiating from the pipes. They also thought that the construction companies would provide for permanent employment.

The majority of respondents (sixty sample respondents selected randomly from 629 households) were earning below 3000 pesos (US\$109) a month, below the poverty threshold in the Philippines. Most had resided in the barangay for more than 16 years, and most had one to six children living with them. The highest expenditure per month was for food, between 2000 and 4000 pesos (between US\$72 and US\$145); the second highest expenditure was education. The sampled households reported that after the geothermal development they did not need to spend money for water or electricity. They could tap "unofficially" into waters facilities of PGI and the National Power Corporation (NPC). Electricity was also supplied now by the NPC and used mainly for lighting (Tulungan SA Tubigan, 1994).

Socio-economic Issues and PGI's Response in the Mak-Ban Area

Socio-economic conditions in the Mak-Ban Area were those of unemployment and poverty, malnutrition, unstable community leadership, lack of a potable water source, drug addiction, absence of environmental sanitation, lack of opportunity to pursue high school and college education, poor access to health services, inadequate sports, social and cultural amenities, and inadequate infrastructure. During the years prior to 1991, PGI initiated various programs directed at alleviating some of the conditions: a program to improve livestock raising, agriculture, trading and home based industries, establishment of a skills training center offering courses in carpentry, computer skills, cooking-baking, cosmetology, radio and TV repair, and automotive and welding courses; nutrition education program, leadership and organizational development training for community leaders; initiation of a potable water supply project, initiation of a drug education campaign in schools, sponsorship of high school and college scholarship programs, medical and dental missions, establishment of a village pharmacy; donations of sports equipment; and repair of dilapidated roads.

In 1994, a high? focused plan of community programs was approved. Eight areas were identified for funding for the 1994 Mak-Ban Community Development Program with a total US\$140,000 allocated.

- 1 Infrastructure: **The Bulalo Water System.** The first program was directed towards improvement in the infrastructure with a budget of US\$53,000. The planned projects entail the provision of materials for school repair and for construction of the Bulalo Water System which stands to benefit 3,000 households in an area centrally located in the field production zones. To ensure success, the project will be implemented in four phases: (a) social/community preparation, (b) planning and technical design, (c) construction; and (d) project completion and turnover.

The Bulalo Water System Association was organized in 1993 to provide the necessary organization support for the water system project. Association leaders representing a cross-section of the community were elected. Prior to this, PGI commissioned the Tulungan sa Tubigan Foundation, Inc., a Non-Government Organization with a proven track record in community water system projects, to carry out the social preparation aspect and undertake the training of volunteer community residents. With assistance from the Tulungan sa Tubigan Foundation, Inc., the association was registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission as a non-stock, non-profit corporation. Ten association officers representing each of the four zones of Barangay Bitin participated in a series of training courses in order to equip them with the knowledge and skills for the eventual management and upkeep of the water system.

The source of water was proved to have an inadequate flow rate to meet the system's minimum requirements. The Laguna Water District assisted in identifying other possible water sources in Barangay Bitin, and is preparing a system design, plan and cost estimate for PGI's review. Despite some technical setbacks, the association officers were optimistic about completing the project. If realized, this will be a marked demonstration of the value of the interaction between an impacted, but resurgent community, and its socially-responsive "corporate citizen."

- 2 **Public Welfare and Services.** A budget of US\$16,000 was given to projects in this category and supported the government's efforts to provide primary health care to the disadvantaged sectors of the community. These included maternal and child care, emergency medical and dental assistance, tuberculosis control and nutrition education. Summer programs were initiated with local organizations to occupy young people.
- 3 **Livelihood Assistance.** This program (with a US\$11,500 budget) was essentially a proactive measure to lay the groundwork for community acceptance of a livelihood project. PGI worked with the National Power Corporation-Social engineering group to sustain the Integrated Livelihood Program, which was a program to improve livestock raising, agriculture, trading and other home-based industries. Beneficiaries were trained in values, skills, project management and organizational development to ensure viability.
- 4 **Community Scholarship.** The high school and college scholarship programs (with a budget of US\$41,000) will have a steady long-term impact on PGI operations in Mak-Ban. These programs were well in-place and the involvement of cooperating groups has been institutionalized. In the 1994 school year, the program was expanded to enable out-of-school youth to learn and acquire employable skills through enrollment in vocational courses.

5. **Conservation and Environmental Protection.** These projects (with a budget of US\$6,000) were consistent with the core values and practices of PGI. The key areas of environmental protection and conservation were pursued in partnership with the local community, the governmental and non-governmental organization.
6. **Customer Relations.** Sports and social activities (with a budget of US\$4,000) were organized by a joint PGI and National Power Corporation committee in the spirit of fostering goodwill and camaraderie among employees. The annual friendship games has proven to be a worthwhile vehicle in furthering good customer relations. The indoor and outdoor sporting events were staged during the summer months to ensure maximum participation.
7. **Community Initiated Projects.** To be responsive to the needs of the community, this part of the Community Development Program budget (US\$2,000) was allocated for activities initiated by the people in the community. In so doing, PGI attempted to meaningfully integrate with the cultural weave of the communities strategically located in and around its area of operation. Community proposals were evaluated on the basis of socio-economic and cultural value. Sports and special events were also considered.
8. **Information and Education.** Information and education projects (budget of US\$6,000) were designed to promote understanding, acceptance and appreciation of PGI and its client, the National Power Corporation, and the geothermal industry. Specific sectors of the community were targeted by these activities which include field tours, lectures and symposia, highlighting the positive impacts and benefits derived by the Philippine government and its people from geothermal energy development.

THE TIWI COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Background, Tiwi, Albay Province

The entire Tiwi Geothermal Reservation encompasses 17,661 hectares. In 1980, approximately 1800 hectares were used for geothermal power development, and of this approximately 180 hectare were removed from other land uses. The land use categories within the development area was classified into: settlements, which represented residential and commercial areas; flood-irrigated fields of rice paddies extending over the flat plains between the Milinao foothills and the Gulf of Lagunoy; rolling fields or groves covered with agricultural row crops, vines, orchards and coconut groves on the gently sloping terrain; forests and "other," which included the mountainous areas of Tiwi and portions of Malinao, with some coconut and citrus plantations on the foothills; the "other" included small beaches and hot springs area; and geothermal land use which overlays all the others. Geothermal pipelines, power plants, equipment, roads, camps and support facilities dominated the landscape (PGI, 1981j).

Geothermal development in Tiwi has created changes in local land use patterns in conversion of agricultural lands and settlement areas. It was predicted that as development progressed westward, the conversion would be from forested areas to geothermal land use. As in the case for the Bulalo field, two principal impact areas were defined. The first, the "entire impact zone," enclosed an area of approximately 2800 hectares and defined within a boundary of one kilometer from any site of the geothermal project. The second area, the high impact zone, enclosed those project facilities which caused the most continuing disturbance to local residents. The high impact area covered most of the settlement areas. The PGI's Tiwi geothermal development project extends over several barangays within the Municipality of Tiwi.

In 1980, the Municipality of Tiwi in the Albay Province, had a

population of 28,700, an increase of 30 percent from 1970. Four of the twenty-five barangays within the Municipality of Tiwi are in the immediate impact zone of the project: Cale, Cararayan, Naga and Segod. The combined population of the four barangays experienced the greatest impact of the geothermal development, and increased by approximately 20 percent to 6,300 in 1980. The Barangay of Putan, located on the periphery of the development, experienced an 88 percent increase in the same period due to the location of offices of the National Power Corporation.

The Tiwi development posed a particular problem for PGI. Over the years, prominent figures in the government have continually referred to Tiwi as a "bad example" of geothermal exploration. The three main issues were: hydrogen sulfide emissions, brine discharge to Lagonoy Gulf and the disappearance of Naglabong Park. Programs for mitigating the effects of hydrogen sulfide emissions have been jointly developed with the National Power Corporation. The brine is no longer discharged into Lagonoy Gulf with the achievement of 100 percent reinjection. But the issue of the disappearance of Naglabong Park lingers.

Socio-economic and Environmental Issues and PGI's Response, Tiwi

Socio-economic and environmental issues identified between the years 1988-1992 were: the expropriation of land and concomitant loss of livelihood, and unjust compensation as perceived by the landowners at 1.50 pesos (US\$0.05) per sq m; nuisance and pollution factors, i.e., air, water; noise; depletion of water sources and supply; fear and anxiety, the proximity of power plants and pipelines to populated areas, subsidence, Naglabong Park hydrothermal explosion, roof corrosion (perception of "acid rain"); depletion of fish catch, poverty and economic upset with increased prices of basic commodities due to strong purchasing power of PGI employees; high electric rates; no electricity despite being the power source (in 1991 only 38 percent or 2,191 households had electricity); perceived inequity of employment in employing "outsiders"; more taxes paid to Manila than to Tiwi; and loss of Naglabong Park (an historic Bicol landmark).

During those years, PGI identified the main pressing issues as: pollution; depletion of water sources and supply, hydrothermal explosion at Naglabong Park endangering the nearby Barangay of Baño; poverty; and unemployment. Actions by PGI were the continuous monitoring of air, water and noise levels; brine reinjection; construction of a potable water system; evaluation and relocation of affected families in Baño; and employment through sub-contractors.

In 1988, PGI created a Community Development Program with a total budget of US\$20,000 and hired a social worker on staff. In that year, the programs were directed towards the establishment of formal community organizations, livelihood improvement projects, infrastructure improvement projects, road repairs, chapel repairs, installation of drinking water for elementary schools, toilet construction for teachers, donation of materials for community center construction, leadership seminars, scholarships, sports equipment, sewing machines, donation of books and notebooks for schools and students, health and sanitation education, medical and dental missions, medical assistance for indigents, and disaster relief assistance for typhoon victims; nutrition program and anti-drug abuse campaigns.

In 1994, ten areas were identified by PGI for funding for the Tiwi Community Development Program with a total budget of US\$145,000. The situation assessments for each category represent 1994 data, and the established goals and the proposed objectives of the projects.

1. **Livelihood/Income-Generating Projects.** Approximately 12,000 Tiwinos (2,080 families) were unemployed. This was equivalent to 60 percent of Tiwi's total labor force of 20,000. Even most of those with gainful employment (8,000 persons) earned less than 36,000 pesos (US\$1,309) per family per year, which was designated as the poverty threshold according to

the National Economic and Development Authority

This precariously high poverty incidence rate was considered to be a strong causal factor for many of the problems encountered by the project. Stoning incidents, pilferage and vandalism of pipelines, thefts, alcoholism, and other crimes within the Tiwi project were attributed to the consequences of sheer poverty. Prior to the start of the program, project money was continually spent for perimeter fencing, pipeline insulation repairs and maintenance, replacements, fielding of more security guards, procurement of more security lights and similar measures. In addition, the local government had no significant livelihood promotion program for the villages surrounding the geothermal facilities.

In 1993, US\$1,778 was allocated for this sector with the major activity of evaluating the impact of PGI-assisted livelihood projects. This was increased in 1994 to US\$5,000 for activities aimed to help develop micro-enterprises among idle or unemployed groups of residents directly impacted by geothermal operations to enable them to become productive members of their community. It was estimated that at least 500 Tiwinos received specific assistance, which included skills training, provision of seed funds to qualified groups and project monitoring and evaluation.

2. **Public Welfare & Services.** In 1994, the Tiwi population was 38,000, or approximately 6,000 households (average 6.4 persons per household). In cases of medical emergencies, Tiwinos had to go to privately-owned clinics, if they could afford it. Indigent patients are referred to either Tabaco (12 km away) or to the Albay Provincial Hospital (30 km away). In instances where medicines were required, the costs were prohibitive.

There were no government ambulances, no fire-fighting equipment or trucks. In general, there was inadequate capability to handle natural disasters, such as those in December 1993 and January 1994. In recent years, PGI's Community Development Emergency Medical Assistance responded to extreme medical emergencies, which the municipal health clinic or the Department of Social Welfare and Development could not handle. This particular PGI assistance project was acclaimed by all sectors in the community and endeared the company to the assisted families, their relatives, neighbors and friends. In 1993, US\$5,900 was budgeted for this program. In 1994, US\$4,500 was budgeted. The disaster support services were an extension of immediate assistance to indigent residents and impoverished communities. PGI's prompt response in these circumstances generated acclaim and respect in the region.

3. **Infrastructure.** The local government embarked on a high-profile infrastructure program consisting of street illumination (covering 2 to 3 km of the provincial highway), construction of a public market, a gymnasium, same sewerage improvement works, repainting of public schools, and construction of a few barangay roads. All electricity bills within Tiwi have been subsidized (50 percent) by the local government.

The infrastructure projects were initiated to respond to community needs which could not be accommodated by the government and yet, were regarded as highly valuable and mutually beneficial for both the beneficiary and the donor. In 1993, US\$11,606 was allocated for this sector for the provision of education materials and equipment for 10 Tiwi day-care centers and for 60 street lamp for the Tiwi local government.

The rehabilitation of the renowned and cherished Naglagbong Park remained the responsibility of the National Power Corporation and PGI. In 1994, of the US\$63,500 allocated to

this sector, US\$50,000 was dedicated to the Naglagbong Park issue to effect a significant change on the site through landscaping, construction of concrete sheds, installation of lamp-posts, concrete walkways, tree-planting and provision of artificial hut water to man-made ponds. The responsibility for executing the project was to be shared with the community, the National Power Corporation and the local government organizations. The rest of the 1994 allocations were to be used to supplement the meager resource of eleven (self-supporting) Tiwi day-care centers by providing them with educational materials, and for completion of the Mayon Multi-Purpose Center for the Mayon evacuees resettlement site.

4. **Environment.** In 1993, US\$5,646 was allocated to the sector which included activities of reforestation and tree-planting, co-sponsorship of a seminar for the Pollution Control Association of the Philippines, and the donation of a computer and printer in support of activities of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources. In 1994, US\$20,000 was allocated for two programs: US\$15,000 for assistance to the Watershed Management Department of the National Power Corporation and the Department of Environment and Natural Resources for several environment conservation projects of reforestation and marine life preservation. Also, US\$5,000 was budgeted for initiation of several public health and safety advocacy projects of the Department of Health and the Department of Labor and Employment. High-profile involvement in these endeavors earned favorable attention and recognition by regulatory agencies and the general public.

5. **Community-Initiated Projects.** Tiwinos (like the other Bicolanos) have their folkways and mores, distinct culture, values, idiosyncrasies, and tradition. Despite what may seem to be an illogical propensity (considering extremely scarce financial resources) towards fiestas, formal bails, expensive religious rituals, (e.g. weddings, baptisms, funeral wakes), beauty contests, sports tournaments, these events continue to be integral and indispensable components of Tiwinos' lives. Without such customs: especially in difficult times, life might become unbearable. The situation becomes problematic when the people are required by tradition to fulfill their obligations and meet society's expectations but are constrained by their inadequate resources. They then ask for help not only from kinsmen and friends, but also from others whom they believe are fellow members of their own community, and are perceived to be prosperous. PGI contributed modestly towards these activities, but received substantial community appreciation.

6. **Government Organizations (GO's) and Non-Government Organizations (NGO's) Support Fund.** This program with a budget of US\$3,000 provided assistance and computer training on a selective basis to agencies like the Department of Health, Department of Environment and Natural Resources, the Geothermal Advisory and Service Council for projects of mutual interest.

7. **Customer Relations.** Projects under this sector were aimed at building camaraderie among staff at the National Power Corporation, the Department of Energy, the Philippine National Oil Company and PGI. In 1994, plans for the NPC-PGI-Local Government Sports Tournament was initiated.

8. **Community Scholarships.** Higher education costs were prohibitive. PGI high school and college scholarships (budget of US\$30,000) provided an opportunity for selected Tiwi youths to acquire education. PGI's Community Scholarship Project gained extensive recognition from many sectors throughout the region. Scholarship recipients performed well above the average in high school and college. The program

generated immense gratitude among the parents and relatives of the recipients and the goodwill was disseminated by word-of-mouth.

9. **Special Project.** In its seventh year, the annual essay writing contest (budget of US\$8,000), co-sponsored by the Philippine Information Agency, generated goodwill and earned the recognition of the local media. The contest covers the entire six provinces of the Bicol Region and generates a significant following among budding writers in high school and college.
10. **Information and Education.** Projects under this sector (with a budget of US\$4,000) were designed to stimulate awareness, promote understanding and appreciation for PGI's leadership in geothermal energy development through briefings, field tours, participation in prominent science and trade fairs and exhibits, advertisements and other similar ventures.

CONCLUSION

Lingering issues remain in the areas of unemployment and in environmental complaints. The planned response programs by PGI are for an upgraded Livelihood Development Program. In Mak-Ban, the 1994 livelihood program was a proactive measure to lay the groundwork for community acceptance of a model livelihood project. PGI worked with the National Power Corporation-Social Engineering group to sustain the Integrated Livelihood Program, which was a program to improve lives: cock raising, agriculture, trading and other home-based industries. Beneficiaries were trained in values, skills, project management and organizations development to ensure viability. In 1992, in Tiwi, this program included swine dispersal, service cooperative formation, and skills training in coconut and meat processing. In 1994, in Tiwi, the program was expanded to activities which aimed at developing micro-enterprises among unemployed residents who were directly impacted by geothermal operations. Assistance included skills training and provision of seed funds to qualified groups.

Significant geo-political differences between Tiwi and Mak-Ban geothermal fields dictate dissimilar strategies and execution of the programs in these areas. At Tiwi, the geothermal project dominates both the physical and psychological landscape on the municipal, provincial and regional levels. At Tiwi, PGI is practically "The Company" not only for Albay province but for the rest of the Bicol region. In contrast, the Mak-Ban project is one of hundreds of viable enterprises operating in the Laguna-Barangas area.

The Tiwi Community Development Program is similar to that of Mak-Ban in value and content. The significant difference lies in the intensity and range of applications. In both areas, an assessment of the communities' needs and aspirations was used to define specific program components prior to initiation. These basic concerns have been incorporated into the work program. Planning sessions are held jointly with community leaders, which has been an effective strategy, first since the leaders understand the community priorities, and second, their participation generates strong community support. The Community Development Program undergoes a periodic review by PGI field supervisors (in particular, those in direct interaction with the communities) and by PGI's upper management.

The systems which constitute the subject matter of this paper -- social, economic and political -- are complex, dynamic and interactive. Not only do they contain feedback loops within their own dimensions, they also interact with the very technological change to which they are responding, and effect a degree of control over the technological development, in the process generating an iterative loop with counter-intuitive outcomes. It is no longer sufficient for the developer to estimate the physical environmental impact of a project. The developer must also assess the societal impact on those communities most immediately affected by the project.

As the experience of PGI in the Philippines demonstrates, the

developer can be an pro-active participant, continuing the process of upgrading the community's well-being even after construction and initial start-up of the power plant. PGI's efforts at continuing community development programs may be viewed as enlightened self-interest which result in significant contribution and support for many of the community services in the areas of its power plants.

The continuing community development programs by PGI may, in one light, be viewed as the "enlightened self-interest" nature of an U.S. oil company, but a serious consideration of immediate costs versus long-term benefits, that PGI continues to aggressively contribute and support many of the community services in the areas of its power plants.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors wish to express their appreciation to Edgar P. Sevilla for his significant contribution to this effort, to David G. Newell, and Chester F. Budd, Jr. for their support, and to Tavi Meidav for his review and comments on this paper.

REFERENCES

1. Datuin, R. and F. Roxas, 1990, Geothermal development and policy in the Philippines, Geothermal Resources Council, *Transactions*, Vol. 14, Part I, August.
2. Economist, *The*, 1994, Philippines: the answer's a tomato," p. 40, May 21.
3. Gazo, F.M., 1994, Philippines geothermal energy news, International Geothermal Association, IGA, NEWS, Quarterly No. 6, January-March.
4. Gazo, F.M. and R. Datuin, 1992, Economics of geothermal developments in the Philippines, *Geotherm*, Vol 21, n.4, p. 345(14), August.
5. Harper, P., and E.S. Peplow, 1991, *Philippines Handbook*, Moon Publications, Inc., Chico, CA, June.
6. Madrid, N.R., 1977, Energy strategy: the Philippine case, Energy use Management International Conference, Tucson, October.
7. Meidav, M.Z., 1978, Methodology of socioeconomic impact assessments of geothermal energy development, Geothermal Resources Council, *Transactions*, Vol. 2, July.
8. Philippine Geothermal, Inc., 1994, Corporate Affairs and Community Development Programs.
9. Philippine Geothermal, Inc., 1981, Environmental Characterization Report, Bulalo.
10. Philippine Geothermal, Inc., 1981, Environmental Characterization Report, Tiwi.
11. Fulungan SA Tubigan Foundation, Inc., 1994, A Baseline Study of Barangay Bitin, Bay, Laguna, prepared for Philippine Geothermal, Inc., February.