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RE-IMAGINING SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, RE-CLAIMING PEOPLE'S DEVELOPMENT

College of Social Work and Community Development
University of the Philippines
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Preface

As part of the celebration of the 10th year of the UP-CSWCD Doctor of Social Development (DSD) Program, this 12th volume of PJSD brings together selected papers that interrogate current discourses in social development.

The papers are divided into two sections. The first section examines current social development themes generated from completed DSD dissertations. The second section puts together complementary concepts that explore new ways of looking at development practice.

The DSD curriculum is anchored to praxis-oriented learning. This is evident in the papers presented in section one where the authors engaged in grounded theorizing that reflected their own development practice. *Angelito B. Meneses* surfaced the meaning of *Kahampatan* as the Ayta's concept of development and proposed the use of indigenous research methods. The plight of the children left-behind by OFWs was examined by *Mark Anthony D. Abenir* using the capabilities framework espoused by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum and informed by his own experience as an Anak OFW. The phenomenon of the *'sandwich generation'* among urban poor women was interrogated by *Excelsa C. Tongson* by drawing from feminist standpoint epistemology and Kabeer's Social Relations Approach. *Meredith del Pilar-Labarda* proposed the concept of transformative leadership and governance in pursuing health and development goals focusing on the experience of Region 8. The studies done by Abenir, Tongson and Labarda utilized mixed research methods, combining quantitative and qualitative research methods to surface greater understanding of reality. According to *Teresita Villamor-Barrameda*, two major trends characterize the 13 DSD dissertations she reviewed: (1) privileging the voices and perspectives of the poor and marginalized groups in examining development concepts, and (2) knowledge and meaning-making through grounded theorizing and guided by community organizing-community development (CO-CD) and feminist perspectives.

The second section features articles that re-imagine how social development can be approached, by analyzing, expanding or transforming current social development concepts and practices. It begins with *Rosalinda P. Ofreneo's* examination of the potential of Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) in achieving women's empowerment, which she does by looking at existing SSE initiatives that are geared towards the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda. The next three

articles, in interrogating social development, more closely delved into community experiences that provided opportunities to reconsider familiar social development issues and perspectives in new ways. *Aleli B. Bawagan, Miguela M. Mena, Richard Philip A. Gonzalo* and *Victor G. Obedicen* presented Maribojoc, Bohol's experience as a Learning Tourism Destination, emphasizing the active role of local communities in achieving sustainability in tourism management. *Redento B. Recio* provided a close look at Grassroots Democratic Entanglements in a case study of Baclaran hawkers, which magnified the complexities of various actors' engagements in the urban informal economy. *Paul Edward N. Muego* shared the experiences of a local organization in Las Piñas with disability-inclusive and participatory data profiling, making the case not only for visibility and representation but direct involvement and even leadership of communities in development processes as crucial to a truly inclusive development. For the final article, *Virginia B. Dandan* shared her insights, as a former United Nations Independent Expert who was tasked to prepare the Draft Declaration on the Right to International Solidarity, on the significance of a balanced appreciation of the Human Rights framework from the more negative, violations-focused approach to one that is rooted in its positive, instrumental value.

The last ten years witnessed how the DSD Program searched for its own niche in the development arena. As the DSD Program moves forward, more complex development issues will remain or re-surface, and new ways of thinking and doing 'social development' will emerge. By re-imagining social development, we hope to be part of the collective pursuit of re-claiming people's development.

Ma. Theresa V. Tungpalan, Ph.D.
Rowena A. Laguilles-Timog, DSD
Issue Editors

Kahampatan:
Ayta's concept of development in the context of Indigenous People's (IP) culture and identity

Angelito B. Meneses, DSD

This paper describes the Ayta's notions and experiences of development within their own culture and identity which is encapsulated in their term 'kahampatan.' It is evident that long before the introduction of the dominant development paradigms into the Ayta communities in the Province of Zambales, these Ayta groups already had their perspectives about development and well-being. 'Kahampatan' is the Ayta's account of self-determined development that shares commonality with other indigenous notions of living well such as buen vivir, sumac kawsay and laman laka. The study used qualitative research methods with an indigenous research approach and orientation. Data were generated from semi-structured interviews, fieldwork-immersion and participant observation. 'Kahampatan' is depicted as an appropriate attitude and act ion towards relating positively with others and the realization of the goodness of life for everyone. 'Kahampatan' as a framework for development in the context of identity and culture emphasizes four elements of a good life or living well — a right relationship with Apo Namalyari or the Creator, a right relationship with the self, a right relationship with others and a right relationship with nature.

Keywords: Ayta of Zambales, IP identity and culture, *kahampatan*, self-determined development

Cultural constructs of development

Indigenous development paradigms have started to gain due recognition and positive inclusion into the development practice. These cultural constructs of development of indigenous peoples are expressed and signified in their own language. Cunningham (2010) mentioned examples of these, such as *laman laka* which reflects the development concept of the Miskitu people of Nicaragua, *sumak kawsay* in the Qhichwa language, *sumaqamaria* in Aymara, *sumac nandereco* in Guarani and *Buen Vivir* in Spanish (p.89). According to Cunningham (2010), these worldviews of development mean living well and do not merely refer to per capita income or economic growth.

The descriptions of indigenous development provide a development framework that focuses on harmony and positive relationship among human beings as well as with the social and physical environment. For instance, *buen vivir* presumes both common cultural mores and harmony between human beings and Mother Earth. It is anchored on values that "stand for culture, life, living together, complementarity, not just among people but between us and nature, and protection of the commonweal for the benefit of communities and nations as a whole" (Cunningham, 2010, p.89). Likewise, as Corpus (2010) explained, "*Buen Vivir* strives for the revitalization of all forms of life and living in the community, in which all members look out for all... the most important thing is not only the human, nor is it money. It is life." (p.94-95) Thus, *buen vivir* is a concept of a good life that is beyond growth and development.

A concept similar to *buen vivir* is that of *sumak kawsay*. *Sumak kawsay* is fundamentally different from the Western mindset where humans are seen as separate from nature, where nature is viewed as something to be controlled, as an object of domination and a source of wealth. *Sumak kawsay* involves living in harmony with the cycles of Mother Earth (Dillon, 2010). In the concept of *sumak kawsay*, community and communal living spaces embody the ethical norms and practices of reciprocity, collective property, living in communion with nature, social responsibility and consensus.

The diversity of the concepts and practices of a self-determined development or a development with identity and culture among the indigenous groups in the Philippines has started to be recognized and advanced. For instance, terms like *panagdur-as*, *nasayaat a panagbiag* (Tadeo, 2013), and *naimbag a biag* connote the meaning of development among the Ilocano. The Yakan representation of flourishing, as noted by Will (2015), is called *kaelleuman hap*. It depicts the modern concept of development as incongruent with the Yakan ideals of a good life which, as the study revealed, are

> …the ability to have faith in Allah, to love and help one another, to respect one another, to have peace in community, to be educated, to work, to have shelter, to have good health, to take part in governance, and to travel. (Will, 2015:228)

Bennagen & Fernan (1996) illustrated this worldview by quoting the participants in a conference on ancestral domain of the peoples of Northern

Mindanao held in 1995:

> Without this ancestral land, we will not exist…without the forest, mountains, rivers, and farms, we cannot continue to practice our culture. We, the indigenous peoples, are the true and rightful owners of our Ancestral Domain which we have inherited from our ancestors; and it will be the inheritance of our generations to come. Thus, it is our responsibility to develop, defend, and struggle for it by any means. (Bennagen & Fernan, 1996:143)

According to Awed (2010), these beliefs have shaped the Tbolis' view and relationship with the land and other resources, and the ways in which they conserve and protect these for their flourishing.

The Sama-Bajaus' cultural concept of development is *kasungan*. It was described in the study conducted by Milambilin (2018) as:

> …achievement of basic human needs such as food, water and shelter essential in achieving wellness or good health, education for children, expression of one's cultures through maintaining different practices. *Kasungan* is an intertwining concept of happiness for Sama-Bajau, amidst challenges in pursuing their *kasungan* they express *kaligayahan* in their everyday life which signifies resiliency. (Milambilin, 2018:119)

Such notions of development with identity and culture are also embedded in the history and experiences of the Ayta groups of Pinatubo. The Magbukun Ayta describe their relationship with the environment, with other people and with each other as integrated oneness with nature and a collective worldview of livelihood, culture, tradition and practices. The protection and conservation of nature are their major concern, as they are directly dependent on the bounty and state of nature (Salonga, et.al., 2010).

The Mag-ansti Ayta in Bamban, Tarlac call their concept of well-being *katsighawan*. *Katsighawan* is described as a peaceful, abundant, healthy and happy life (Meneses, 2003). Alipao (2019) made a similar depiction of *kasighawan* as a social concept of the Aytas' vision of an ancestral domain and communities in which order and abundance are present. This vision includes lasting peace, social justice, healthy peoples and communities, a risk-free environment, and integration of creation. The Zambal Ayta in Sitio Banawen, San Felipe, Zambales articulated their notion of development as

kainomayan. This simply means an abundance of creation where resources are bountiful, thus enabling everyone to live in harmony with nature (Meneses, 2011).

Research Objectives

This study anchored its purpose on Article 3 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples or UNDRIP, in which it is stated that indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development (Article 3, UNDRIP). The Declaration was also inspired by the questions raised by representatives of indigenous peoples in international forums, such as the International Expert Group Meeting on Indigenous Peoples: Development with Culture and Identity: Articles 3 and 32 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, held on January 12 to 14, 2010 in New York. This meeting was an articulation of indigenous peoples' concept of development that embraces a holistic approach which includes their aspirations, respect and protection of their diversity and uniqueness. It was also a reiteration of indigenous peoples' desire to become agents of their own development and have the foresight to promote a development paradigm that is self-determining.

In response, this study was conducted to explore the Aytas' worldview and experience of development with identity and culture, and to eventually bring these notions to the fore of development discourse. The narratives of *kahampatan* were thematically analyzed to inform the formulation of a *kahampatan* framework for development with identity and culture. This conceptual framework is intended to promote the inclusion of indigenous development paradigms.

Significance of the Study

A study about the notion of development by the Ayta and for the Ayta is significant at a time of re-imagining and re-claiming people's development. The findings from this study aim to contribute to the growing array of literature about indigenous knowledges for learning institutions to utilize for discussion and research purposes. The study may also inform curriculum and instruction in development studies through the inclusion of indigenous articulations of self-determined development.

Aside from contributing to knowledge building, the findings may also provide government agencies with a working framework for setting a development agenda for the Ayta. The conceptual framework may be used as an input to policies that are intended to provide welfare and development services to improve the quality of life of the Ayta population. Among the policies that can be implemented are culturally rooted education, healthcare, social welfare services and the protection through legislation of their ancestral domain and the environment serving as their primary source and resource of livelihood and spirituality. This study seeks attention from the government to recognize the alternative development paradigm of the Ayta in the pursuit of the good life.

The insights that may be drawn from this study could provide new ways to approach development and welfare discourses and responses concerning indigenous peoples in general and Ayta groups in particular. These may offer "entervention" strategies to complement current intervention methods in assisting IP communities to improve their quality of life The concept of entervention is a more oblique approach to realizing the goals of development among indigenous people that puts emphasis on the continuing capability building, empowerment and self-reliance of the people.

Research Methodology

The selection of methods and approaches in this study was based on the context of indigenous research. According to Porsanger (2010), indigenous research — as it differs from research on, with and about indigenous peoples — means research done by scholars who develop indigenous theorizing, identify and use indigenous concepts, and build their projects on an indigenous research paradigm (Posanger, 2010).

This research made use of several approaches in conducting indigenous research to ensure the centering of the indigenous peoples' worldviews. The first research approach was fieldwork-immersion,. Yin (2012) noted that working in the field requires establishing and maintaining genuine relationships with other people and being able to converse comfortably with them. The "fieldwork first" approach was done for the purpose of defining the research problems, as the researcher began immersion with the Ayta of Sitio Alibang in 2012. During the fieldwork-immersion, relevant bits of information gathered from informal exchanges with the community members were recorded in the researcher's field notes, sketches and drawings, as well as in a digital voice recorder.

The second approach was qualitative interviews. Qualitative interviews are conversations in which a researcher gently guides a conversational partner in an extended discussion. The researcher elicits depth and details about the research topic by following up on answers given by the interviewee during the discussion. In the qualitative interview approach, the researcher learns from the people, rather than merely studying them. Thus, the researcher follows the hints provided by Yin (2012) for doing qualitative interviewing, such as: 1) speaking in modest amount , 2) being non-directive, 3) staying neutral, 4) maintaining rapport, 5) using an interview protocol, and 6) analyzing when interviewing (Yin, 2012). In qualitative interviews, each conversation is unique, as the researcher matches the questions to what each interviewee knows and is willing to share (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). All interviews for this study were conducted in the form of *kuwentuhan* during cooking and mealtime, at home over a cup of coffee, or in the interviewees' *gasak* doing agricultural activities. There was no timeframe set for these interviews as each one was treated as a conversation.

The third approach was the Focus Group Discussion. The subject groups were divided into two generations, the older composed of adult *kalalakihan* and *kababaihan*, and the younger composed of *kabataan* or youth. The participants were asked to describe their community profile with the use of mapping techniques. The Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tool was used as a more culture-sensitive means to enlist participation among the Ayta. PRA is described as a growing body of methods to enable local people to share, enhance and analyze their knowledge of life and the conditions to plan, act, monitor and evaluate (Kumar, 2002). The use of the PRA tools is meant to facilitate guided interaction (Calub, 2004) between the indigenous people and the researcher, requiring a change in attitudes and behaviors between and among the participants. The essence of PRA is change and reversal of role, behavior, relationship and learning. Here, outsiders do not dominate and lecture; they facilitate, sit down, listen and learn (Chambers, 2003). In the study, the participants were asked to draw maps showing the socio-economic situation of their place and these were then analyzed by them in terms of development within Ayta identity and culture.

Indigenous methods such as these enfold the researcher and community members into a layered relationship (mind, body, emotion, and spirit) in a holistic, investigative endeavor. Indigenous research methods aim to surface indigenous voices, build resistance to dominant knowledge, create political spaces, and strengthen people's sense of community (Smith, 2010).

The Data Gathering Process

The first step the researcher undertook was *pakikipanuluyan* which signaled the formal entry into the research locale. It was also considered as a juncture for *pagta-tao po* to request for informed consent and access to the community members' indigenous knowledges . The second step was the *pakikipanirahan* which focused on contact-building through the identification of host families to be tapped during the data collection. This was a crucial opportunity to enter into the loob of the research participants. The third step was *pakikipamuhay*, an activity to change the researcher's image from visitor to "one of us" or from *ibang-tao* to *di-ibang-tao* — since the quality of the data differs when research participants feel that the researcher is di-ibang-tao.

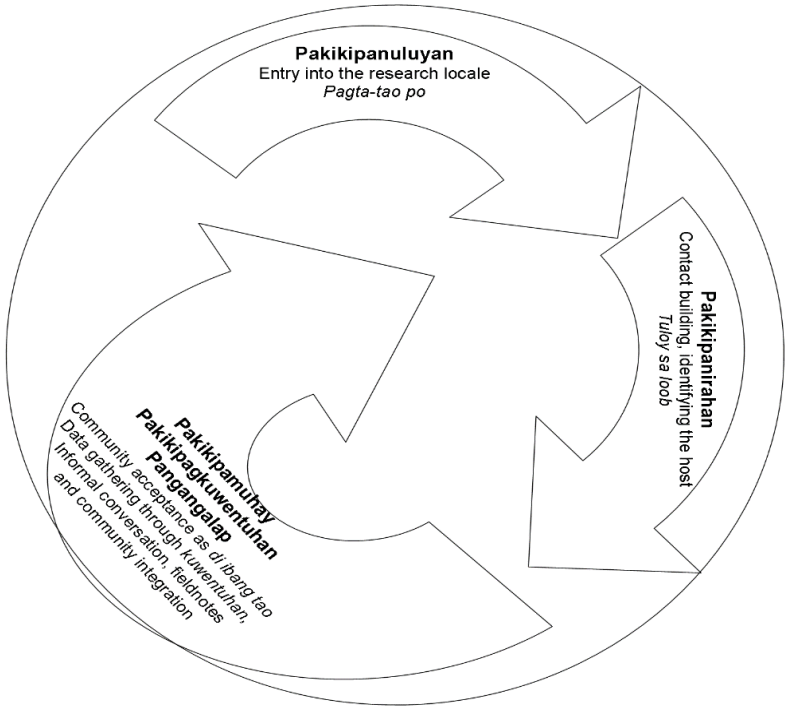

Figure 1. *The data gathering process with reference to indigenous research and the community organizing process*

The research process is illustrated (see Figure 1) as a spiral movement progressing inward, signifying the importance of the process of entering the participants' *loob.*

Results and Discussion

This study was conducted among two Ayta groups in Zambales to explore the concept of *kahampatan* as an Ayta concept of development with identity and culture. One group was the Ayta in Sitio Alibang, situated in the mountainous part of Barangay Naugsol in the Municipality of Subic. The Ayta in Sitio Alibang belong to the Ambala tribe which practices swidden farming to cultivate food sources especially during seasons when no food can be gathered from the mountains. The Ambala Ayta are also engaged in *pag-uuling* (charcoal-making) as a supplementary source of cash to buy rice, bread, coffee, sugar and salt.

Both the women and men of the Ambala Ayta participate in productive processes from clearing the land to planting and harvesting. However, the women tend to do the household chores while the men perform the more labor-intensive work. Ayta children play together and are allowed to participate in community activities. At an early age, both girls and boys are enculturated to perform adult tasks such as planting, hunting, fishing, gathering banana blossoms, and collecting honey and other forest products.

The second group of research participants was composed of members of *Lubos na Alyansa ng mga Katutubong Ayta sa Sambales* or LAKAS Pamayanan. LAKAS Pamayanan is an alliance of Ayta groups in the province of Zambales located in Sitio Bihawo, Mambog, Botolan. As a self-reliant Ayta organization, the alliance has developed a good leadership and followership system based on indigenous knowledges and skills. During the conduct of the study, LAKAS Pamayanan members told stories about their struggles and successes, their pains and joys as they continue to strive to normalize their lives after the Mt. Pinatubo eruption.

They recounted a time of *kainomayan* (abundance) in their original place in Baytan before the eruption – how their life was so abundant since they grew enough food and were free to hunt wild animals such as *baboy damo* (wild pig), *usa* (deer) and *labuyo* (wild chicken), as well as gather fruits and *pulot* (honey).

When the eruption forced them to leave Baytan, they experienced living in ten evacuation centers. In their search for a new location, they set a condition that the place should be situated within view of Mt. Pinatubo. They still wanted to see the place where they had grown up and which had provided them with the cultural values of generosity and love.

They endured various struggles before they found a place in Bihawo where they bought a 7.5- hectare parcel of land for Php475, 000.00 from their savings in their cooperative. Once settled, the LAKAS Pamayanan continued to strengthen their organization through literacy classes and capacity building with the sisters of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary who committed themselves to the empowerment of the Ayta. They learned how to read and write, mingle with others, balance their personal life between commitment to their community and responsibility to their family as well as their aspiration to learn; and in the process, they continued to preserve their culture while living in the lowland.

Descriptions of *Kahampatan*

The Sambal Ayta in LAKAS Pamayanan use the term *kainomayan* which is translated as abundance, while the Ambala Ayta in Sitio Alibang refer to *kahampatan* or goodness (goodness of life for everyone). However, the two groups of Ayta agree that *kainomayan* is one of the preconditions of *kahampatan*.

According to them, *kahampatan* as development with identity and culture should possess the following elements:

Shared Identity. *Kahampatan* is manifested as a caring attitude towards the well-being of community members. All are part of community and deserve to be cared for. For instance, one participant shared how she monitors her neighbors' needs by looking at the smoke coming out of the house. This is an indication of deep concern for the condition of others, as she related,

> *Kada umaga tinitingnan ko ang bawat bahay at, kapag walang usok, ibig sabihin di nagluluto. At kapag buong araw na walang usok sa bahay, sigurado ako na wala silang pagkain na lulutuin. Kaya ang ginagawa namin ng tatay mo, pinupuntahan namin para bigyan ng bigas at ulam na lulutuin. (*Every morning I monitor every house in the neighborhood. If I see no smoke coming out of the house, I am sure the family has no food to cook and to eat. So your father and I go to their house and give them rice and viand to cook.)

Shared Nobility. The experience of *kahampatan*, as shared by another participant, resonates with the Filipino Psychology concept of *kagandahang loob* or shared inner nobility or reciprocity. *Kahampatan* as *kagandahang loob* is manifested through the act of good relationship with others, as the participant said:

> *Ang kahampatan ay magandang relasyon sa pamilya at sa kapwa tao. Basta ang kabutihan ang laging nasa puso mo.* (*Kahampatan* means good relationship with your family and other people. Goodness should always be in your heart.)

Kahampatan as a quality experience of development underscores the importance of living with one's goodness of the heart. And goodness of the heart necessitates a respectful gesture towards others, as one participant explained:

> *Ang mahalaga ay igalang mo sarili mo, igalang mo ang kapwa mo. Wag kang gagawa ng ikasisira ng pagkatao mo, kasi pag sira ang pagkatao mo, di maganda ang buhay mo, walang kahampatan, walang kainomayan.* (Respect for the self and others are important. Don't do something that destroys your personhood because, if your reputation is destroyed, there is no more *kahampatan*, no *kainomayan*.)

The manifestation of *kahampatan* as goodness of the heart can be seen, for instance, in Sitio Alibang. Every house does not have a door and lock signifying the intention to share what the family has with others who do not have.

> *Ang kahampatan sa amin ay magandang relasyon sa kapwa. Makikita mo iyan halimbawa dito walang bahay ang nakakandado, ang lahat ng bahay laging nakabukas.*(*Kahampatan* in our community is having good relationships with others. You can see that, for example, no house here is locked, all the houses are always open.)

> *Malaya ang kapitbahay na kumuha ng kailangan tulad ng asin, asukal o apoy mula sa kalan. Kaya iniiwang nakabukas ang pintuan.* (Our neighbors are free to get whatever they need like salt, sugar or fire from the stove. So our doors are left open.)

Good Food. *Kahampatan* as food reflects the simplicity of the development goals of the Ayta. Any intention to improve their lot is directed towards having enough food every day. It is observed that the work they do, such as *paggagasak* (cultivation) and *pagtatanim* (planting), is related to the production of food. They spend most of their human energy in planting rice, root crops, and vegetables as well as in raising animals, catching fish in the river and gathering honey and banana blossoms. The good food that the Ayta refer to as *kahampatan* must be endemic, organic and free from poisonous chemicals. This might be a possible explanation for the alleged

report by development agencies which assisted the Ayta in the evacuation centers during the Mt. Pinatubo eruption that the Ayta did not know how to eat sardines and other food items given to them. One participant articulated the reason:

> *Ngayon, pag kumakain kami ng pagkain ninyo ay di kami nabubusog. Kapag ube at kamote, busog na kami.* (Now, if we eat your food (referring to sardines and other preserved foods), we don't feel contented. When we eat *ube* and *kamote*, we feel satisfied.)

> I*yong bigas na binibigay ng taga-labas sa amin na galing sa NFA ay may halong gamot. Akala naman nila di kami marunong kumain ng magagandang klaseng bigas. Nagtatanim nga kami ng black rice na magandang klaseng bigas.* (The NFA rice that outsiders give to us is mixed with chemicals. Maybe they think that we don't know how to eat good varieties of rice. In fact, we are planting black rice which is good quality rice.)

Good health. *Kahampatan* as health refers not only to the absence of disease but also includes the presence of "ease" of the body (*pangangatawan*). For the Ayta, a healthy body is the main capital to achieve quality of life. One participant connects being physically healthy to *kahampatan* in terms of having the strength to work. The work they do in the land necessitates a healthy physical condition.

> *Ang kahampatan ay wala kang nararamdamang sakit. Malusog ang pangangatawan. Siyempre kung may sakit ka, hindi ka makakapaghanapbuhay. Di ka mapalagay dahil iniisip mo ang pamilya. Kung walang hanapbuhay, walang kahampatan.* (*Kahampatan* means no illness and you are healthy physically. Of course, if you are ill, you cannot work. You are not at ease because you are thinking about your family. If you have no work, then there is no *kahampatan.*)

Good Education. Education is seen as the key to living life in *kahampatan*. The school system or the mainstream educational system has been acculturated into the Ayta culture and assimilated its elements in terms of Ayta cultural practices. Education has brought positive changes in many ways, from becoming confident to interact with people from all walks of life to gaining critical knowledge, attitudes and skills in asserting their rights in the midst of fast-paced technological progress that tends to undermine their identity and culture.

Formal education is accepted as a positive conduit of development among the Ayta in both Sitio Alibang and in LAKAS Pamayanan. Thus, the leadership of LAKAS Pamayanan is focused on improving their life through education. They articulate it every time support groups and institutions come to offer development assistance for them:

> *May mga nagpunta dito, mga pastor daw sila. Sabi nila magtatayo daw silang kapilya. Sabi ko, papayag kami kung sa halip na simbahan ay paaralan ang itayo nila.* (Some men visited us here, they identified themselves as pastors. They told us that they want to put up a chapel. I suggested that, instead of a church, they should build us a school.)

> *Kung pera po ang ibibigay ninyo sa amin, di po magtatagal. Maganda po ang karununganan ang ibigay ninyo sa amin at nakakasiguro po kami habang kami nabubuhay buhay pa rin po ang inyong tulong sa amin.* (If you give us money, it won't last. It is good if you give us knowledge and we are sure that, as long as we are living, your help lives on.)

For one participant, kahampatan is an aspiration of the good life through education. She elaborated:

> *Sa amin mga Ayta, maganda na ang buhay kung may pinag-aralan. Iyong hindi na nalolloko at naipaglalaban na ang karapatan sa aming lupang ninuno.* (For us Ayta, we have a good life if we have education. Not being swindled anymore and able to fight for our rights in our ancestral domain.)

Sharing the Blessings of Apo Namalyari. Sharing what one has is something that is common practice among the Ayta communities. Sharing allows everyone to experience *kahampatan* because it is directed to the realization of the goodness of life for everyone.

> One research participant illustrated this *kahampatan* experience when we went to gather banana blossoms in the mountains. In a half day, he had gathered two sacks of banana blossoms. But I noticed that there were many more banana blossoms and insisted on gathering all so more could be brought and be sold in the market. But he said: *Tama na 'to, para sa iba naman iyan.* (This is enough, those are for others also.) He was referring to the lowlanders as "others" who come and gather banana blossoms in their place. (My journal, November 2, 2014)

Another participant shares the blessings of Apo Namalyari by distributing the harvest to all families in Sitio Alibang.

> *Tulad niyang mga mais na iyan, inani naming kahapon, at lahat ng pamilya dito binigyan ko ng mais. Kaya kahit saang bahay ka mag punta may roon silang mais na ipapakain sa iyo.* (Just like those corns, we harvested yesterday, and all the families have a share of corns. So every house you go to visit, they have corn to offer to you).

Respect for the land. For the Ayta, land is the source of all life. So it should not be monetized and converted into a commodity. All the participants strongly agreed that land is life and everything that comes from the land is for the goodness of life. As they put it: "*Lahat na galing sa lupa ay kahampatan.*" (Everything that comes from the land is *kahampatan*.)

Land is central to the Ayta fulfilment of the goodness of life and the experience of the quality of life. *Kahampatan* comes with the productivity of the land. Out of respect for the land, the Ayta do not plant for cash. They plant for food. All the participants agreed that land is the most valuable source of their food, health, livelihood, culture and power so it should not be sold. They had this to say:

> *"Iyong pera pag nagastos mo na. wala na. Ang lupa habang buhay iyan nagbibigay ng ikabubuhay."* (When money is spent, it is gone. The land will forever provide us with livelihood.)

Symbiotic relationship with other beings. For the Ayta, humans are not seen as separate from the environment. Nature is not viewed as something to be controlled, dominated or domesticated, nor viewed as a source of wealth. The Ayta see other creatures in a symbiotic relationship, as interdependent providing each one a part of life and thereby promoting *kahampatan* in the Ayta community. Thus, *kahampatan* is inclusive in promoting a quality experience of development not only among fellow humans but also with non-human species such as birds and other animals.

> A*ng mga ibon tulad ng kawkaw at kulasisi ang nagtatanim ng mga saging. Kinakain nila iyong bunga at itinatae nila 'yong buto, at iyon tumutubo. Kaya maraming saging sa bundok na pinagkukukunan namin ng puso. Ang mga ibon ay nagbibigay ng kahampatan!* (Birds like the kawkaw and kulasisi plant bananas. They eat the fruits and eliminate the seeds, which then grow. That is why there are many bananas in the mountains where we gather banana blossoms. The birds are giving us *kahampatan*!)

Kainomayan or Abundance. According to one participant, *kahampatan* is an attitude (*pag-uugali*) while *kainomayan* is abundance (*kasaganahan*). *Kasaganahan* that is not defined by *kahampatan* cannot provide the quality of experience of development. Thus, the realization of *kainomayan* which means the bountiful life for all must also be the fulfillment of *kahampatan* — the good of everyone. For the Ayta, *kainomayan* is a vision of re-creating the past, since their past was so full of abundance. The bounty was sufficient to provide for their needs, especially before the Mt. Pinatubo eruption. Thus, the Ayta continue to long for this "past" in their present and in their future life, because their past situation is what they cherish as *kainomayan*. As one participant described it:

> *Noon, kung may kailangan ka, punta ka lang sa taniman, magpitas ka lang, may gulay na pang-ulam ka na.* (In the past, if you needed something to eat, you could just go to the garden, pick vegetables, and there you already had your viand.)

Kahampatan as Conceptual Framework of Development with Identity and Culture

As re-imagined development with identity and culture among the Ayta, *kahampatan* is, in essence, an appropriate attitude and act that entails nurturing, positive and right relationships. The experience of *kahampatan* can be ensured through having the right relationship with Apo Namalyari or the Creator, with the self, with others and with nature.

The right relationship with the Creator will lead to ecological and social justice because of due respect given to every form of life in all of creation. Everything is sacred because all creatures share the holiness of the Creator. If ecological and social justice are well in place, then goodness of life for everyone can be fulfilled.

The right relationship with the self and with others will result to positive treatment and dealings with others, both humans and non-humans. Relationships with others are not defined in terms of socially constructed statuses such as gender, age, disability, economic class, education, position, etc. The cultivation of equality and freedom is seen as necessary for the realization of a collective experience of well-being.

The right relationship with nature or with the environment and the land makes life viable and sustainable. Nature is the source of life. Thus, land is life. This essential connection to the land has compelled the Ayta

to live a simple life -- taking just enough as needed from the environment which in turn is a means to protect and preserve it. Its conservation will bring about peace, harmony and integrity of creation that will eventually sustain ecological well-being.

Figure 2 summarizes the relationship among these diverse concepts.

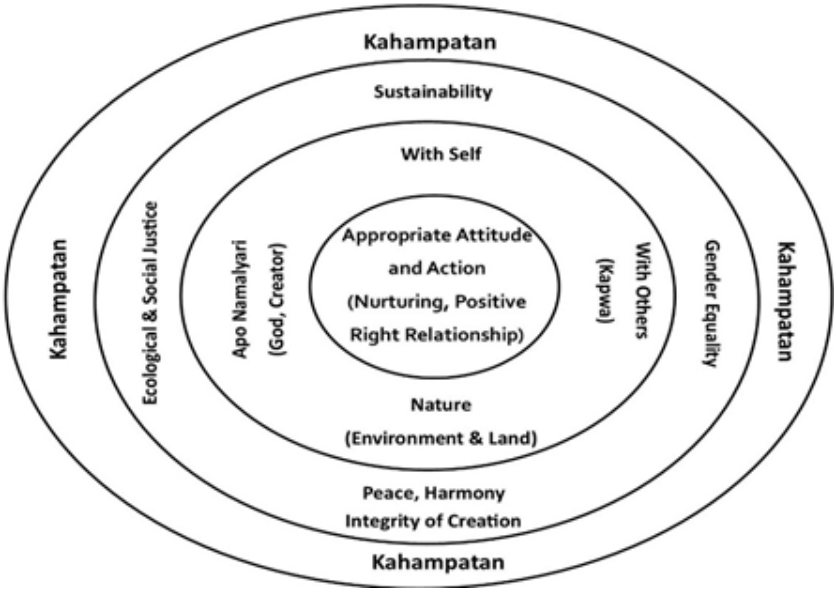

Figure 2.*The framework of kahampatan development with identity and culture*

Kahampatan **as a practice of wellbeing**

Like any other cultural notions of development among indigenous communities, *kahampatan* emphasizes a positive and right relationship and interdependence with human and non-human entities within the systems. This means that all forms of life are perceived to have inherent worth and dignity and can contribute to the upholding of the symbiotic relationship among them all. Symbiosis or a close association among different creatures is a common worldview among indigenous people and it is considered an important element of development with identity and culture. If this relational association is sustained, then it results in the satisfaction of the biological or physical, psychological, social and spiritual dimensions of well-being. A well nurtured ecology, in turn, ensures the well-being of individuals and communities as it will serve as the social and natural source and resource for living a good life. Thus, *kahampatan* as an indigenous meaning of development and well-being means that every element relates

to, causes and affects all the other elements. The dysfunctioning of one element affects the rest, just as the proper functioning of all elements brings the fulfilment of the goodness of life for everyone.

In essence, *kahampatan* is a relational development. Its emphasis on relationship provides an effective guarantee of the well-being of all. That is, the survival of any one individual essentially depends on the support of each one for all the others. This relational development cultivates a positive and right relationship with the Creator, with nature (including the environment and land), with others and with the self. The rightness of these relationships ensures simplicity, peace, justice, equity, equality and integrity of creation.

At its very foundation, *kahampatan* is tied to the ancestral domain. Lands and territories have material, cultural, economic and spiritual dimensions for the Ayta. These are required for their subsistence and economic sustainability, and are intrinsically linked to their identity and existence as an Ayta nation. Kahampatan as a practice of well-being for all conserves the environmental and ecological resources that are vital and integral components to the attainment of well-being. The Ayta are highly dependent on their lands and natural resources, thus any change to the ecosystem is likely to have an impact on their way of life and survival. Environmental degradation, for instance, contributes to continued poverty among the Ayta due to their strong reliance on the environment for their livelihoods.

Kahampatan can enliven the discourse of social development in a number of ways. First, *kahampatan* can contribute to biodiversity conservation and environmental protection and conservation. The Ayta have not resorted to destructive resource practices despite the alluring influence of the cash economy. *Kahampatan* as a model of indigenous development promotes ecologically sound resource management that nourishes the land as the source of survival and existence. In this sense, *kahampatan* can serve as an ethic of sustainable development, as its emphasis on positive and right relationship is congruent with the principles of sustainable development. Second, *kahampatan* is a comprehensive concept of development that addresses the fulfilment of the needs within the bio-psycho-social-spiritual-ecological dimensions of well-being. *Kahampatan* can be experienced through the realization of the components of well-fullness that include welfare or provisions for basic needs, being well or the state of being healthy, activities for capacity building and empowerment, and well-being as the state of having the goodness of life.

Note:

This article is based on the author's dissertation entitled *"Kahampatan as Lived by the Ayta: Affirming Indigenous Well-being*" for the degree on Doctor of Social Development, College of Social Work and Community Development, University of the Philippines, Diliman, submitted in December 2016.

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Towards enhancing capabilities of children of Overseas Filipino Workers to sustain resilience and mitigate vulnerabilities

Mark Anthony D. Abenir, DSD

The Capabilities Approach was used in this study to understand the experiences of resilience and vulnerabilities in the lives of children of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) in the Philippines. It argues that the impact of family separation on the functionings and capabilities of the children left behind must be analyzed. This will provide the context for identifying what specific human capabilities should be safeguarded to ensure that migration benefits are sustained and vulnerabilities are mitigated. Through focused ethnography, this study draws qualitative and quantitative insights from 2,446 workshop participants of ANAK (Anak ng Nangibang-bansa Aruga at Kaagapay or Nurturing and Support for the Children of Overseas Workers) held nationwide from 2011 to 2013. Three valuable capability sets were identified that reflected the voices of children of OFWs. Findings from this study can serve as a guide in crafting migration and development policies that are sensitive to meeting the needs of the program participants in particular, and left-behind children by migrating parents in general.

Keywords: left-behind children, children of migrant workers, capabilities approach, resilience, vulnerability

Introduction

Left-behind children of migrating parent(s) have become a matter of growing concern to the global community (Abramovich, Cernadas, & Morlachetti, 2011) given the ever-increasing worldwide trend in international migration (ILO, 2013). The concern for these children is anchored upon the issue that separation from their parent(s) exposes them to certain risks such as being abused or trafficked (de la Garza, 2010), as well as becoming vulnerable to the psycho-social impacts of family separation (Valtolina & Colombo, 2012). Thus, calls have been made for migrant-sending countries to develop policies that can address the specific vulnerabilities of these children by ensuring the benefits that they have

gained from their parent(s)' migration can be sustained and the negative consequences brought about by family separation can be mitigated (Abramovich et al., 2011).

In the Philippines, left-behind children by migrating parents are known as the anak ng OFW (children of OFWs) since their migrant parent(s) belong to a population sector known as the Overseas Filipino Workers or OFWs. Local studies extensively deal with understanding the impact of family separation on the children's (a) economic condition, (b) health and nutrition status, (c) education, (d) psycho-social well-being, and (e) transnational relationship with their migrant parent(s). However, there is limited literature on how family separation impacts the functionings and capabilities of these children that contribute to their experiences of resilience and vulnerabilities. The central argument of this study is that understanding the impact of family separation on the functionings and capabilities of the children of OFWs will help identify which specific human capabilities should be safeguarded in order to ensure that migration benefits are sustained and negative consequences are mitigated.

Studies on Left-behind Children of Migrating Parents

Studies regarding the impact of family separation on left-behind children of migrating parents from different migrant-sending countries of the Global South were examined using the following measures: economic condition, educational outcomes and career path decisions, state of physical health, psychosocial well-being, transnational relationship with migrant parents, and power relations.

First, when economic conditions are considered, studies of Edillon (2008) and Heymann et al. (2009) are unanimous in declaring that left-behind children enjoy more monetary benefits and fewer chances for them to be involved in child labor compared to their counterparts whose parents are not migrant workers. But embedded in such economic gains are what Fresnoza-Flot (2009) points to as problems concerning children's conspicuous consumption and what Mohapatra, Ratha, & Silwal (2010) claim to be greater vulnerability of these children to experience economic shocks due to global factors affecting political and economic conditions in the host country where their parents are working.

Second, when it comes to educational outcomes and career path decisions, studies of Dillon & Walsh (2012) and Ducanes & Abella (2008) found out that left-behind children are more able to continue schooling

and are enrolled in private schools compared to children whose parents are local workers. However, when it comes to their academic performance, there are conflicting findings. Some studies, such as those of Ang (2008) and Mansour, Chaaban, & Litchfield (2011), claim that left-behind children do relatively well, if not better, in school and are able to finish schooling. On the other hand, Halpern-Manners (2011) and Lahaie, Hayes, Piper, & Heymann (2009) assert the contrary, especially in situations when the mother or the primary caregiver is the migrant worker in the family.

Third, in terms of the state of physical health, Flores, Sunil, Palencia, & Hernandez (2012) found that the level of infant mortality decreases when a parent is working abroad, and the study of the Scalabrini Migration Center (2004) seems to bolster this, as their findings show that left-behind children are generally found to be taller, heavier, and more hygienic. But Edillon (2008) claims in her study that left-behind children have poor health-seeking behavior and have a high-incidence of hygiene-related problems. When the gender of the migrant parent is taken into consideration, the studies of Smeekens, Stroebe, & Abakoumkin (2012) and Hochschild (2003) have shown that children with a mother abroad have poorer physical health than those with both parents at home, due to the emotional loneliness and stress brought about by the mother's absence.

Fourth, when psycho-social conditions are taken into account, the studies of Harper & Martin (2012) and Marchetti-Mercer (2012) have claimed that left-behind children, during the initial stages of separation, suffer a sense of loss resulting to mixed feelings of distress and anxiety. But this becomes more pronounced and enduring in cases where the mother is the migrant worker in the family – as in the studies of Senaratna (2012), Gustafson & Elliott (2011), and Parreñas (2005) which found that children yearn more for their migrant mothers than they do for their migrant fathers, resulting to the children's emotional woes and various risk-taking behaviors.

Fifth, when prolonged separation coupled with sporadic and poor communication becomes the norm in the family, the studies of Suárez-Orozco, Bang, & Kim (2011) and Alunan-Melgar & Borromeo (2002) observed that left-behind children eventually develop emotional distance and estranged relationships towards their migrant parent(s). Also, even if technological communication devices are frequently used by migrant parent(s) to bridge long-distance relations, Aguilar, Peñalosa, Liwanag, Cruzi, & Melendrez (2009) and Tanalega (2002) found that such "techie" parenting is still not able to replace the emotional bond forged by daily

face-to-face interactions. However, other studies, such as Furukawa & Driessnack (2012) and Bacigalupe & Lambe (2011), emphasize that access to communication technology cannot be taken for granted since it is able to provide transnational families an essential link in connecting children with their parent(s) and maintaining relationships with them.

Sixth, and lastly, when power relations in terms of decision making are factored in, Edillon (2008) and Parreñas (2006) found that a substantial number of left-behind children are not involved in the decision making of their parent(s) concerning migration. Because of this, Dreby (2007) explains that children often use whining, nagging, complaining, protesting, and refusing to engage with their parent(s)' agendas as a form of exerting power to shape the nature and course of their families' migration experiences. In turn, parent(s) use the control of economic remittances in an attempt to bribe and appease their children (Aguilar et al., 2009; Dreby, 2007).

The preceding literature review demonstrates that left-behind children tend to encounter more challenges when their mother or their primary caregiver is the migrant worker, but the overall impact of family separation on them has yielded a mix of positive and negative results. This may suggest that in spite of being separated from their parent(s), these children have learned to become resilient. Even though the pain caused by family separation is still a source of vulnerability in their condition, they are doing something to move on with their lives. However, studies are not clear on what factors are involved in sustaining children's resilience and in mitigating their vulnerabilities. Thus, the goal of this study is to identify such factors using the Capabilities Approach by investigating the lives of selected children of OFWs.

Capabilities Approach, Resilience, and Vulnerability

The Capabilities Approach is a development theory by Amartya Sen (1999) and Martha Nussbaum (2001) that focuses on enlarging people's capabilities when making normative evaluations on whether individual or societal progress has been successfully achieved or not. For Sen and Nussbaum, people's capabilities are analyzed in terms of the core concepts of "functionings" and "capabilities." Functionings refers to the achievement of the person – what he or she manages to do or be (Sen, 1999); and capabilities refers to the actual ability of a human person to function in different ways (Sen, 2005) and have the agency to achieve plans and goals in life which s/he has a reason to value (Nussbaum, 2001).

Examples of functionings are being well fed, being sheltered, and being able to work in the labor market (Robeyns, 2003).

On the other hand, although Sen proposes no definite list or examples of capabilities, Nussbaum (2003) has created the list of human capabilities as follows: (a) Life; (c) Bodily Integrity; (d) Sense, Imagination, and Thought; (e) Emotions; (f) Practical Reason; (g) Affiliation; (h) Other Species; and (j) Control over One's Environment. The list mentioned above, according to Nussbaum (2001), isolates those human capabilities that can be convincingly argued to be of central importance in any human life. However, Sen (2005) argues that any attempt to create a pre-determined list of capabilities must be sensitive to context and must undergo public discussion. Hence, Sen espouses a capabilities list that is determined by the individuals or groups concerned.

Applying the capabilities approach in this study, one should look at how the parent(s)' labor migration has impacted the children of OFWs in terms of the increase and decrease in their capabilities, understood in terms of "functionings and capabilities enlargement" (FCE) and "functionings and capabilities deprivation" (FCD) respectively. More so, this study surmises that FCE contributes to the said children's resilience while FCD contributes to their vulnerabilities. Resilience in this study refers to the ability to cope and transcend adversities caused by the family separation that enables the children of OFWs to maximize the benefits gained from the labor migration of their parent(s). On the other hand, vulnerability refers to their diminished capacity to cope with and transcend the adversities caused by family separation which then increases the negative consequences of their parent(s)' labor migration in their lives. Clustering the different FCEs and FCDs into relevant themes can lead to the creation of a capabilities list that is reflective of the said children's voices. In this way, the derived list of capabilities becomes sensitive to their context and runs parallel with the position of Sen (2005) that the creation of any list of human capabilities must come directly from the people concerned or affected by it.

Methods

Data reported here is part of a focused ethnographic study of the children of OFWs during ANAK Workshops (*Anak ng Nangibang-bansa Aruga at Kaagapay* or Nurturing and Support for the Children of Overseas Workers) conducted in the different migration hotspots in the three major islands (Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao) of the Philippines from 2011-2013.

The ANAK Workshops are implemented by UGAT Foundation, Inc. via their PANATAG (*Pamilya ng Nangibang-bansa, Aruga, Tulong at Gabay* or Nurture, Support and Guide for OFW Families) program in partnership with the guidance and counseling departments of public and private schools. I have been part of the PANATAG program of UGAT since 2008 as a facilitator and mentor for OFW families, specifically for the children of OFWs during the ANAK Workshops and summer camps. I have been involved with UGAT as a way of paying it forward since I have also been a beneficiary of UGAT as a son of a former OFW father. Thus, this study is a product of numerous personal stories shared, from the years 2011-2013, with fellow children of OFWs who belong to a much younger generation, mostly, those who were born between 1995 and 2005. Data from this study is taken from 2,446 ANAK Workshop participants who participated in answering survey questionnaires and shared their personal stories through focus groups formatted in small group sharing sessions (SGSS). Survey questionnaires called the ANAK Survey and Registration Form (ASRF), answered by the ANAK Workshop participants, generated both quantitative and qualitative data used in this study. On the other hand, focus groups, through the small group sharing sessions (SGSS), which are conducted three times within the duration of each ANAK Workshop, became an avenue for more in-depth discussion of the ANAK workshop participants' responses in the ASRF. Discussions held in the SGSS were documented using a combination of field journals and audio recordings.

Quantitative data extracted from the ASRF were encoded in MS Excel and subjected to descriptive and inferential analysis using IBM SPSS version 21. In contrast, qualitative data obtained from the ASRF and the focus groups cum SGSS were encoded and subjected to phenomenological text analysis using Atlas.ti7. Phenomenological text analysis is intended to be interpretative, rather than purely descriptive (van Manen, 2011); the interpretation is open to re-interpretation which is dialectical in nature (Annells, 1996); the focus is on the illumination of the essence and uniqueness of the human experience (Sternberg & Barry, 2011); and attention is given to how things are understood by people who live through these experiences and by those who study them (de Guzman et al., 2012). The parameters used for such text analysis are the keywords and phrases often used by the ARSF respondents, interview respondents, and SGSS participants. Thus, the keywords and phrases were analyzed using the following four steps: (a) discovering themes and subthemes (open coding); (b) winnowing the themes into a manageable manner; (c) building hierarchies of themes or code booking; and (d) linking themes into theoretical models (de Guzman et al., 2012).

Quantitative results and qualitative findings presented in this study were validated in three ways. First, the data were cross-checked using different methods to search for regularities in the research data and to yield stronger evidence. Second, data gathered through surveys were validated through the use of three correspondence strategies: (a) I validated information taken from the ARSF with the help of other UGAT-PANATAG mentors through discussions during the SGSSs and plenary sessions held during the ANAK workshops; (b) I presented the preliminary results of the descriptive statistics based on the ARSF to a national conference held in the University of the East–Manila on September 26, 2013 which was attended by a significant number of students who are *Anak* ng OFW and who then gave feedback that helped me improve and further understand the reasons behind the statistical results; and (c) I presented the results of the study to the PANATAG program manager and project director to help improve the design of the program, to fulfill my voluntary role as consultant, and to receive feedback from them. Hence, through these three correspondence strategies, immediate validation became possible as a means to make sure that the answers written in the ARSF were reflective of the thoughts and emotions of the Anak ng OFW. Lastly, interpretations of the findings were subjected to a member checking procedure. Here, I corresponded with the five research assistants involved in the data gathering regarding the truthfulness and trustworthiness of the data being researched. The five research assistants, whom I trained on how to do data analysis, provided their analytical interpretations of the data and these were compared with the ones I made. This was done to cross-check if my explanations were reasonable, convincing, and could possibly be open to another re-interpretation.

All activities pertaining to the conduct of data gathering in this study were done using the Filipino language, and the researcher provided the English translation. Ethical consent was secured for the entire conduct of the research process through parental consent forms obtained by partner schools who implemented the ANAK Workshops on their campuses. Names used in this study which refer to workshop participants are fictional to protect their identity.

Results

Demographic Characteristics of Research Respondents

Table 1 displays the total number of ANAK Workshop participants per case study site used in this study. As shown in Table 1, out of the total number of 2,446, 83% (n = 2,018) came from Luzon, while 11% (n = 274) and 6% (n = 154) came from Visayas and Mindanao, respectively. Since a

significant percentage of the ANAK Workshop participants were from Luzon, further categorizing reveals the top three regions where they came from, namely: (1) Central Luzon region (45%, *n* = 1,083), (2) CALABARZON region (19%, *n* = 444), and (3) Ilocos region (11%, *n* = 279), respectively. These regions in Luzon, according to the Philippine Statistics Authority (2016) belong to the five migration hot spots where most of the OFWs in the Philippines come from.

Table 1: Number of ANAK Workshop Participants per province

Geographical Areas		f	%
Luzon Island			
Cordillera Administrative Region	Baguio	**171**	**7**
Ilocos Region	Ilocos Sur	**279**	**11**
Cagayan Valley Region	Cagayan	**41**	**2**
Central Luzon Region	Bataan	274	11
	Bulacan	259	11
	Pampanga	184	8
	Tarlac	159	7
	Zambales	207	8
	Subtotal for Central Luzon	**1083**	**45**
CALABARZON Region	Cavite	233	**10**
	Laguna	161	**6**
	Rizal	50	**2**
	Subtotal for CALABARZON	**444**	**19**
	Subtotal for Luzon Island	**2,018**	**83**
Vizayas Island			
Central Visayas	Cebu	145	6
Eastern Visayas	Leyte	129	5
	Subtotal for Vizayas Island	274	11
Mindanao Island			
CARAGA Region	Surigao del Norte	154	6
	Overall Total	**2,446**	**100**

Table 2, on the other hand, portrays the socio-demographic profile of the ANAK Workshop participants. As revealed in Table 2, a little more than half of the workshop participants were females (53%, n = 1,303) and about 70% (n = 1,702) of them were adolescents (13-17 years old). About 80% (n = 1,972) were high school students and more than three-fourths came from private schools (85%, n = 2,090) which are predominantly sectarian

(Catholic or Christian schools) (81%, n = 1,977). Finally, more than half of the workshop participants (59%, n = 1,431) had fathers working abroad, followed by those whose mothers (28%, n = 687) and both parents (13%, n = 303) were working abroad, respectively. This confirmed the OFW deployment statistics of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (2016) in which many of the migrant workers from the Philippines were still males, followed closely by females whose number was beginning to close the gap with that of men being deployed abroad.

Table 2: Socio-Demographic Profile of ANAK Workshop Participants

Indicators	F	%	Indicators	F	%
Sex			***School Type***		
Male	1,143	43	Public	356	15
Female	1,303	53	Private	2,090	85
Total	**2,446**	**100**	**Total**	**2,446**	**100**
Age Level			***School Orientation***		
Middle Childhood (08–12)	686	28	Secular	469	19
			Sectarian	1,977	81
Adolescence (13–17)	1,702	70	Total	**2.446**	**100**
Early Young Adult (18–21)	58	2			
Total	**2,446**	**100**			
Educational Level			***Migrant Parent***		
Elementary (Grades 4 – 6)	408	17	Father	1,431	59
			Mother	684	28
High school (1st – 4th Year)	1,972	80	Both Parent(s)	303	13
			Missing	25	
College (1st – 4th Year)	66	3	Total	**2,446**	**100**
Total	**2,446**	**100**			

Phenomenological Text Analysis of Qualitative Data

Phenomenological text analysis of the qualitative data derived from the ASRF and SGSS reveals three major capability sets that form part of the capabilities list that is reflective of the voices of the *Anak* ng OFW.

These three major capability sets are (a) the capability to achieve a good and prosperous life, (b) the capability to form enduring transnational ties, and (c) the capability to reconstitute the social structure of the family. Each of these is explained in the following subsections.

A. Capability to achieve a good and prosperous life

According to the ANAK Workshop participants, the main reason why their parent(s) worked abroad was to have gainful employment. This strongly indicates that the ARSF respondents were aware that employment opportunities in the Philippines are inadequate both in terms of availability and as a source of income to raise a family. As Anina wrote in the ARSF:

> *"Because my parent is not able to get job opportunities here (in the Philippines), if there is one, the pay is not enough to lift us out from poverty." – Anina, 16*

Thus, when the workshop participants were asked what advantages they experienced when their parents started working abroad, most of them (89%, n = 2,176) quoted the phrase, "they are now able to achieve a good and prosperous life." By this, they meant that the overseas work of their parents and the economic remittances served as a ticket to improve the lot of the entire family and help them escape from the clutches of poverty. This, in turn, became a critical capability set for them. But what is meant by this? Further probing into their answers in the SGSS and applying phenomenological text analysis in the transcribed focus groups reveal six essential criteria that the workshop participants navigated so that they could live a good and prosperous life brought about by the overseas work of their parent(s). These criteria correspondingly translate into the FCE they experienced in their lives, namely: (a) being able to study in good quality schools, (b) being able to acquire basic needs, (c) being able to realistically hope for a bright future, (d) being able to enjoy the comforts of life, (e) being free from the bondage of debt, and (f) being able to save money for future needs.

Essential to the experience of the abovementioned FCEs is the sufficient economic remittances sent by OFW parent(s) to their families. Such economic remittances were maximized into what the workshop participants refer to as a good and prosperous life. However, about 11% (n = 262) of the workshop participants claimed that they are not able to experience such a life as they experienced money-related problems. Such was the case of Kiko, a 15-year-old workshop participant, who viewed economic remittances as a source of conflict because of the constant demands of his relatives to have the

lion's share of his father's economic remittances. As Kiko revealed in one of the SGSS:

> *"I am angry at my father. He makes my mother cry. Why does he always have to give money to our relatives? Mama is already having a tough time making ends meet. He promised us our life would be better if he goes abroad. But what happened is that we are just the same as before." – Kiko, 15*

Second, another form of FCD that some of the workshop participants experienced was when their OFW parent was a "TNT" (short for tago ng tago), which means "those who keep on hiding" from immigration authorities, or those who are undocumented migrant workers. This led them to vulnerable situations which I discovered often translated into the vulnerabilities of their children as well. Such was the case of Jena, a 19-year-old student studying in a private school, who explained that when the US visa of her father expired, her father continued to stay and hide from immigration authorities. Because of this, her father found it difficult to secure a job and lived under precarious conditions. Jena was also aware that her father could notgo back to the Philippines for fear of being blacklisted. Thus, as her father chose to stay on in the USA, the economic remittances were significantly reduced which led to financial constraints in their family. As Jena verbalized in the SGSS:

> *"When my father still had a visa, he could afford my tuition fee and that of my younger brother. But when he lost his visa, he had a hard time looking for a job, and he struggled to provide for my education." – Jena, 19*

Lastly, in some other cases, some of the workshop participants complained that on top of having their parent not by their side, what added insult to injury was that they could not see and feel that the quality of their family's life had improved. As Sarah explained in the SGSS:

> *"The economic remittance he (migrant father) sends is low. Come to think of it, what he earns there would be just the same if he would work here. I wish he stays here, because our life did not even change." – Sarah, 17*

Thus, based on the above narratives of the workshop participants, one can surmise that migration of parent(s) could either be a boon or a bane for their children, depending upon the amount and wise use of economic remittances that they send to their families.

B. Capability to form enduring transnational ties

One of the advantages brought about by the labor migration of parents that workshop participants consistently mention is the acquisition of information communication technology (ICT) devices and the use of the internet. When asked how many days in a year were they able to transnationally communicate with their parents through the use of the internet and ICT devices, descriptive statistics revealed that almost two-thirds of the respondents (62%, n = 1,486) were able to communicate with their migrant parent(s) ranging in frequency from at least once a week up to every day. In contrast, those who reported that they were able to transnationally communicate with their migrant parents only once a month (12%, n = 294) or only once a year (4%, n = 187) complained that their access to the internet was low since (a) their family could not afford internet service, (b) there was no available internet service provider in their area, or (c) internet connectivity was very poor. This forced them to resort to making traditional long-distance calls which were very expensive and, thus, hampered them from communicating with one another transnationally. Thus, it can be said that possession of ICT devices and access to the internet enables OFW families to form enduring transnational ties which then leads them to feel that, even though they are separated, they are not left behind. As one of the workshop participants explained in the SGSS:

> *"It can be seen in my OFW family that we are still intact and we are not left behind because we can talk to each other using the cellphone, the internet, and usually through online chat also." – Vicky, 15*

But what forms of FCE do the workshop participants get out of this? Phenomenological text analysis reveals three important FCEs that workshop participants experience when transnational ties are fomented between them and their migrant parents, namely: (a) being able to receive transnational parental support, (b) being able to transnationally convey thoughts and emotions, and (c) being able to establish transnational emotional bonds.

C. Capability to reconstitute the social structure of the family

This capability set is derived from the implicit negative experiences of the workshop participants in this study (a) when gender inequality prevails in their family, (b) when the existence of OFW families are not recognized, and (c) when immediate family reunification is not fulfilled. Such conditions contribute to the experience of FCD of the workshop participants, further

exposing them to vulnerabilities. However, when such FCD is successfully turned into an FCE, such as (a) being able to live in gender egalitarian family, (b) being able to enjoy the recognition that OFW families are transnational families that have different needs, and (c) being able to pursue immediate family reunification, then this could promote the resilience of the Children of OFWs. This is further explained in the following subsections below.

1. FCD when gender inequality prevails in the family

Data show that the workshop participants, regardless of their sex, do not feel comfortable when it is their mothers who work abroad. Verifying this in the ASRF, Chi-square analysis as shown in Table 3 (see Appendix A) reveals that workshop participants whose mothers are migrants are the least likely to agree that their parent(s) are able to fulfill their duties and responsibilities toward their families when compared to those whose fathers and both parent(s), respectively, are abroad (93.3% Fathers, 90.8% Both Parent(s), and 87.9% Mothers). The reason given by the participants is that, when their mothers work abroad, their fathers do not take on the roles of caring for and nurturing them. As Cherry explains in the ARSF:

> *"My father is always drunk when she is not here. My father also is of no help in doing household chores." – Cherry, 15*

Thus, this has led some of the workshop participants to assert that the provision of care and nurturance is the primary duty and responsibility of their mothers. As one of them writes in the ARSF:

> *"Even though she works hard for us abroad, she cannot do what a mother is supposed to do, that is, to take care of us. You cannot expect a father to do that." – Kim, 16*

The narratives reflect the resulting views of the workshop participants who witness gender inequality expressed through gender role stereotypes. This becomes unfortunate for their OFW mothers since they too make sacrifices for the betterment of their children's lives. But because such gender role stereotypes are pervasive, workshop participants have a hard time truly appreciating the efforts of their mother. This is reflected in the results of the Chi-square analysis as shown in Table 4 (see Appendix B) where the workshop participants whose mothers are abroad (including both parents) are the ones who are more likely to report that they feel lonely (25.7% both parent(s), 20.1% mothers, 14.9% fathers), lack parental support (17.2% both parent(s), 16% mothers, 12.5% fathers), spend time with questionable peers

(11.5% mothers, 10.6% both parent(s), 7.8% fathers), and cry more often (35% both parent(s), 28.7% mothers, 25.2% fathers).

However, there is hope that such unfortunate situations can be reversed. Further scouring through the responses of the workshop participants in the ASRF reveal that there are rare cases in which they report that their fathers do perform caring and nurturing roles in the home. In such cases, the participants have less qualms about the migration of their mothers. As Sanda verbalizes in the SGSS:

> *"Even though Mama is in another country working, my Papa is with us who nurtures and teaches us the right manners and ethical conduct." – Sandra, 15*

Although the above statement is a rare case, there is a glimmer of hope that when fathers learn to cross gender role stereotypes, then the children will no longer blame their OFW mothers for not fulfilling their duties and responsibilities towards the family.

2. FCD when the needs of OFW families are unrecognized

More than half of the workshop participants (60%, n = 1,459) report that they continually yearn for their migrant parent(s). As explained in the ASRF, they envy other children who enjoy the presence and companionship of both parents. Such envious feelings are especially heightened during family days in schools. On such occasions, the children of OFWs feel isolated and pity their families as they see their classmates celebrate the family day with both of their parents in the school. As Maria explains in the SGSS:

> *"I envy my classmates who are with their parent(s) during the family day in school. I find it difficult to see them complete, and there is a program for them." – Maria, 17*

Unlike her classmates, both of Maria's parents are in Europe. However, she can communicate with them every day as she reported in the ASRF. Maria also writes, *"Everything that is expected from a parent is fulfilled by my parent(s),"* and yet, every family day in school, she finds herself envying her classmates. Her words connote there is a pain in her seeing them celebrate what a typical family is, as marked by the family day program held in her school.

3. FCD when immediate Family Reunification is not fulfilled

My close interactions with the children of OFWs during the ANAK Workshops have given me the advantage to probe deeper into the lives of workshop participants, especially those whose migrant parent(s) are TNTs. The precarious nature of OFW parents who are TNTs in a foreign land vis-à-vis what life looks like when there is prolonged separation is best explained by the workshop participants who have TNT parent(s). As Kokoy writes in the ARSF:

> *"I have not yet experienced the love and care of a father. This is because when I was born, he was already not by my side, he was already working abroad. It has been ten years since he came home in the Philippines." – Kokoy, 17*

Being separated for ten years is indeed a long time and has taken an emotional toll on Kokoy. In some cases, the TNT situation of migrant parents has also led them to abandon their families, as is often done by OFW fathers who are TNTs. As Carl writes in the ASRF:

> *"He already has a different family in another country and the family there is what he focuses his attention on." – Carl, 16*

The TNT situation of the migrant parent(s) negatively impacts the children of OFWs, both emotionally and economically, especially in the case of abandonment. The TNT situation tends to hinder family reunification, aggravating the negative emotional consequences felt by the children on the issue of family separation.

Analysis: Capabilities of children of OFWs

Three essential capability sets of children of OFWs were then generated from the different data sets. These three major capability sets are (a) the capability to achieve a good and prosperous life, (b) the capability to form enduring transnational ties, and (c) the capability to reconstitute the social structure of the family. When achieved, these capability sets contribute to the children's resilience or FCE. On the other hand, the failure to attain such capability sets leads to their vulnerabilities or FCD.

First, on the capability to achieve a good and prosperous life, previous studies of Ang, Sugiyarto, & Jha (2009) and Sabates-Wheeler & Koettl (2010) have shown that families of migrant workers rely on economic remittances as their means to reduce poverty and to promote human development in various aspects. In the case of children of OFWs, poverty reduction and human

development for them is concretely understood and felt in terms of the six FCEs they experience under the capability to achieve a good and prosperous life. Such FCEs are: (a) being able to study in good quality schools, (b) being able to acquire basic needs, (c) being able to realistically hope for a bright future, (d) being able to enjoy the comforts of life, (e) being free from the bondage of debt, and (f) being able to save money for future needs. These FCEs may serve as critical indicators to gauge whether left-behind children in general and the children of OFWs in particular, are truly benefiting from the labor migration of their parents. But at the same time, they also help further define children's rights to survival, protection, and development as accorded in the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

Thus, I strongly suggest that CRC signatory states, such as the Philippines, ensure that the said children are enjoying such FCEs. However, this would entail long-term solutions to sustain such benefits gained from the labor migration of parents. This would require the Philippine government to create policies to channel the use of economic remittances for asset formation to build its domestic capacity to absorb more workers (CODE-NGO, FDC, & UNDP, 2010). Through this, more parents would be enabled to fulfill their obligations to their children in realizing their capability to achieve a good and prosperous life without the need to be separated from them.

Second, on the capability to form enduring transnational ties, previous studies of Rule (2009) and Parreñas (2005) have shown that transnational communication between the migrant parent and their family is crucial in maintaining a feeling of solidarity among the family members across the miles. Also, Furukawa & Driessnack (2012) and Bacigalupe & Lambe (2011) have found that access to ICT – such as mobile phones, full availability of very affordable international phone calls, and mainstreaming of internet connectivity and social media – plays a crucial role in helping left-behind children in general, and the children of OFWs in particular, in cushioning the pains of family separation and further allowing transnational ties to thrive. In the case of children of OFWs, transnational communication with migrant parents via access to ICT and the internet has contributed to their FCEs in terms of (a) being able to receive transnational parental support, (b) being able to transnationally convey thoughts and emotions, and (c) being able to establish transnational emotional bonds. Such FCEs cut across the capability set on "emotions" and "affiliations," as Nussbaum (2003) explains that being able to have attachments to those who love and care for us (emotions) and being able to engage in various forms of interaction such as being able to live for and in relation to others (affiliation) are crucial to human development. Thus, the capability to form enduring transnational ties can be deemed essential for the human development of the children of

OFWs.

Based on this, the Philippine government should commit to providing universal access to the internet by making it reliable, affordable, and accessible through private-sector and market-based information infrastructure development (Lallana & Soriano, 2007), increasing the value derived from online services (Lallana & Soriano, 2007), and establishing Community eCenters (CeCs) in municipalities and in every barangay where there are no shared internet access facilities and transform existing public school computer laboratories into internet hubs (DOST, 2014). CeCs can be tapped to serve as gateways for transnational communication between children and their migrant parents which can be very useful for OFW families who have no internet access.

Lastly, on the capability to reconstitute the social structure of the family, Nussbaum (1997) argues that the family is not a fixed unit, for it can come in all shapes and sizes, and it does not only consist of people related by blood and marriage; hence, families have the right to define themselves and appropriate negotiated roles among its members. This is true in the lives of the children of OFWs, where they find themselves living in the historical era of international migration, which exerts various pressures that either expand or limit the social structures of their families.

Hence, this study advocates three FCEs that should form part of the capability to reconstitute the social fabric of the family, namely: (a) being able to live in a gender-egalitarian family, (b) being able to enjoy the recognition that OFW families are transnational families that have different needs, and (c) being able to pursue immediate family reunification. Safeguarding such FCEs would entail the promotion of gender equality by the Philippine government, guided by the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and its Magna Carta of Women (Republic Act 9710 of 2009). The government should also find ways to help transnational families strengthen transnational ties by providing social services and immigration policies needed by OFW families to help enhance transnational family bonds and facilitate actual family reunification (Zentgraf, 2012). Lastly, it should establish strategies to help shorten the duration of family separation experienced by transnational families through subsidizing return trips of OFWs so they can annually visit their children and respective families (International Labour Organization, 2013).

On a related matter, the Philippine government should do more to prevent the phenomenon of undocumented OFWs by establishing a Shared Government Information System on Migration (SGISM) as promoted by the

Center for Migrant Advocacy (2012). This would provide a harmonized mechanism for gathering statistics on regular and irregular migrants by different government agencies through gathering information and creating a database on how long Filipino migrants have stayed in a particular country, what migrants do when they return, the situation returning migrants find themselves in, how many years migrants remain overseas, and if they are subsequently redeployed to the same or a different country. If such database could be developed and made readily available, it would greatly help in the formulation of sound policies and programs concerning family reunification.

Concluding Note

The capabilities list drawn from the study is reflective of the voices of the children of OFWs. These three major capability sets are (a) the capability to achieve a good and prosperous life, (b) the capability to form enduring transnational ties, and (c) the capability to reconstitute the social structure of the family.

Each of the aforementioned capability sets have their own Functionings and Capability Enlargements (FCEs) and Functionings and Capability Deprivations (FCDs). For the capability to achieve a good and prosperous life, the FCEs are (a) being able to study in good quality schools, (b) being able to acquire basic needs, (c) being able to realistically hope for a bright future, (d) being able to enjoy the comforts of life, (e) being free from the bondage of debt, and (f) being able to save money for future needs. Its FCDs on the other hand are: (a) when economic remittances become a source of family conflict, (b) when the precarious conditions of the undocumented status of migrant parents result to financial constraints in the family, and (c) when the salary of the migrant parent is not enough to make ends meet.

When it comes to the capability to form enduring transnational ties, the FCE are (a) being able to receive transnational parental support, (b) being able to transnationally convey thoughts and emotions, and (c) being able to establish transnational emotional bonds. However, FCDs occur (a) when the family cannot afford an internet service, (b) when there is no available internet service provider in their area, and (c) when internet connectivity is very poor.

Finally, in terms of the capability to reconstitute the social structure of the family, its FCEs are (a) being able to live in gender-egalitarian family,

(b) being able to enjoy the recognition that OFW families are transnational families that have different needs, and (c) being able to pursue immediate family reunification. Its corresponding FCDs are: (a) when gender inequality prevails in the family, (b) when the needs of OFW families are not recognized, and (c) when immediate family reunification is not fulfilled.

However, one may notice that the list as mentioned above greatly differs from that of Nussbaum. This is because as Sen (2005) would argue, any attempt to create a pre-determined list of Capabilities must be sensitive to context and must reflect the interest of those affected in the formulation of the Capabilities list. Thus, the list culled out here is a product of a social constructivist approach that is sensitive to the unique context of the Anak ng OFW and is reflective of the epistemological worldview of how the children of OFWs perceive what is beneficial for them. This study shows that the Capabilities Approach can be grounded based on the lives of the children of OFWs. In this way, the study contributes to the localization of the Capabilities Approach as understood and valued by concerned groups, like the children of OFWs.

Notes:

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Appendix A

Table 3: Crosstabulation of Agreement on whether Migrant Parent(s) can perform their Duties and Responsibilities by which Parent is Abroad

Dependent Variable	Father	Mother	Both	X2	P	Cramer's V
Agreement on Parent(s)' Fulfillment of Duties and Responsibilities (N = 2,421; *df* = 2)	93.3% (3.9)	87.9% (-3.9)	90.8% (-0.5)	17.35	.000	.085

Note: Adjusted standardized residual frequencies appear in parentheses below observed percentages.

Appendix B

Table 4: Crosstabulation of Problems Faced and Coping Strategies of the ASRF respondents by which Parent is working abroad

Dependent Variable	Father	Mother	Both	X2	P	Cramer's V
Problems Faced						
1. Feel Lonely	14.9% (-4.4)	20.1% (1.9)	25.7% (3.9)	23.91	.000	.099
2. Lack of parental support	12.5% (-2.7)	16.0% (1.7)	17.2% (1.6)	7.42	.025	.055
Coping Stategies						
3. Spending time with questionable peers	7.8% (-2.9)	11.5% (2.5)	10.6% (0.9)	8.610	.013	.060
4. Crying	25.2% (-2.9)	28.7% (0.9)	35.0% (3.2)	12.709	.002	.072

Note: Adjusted standardized residual frequencies appear in parentheses below observed percentages.

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Examining unpaid care work of women in the sandwich generation:

Pathways towards social protection and wellbeing

Excelsa C. Tongson, DSD

Drawing from feminist standpoint epistemology and Kabeer's Social Relations Approach, this research is anchored on three critical points. First, it claims that women are authentic sources of knowledge that aid in the understanding of society. Second, it asserts that, as owners of their narratives, women in the sandwich generation bring along with them abundant and solid resources that contain both their dominant and subordinated views and persona in providing unpaid care. Lastly, it treats women's experiences not only as instruments for understanding how society operates but more importantly as dynamic vehicles for reorganizing and changing society's structure and workings. The situation of seven low-income urban women in the sandwich generation shows a major confluence of class, gender, age, and other identities. In terms of current policies, the single-determinant approach focusing only on one aspect of social protection has largely ignored individual differences and other identities thus limiting our understanding of how the world of women in the sandwich generation revolves and functions around their triple roles.

Keywords: Unpaid care work, sandwich generation, social protection, women's well-being, intersectionality, feminist epistemology

Unpaid care work as a gender issue

According to the United Nations Development Program (2019), women's heavy burden of unpaid care work is one of the most glaring structural barriers to women's economic empowerment. In both rural and urban areas, women's use of their time for unpaid care prohibits them from regularly contributing economically to their household, partaking in political, social, and community matters, and attending to personal care and leisure (Karimli et al., 2016).

Unpaid care is largely unappreciated and undervalued because it is generally found within the ordinariness of daily living of women and girls, and translated in routine household chores such as cooking, cleaning, doing

the laundry, and taking care of children, older adults, and sick members of the family (Antonopoulos, 2009; Faith & Blackden, 2009; Folbre, 1995; ILO, 1999; Karimli et al,. 2016; Ofreneo, 2005).

Time and energy are requisites in accomplishing unpaid care work. Across the globe, 76.2 % of the total hours of unpaid care work is rendered by women. This is three times more than the time spent by men on domestic work. In Asia and the Pacific, the figure reaches 80 % (ILO, 2018). The McKinsey Global Institute (2015) approximated, using conservative measures, that "unpaid work being undertaken by women today amounts to as much as $10 trillion of output per year, roughly equivalent to 13 percent of global GDP" (p.2).

While unpaid care has economic value, it is not included in the System of National Accounts (ActionAid, 2016; ADB, 2015; Chopra, 2014; Eyben, 2013; Ferrant, Pesando & Nowacka, 2014). According to Antonopoulous (2009), women have been providing a "systematic transfer of hidden subsidies to the rest of the economy that go unrecognized, imposing a systematic time-tax on women throughout their life cycle" (p.2). Hence, unpaid care is considered abusive of women.

While unpaid care is willingly and freely performed by mothers, wives, sisters, grandmothers, and aunts, it bears noting that not all of them belong to multi-generation households where they simultaneously look after the needs and wellbeing of the younger and the older generations. Situated in the middle of two generations, such women are known as the "sandwich generation," a term which had its origins in the United States (Brody, 1981; DeRigne & Ferrente, 2012; Economic Intelligence Unit, 2010; Miller, 1981). This unique familial position is found to be a product of a coalescence of several factors related to women's increasing educational and abundant economic opportunities that result in the delay of childbearing to a later age as well as the effects of modern medical science in lengthening the life span of people. With the evolving participation of women in the public sphere and as they strive to balance their familial and occupational responsibilities, childcare and eldercare have increasingly become legitimate personal and workplace concerns (DeRigne & Ferrente, 2012; EIU, 2010; Pierret, 2006), and have been regarded as critical public issues (Marks, 1998).

The dominant discourse about the sandwich generation in the last four decades has centered on middle class women in the formal economy from the Global North. The debate surrounding the participation of women in the labor force and its links to care work spurred specific public

and private policy formulations in the form of care services, subsidies to avail of paid care workers and other basic services, as well as labor market interventions such as maternity protection, parental leaves, and setting a prescribed period of time for paid work (EIU, 2010; Jankowski, 2011; Wagner, 2003).

Invisibility of care work

Like in other parts of the world, unpaid care in the Philippines is largely done by women and girls, and subsumed in their daily routine. With the assumption that unpaid care and domestic work will always be freely available in Filipino homes and communities, it has remained unaccounted for in policymaking and program formulations. Take for example Republic Act 9710, "An Act Providing the Magna Carta of Women (MCW)" which lacks specific provisions on care. According to Durano (2014), despite being celebrated as a groundbreaking law that provides a comprehensive legal framework directly anchored on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Magna Carta of Women (MCW) fell short on many counts. Apart from excluding care, it failed to recognize culturally ascribed roles of women as "housewife and mother" (Durano, 2014, p.2). It also lacks provision on gender division of labor and provided less attention to personal choice and other goals that women value. As a legally binding developmental framework, it is ironic that the MCW does not provide developmental indicators necessary in determining the extent of women's advancement. With these shortcomings, fundamental questions remain as to how the MCW would address women's marginalization and discrimination, how directions are set in devising strategies to liberate women from domestication and subordination, and how unpaid care of Filipino women in general and women in the sandwich generation in particular will be recognized, reduced, and redistributed.

Despite theoretical advances and policy advocacy on care work, efforts have not really created a dent as policymakers continue to demonstrate a lack of understanding of the inextricable relationship of care work—both paid and unpaid—to economic development and wellbeing of individuals, families, and communities. Likewise, the lack of technical know-how in dealing with issues of the care economy has resulted in the invisibility of care in every stage and every level of development programs (Chopra, Kelbert, & Iyer, 2013).

Amidst the rich literature that highlights the challenges of and the solutions undertaken for women in the sandwich generation in the West

and other countries in Asia, the phenomenon remains unexplored in the Philippines (Tongson, 2018). The lack of a local term and the absence of data or information about it in leading government agencies such as the Philippine Commission on Women, the Philippine Statistics Authority, and the Philippine Commission on Population are indicative of the invisibility of this unique familial position.

With the mixture of factors including the twin effects of high birth rate and low mortality rate, and Filipino families being closely knit and primarily responsible for the biological maintenance and provision of emotional security, and kinship loyalties (Chan, 1992; Medina, 2001), the presence of women in the sandwich generation will most likely have a steady presence. In a patriarchal society where socially-imposed gender relations have become ingrained, the issues surrounding unpaid care have the potential of being ignored.

"Being sandwiched" (EIU, 2010) provide an incomplete description of women in the sandwich generation. For most urban poor women in the informal economy, mere access to current social services and benefits seems inadequate to ease their caring burdens. Tongson (2018) cited the complexities of their situation in relation to poverty, deprivation, violence against women (VAW), and intersectionality, which are largely absent in Western studies on the sandwich generation.

While the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) in 2011 recognized that "women face multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination such as women in poverty, women with disabilities, indigenous and Muslim women, women living in geographically inaccessible areas, and lesbian, bisexual and transgender women" (p. 164), it is silent about the wellbeing of and social protection for women in the sandwich generation.

The Social Development Committee of the NEDA defines social protection as:

> policies and programs that seek to reduce poverty and vulnerability to risks and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalized by promoting and protecting livelihood and employment, protecting against hazards and sudden loss of income, and improving people's capacity to manage risks. (SDC Resolution No.1, 2007)

On the other hand, wellbeing integrates various aspects of daily living—social, physical, emotional, and economic—resulting in affirmative outcomes expressed in how people think and feel about themselves and their lives. With this premise, understanding wellbeing is hinged on the recognition of its experiential dimensions translated into good living conditions, good relationship qualities, realization of their potentials, and overall satisfaction with life (Anand, 2016; Devereux & McGregor, 2014). Earlier, McGregor and Summer (2010) argued that the aspiration to attain wellbeing is anchored on the recognition that wellbeing is related to our understanding of poverty as multi-dimensional. Hence, the attainment of wellbeing must take into consideration complementary achievements in terms of material, relational, and subjective dimensions.

Unpaid care is both an issue of women and a development concern. The sandwich generation must be understood and analyzed in the context of the under-fulfillment of women's rights, lack of social protection, and the impacts of gender division of labor on their wellbeing (Tongson, 2018).

Urban poverty and women in the sandwich generation

All of these make the call more urgent to recognize the needs and interests of women in the sandwich generation especially those living in urban areas where economic, social, political, and institutional gaps and disparities are more visible compared to rural areas. As poverty takes an urban character, the urban poor especially women suffer heavily from structural poverty, which makes them more vulnerable to uneven economic and social development processes, marginalization, abuses and violence (Mathur, 2014; Brillantes, 1993; Holmes & Jones, 2013; Tacoli, 2012). In reality, many Filipino women do not have the resources and influence to access quality social services and social protection for themselves and their families (Holmes & Jones, 2013; Ofreneo, 2005; Tongson, 2018).

This article highlights the women's stories found in the author's earlier dissertation. It tackles how the unique position of women in the sandwich generation in the National Capital Region (NCR) has contributed to or restricted their growth and potential as women. It also recognizes that unpaid care work of Filipino women in the sandwich generation is exacerbated by insufficient social protection and inadequate social services. As one of the initial attempts to understand the consequences of unpaid care performed by low-income urban women in sandwich generation households, the study endeavors to conceptually reframe their issues using gender and development perspectives.

Framing gender inequalities

Kabeer's Social Relations Approach (SRA) aims to analyze gender inequalities in relation to the allocation of resources, responsibilities, and power as well as the relationships between people, their relationships to resources and activities, and how they are negotiated and altered through the four key institutional sites—state, market, community, and family or kinship (Kabeer, 1994; Kabeer & Subramanian, 1996).

Gender, class, race, and ethnicity are within the realm of social relations. They do not operate on their own "but are products of ways in which institutions are organized and reconstituted over time" (Kabeer & Subramanian, 1996, p. 25). While institutions influence and reinforce each other, social relations are not permanent as changes in a key institution can bring about modifications in the control over resources and positions. Kabeer (1994) noted that examining a particular institution would reveal the contours and processes of gender and class inequalities shaped by the interplay of the five interrelated dimensions (rules, resources, activities, people, and power) present in each institution. These dimensions are critical elements in the analysis of gender and class disparities.

Guided by the SRA, the study hopes to obtain a richer understanding of how social differences and inequalities in roles, responsibilities, claims, and power are produced and reproduced in multi-generation households exposing gendered beliefs about unpaid care of women in the sandwich generation as well as their particular vulnerabilities and sufferings that limit their choices and freedom. Working from an appreciation of the complexity of unequal social relations, SRA's analysis looks beyond the household or family level. By bringing in the community, the market, and the state, the study captures the complexity of gender-power relations, the gendered nature of institutions, and the interaction between policies and practices related to unpaid care at different institutional sites.

Understanding the plight of women in the sandwich generation also requires unveiling where gender, class, age, and other identities overlap in their everyday life. This also demands unmasking where various sources of power and exclusion originate and intersect. Including intersectionality in the framework of the study on women in the sandwich generation "highlights the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed" (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 124). As a critical feminist tool for uncovering the invisible in women's diverse experiences, intersectionality is a lens through which unpaid care

of women in the sandwich generation could be thoroughly examined.

Combining SRA with intersectionality provides a perspective that views unpaid care primarily in terms of gender inequality and social control of women in the sandwich generation. Within the dominant institutional arrangements, social power creates the stereotypical images of women as care providers. By using SRA and intersectionality, the study argues for the need to restructure the fragmented view of Philippine society towards unpaid care of women in the sandwich generation. Based on their specific and unique situation and needs, more responsive policies and programs can be crafted to ensure adequate social protection and the attainment of wellbeing of women in the sandwich generation.

Research Methodology

The study is guided by the principles of feminist standpoint epistemology, which claims that those who are immersed in the situation have the epistemic privilege to talk about their multiple realities and contribute to knowledge generation (Brooks, 2014; Guerrero, 2002; Harding, 1987). By documenting the experiences of low-income urban women in the sandwich generation, the hidden layers of their unrecognized issues begin to unfold. Feminist standpoint epistemology provides spaces for grounded knowledge generation that can spur heightened consciousness and empowered women (Barrameda, 2012; Brooks, 2014; Guerrero, 2002; Verceles, 2014).

For the case studies, seven low-income women in the sandwich generation were included—ages 30 to 59 years old, residing in Quezon City, and with a monthly family income of PhP 31, 650.00 and below (as suggested by Albert, Gaspar, & Raymundo, 2015). To provide diverse perspectives in terms of gender and class, the study looked into the experiences of a Person With Disability (PWD), a member of the LGBTQ sector, and a solo parent. All participants in the case study were interviewed in person according to the time and venue they had specified.

Quezon City was deemed to be a fertile ground to conduct the seven case studies. With 2.94 million residents, it has the largest population among the 16 Highly Urbanized Cities in the National Capital Region. Five of the most populous barangays in the NCR are found here (PSA, 2016). While it is considered one of the richest cities in the country in terms of income with the comforts of modern living and posh subdivisions, many barangays in the city are considered the poorest of the poor by the National Anti-Poverty Commission.

Feminist Ethics

As a feminist research, the study adhered to the non-hierarchical relationship between the participants and the researcher, who remained sensitive to their needs and cues. The participants knew that they could ask questions and withdraw their participation in the research. Their written permission was obtained for a series of recorded interviews. While their names have been changed in order to protect their identities, the actual circumstances, places, and events adhere to the truthfulness of their lived realities.

Case write-ups (in Filipino) were shown to each participant during story validation. As the owners of the story, they were free to edit or revise the write-up as appropriate. Even after the data collection was completed, contact through text messages and occasional home visits was maintained.

Research findings

1. Profile of the women-participants

All of the women who participated in the study are residents of Quezon City. Three participants (Betty, Malen, and Melba) have secure tenure of housing, three are informal settlers (Melinda, Emily, and Athena), and Daisy is renting. As the primary providers, Emily and Daisy consider themselves household heads. The rest regard their husbands as household heads because of the notion that it is a man's role.

Three participants are in their mid-50s, two are in their mid-40s, one is in her late 40s, and one is in her early 30s. The mean age is 46 years.

Betty, Malen, and Daisy are married. Emily is widowed, Melba is separated, and Melinda is a common-law wife. Betty is the only PWD among the participants. Athena, the only single among them, and the only LGBT. Athena, Emily, and Melba are solo parents.

Betty, Melba, and Daisy have college degrees while Melinda and Malen are high school graduates. Emily and Athena have reached second year college and third year high school, respectively. The mean number of years for their schooling is 12 years.

2. Hearing the Voices of Women: Experiences with Unpaid Care

The discourse on unpaid care of women in the sandwich generation must be informed of the women's own narratives. Care work entails specific

skills and knowledge, mostly done by women in different settings and stages of daily living. Often, care work remains unrecognized and uncontested. This is especially true among women in the sandwich generation. For the study participants, their particular vulnerabilities as care providers became the focus of inquiry.

Patriarchal structure and the traditional mold

The burden of unpaid care work falls squarely on these women's shoulders for the sheer belief that it is the natural and the biological function of women to become the primary providers of care for their families. Statements like "we are women," "it is really for women," and "for women only" provide evidence to this claim. Malen's statements, "men do not have the patience for caring duties" and Betty's account, "your husband will only take a bath and get dressed," are clear indications of the hierarchical structure where men cannot do more around the house. This same belief convinced them that nobody except them could take the responsibility of looking after the older persons in the family.

Except for Athena, who is single, all of the participants followed the traditional mold of moving into their husbands' or partners' homes when they decided to start a family. Take a look at Betty's sharing.

> *My husband is an only child. When we got married, we stayed at my in-laws' house for eight years…We did not have a choice…When Mother died, Father no longer had another family. You see, when your husband is an only child, you have to go with him. There is no choice even if you do not want to.* - Case 5 – Betty

Growing up in the midst of sexual stereotyping is very much evident in the answers of the participants. For example, Emily explained that her son's negative attitude towards household chores was acquired from seeing his late father not doing them. Washing his own clothes and occasionally taking his sister with disability to school are the only tasks he is willing to do. As the only male in the family, he is not required to have his share of cleaning, cooking meals, and washing the dishes as these are believed to be for his sisters only. With Emily's tolerance and different treatment for her son, her daughters have also completely accepted that their only brother is spared from household chores simply because he is a male, *"lalaki kasi."*

The same scenario and beliefs are also present in Melinda's household, where men are free to do whatever pleases them, like playing

basketball and hanging around with friends at any time of the day. Their primary and only responsibility for the family is to earn a living that entitles them to spending a longer time for recreation. Her family prepared Melinda for her future role as wife and mother by teaching her all the household chores. She shared:

> *Girls are taught how to cook and wash clothes, and clean the house. What a shame it would be if you go and live in another house and you do not know how to do household chores. You need to learn how to clean, cook so that you would not be ashamed. For example, you get married. What a shame if your husband would be the one to do the laundry, do the household chores. You are the woman. You have to take care of the house.* – Case 1 - Melinda

While Malen agrees that some men have the ability and are willing to render care work, she believes that women are more forbearing because it is natural for them to do so. She explained:

> *It is because we are women. Come to think of it, men can also do what we do…but they lack the patience. They cannot be patient. Even if I were tired, I would still do what needs to be done.* – Case 3 - Malen

Because of the preconceived notions regarding how girls and boys should behave, Athena's family resented that she did not conform with the heteronormative culture. To keep away from her lesbian friends in high school, whom her family considered a bad influence, she stopped schooling. She grew up hearing that lesbians and gays are sinners and will be punished with eternal damnation. Belonging to a closely-knit family and with much coaxing from her mother, sister, and religious advisers, Athena denounced being a lesbian. Then she started dating a man who became the father of her daughter. Despite calling her *"disgrasyada"* (a derogatory term assigned to unmarried pregnant women), her family considered her pregnancy a blessing in disguise necessary for her reformation. To consummate her transformation and to ensure that she would be a "true woman" and a good mother, her family kept her at home and assigned her to take care of their sickly elderly parents and to take care of her only daughter full time. The link between her religion and sexuality became more apparent when she shared, "if I belonged to another religion or sect, perhaps I would still be a lesbian." Despite wearing a heterosexual front, she admitted that she is still attracted to women with angelic faces.

24 hours daily: the intensity of familial and employment responsibilities

The narratives of women in the sandwich generation provide temporal accounts of when and how they perform economic activity and domestic work on a daily basis, showing how they bear intense familial and employment responsibilities. Compared to other members of the family, an analysis of their typical day reveals how they disproportionately bear the burden of unpaid care work. While both male and female children and older adults perform household chores, the data show that daughters and other female family members are given the bigger share of responsibilities at home. Husbands or male partners render very limited unpaid care work and usually only those that they like to do during their free time. While the males have their share of domestic work while the women are away, the responsibility immediately falls back on the latter once they arrive at home.

During weekdays and depending on whether they have full day employment or part time employment, the women spend almost the whole day running their households and earning a living. While all of them are able to sleep for an average of six hours a day, they have only a small fraction of time for grooming, eating, and recreating or relaxing. During weekends, they devote the whole day to doing the laundry, general house cleaning, and ironing clothes and marketing.

For those with full-day employment, Emily, Malen, Betty, Melba, and Daisy devote between eight to 12 hours to productive work during weekdays.

Emily works from Monday to Saturday as a cashier in a small eatery, which serves affordable and hot meals where she is paid Php 6,000.00 . On the other hand, Malen, is a stay-out domestic worker in an exclusive village and takes her day off every Thursday and Sunday. Both women receive 13th month pay every December. However, Emily is not provided with social security and PhilHealth. While Malen's employer pays her monthly contribution to the Social Security System, the amount is lower than what is required.

Betty is a government employee with a permanent position, who supervises PWDs in disinfecting plane headsets for a large airline company. She works from Monday to Saturday and often goes home late to meet the deadline. Meanwhile, Daisy works as an administrative staff with a permanent position at the Human Resource and Development Section of a huge government office and earns PhP 18,000.00. In contrast, Malen is a government employee categorized as "Job Order" with no chances of being

given a permanent position. While Betty and Daisy receive all the benefits specified in the law, Malen does not have any.

Even at work, these women never stopped attending to their multi-generation households. Betty purchased two units of wireless landline so she could check on her visually-impaired stepfather-in-law, or he could call her up whenever he needs something. Malen and Melba are able to take their children to their respective workplaces if no one else is available to care for them at home, but they are concerned about how the children's presence would affect their daily output. Daisy, on the other hand, goes home for lunch to check on her mother.

As women who have part-time employment, Melinda and Athena spend around nine hours a day for reproductive work. In terms of productive work, Melinda, a laundrywoman, spends four and a half hours every Tuesday only for work for which she receives Php 500.00. Meanwhile, Athena spends four and half hours, seven days a week to take care of her neighbor's three dogs. She earns PhP250.00 a week for her services. They do not receive any social security, health insurance or any other benefits from their employees. The two women allot around six and a half to eight hours a day for sleeping and one hour each for recreation and self-care.

Behind these women's use of time, their accounts of unpaid care divulged their ability to perform several tasks simultaneously like cooking and cleaning the house, doing the laundry while waiting for the water container to be filled, supervising both the older and the younger generations, and providing instructions to school-aged children while getting dressed for work, among others.

3. Compounding burdens and sufferings as contributors to vulnerabilities

All these women in the sandwich generation who participated in the study reported experiencing a host of interrelated burdens and sufferings brought on by their exhausting daily schedules, thus wearing them out. While it is necessary to identify the physical, emotional, mental, and financial challenges they face, it is equally important to recognize that each burden contributes to other burdens.

Living on a measly income

With an average family size of six and low salaries, the participants are constantly subjected to financial difficulties. With the exception of Betty

and Daisy, the participants have insecure employment thus forcing them to accept low-paying jobs that have pushed them further into poverty, abuse, and exploitation. The low regard of Athena's employer for her services of feeding his pets and cleaning their filthy cages is an indication of her miserable and desperate status. Meanwhile, Melba complained that age discrimination is commonly practiced in the private sector. In her mid-40s, she did not have much choice but to accept a job offer with no chances for permanency and with a no-work-no-pay policy. These women have very little or no benefits and privileges, such as sick and vacation leaves with pay, social security, health insurance, and retirement package from their employers. Seeing the importance of preparing for old age, Melba shoulders her monthly social security and PhilHealth contributions, while Betty pays for a funeral plan monthly.

Although members of their families contribute to the weekly budget, not all of them give consistently because work is irregular and most of them are affected by the End of Contract Policy or "endo." Except for Betty whose husband has regular employment, these women are always burdened about where to get money or the need to skip meals or tighten their belts even more.

Considered the poorest among the seven participants, it is not difficult see that the incomes of Melinda, Athena, and Emily are not enough for their daily needs. Subjected to constant economic hardships due to low academic achievement, these three women repeatedly mentioned issues about food, "I have experienced not having food for lunch. I think I do not get fat because I am attending to many things, I feed them, I am also looking after a child." Meanwhile, Athena shared, "It's okay for me to skip meals for as long as my daughter has something to eat."

With their unsecured employment, they lack access to affordable housing loans and formal lending thereby aggravating their abject condition. Athena's and Emily's desires of putting up their own businesses such as a small variety store or a *carinderia* through a loan will be difficult due to their irregular employment status.

Physical burden from beginning to end

With a host of tasks to accomplish during the day, the participants experienced physical sufferings such as changes in appetite and stomachache, dizziness, lack of sleep, muscle tension and pain, and shortness of breath or difficulty breathing. To quote:

Sometimes, I have no appetite because I am tired. –Case 4- Athena

There are some days when I'm already too tired and I suddenly stand up, I feel dizzy. – Case 1 Melinda

I want to sleep, but I have to look after them, especially when my father is in the province. I have to look after my mother, plus my children. – Case 6- Melba

Sometimes my body aches. When this happens, I take a rest even for just a day. Relax. When I have already taken my medicines for muscle pain, it goes away. – Case 3- Malen

All participants reported that doing the laundry is the most tedious task because it requires several steps to accomplish. Cooking is the most mentally demanding because it needs constant thinking about what the family should eat on a daily basis. It becomes more burdensome when the budget for marketing is very limited.

Among the participants, Melinda, Emily, and Athena are the only ones who wash their clothes by hand, which threatens their wellbeing. As Melinda narrated:

We don't have a washing machine; I just use my hands to wash our clothes. A washing machine would only add to our electricity bills. I spend four hours scrubbing the clothes. Plus, water has to be fetched. When I am tired, I have a hard time breathing. When I am doing a lot of things, I forget to eat. I just want to finish the chores right away. Case 1 – Melinda

Rendering unpaid care work and engaging in economic activities can put the women in the sandwich generation at a disadvantage, as an outcome of a lack of infrastructure, facilities, and equipment at various levels. With the absence of household appliances or the inability to pay for the things that make them work like electricity and water, Melinda, Emily, and Athena consume a lot of time in doing chores manually, resulting in their having less time for attending to personal needs and interests.

Being informal settlers, Emily and Athena do not have a metered water source that provides them with easily accessible, clean, and affordable water. *"Nakiki-hose"* or using a neighbor's water hose is their way of collecting water daily. To have some form of control, the meter owners specify only a certain period during the day when their faucets would be turned on and intentionally lower the water pressure. Hence, Athena

spends three hours daily filling up one huge drum and two five-liter bottles for drinking at a cost of PhP250.00 a week. Emily pays PhP500.00 a month for access to her neighbor's irregular and illegal water service. In the long run, this manner of collecting water strains their budget and endangers their health as the water hose tends to get dirty or may have holes where harmful organisms could enter.

Mental health concerns

All the participants are not only confronted with economic and physical burdens. They constantly experience mental burdens, which are largely hidden and unrecognized. Their narratives revealed that they constantly take note of every single thing that their families and employment require, "I should not forget anything," "At night, I think what I need to do the following day," and "I am thinking of a lot of things." Melba uses her lunch break to plan the weekly menu and write her market list, or ensure that her children are not bothering her co-workers when they are in her office. Even in the middle of a meeting and work-related activities, Betty excuses herself to regularly check on her visually impaired stepfather-in-law using her personal wireless landline. Malen has to lead her family in doing household chores, otherwise nothing will be accomplished. Daisy has to create a mental map of everything she has to do in order to meet her office deadlines. Emily has to think of what to cook for dinner while riding the jeepney on her way home.

Because of their insufficient income, all participants reported being stressed about money matters. Melinda, Emily, Athena, and Daisy are the ones most affected by financial concerns, which literally gives them a headache. Daisy said, "I have headaches looking for money." Melinda shared: "Perhaps, if this happened to another family, they would go nuts thinking about where to get their next meal. If I would not do anything, we will not be able to eat." These women have to scour for money even from loan sharks to meet the most basic needs of their huge extended family.

As a mother of two daughters with disability, Emily agonizes tremendously over the future of her children. Thinking about who will take care of them in the future causes her mental stress.

Extreme and mixed emotions

Apart from mental burdens, the reality of life within the families of these women is often a paradoxical mixture of love, compassion, and

support fused with hostility, domination, and to some extent cruelty and abuse. The narratives of Melinda, Emily, Athena, Betty, and Daisy provided glimpses of their love-hate relationships in the family. Emily and Betty experience emotional anguish whenever their children and their in-laws clash because of seemingly irreconcilable needs and interests. Caught in the middle of two conflicting views, they are obligated to mediate and sometimes take sides.

It pains Athena knowing that she is not her parents' favorite because of her sexual orientation. She noted that this is manifested when the responsibility of taking care of her sister's son by another man was given to her, so that her sister could marry and start a new family. This placed her in the sandwich generation even before her own daughter was born. But when she gave birth, no one among her relatives helped her in caring for her daughter so that she could find a job.

Emily's accounts contain mentions of harsh treatment by her late partner's relatives, especially her mother-in-law who lives with her. This became more obvious with her partner's passing that resulted in her becoming more vulnerable to verbal and psychological abuse. Her status as a solo parent and a widow forced her to make choices that have an enduring impact on her wellbeing. Saddled with enormous mental, economic, emotional, and physical burdens to support her mother-in-law and two children with disability, and the pressure of dealing with her partner's relatives, she lamented how overextended and unappreciated she is. Overwhelmed with emotions, she sometimes cries as a form of release.

The lived experiences of women in the sandwich generation show that caring for multi-generation households creates an immense impact on their wellbeing as they undergo a myriad of sufferings, which are magnified by a lack of infrastructure, facilities, and equipment at various levels of society. In the community and in the workplace, the absence of day care centers for children and older adults has restricted the mobility of these women to a great extent. Athena, for example, has not been able to participate in the labor market because of her caring responsibilities to her parents and only daughter. She has to rely financially on her older sister and, hence, accepted the offer as a caretaker of dogs. As a result, she is compelled to follow her sister's every wish and request, and endure her family's verbal abuse and innuendos about gays and lesbians. In the case of Emily, the lack of facilities and insufficient state support for PWDs and their families have caused her two daughters to often skip classes, thus increasing their vulnerability to abuse and exploitation.

These women's narratives indicated their resourcefulness, forbearance, and resiliency. Behind their heroic acts of caring for their families and communities, they tend to forego things that they need or want for themselves as they always think that other things are more important, so their own wants can be shelved for future reference. In the process of sorting out what is more important or less important, they forget their personal interests and needs.

While caring for family members is good, it is necessary that women in the sandwich generation recognize that they too need care and attention.

Analysis: Gendered perspectives of unpaid care

Gendered vulnerability is an outcome of deeply ingrained patterns of sexual inequality and discrimination (Connelly et al, 2000; Kabeer, 1994; Reeves & Baden, 2000). An analysis of the ways institutions govern and interact informs why women in the sandwich generation experience oppression and discrimination at all levels—household, community, market, and the state. SRA posits that institutions are not ideologically neutral, nor are they separate from each other. While the movement in one institutional setting results in a domino effect, other institutional contexts may reflect different gender policies. These are shaped by the extent to which they accept and respond to gender issues. Hence, it is necessary to understand that women's subordinated status is largely shaped by a social system in which their position is defined primarily by the family as an institution that promotes private enterprise and protects private property. As a result, the means and organization of production in society has changed dramatically. The rise of patriarchy and male dominance within the family and the reorganization of the community and the market into an unequal and hierarchical division of labor have weakened the position of women in both private and public spheres. Consequently, the state follows the separation of men and women (Eviota, 1995; Guerrero, 1999).

Intersectionality also facilitates the understanding of why women in general and women in the sandwich generation in particular have become vulnerable to poverty, sufferings, abuse, and discrimination. Cultural patterns are not only interrelated but are bound together and influenced by intersectional systems of society (Crenshaw, 1989; Davis, 2008).

Taking into consideration the identity markers that women in the sandwich generation possess—such as being a household head, a solo

parent, an LGBT, a PWD, or a widow—provides the lens for examining how identities are related to each other. The type of employment, tenure of housing, educational attainment, and socio-economic status are also regarded as contributing to their vulnerabilities and sufferings.

Poor women like Melinda, Emily, and Athena, who are also informal settlers and engaged in insecure jobs, have experiences of unpaid care work that is different from women like Betty and Daisy who are in permanent government employment with privileges and benefits.

Betty's narratives as a PWD, Athena's as a lesbian and being in the informal economy, and Emily's, Athena's, and Melba's as solo parents provided visibility not only of their marginalized status but the multiple positions they carry in everyday life, as well as the power relations in the long and arduous road towards their recognition as unique sectors of society.

The discourse of unpaid care in multi-generation households offers a discernable loci of gender, class, age, and geographical location. The union among several loci is responsible for their burdens and sufferings as well as their particular vulnerabilities that characterized their lives and how they render unpaid care (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991). Taking into consideration their intersectional identities put forward that Betty is not only a PWD but a low-income PWD urban woman in the sandwich generation. In the same manner, Athena is a low-income urban LGBT and a solo parent in the sandwich generation while Daisy is a low-income urban woman in the generation in the formal economy. Understanding intersectionality among women in the sandwich generation underscores that their particular vulnerabilities are not accidental or secondary. Hence, their situations are too dissimilar to be condensed into a single point of view.

Being a PWD, a solo parent, *kasambahay,* or other identities, the diverse voices of women in the sandwich generation must be considered. Their unique familial position in an extended family highlights that they are a distinct group of women. They are different from other women of the same intersectional identities simply because they directly deal simultaneously with the older and the younger generations with distinct needs and interest. With this scenario, these women become even more vulnerable to abuse in a sense that they carry a heavier burden by providing unpaid care twice compared to other women. It bears noting that while many women belong to extended families like they do, they are not considered primary caregivers of the older and the younger generations. In the same breath,

while many women provide unpaid care they are not considered women in the sandwich generation. According to Chopra, Kelbert, and Iyer (2013), women who are providing unpaid care are more vulnerable to poverty and hunger, which emphasizes their deplorable status in the family and in society. The poorest women in this study constantly skip meals in their desire to put the interests of their families before themselves. In the case of Athena and Melinda, poverty has permeated every inch of their being.

The confluence of their identities acts as a harmonizing approach towards social protection and wellbeing of women in the sandwich generation. However, their state of affairs will remain bleak if their plight and concerns remain absent in care work discourse in the Philippines. The union of these identities dictates how the network of relationships among families, individuals, and institutions are fashioned (Kabeer, 1994; Kabeer & Subramanian, 1996). This particular intersection results in an overarching pattern responsible for the construction of their social realties experienced in multiple and overlapping locations (Crenshaw, 1989), which were not present in earlier studies about women in the sandwich generation in industrialized nations (Tongson, 2018).

The lack of a local term, and the apparent surprise or amusement of many individuals, including the participants in this study upon hearing the term sandwich generation for the first time, is indicative of its invisibility in many ways. This also explains that while the initiative toward gender justice and gender equality has attained unprecedented gains for the Philippines in the last decade through favorable and programmatic policy initiatives (Economic Forum, 2016) and the passing of the Magna Carta of Women, the existence of women in the sandwich generation and their valuable contributions have not reached even the consciousness and imagination of many policymakers and development workers. The low regard for these women's unpaid care has resulted in them being denied access to social services and sufficient social protection, which in turn contributed to their lack of representation and participation in various community activities.

In examining the barriers to wellbeing and social protection of women in the sandwich generation, it is crucial to dig below the surface of culturally ascribed roles to identify their fundamental cultural assumptions about caring and lay bare women's strategic gender interests (Kabeer, 1994). By doing so, patterns are revealed indicating not only practical gender needs within the context of caring in poor urban extended families but also strategic gender interests necessary to empower women in the sandwich generation.

Claiming social protection and attaining wellbeing are about demanding adequate care for ALL family members at different stages of the human development from prenatal to old age, and for women in the sandwich generation not to be exploited when providing care. The links of wellbeing and social protection have been well documented as a focus of how development could possibly affect of people more positively. There are various ways to design policies and programs in order for care to be recognized, reduced, and equitably distributed making governments accountable for their implementation (Anand, 2016; Devereux & McGregor, 2014; Eyben, 2013; Karimli, et al, 2016; UNRISD, 2016).

Advocacy efforts must focus on men and women, boys and girls, young and older family members for them to contribute to equitable caring responsibilities in the family and in the community. Social protection and other public and private sector interventions must be coordinated not only towards entitlements such as direct transfers of material resources, safety nets, and social security through national level social insurance and social assistance programs, but also towards a gender transformative approach that curbs suffering and abuse for all women in the sandwich generation. By legitimizing these claims, the acknowledgment of the relationship of these women with the state, market, and others in their communities accentuates the profound aspiration of attaining wellbeing and advancing their rights (Devereux & McGregor, 2014; UN General Assembly, 2009; UNRISD, 2016).

More specifically, recognizing the situation of women in the sandwich generation—as a major junction of class, gender, age, and other identities is related to the adoption the SDGs, the Philippine Government is even more bound to putting in place *"social protection systems and measures for all, including floor, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable"* (SDG 1.3). It must follow the prescribed social security guarantees under the Social Protection Floor Recommendation, 2012 of the ILO, also known as R202. In the East and Southeast Asia and the Pacific, ILO Member States agreed to work on "*nationally defined social protection floor"* for all residents and to create "higher levels of social security benefits" (ILO, 2013, p. 17). These are necessary steps in stemming the tide and reversing the longstanding exclusion and invisibility of women in the sandwich and increase their and their households' ability to combat lifecycle risks especially those brought about by economic, political, and natural disasters.

Recommendations

While the study contributes to the initial understanding of women in the sandwich generation, how far this is specific to other parts of the country is ambiguous. With the small sample size of seven women, further studies should be organized that employ more participants in other urban areas as well as in rural areas with focus on their needs and interest and time- use. Men in the sandwich generation and being in the sandwich generation on the basis of SOGIESC await future research. Likewise, the search for an appropriate local term for the sandwich generation should be conducted.

Efforts should be geared towards the inclusion of unpaid care work of women in the sandwich generation in the System of National Accounts. Finding ways on how to determine its economic value of caring simultaneously for the older and the younger generation is the first step with the end in view of efficiently delivering the most basic social services and a suitable social protection program and facilities for them and their families as claiming social protection and attaining wellbeing are about demanding adequate care for family members at different stages of the life cycle.

Development of legislative and development frameworks and strategies covering women in the sandwich generation should move towards democratizing unpaid care work at all levels of society—household, community, market, and the state. Crafting and implementing social protection policies and programs for them requires sustained and organized multi-sectoral partnerships bringing in the voices of women in the sandwich generation, development workers, feminists, demographers, human rights advocates, and primary government counterparts (bothnational and local), employers, and civil society, to ensure a comprehensive and participatory policy making, and program planning, implantation, monitoring, and evaluation.

These recommendations will be possible with the articulation of financing strategies necessary for a wide range of social protection schemes for women in the sandwich generation. A deliberate effort to channel public spending at the local and national levels should be done.

Notes:

The original Filipino narratives were translated into English for better presentation. This article is based on the author's dissertation entitled *Potentials and Possibilities for Caring about Caring: The Voices of Low-Income Urban Women in the Sandwich Generation*, for the degree on Doctor of Social Development, College of Social

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Creating Spaces for a Community-Engaged Leadership for Health and Development

Meredith del Pilar-Labarda, M.D., DSD

Given the importance of health leadership and community participation in improving and sustaining health outcomes, it is important that the leadership processes that work to improve health systems through genuine community participation and empowerment be surfaced, described, and analyzed. In this context, this study investigated the relationship between health leadership and people's participation within the municipal health systems of selected municipalities in the Eastern Visayas Region, Philippines. It analyzed the underlying processes of this relationship and its impact on health outcomes.

The study used a mixed methods approach with primary data collected from workshop participants and local organizations in the enrolled communities in a 12-month period between 2017-2018. Key informant interviews (KIIs) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted with mayors, municipal health officers, barangay leaders, and barangay health workers (BHWs).

Results showed that local leadership and governance is significantly positively correlated with the other five building blocks of the health system namely human resources for health, health financing, access to medicines and technology, health information systems, and health service delivery. The practice of dialogue, multi-stakeholder engagement, systems and complexity thinking, and prototyping all yield positive health governance outcomes. The Bridging Leadership framework provided a scaffolding for an ethical leadership to bridge the gap between the powerful and powerless in society.

Key words: health and development, local health system, leadership and governance

Introduction

Advancing the rights and welfare of the marginalized in a rapidly changing society is a complex endeavor. While human wellbeing has been

linked to economic growth, there is increasing evidence that economic expansion has not led to equitable development and the global disparity between the socioeconomic classes has widened (Herrmann, 2014; Walby, 2018). It is asserted that the resurgent populist politics is a manifestation of popular discontent and protest against the impact of globalizing forces that leaves many communities and peoples behind in the midst of rapid economic growth (Luiz, 2014). The need to reconceptualize development that puts people and planet at the forefront have shifted efforts to human health and wellbeing as key in achieving real development (Cabeza-García et al., 2018; Eckermann, 2018; Kickbusch, 2014; Schuchter & Jutte, 2014). Sen (1999) argues that development is a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy and that this process of expansion is both the primary end and the principal means of development. People's health and wellbeing grounds this process (Ruger, 2004) and highlights the importance of bringing forth an equitable and responsive health system to ensure health for everyone.

Building blocks of an equitable health system

But what makes up an equitable health system that is responsive to the needs of the people? The World Health Organization (WHO) defined health systems as all organizations, people, and actions whose primary intent is to promote, restore, and maintain health (WHO, 2007). This system, composed of interconnected parts, is characterized by complex relationships, power structures, and social determinants affecting health outcomes of populations. Transforming health systems can be an intractable endeavor, since they are comparable to a "living organism" in which the relationship between the parts generates behaviors and outcomes that are messy, unpredictable, and always evolving (Auspos & Cabaj, 2014). In the Philippines, the decentralization of the country's health system was meant to strengthen it. Instead, it resulted in system failure after devolution (Atienza, 2012; Cuevas et al., 2017). This highlighted leadership and governance within the health system as crucial in making sure that people's health is promoted, restored, and maintained. The Health Systems Framework of the World Health Organization (WHO, 2007) identifies six building blocks of an equitable health system, namely: leadership and governance; health financing; access to essential medical products, vaccines, and technologies; health information; health workforce; and service delivery. Among these six building blocks of health, it is leadership and governance that drives all the other parts of the system. Thus, when there is good leadership and governance, it can propel all the other building blocks so that the system becomes responsive to the needs of the people and the community, and

health outcomes are improved (J. Mfutso-Bengo, Kalanga, & Mfutso-Bengo, 2018).

Decentralization and impact on governance of local health systems

In the Philippines, local leadership and governance became an essential component of the local health system in providing health resources and service delivery to the communities after the devolution, as mandated by Republic Act No. 7160, otherwise known as the Local Government Code of 1991. Health service delivery was managed by a Local Health Board (LHB) at the municipal level. According to Section 102 of the said Republic Act:

> Every municipality shall establish a Local Health Board headed by the municipal mayor as chairman, the municipal health officer as vice-chairman, and the chairman of the committee on health of the Sangguniang Bayan, a representative from the private sector or non-governmental organizations involved in health services, and a representative of the Department of Health in the municipality, as members.
>
> (RA 7160, 1991)

This new arrangement made the Local Chief Executive responsible for the devolved health system in the municipality. This paved the way for health providers and for the health system to come under the management of non-health managers. In other words, in a devolved health setting, leadership and governance in health does not only mean the Municipal Health Officers (MHOs) at its helm but would also include the Local Chief Executives and the local administrative system. This has major implications when it comes to prioritization, planning, allocation of resources, and implementation of action plans.

Over the years since the implementation of devolution, it has long been debated if it was indeed the right thing to do. Almost 30 years later, it is still being critiqued by many, especially those who are frontline actors in the public health arena. Mitchell and Bossert (2010) present two seemingly opposing perspectives and differing viewpoints on the use of decentralization—that of the governance perspective and the health-systems performance perspective. Their study showed how decentralization affects the achievement of the country's health systems goals, as taken from the experiences of six countries namely Bolivia, Chile, India, Pakistan, the

Philippines, and Uganda. Two thought-provoking questions were asked in their paper—Are you doing the right thing? Are you doing the thing right? The governance perspective on decentralization would generally argue that decentralizing the health sector is the right thing to do as long as conditions of good governance exist. The health performance perspective, on the other hand, is not at all clear if it is indeed the "right thing" to do when applied to many functions of service delivery regardless of whether or not it is "done right" (Mitchell & Bossert, 2010). In the context of the Philippines, evidence presented in their study showed that, after decentralization, health governance scored medium to high on the exercise of local discretion across key health functions. However, decentralization did not translate to better health outcomes. Key indicators such as the increasing maternal and infant mortality rate, and the increasing incidence of malnutrition and infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and HIV prevailed in many communities (Mitchell & Bossert, 2010). All of these happening amidst the diaspora of health workers overseas, triggered by job dissatisfaction due to overwork, under compensation, and "political helplessness" in a devolved health setting (Labarda, 2011).

The Challenge of Leadership and Health Governance

Central to the issue of health governance is capacitating local stakeholders to take over the responsibility of taking care of the health of their population. How are Local Chief Executives being capacitated and coached such that they understand the intricacies of the health system and the complex health challenges that their communities face, in the light of the devolution? How do they empower the communities to participate in the planning, decision making, and implementation of relevant health programs that would improve their health status and wellbeing? It was in this context that the Department of Health (DOH) in collaboration with a non-profit organization (Zuellig Family Foundation or ZFF), partnered with 12 academic institutions all over the country to build the leadership capacity of local health stakeholders. In 2013, the Municipal Health Leadership and Governance Program (MLGP) started to train mayors, municipal health officers, and local health boards in identified communities with poor health system indices. Hoping to build a more equitable health system, especially for the poor, it sought to improve maternal and infant health outcomes at the municipal level by training and coaching stakeholders using the "bridging leadership" framework. Conceptualized as a development framework in the context of glaring social inequities, the bridging leadership framework provides opportunities and spaces for individuals to undergo a transformative process of self-

realization, owning and embracing issues, engaging other stakeholders and directing them towards collective response to bridge the social divide and create a more equitable community (Institute of Medicine, 2015). When applied to the challenges of a devolved health sector, it sought to promote collective action in addressing complex health issues together with other stakeholders. Initially guided by a technical roadmap that is consistent with the World Health Organization's six building blocks of an equitable and functioning health system, the multi-stakeholder approach and their collective action co-creates new realities that transform and build a more equitable health system. This health system approach aims to effectively harness and mobilize health leadership towards creating policies, service delivery mechanisms, competent health human resources, and a financing environment that are all responsive to the health needs of the communities.

The first iteration of the leadership program focused on maternal and child health and engaged 640 cities and municipalities, and 33 partner provinces all over the country (ZFF, 2015). The second iteration of the program was anchored on Primary Health Care as the health development approach, with emphasis on health equity, universal access to care, community participation, and inter-sectoral approaches to health (ZFF, 2017).

Research Problem

It is important to understand how health leadership and community participation impact health system performance, especially in low resource settings. This paper sought to describe and analyze the personal journey of transformation among stakeholders of the bridging leadership program in selected municipalities, and the emergent leadership processes that work to improve health systems through genuine community participation and empowerment.

Research Objectives

Specifically, this study aims to:

1. Describe the state of the local health systems in participating municipalities in the Eastern Visayas region in terms of key health indicators vis-à-vis the Primary Health Care Roadmap/scorecard;
2. Identify ways how local leadership creates spaces for people participation in the health system;
3. Investigate how institutional arrangements and collaborative mechanisms like dialogue provide opportunities for increasing

community participation in the local health system.

1.5 Methodology

The study used a mixed methods approach with primary data collected from workshop participants and local organizations in the enrolled communities within a 12-month period between 2017-2018. Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted with mayors, municipal health officers, and barangay leaders. FGDs were also conducted with members of selected people's organizations. Most of the FGD data were collected during the actual conduct of the Municipal Leadership and Governance Program (MLGP) workshops participated in by municipal mayors and Municipal Health Officers (MHOs) from 19 MLGP municipalities in the Eastern Visayas region. The FGDs among municipal mayors and MHOs were in the form of conversations between and among the participants during the training, facilitated by the researcher and other MLGP faculty. Further, to include the voices of other stakeholders in the community, FGDs were also conducted among Barangay Health Workers (BHWs) and selected organized people's groups in the three selected municipalities. Leadership and people participation constructs and processes were gleaned primarily from the stories and narratives of both the health leaders and community members taken from FGDs and KIIs.

The quantitative research approach was used to analyze the local health system performance using the six building blocks of health in the municipality's Primary Health Care roadmap/scorecard. Data on key health indicators of the 19 MLGP municipalities came from the Field Health Information System (FHSIS) of the Department of Health (DOH) Region 8 Office.

Results and Discussions

Profile of Respondents

Region VIII MLGP Cycle 2 Participants

In the Eastern Visayas region (Region 8), 21 municipalities from the different provinces initially enrolled in the program, but only 19 continued up to the third and last module. Seven of these municipalities were from Eastern Samar, five from West Samar, five from Leyte, one from Northern Samar, and one from Biliran. A total of 38 mayors and Municipal Health Officers (MHOs) from these 19 municipalities participated and completed the module workshops.

More than half (63%) of the participants were female. It can be noted that among the mayor participants, majority were males (71%), while among the MHO participants, the majority were females (63%). The average age for the participants was 47 years old, and around the same mean age for mayors (48 years old) and MHOs (46 years old). Majority of the mayors (84%) and MHOs (90%) were married. More than half of the mayors (58%) were college graduates, 37% had post-graduate education and one (5%) was an elementary graduate. All (100%) of the MHOs on the other hand, as required by professional regulations, were Doctor of Medicine graduates and licensed Physicians (Tables 1 and 2).

In terms of length of service, most of the MHOs had already served an average of 12 years, while most of the mayors (74%) were on their first term as local chief executives. It can also be noted that majority of the mayors (79%) had family members who were also part of local politics or had served in the past as elected officials. Most of their family members were either former mayors, vice-mayors, Sangguniang Bayan members, or barangay captains. Further, among the nine female mayors, six were wives and two were daughters of the immediate past mayors of their respective municipalities (see Tables 1 and 2).

Organized Groups in Selected MLGP Municipalities

Some organized groups from three chosen MLGP municipalities were also invited to participate in the Focus Group Discussions. Among these were two groups of organized Barangay Health Workers (BHWs) from two municipalities, farmers and their spouses in one farmers' organization, public tricycle drivers from one tricycle drivers' association, and a group of fishermen from an organized fishermen's group.

Table 1
Profile of MLGP Mayors in Eastern Visayas

	Mean	***Frequency***	***Percentage***
Age (in years)	48.0		
Length of service (years)	3.0		
Female		9	47%
Married		16	90%
At least high school education		18	95%
With relatives in politics		15	79%

Table 2

Profile of MLGP Municipal Health Officers (MHOs) in Eastern Visayas Region

	Mean	*Frequency*	*Percentage*
Age (in years)	46.0		
Length of service (years)	12.00		
Female		15	79%
Married		17	90%
At least high school education		19	100%
With relatives in politics		15	79%

The State of Local Health Systems of the MLGP Municipalities

Municipal Primary Health Care Roadmap/Scorecard

All the municipal PHC roadmaps or scorecards of these 19 municipalities from the region were monitored by the DOH through its Development Management(?) Officers (DMOs) that were deployed in the different municipalities. These municipal scorecards were collected over a span of 12 months at three time points: (1) before the start of Module 1 (Time 1); (2) before the start of Module 2 (Time 2); and (3) before the start of Module 3 (Time 3).

Trends in the Six Building Blocks during the Program Period

After undergoing two modules, the state of the six building blocks of the local health system used in the municipal roadmap showed significant improvements from their baseline levels. Figure 1 below shows the upward trend of the scores for the various blocks from Time 1 (Pre-Module 1) to Time 2 (Pre-Module 2) and Time 3 (Pre-Module 3).

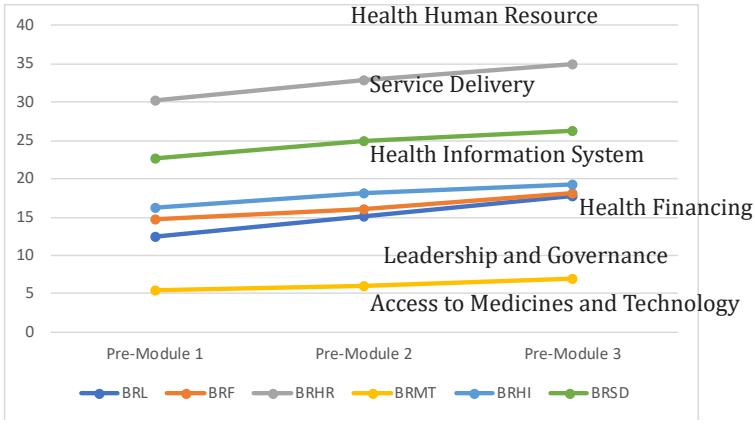


Figure 1. Trends in the Six Building Blocks for Health Scores of MLGP Cycle

Comparison of Primary Health Care Scorecards Before and After the Modules

To assess if the mean scores of each building block at Time 3 were significantly different from the baseline data at Time 1, a statistical test using analysis of variance (ANOVA) was done. Results were in the expected direction as shown in Table 3. Leadership and Governance scores at Time 3 were found to be significantly different from Time 1 at $p < .001$. All the other five building blocks (Health Financing, Human Resources, Access to Medicines and Technology, Health Information System, and Health Service Delivery) at Time 3 were also significantly different from those in Time 1 at $p < .001$.

These provided evidence that, among the participating municipalities, the mean scores of each health system block showed a significant difference before and after the leadership program, as measured by the health scorecards. But can we attribute these changes to the MLGP training itself? It would have been ideal to set up a group (with characteristics similar to those of the MLGP cohort) that did not undergo the training to serve as a control group (Morgan & Winship, 2015). Given the limitation of the study design, we cannot infer causality in the relationship between the training that the mayors and municipal health physicians underwent and the outcomes in terms of the health system indicators in the primary health care scorecards. However, the improvements among the various health system indicators before and after the MLGP training are sufficiently robust.

Table 3
Summary for Analysis of Variance of Health Building Blocks

Building Blocks for Health	Df	F	η	p***
Leadership	1	419.20	.52	.000
Finance	1	31.65	.48	.000
Human Resource	1	17.86	.34	.000
Medicines and Technology	1	16.37	.33	.000
Health Information	1	27.79	.45	.000
Service Delivery	1	20.15	.37	.000

***Significant at $p < .001$. Df = degrees of freedom. F = F statistic. η = eta.

Further, a closer look at the MLGP scorecards for all the municipalities showed the Health Leadership and Governance block to have the highest slope or rate of change at 2.6 compared to the other five building blocks, when scores were computed from Pre-Module 1 to Pre-Module 3 (see Table 4).

Table 4

Rate of Change (Slope) of the 6 Building Blocks for Health Scores

	Leadership and Governance	*Health Financing*	*Health Human Resource*	*Medicines and Technology*	*Health Information System*	*Service Delivery*
Time 1	12	14.7	30.2	5.5	16.3	22.6
Time 2	15.1	16	32.8	6	18.1	25
Time 3	17.8	18.1	35.1	7	19.3	26.2
Slope	**2.6**	1.7	2.4	0.8	1.5	1.8

When the strength of one-to-one correlation of the six building blocks was tested before Time 1 (T1), data showed that only the Leadership and Governance building block was moderately correlated with the Service Delivery block at T1 at $p < 0.5$. No other correlations from the other building blocks were noted at T1 (see Table 5).

Furthermore, when the strength of correlation of the six building blocks was tested after the two modules (T3), data from Table 5 show that the Leadership and Governance building block was strongly correlated with the Human Resources building block at $p < 0.01$. It was also noted to be moderately correlated with the Access to Medicines and Technology building block at $p < 0.01$ and the Health Information System building block at $p < 0.5$. Data also showed that the Human Resources building block at T3 was moderately correlated with the Access to Medicines and Technology building block at $p < 0.5$. Lastly, the Access to Medicines and Technology building block was noted to be weakly correlated with the Service Delivery building block at T3 (see Table 5).

Table 5

Correlation Matrix of Various Building Blocks for Health System

Variables	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Leadership_T1	12.5	2.04	-										
2. Finance_T1	14.56	2.12	.38	-									
3. Human Resource_T1	30.06	3.64	.46	.46	-								
4. Medicines Technology_T1	5.39	1.14	.29	.20	.45	-							
5. Health Information_T1	16.39	2.00	.22	.25	.29	.24	-						
6. Service Delivery_T1	22.39	2.38	.55*	.37	.47	.33	.08	-					
7. Leadership_T3	17.22	3.04	-.11	-.07	-.28	-.22	.14	.27	-				
8. Finance_T3	18.11	1.64	-.11	-.04	-.35	-.18	-.17	.24	.41	-			
9. Human Resource_T3	35.00	3.38	-.02	-.23	-.03	0	-.18	.34	.70**	.44	-		
10. Medicines Technology_T3	6.94	1.16	-.34	-.13	-.39	.11	-.14	.28	.66**	.50*	.57*	-	
11. Health Information_T3	19.28	1.18	-.04	.19	-.15	-.22	.30	.09	.50*	.20	.13	.36	-
12. Service Delivery_T3	26.17	2.66	-.20	-.16	-.04	-.20	-.33	.39	.43	.09	.31	.48*	.21

Note: Subscripts T1 and T3 refer to Time 1 and Time 3 respectively. * $p < 0.5$). ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < .001$.

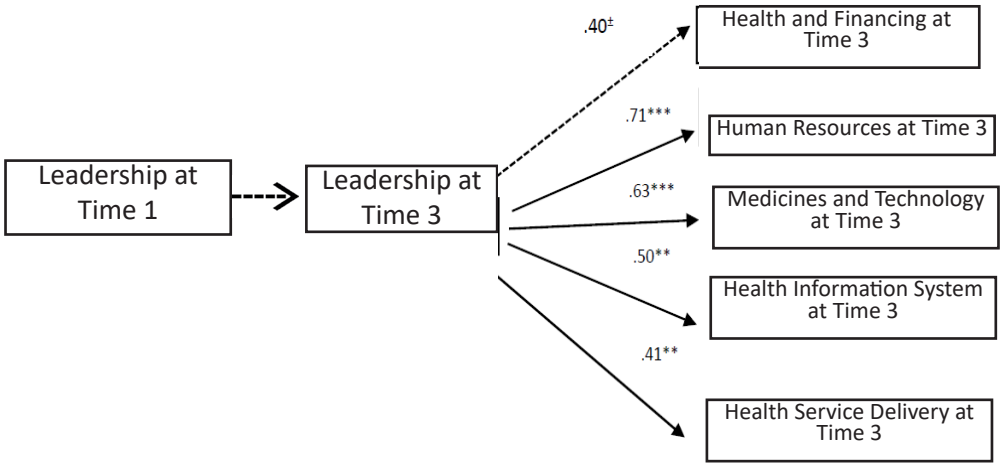
Testing Association Between Leadership and Other Building Blocks

Among the six building blocks for health, it was the Leadership and Governance block that showed much improvement in the scorecard when the baseline was compared to the data after the MLGP training was done (see Table 4). To test if there was an association between the Leadership and Governance block after the training and all the other five building blocks, a path analysis using linear regression modeling was done (see Figure 2). Results showed that

the Leadership and Governance building block at T3, controlling for the Leadership and Governance block at T1, is significantly associated with all of the different building blocks—Health Financing at p <.10, Human Resource at $p < .001$, Access to Medicines and Technology at p < .001, Health Information System at $p < .01$, and Health Service Delivery at $p <$ 0.5 at T3. This means that better Leadership and Governance scores at T3 were associated with better scores/outcomes for all the other five building blocks, controlling for baseline leadership scores at T1.

It is also noteworthy that among the six building blocks, Leadership and Governance appeared to have the largest rate of change during the period of reckoning. Although this might be due to differences in the baseline scores and the scale of these scores, a cursory examination of the rate of change (see Table 4) from the different time points showed that this is hardly the case. Leadership, Health Financing, Health Information System, and Health Service Delivery appeared to be similar in terms of baseline score and scale. Only Health Human Resource and Access to Medicines and Technology appeared to be at the extreme ends of the scores.

Modeling the relationship between these six building blocks is an important issue to address. They were originally conceptualized as contributing to the overall goals of improving levels of health equity, responsiveness, social and financial risk protection, and improved efficiency of the health system. The means by which they would achieve these goals was through increasing access, coverage, quality, and safety of health care. There is increasing recognition, however, that these blocks are not static, and some components drive the other blocks. And there is mounting evidence that the Leadership block is a key driver of an equitable health system (Mikkelsen-Lopez et al., 2011). This is consistent with extant literature on the role of leadership and governance in building equitable health systems (WHO, 2007; ZFF, 2015; Mikkelsen-Lopez et al., 2011; Kohler & Martinez, 2015; Anwari et al., 2015). Leadership, then, is not simply one ingredient among many, and it appears to be a key driver in the process.



Note: ± p < 0.10 is considered significant based on social science standards

Figure 2. Path Analysis using Linear Regression Modeling .

Key Health Indicators

To assess the health status of the community vis-a-vis the changes in local health leadership and health system performance, this study monitored two key health indicators of all the participating municipalities that are important markers of the overall health of a society, namely Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR). Data for both key health indicators were taken at two points during the program—first as baseline data before the start of the Module 1 training and second after the Module 2 training and practicum. The use of the IMR and MMR acknowledges the fact women and children are often the most vulnerable groups in a community. They appear to be sensitive indicators to the levels of health system performance vis-à-vis the weakest members of the community. Previous studies have shown that inequality is a powerful predictor of infant mortality and maternal mortality. The more unequal a society is, the higher the infant and maternal mortality rates are (Ruiz et al., 2015).

Infant Mortality Rate (IMR)

Based on the data from 2015 to 2018, five municipalities were able to maintain zero IMR while 11 municipalities were able to lower their IMR or reduce it to zero. However, five other municipalities were recorded to have infant deaths from 2015 to 2018. There was anecdotal evidence that these infant death records were brought to light due to the stricter

monitoring of birth outcomes by the DOH and ZFF as part of the training program accountability. The spike in IMR among some municipalities was attributed to more accurate record keeping from increased surveillance.

Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR)

The same scenario was seen in terms of the maternal mortality ratio (MMR) among the MLGP cohort municipalities. Sixteen towns either maintained zero maternal deaths or reduced the number to zero, while two municipalities had an increased MMR during the period of assessment. These two municipalities were both found in Leyte province. Again, anecdotal evidence pointed to stricter record keeping and accuracy in reporting as a driver in the spike of maternal death figures in the participating municipalities.

Given the above data, IMR and MMR as outcome indicators lag behind the other changes in the health system. They are sensitive measures of inequality in general, and of social determinants of health in particular, but they could not be expected to change quickly without addressing other drivers of health outside of the health sector (e.g., poverty, education, gender relations).

Revisiting the Building Blocks of a Functioning Health System

The WHO health system building blocks appeared to be useful in tracking the changes of the local health system at the level of the participating municipalities. Initially conceptualized to measure health performance at the country or macro-level, the six building blocks as operationalized in the MLGP program to measure the status of health system functioning of local government units generated robust evidence of their relationships to each other. However, in line with the discussion above, there is a need to reconfigure the six building blocks with the Leadership and Governance component as the driver of a functioning health system. The other five blocks are directly associated with changes in Leadership and Governance. No other building block has the same level of influence on the other components of the WHO health system building blocks.

There is support in the literature on the essential role of health leadership and governance in health system transformation (Bradley, Taylor, & Cuellar, 2015; Manyazewal, 2017; J. Mfutso-Bengo et al., 2018; J. M. Mfutso-Bengo, 2016; WHO, 2010). The research results add evidence

to the importance of looking at leadership as critical in driving health system changes. A reconceptualized WHO health systems framework with leadership as the key driver of health system changes will be congruent with the experiences at the local health system level.

The Practice of Bridging Leadership: Changes in perspectives on health

Political leaders and health professionals in the MLGP training program initially viewed health issues and health challenges as the domain of the health sector alone. The health sector operated in some sort of a silo, separate from the rest of the functioning of the local institutions except for the occasional meetings to seek for financial and other resources. Results of the study showed that these assumptions prevail despite the implementation of the Local Government Code in 1991.

In addition, health issues were traditionally perceived in an instrumental way, as a means to an end, and not valued by themselves (e.g., as means to higher incomes, educational opportunity). Why does this perspective create problems on the ground? Since health is viewed as just a means to an end, it is traditionally not given much importance, unless the individual or the person is already experiencing pain or suffering as a consequence of ill health. This probably explains why individual health is not given much attention in the day-to-day lives of the community people, hence health preventative and promotion measures fail. In the same way, local leaders also do not give as much priority to health issues as they would to building infrastructure in the community. This is in contrast to Sen's (1999) health capability approach where health is perceived to be valuable in itself. An individual's health expands the ability to exercise freedom and increases the capacity for desired functionings to pursue wellbeing and approach the world with courage and freedom (Sen, 1999). Thus, health should not just be a means to an end, but also an end in itself.

Further, it was a jarring experience for many of the participants to realize that the health problems of the community have a lot of putative causative mechanisms (i.e., health inequity is a complex systemic problem), necessitating multi-stakeholder approaches to tackle such complex problems effectively. After undergoing experiential and structured learning exercises and health data analysis of their respective municipalities, some participants expressed that they were part of the complex system that created the problem. From not feeling accountable for health issues because "I am not a doctor," participants were able to probe deeper into the system, tracing how their roles affect the bigger whole, and how other

sectors and stakeholders affect the health system. Perhaps this is what Senge described in learning organizations as systems thinking—the "shift of mind" from seeing ourselves as separate from the world, from seeing problems as caused by someone or something "out there" to seeing how our own actions create the problems we experience" (Senge, 2006). This systems perspective also leads to the realization that an individual is only one part of the system, and that there are other parts of the system that need to be engaged. However, engaging other stakeholders can be a socially complex problem, which means that the people involved see things very differently leading to a more polarized problem and getting stuck (Kahane, 2004). This reflects that health, like other complex systems, is characterized by self-organization, constant changes, feedback loops, non-linearity, time gaps between inputs and outputs; it is historically grounded and even well-intentioned interventions produce unintended consequences (Savigny & Adam, 2009).

It was in this context that engagement in multi-stakeholder processes and dialogues was appreciated, leading the MLGP participants to seek real-time information from the field, increasing their field of awareness, and challenging long-held class and gender-based biases against the poor and marginalized sectors. In the practicum phase of the health leadership program, mayors joined the MHOs and the RHU team in going to the barangays for health service delivery to understand the complexities of health problems and find solutions by witnessing and experiencing at least part of it for themselves. The challenge in solving problems with high social complexity does not yield to easy solutions generated by authorities alone, but rather, the people involved must participate in creating and implementing solutions (Kahane, 2004). This meant talking and listening to community people to deliberately involve them in understanding their health predicament and in creating and implementing solutions to their own problems.

Leading by Creating Spaces for People's Participation in the Health System

Making people participate in the conduct and implementation of health programs has always been a challenge for health leaders, even if services are geared towards improvement of health status. Yet, despite these setbacks, mayors and MHOs in the MLGP program continue to create spaces and opportunities for people participation, acknowledging the fact that health programs will be difficult to implement, and health improvements will be difficult to reach without the community's help and

participation. Local leadership is thus crucial in making sure that there are spaces for people participation in the local health system.

Involvement of Organized Groups in the Community

There are many ways that local leadership can provide such spaces. In Region 8, for instance, maternal and infant deaths have remained a challenge, especially in far-flung barangays where access to birthing facilities is difficult. Even if pregnant women and their family members would like them to give birth at the health facility, most of the time they cannot afford the transportation fare, or they cannot find available means of transport especially in emergency cases. In Municipality A, the Local Chief Executive together with her Municipal Health Officer (MHO) and health team spearheaded the organization of a group of volunteer public transport drivers to provide transportation to pregnant mothers from Geographically Isolated and Disadvantaged Areas (GIDA) needing to go to the health facilities when they are due to give birth. The group was later named as *Habal-habal* and *Motorcycle Emergency Drivers* (HAMED) and was mainly composed of tricycle and single motorcycle or *habal-habal* drivers in the municipality. When the partnership was started, the local officials and health team encountered challenges such as setting the tariff at a reasonable level and making the community understand that the program was not only owned by the LGU, but that all have a big role to play in making the lives of other barangay people better. This awareness drive and the attempt to make the HAMED service an important part of an innovative solution for health issues was initiated by the local health leadership.

Involvement of Community Leaders

One strategy that Municipality B employed to implement programs on sanitation, specifically on the construction of sanitary toilets, was through the involvement of its barangay leaders. The mayor made sure that, even if the program was supported by the municipal budget, the different barangays would also give a counterpart, as a sign of their support and participation. In this municipality, the project was allocated a budget of Php1.5 million and they wanted to ensure that the toilet bowls they purchased would not go to waste. Thus, they coordinated with the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) in identifying the poorest members of every barangay. And as part of their partnership with the barangay, for every ten households that were given sanitary toilets and construction materials by the municipality, the barangay would also identify and provide construction materials to five more poor households in their barangay.

The partnership agreement also stipulated that barangay officials would take responsibility for the proper and timely construction of these sanitary toilets. After a dialogue, it was agreed that every barangay was to appoint a Sanitary Inspector to monitor the construction of the toilets in their own barangay. To clarify roles and responsibilities, an orientation was held for all Sanitary Inspectors at the barangay level. At the household level, families started to make structures for their sanitary toilets, sometimes using their own money when necessary.

Involvement of Leaders at the Family and Household Level

In Municipality C, where the focus was on child malnutrition, it was observed that community people, particularly mothers, were more receptive to health programs, especially when it involved their children. The local mayor took the issue on as one of her personal advocacies, made sure that she knew the malnutrition records and status of her municipality, and did something to address it together with the community people. One window of opportunity that they saw to actively involve family members, especially mothers, in giving proper nutrition to their children was through health education during the Nutrition Month celebration every March.

Creating Spaces for Dialogue

For some program participants, the dissonance between their prejudice and biases and their experiences on the ground shifted their focus of attention and allowed them to identify with some of the struggles faced by the community people, increasing the space for empathetic listening. This process of "deep listening" when practiced in dialogue allows the leader to shift the origin from where his or her listening originates—from the boundaries of one's own mental cognitive organization to seeing how the world unfolds through someone else's eyes (Scharmer, 2007). Participants had the opportunity to practice this during their interactions with the community during their MLGP practicum. For many leaders who took the program seriously, they transitioned from the practice of mere information dissemination to creating spaces for real dialogue where people are encouraged to participate in discussions. Some even took it to the next level and institutionalized these arrangements in the form of a People's Assembly, and the expansion of the Local Health Board and the Barangay Health Board to include other non-health stakeholders in the discussions on health.

While these arrangements have indeed changed how participation processes are practiced on the ground, it is also important to interrogate

the nature of the power relations that surround and imbue these potentially democratic spaces—the levels, spaces and forms of power (Gaventa, 2006). In his "Power Cube" framework, Gaventa argues that the different levels (i.e., global, national, local), spaces (i.e., closed, invited, claimed/created), and forms (i.e., visible, hidden, invisible) of power must align horizontally and vertically simultaneously to bring about successful change. The challenge, however, is how to determine which "alignment" of strategies is best for a particular issue, given that many combinations and "alignments" are possible, and their interaction with each other makes it even more complex. In essence, he pointed out that issues need not be addressed by a single strategy only, but rather, several strategies should be explored and understood in the light of the different dimensions of power for real transformative change to occur (Gaventa, 2006). On the ground, leaders should continue to explore and test these strategies to make these spaces for participation work in their own context, in order to produce sustainable innovations that will improve people's health and wellbeing. Similarly, in the Theory U framework, this process is known as prototyping—the process of exploring the future by doing, rather than by thinking and reflecting (Scharmer, 2007).

Acknowledging now that health issues are complex and evolving, the mayors together with their MHOs tried to explore new ways of doing things by going to the people, asking, listening, and trying to make sense of what was happening around them. Most of these were experienced during the actual Deep Dive activity of mayors and MHOs where they had experiential learning activities with some selected groups/households in their respective communities. For many of the participants, the activity sufficiently moved them to a decision to commit to changes in the health system and forge cross-sectoral collaboration to address the social determinants of health inequity.

Lessons and Insights

Towards a Community-Engaged Leadership for Health Equity

The Municipal Leadership and Governance Program (MLGP) sought to capacitate local leaders as "bridging leaders" to address health inequities in their communities in the context of prevailing social and economic divides. Their challenge as leaders amid this inequality is to "bridge" the gap created by these social divides. The process of conscientization in their journey to become bridging leaders who seek to address these social inequalities started with self-awareness of their principles and values. This allowed them to ground their personal response

to these divides and understand how they are part of this complex system that perpetuates these inequities. Understanding that health inequities are rooted in the lived social conditions of the people is integral to understanding the healthcare predicament of the poor. Several of the tools used to address health disparities included the primary health care approach to achieve "health for all,"; the bridging leadership process of ownership, co-ownership, and co-creation; building leadership and social capital; systems thinking and complexity approach; multi-stakeholder processes, dialogue, and rapid prototyping.

The practicum period also provided the participants with the opportunity to implement their action plans based on RAPID change using the principles of iterative learning and inter-sectoral collaboration. The mid-program checkpoint during Module 2 celebrated "quick wins" and provided space for reflection on the challenges the participants faced as bridging leaders. Their insights were deepened by the practice of adaptive leadership in the context of the cultural understanding of "loob." They also crafted their personal response as bridging leaders into a public narrative that shifted their personal story, into a story of "us" and called for collective action into forging a story of "now" to co-create new institutional arrangements.

The final lookback in the last module focused on addressing the social determinants of health, the broader social conditions that generate health inequalities beyond the health sector. Gearing for the long haul in the struggle for substantive changes beyond the health system, participants are called to resilient leadership, building resilient organizations and partnering for resilient communities. The challenge is to co-create community-centered actions through the exercise of community-engaged leadership where communities participate meaningfully in all levels of decision-making.

Limitations

To ascertain the sustainability of these community empowerment processes, a longitudinal study to follow up the participating communities and track changes through time should be done in the future. It would also be important to disaggregate data in the local government primary health care scorecards to reflect gender, class, and other social inequalities relevant to health outcomes in the community. Further studies looking at the critical factors that differentiate successful bridging leaders from those who were not could likewise shed light on the contextual elements that contribute to the process. Lastly, expanding the concept of leadership to include participants from various levels of organizations, institutions, and

communities would allow the exercise of transformative leadership to permeate deeper layers of social relations and other sub-structures that drive sociocultural changes.

Conclusion

The Bridging Leadership framework used in the MLGP program provided a scaffolding for ethical leadership to bridge the gap between the powerful and powerless in society. It started by acknowledging that leaders are part of the problem and that substantive solutions to societal problems need a shift in awareness to allow for emergent realities to breakthrough—from actions that emanate from the poor themselves. There is evidence to suggest that this model of leadership that seeks to fully engage the various stakeholders in the community has the potential to create new institutional arrangements and strengthen existing structures for community participation to tackle complex problems like the social determinants of health. Beyond the personal commitment of local leaders to initiate meaningful changes in governance, shifting the dynamics of power to these mechanisms of democratic participation like the barangay health boards, local health boards, and provincial health boards could bridge the gap between the vulnerable and the powerful. Making these institutions accountable and answerable to the poor, however, would entail a highly engaged and empowered citizenship. This goes back to the capability approach of health where expanding the freedoms of people to do and be is critical to the whole development project. This iterative process where social conditions generate increased human capability would, in turn, lead people to envision, plan, act, and build a better future together for their communities.

Note:

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Framing Research in Social Development Thinking and Practice:
The DSD Experience

Teresita Villamor-Barrameda, DSD

This study examines the trends in social development (SD) perspectives, strategies, and processes gleaned from the dissertations of doctoral graduates of the UP-CSWCD Doctor of Social Development (DSD) program from 2014 to 2019. Thirteen (13) dissertations of DSD graduates were used as case materials in drawing out lessons in SD research.

Two major trends emerged from the 13 dissertations: one, what are the defining features of SD research, and two, knowledge-building and meaning-making initiatives. Two guiding features differentiate SD research from mainstream social research: (1) a clear standpoint and bias for the poor, marginalized, and disadvantaged groups and communities; and (2) privileging the voices and perspectives of the poor, the marginalized, and the disadvantaged.

In terms of knowledge-building and meaning-making, significant themes were noted: (1) community organizing-community development (CO-CD) perspectives are embedded in SD concepts, strategies, and processes; (2) feminist perspectives complement and enhance SD knowledge building by examining gender and power relations within social institutions (i.e., family, community organizations, market, and the State); and, (3) the dissertations provide a learning platform for DSD students to engage in development discourse and grounded theorizing. The research participants are generally regarded as co-learners in the research process. The paper concludes by citing the implications and challenges to Social Development as an academic discipline in the context of policy development and planning, theorizing, and curricular development and enhancement.

Key words: social development, SD research, DSD program, development practice, SD as an academic discipline

I. Introduction

In celebration of its 10th year, the Doctor of Social Development (DSD) Program of the University of the Philippines-College of Social Work and Community Development (UP-CSWCD) embarks on a review of its major accomplishments. Among its knowledge products are 13 doctoral dissertations that surface emerging themes in social development discourse and practice. Using these as case materials, this study examines the trends in social development (SD) perspectives, strategies, and processes gleaned from the dissertations of graduates of the Doctor of Social Development (DSD) Program from 2014 to 2019 . Insights from this review can inform curricular development, classroom pedagogy as well as program management concerns.

SD perspectives have evolved over the years. From the activism of social work leaders in the 1900s who subscribed to SD as a philosophy in improving the quality of life, theorizing and research have resulted to varied conceptions of SD. Western academics like Booth (1994) even claimed that SD research had reached an "impasse" by failing to define its trajectory and the difficulty encountered by researchers in linking theory to practice. Thus, he contended, that SD needs rethinking.

On the other hand, Edwards (1994) even questioned its relevance in lieu of the continuing mass poverty in developing countries. In the Philippines, the relevance of SD as a development strategy to improve the lives of the people and to end poverty has been recognized by the government as reflected in the Medium-Term Development Plans of various administrations. Likewise, SD remains relevant to civil society organizations, development practitioners, and scholars who work with the grassroots sectors in the different parts of the country. The 13 dissertations of DSD graduates mirror this relevance.

This article has four major sections: (1) a presentation of the varying SD perspectives and concepts as these evolved over time; (2) a summary of the 13 dissertations in terms of topics, topic sources, contexts, theoretical and conceptual frameworks, research methodologies and methods, and research outputs; (3) trends as presented in these dissertations; and, (4) implications of the findings on SD as an academic discipline and as practice.

II. Meanings and Perspectives of Social Development

A. Definitions of Social Development

Over the years, many authors have claimed difficulty in defining SD. For instance, Blumer (1966:16 cited in Bautista, 1997:3), in his classic paper, "The Meaning of Social Development," argued that the notion of SD is "vague and confused" because countries differ in their goals, strategies, and metrics in achieving SD. Some years later, Macpherson (1989:70 cited in Bautista, 1997:3) proposed a generic definition of SD which is the "enhancement of well-being and the progressive enrichment of the quality of people's lives."

To further clarify the meaning of development, the United Nations Center for Regional Development (1988) focused on the "social" aspects of development, giving emphasis on the non-economic factors that contribute to the improvement of the quality of life – in particular, those concerning people. Likewise, the definition used by the Institute of Social Studies (ISS, 2013) has placed people at the center of the development processes – particularly the poor. This, however, acknowledges that social relations and norms in a given group or society shape the processes of SD. Thus, such conceptualization implies institutional change, not only in formal but informal institutions as well.

Consequently, the ISS has developed the *Indices of Social Development* – focusing on the areas of civic activism, clubs and associations, inter-group cohesion, interpersonal safety and trust, and gender equality – to measure the role of informal social institutions and argued that their contributions to the development processes be recognized since they are given limited attention in SD discourse.

While many international agencies and other UN bodies prefer the term social development, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) uses the term human development instead. The notion of human development used by UNDP (1999) was further developed in later years based on the work of Sen (1999) as a means to enlarge the choices and opportunities of people. By the late 1990s, Jacobs and Cleveland (1999) described SD as a process of tapping human resources and initiatives to attain social and economic objectives. From then on, notions of SD have continued to evolve as informed by various disciplines, theoretical frameworks, researches , and practices.

At present, SD is associated with community-based projects and programs in developing countries that include, but are not limited to, cooperatives-building, self-help women's organizations, maternal and child health, provision of safe water, construction of education and health infrastructures, to cite a few. SD also refers to government social policies and programs such as poverty reduction, education and literacy improvement, maternal and infant mortality reduction, elimination of gender discrimination and oppression, political participation, and improvement in sanitation. In academic disciplines, sociologists associate SD with social change for the betterment of society; social workers equate it to community-based projects; psychologists associate SD to child development; and in social policy, SD is about social improvements due to the welfare interventions of governments (Midgley, 2014).

As drawn out from SD practice, the goals, key components, approaches, and strategies of SD have been popularized. In contrast to debates around SD definitions, discourse on SD goals is not fully problematized as pointed out by Midgley (2014:48):

> *Although a variety of goals are mentioned in the literature, they are seldom defined in concrete terms or formulated as a coherent conception of the desirable end state that social development seeks to achieve… reflect[ing] the tendency among social development scholars to rhetorically use value-laden terms rather than grapple with the complexity of defining goals such as 'social change,' 'equality,' 'progress,' and 'social justice,' which are often bandied about in the academic literature on the assumption that their meaning is self-evident. However, when linked to different normative perspectives, these concepts are interpreted very differently. For example, the notion of social justice which now pervades the social development literature is defined in different ways by market liberals, Catholic social thinkers, Marxists and social democrats.*

Midgley (2014) also noted that, aside from abstract goals, material goals are also important. These goals are more exact, observable, and easily operationalized through the use of metrics such as indicators and indices. The Index of Social Progress (ISP), the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI), and the more recent Human Development Index (HDI) are examples of such indices. Further, he noted the importance of linking the goals to the state or condition which SD aims to change. It may also be noted that the existing research studies on inequality and social capital provide the possibility of the operationalization of such an abstract goal.

SD goals include abstract and lofty ideals such as peace, equality, rights, and social justice. In some cases, material goals such as poverty alleviation and access to opportunity are often hinged on these abstract goals. On the other hand, SD practitioners and scholars subsume SD outputs into a single goal such as improved well-being, gender equality, or improved quality of life. The goal "to foster the emergence and implementation of a social structure in which all citizens are entitled to equal social, economic, and political rights and equal access to status, roles, prerogatives, and responsibilities, regardless of gender, race, age, sexual orientation, or disability" articulated by Chandler (1986:151) provides a very broad goal encompassing several concerns.

Scholars also give attention to the principles and values of SD. For instance, Chandler (1986) noted that cooperation, participatory planning and decision-making, nondiscrimination, and distributive justice are some of the principles of SD. She also cited a study by Falk (1981) that values participation, respect for human dignity, humanism, nondiscrimination, and global awareness as important to SD practitioners in the field of social work.

Further, Chandler (1986) pointed out the parallel values of SD and feminism that include participation, respect for human dignity, and institutional equity, implying that ideas of feminism are embedded in the SD perspective in social work. Such similarities include: (1) placing importance on citizen participation in civic, democratic, and political decision-making; (2) developing grassroots leadership; (3) community planning with the people rather than for them; (4) treating women and "clients" with respect and dignity; and (5) critically examining institutional systems that foster and perpetuate inequity by challenging such systems.

B. Theoretical Foundations of Social Development

According to Midgley (2014), though SD is rich in its practice, SD literature revealed a deficiency in theorizing and theory-building. Despite this claim, practitioners and researchers in both developed and developing countries continue to enhance SD theorizing. Midgley (2014) further noted that the varied definitions of SD reflect a rich tradition of theoretical perspectives on which these conceptualizations are hinged. Midgley (2003) also classified the various theoretical perspectives that influence SD practice as follows:

- The *livelihood perspective* has its roots in individual ideology and rational choice theory which is based on the assumption that household members, though living in poverty, are rational actors who have the choice to address their conditions.

- The *gender perspective* started with the critique of the non-recognition of women's contribution to development as well as the impact of patriarchal culture on the oppression of women. These critiques resulted to efforts in attention to gender as a development concern. Gradually, it has been mainstreamed in SD thinking and practice. With the mainstreaming of gender in SD, programs and services are no longer confined to the conventional maternal and child welfare interventions, but also include the promotion of gender equality, women's rights, and economic development to alleviate women's poverty. Such focus is premised on the assumption that the participation of women in SD is an important productive contribution. Eventually, an empowerment approach was adopted that promotes women's self-determination and control over their lives through a bottom-up strategy. This strategy includes mobilizing, campaigning, organizing, and collective action against patriarchy, neoliberalism, and imperialism to address gender oppression. The concept of empowerment has been a major aspect of activism among women's organizations in responding to oppressive gender practices, promoting economic participation, and influencing State policy and international development organizations. SD approaches such as community development, asset-building, and microenterprise are often associated with the gender perspective.

- The *community participatory perspective* is oriented in activism. Starting from a critique of top-down SD, it gives importance to concepts such as social capital, civil society, social entrepreneurship, and social economy. It draws its ideas from populism and posits that communities and civil society organizations are in the best position to achieve SD goals based on the assumption that communities can mobilize local resources, decide on their own development, and implement community projects. Through community organizing, people in communities can form organizations (e.g., community-based cooperatives); commit their time, effort, and resources; and fully participate in decisions that affect them. It posits that, for community-based SD initiatives to succeed, the full participation of people as well as their access

to government and donor support are needed. It then poses a critique of the conventional community development approach, the central role of the government, and the strong influence of market liberal ideas in SD. Likewise, this perspective recognizes the role of social movements as a SD strategy because of their role in mobilizing people and communities for social change.

- The enterprise perspective argues that participation in the market is a better strategy in achieving SD goals. It is influenced by market liberal ideas such as incentives, competition, and profit as effective strategies in realizing community development as well as in reducing poverty. This perspective advocates the notions of "social entrepreneurship," "social business," "social economy," "philanthro-capitalism," and "corporate social responsibility" (p.58). It proposes that to ensure participation of the poor in the market, the government has a crucial role to play by lowering taxes, deregulating the market economy, privatizing services, and implementing market-friendly policies. Microfinance and microenterprise are among its preferred strategies.

- The *environmental or sustainable development perspective* is a result of the critique that economic growth, with its concomitant consumerism fueled by capitalism, has caused destruction to the environment. The unstoppable focus on economic growth has bred global problems like pollution, environmental degradation, deforestation, and other forms of ecological destruction. The negative impact of ecological damage has propelled international bodies to promote ecological projects in communities. This perspective promotes the adoption of sustainable development as a strategy in SD. The most important principle of this perspective is the recognition that economic development should meet the needs of this generation but without compromising the lives of future generations.

- The *statist perspective* argues that the government has both the capacity and authority to implement SD interventions and achieve SD goals. Based on social science thinking, technical planning, and efficient management, the government is viewed as the best promoter of its citizens' well-being on the following grounds: (1) It has the authority to implement SD programs through the enactment of laws, regulation, and the provision of resources and social services; (2) It has the capacity to mobilize

both domestic and international resources for SD goals in partnership with international agencies and other governments; (3) It has the macro perspective to allocate resources to the most in need; and, (4) It has the regulatory role to direct the market to work towards the interest of the majority. This perspective promotes the idea that the citizens have ownership of the State in which the latter has accountability to the former. Socio-economic planning, redistributive growth, basic needs and rights-based are approaches that subscribe to this perspective.

Alongside these theoretical foundations, SD has developed different approaches and strategies culled from its long tradition of practice. These are categorized as follows: the development of human capital, social capital, community development and its key components – community-building, community action, community economic development, promotion of decent work and employment, microenterprise/microfinance, asset development, social protection, social planning, and social rights (Midgley, 2014).

In the Philippines, practitioners incessantly do research to help refine the *whats, whys* and *hows* of SD. For instance, Venus-Maslang (2013), in her study on the roles of non-government and community-based organizations in sustaining SD efforts, emphasized that the interactions of socio-cultural, economic, political, and environmental factors impact on SD projects. Likewise, the 13 dissertations are knowledge products that can provide added ideas that could inform theorizing and practice in the country.

III. Summary of DSD Dissertations

This section contains a summary of research topics, sources of topics, contexts, theoretical/conceptual frameworks, research methodologies and methods used, and research outputs.

A. Focus of SD Research Studies: Topics, Interest Groups, and Contexts

From 2014-2019, a total of 13 dissertations were produced by graduates of the Doctor of Social Development Program of the College of Social Work and Community Development. The focus of the research studies in terms of topics, interest groups, and research contexts can be categorized as follows:

- Surfacing the conditions of marginalized groups through their own voices: children of migrant parents (Abenir, 2014), urban poor women in the sandwich generation (Columna-Tongson, 2019), humanitarian workers (Paez-Beltejar, 2015), prisoners (Rueda-Acosta, 2015), and rural poor women (Villamor-Barrameda, 2015);

- Testing out indigenous SD concepts such as well-being (Meneses, 2016) and flourishing (Will, 2014), and SD strategies and processes such as community governance (Carolino, 2016), citizen participation (Dumaraos, 2014), participation, capacity building, and community building (Le, 2015), and social enterprises (Pham, 2014);

- Exploring grassroots' agency and organized responses: organized women's responses to poor housing systems and programs (Laguilles-Timog, 2018) and efforts of women in the informal economy in transforming their lives and communities (Verceles, 2014).

The interest groups of these research studies include: children of migrant workers (Abenir, 2014), internal migrants (Le, 2015), prisoners (Rueda-Acosta, 2015), urban poor women (Columna-Tongson, 2019; Laguilles-Timog, 2018), women in the informal economy (Verceles, 2014), rural poor women (Villamor-Barrameda,2015), humanitarian workers (Paez-Beltejar, 2015), fisherfolk and farmers (Carolino, 2016; Dumaraos, 2014), indigenous peoples (Meneses, 2016; Will, 2014), and owners of social enterprises (Pham, 2014).

B. Dissertation Contexts

These research studies were conducted under the following contexts: children of migrants as community of interest (Abenir, 2015), disaster situations (Paez-Beltejar, 2015; Villamor-Barrameda, 2015), prisons/detention centers (Rueda-Acosta, 2015), socialist State (Le, 2015; Pham, 2014), coastal communities (Carolino, 2016), agricultural/fishery councils (Dumaraos, 2014), urban poor communities (Columna-Tongson, 2019; Laguilles-Timog, 2018), conflict-ridden communities of indigenous peoples (Will, 2014), communities of indigenous peoples (Meneses, 2016), and informal economy (Verceles, 2014).

C. Sources of Dissertation Topics

There are three major sources of dissertation topics: (1) personal experiences, (2) personal advocacies and research interests, and (3) development practice. Dissertations that were inspired by personal experiences are as follows:

- Mark Anthony Abenir (2014) drew inspiration for his dissertation, *In Their Voices: The Rights and Capabilities of the Anak ng OFWs*, from his personal experience as a son of a migrant father.

- Zenaida Paez-Beltejar (2015) has decades of experience as a social worker of a leading humanitarian organization in the country. Her dissertation, *Caring for Carers. Psychosocial Support to Humanitarian Workers in Coping with Disasters: The Case of the Philippine Red Cross in the 2013 Typhoon Haiyan in Tacloban City,* was borne out of her experience being "in the line of fire" during Typhoon Haiyan.

- Teresita Villamor Barrameda (2015) survived various typhoons while on fieldwork as a development worker and her personal experience of Typhoon Ondoy developed her interest in studying the intersection of gender, poverty, and disasters and had published articles and did presentations in both local and international conferences on the topic. In her dissertation, *Stories Women Tell: Rural Women's Narratives of Their Lived Experiences of Poverty, Recurrent Typhoons and Disasters*, she wove the life stories of 10 rural poor women with her experience as the "insider/outsider" in the research community that was once her residence in her childhood years.

- Excelsa Columna-Tongson (2019) experienced being in the sandwich generation – caring for both her family and her-father-in-law – while simultaneously working as a faculty member in the College of Home Economics and as a student of the DSD program. This personal experience inspired her dissertation, *Potentials and Possibilities for Caring: The Voices of Low-Income Urban Women in the Sandwich Generation,* which she called a problem that has no local name.

Other research studies were drawn from the development practice of graduates such as the following:

- Pham Tien Nam (2014) has been into development work since working in his home country of Vietnam and in the Philippines. As board member of an advocacy organization for children's rights in the Philippines, his interest in the workings of civil society organizations (CSOs) in the context of a centralized socialist State became the basis for his dissertation, *Non-State Partners in Social Development in Vietnam: Organizations, Issues and Processes.*

- Pedro Dumaraos Jr. (2014), as a staff of the Department of Agriculture, has observed the development and problems of the agricultural and fishery councils (AFCs) as mechanisms for people's participation. His experience and observation on the uneven development of these mechanisms led him to develop his dissertation, *Images and Voices of Citizens' Participation in Local Governance: Potentials and Challenges of Agricultural and Fishery Councils as Participatory Mechanisms*, to interrogate the elements that made some AFCs functional while others were not.

- Matthew Will (2014) has been exposed to the indigenous peoples of Mindanao through his faith ministry and his dissertation, *Kaelleuman Hap: A Yakan Experience of Flourishing Amidst Conflict*, which fueled his passion to understand indigenous notions of development and flourishing.

- Le Van Cong (2015) has been involved with CSOs in Vietnam and in the Philippines as a development practitioner and as a lawyer catering to the needs and concerns of Vietnamese migrants in Palawan. His dissertation, *Participation in Community-building Among Internal Migrants in Eahdil Village in Vietnam,* was the result of his interest in working with Vietnamese migrants within and outside his home country.

- Persida Rueda-Acosta (2015), as Chief of the Public Attorney's Office (PAO), has been exposed to the appalling conditions of inmates and the sub-standard facilities in prisons and detention centers while doing her regular rounds in monitoring cases of prisoners handled by the PAO, developed her dissertation, *Examining Deaths Behind Bars: Toward Penal System Policy Reforms in the Context of Human Rights*, as her response to alleviate the inmates' conditions by proposing policy reforms from a human rights perspective.

- Juliet Carolino (2016) is a development worker with academic background in both community development and public administration. Her dissertation, *Social Development Realities and Practices in Community Governance of Selected Coastal Communities in Pangasinan*, came out of her interest in the notions of empowerment and participation that reside among community-based people's organizations in her hometown.

- Angelito Meneses (2016) has been a community development practitioner whose years of practice working in Aeta communities were the source of inspiration for his dissertation, *Kahampatan as Lived by the Ayta: Affirming Indigenous Well-being*.

Personal advocacy or research interest is another source of dissertation topics for the following graduates:

- Nathalie Verceles' (2014) topic in her dissertation, *Livelihood Practices of Women in the Informal Economy: Forging Pathways Towards Feminist Solidarity Economy*, was inspired by her continuing advocacy in making a difference in the lives of grassroots women in the informal economy. Her exposure to the women in this sector started when she did fieldwork as a student in Women and Development and her interest in her topic was also inspired by her advocacy on solidarity economy.

- Rowena Laguilles-Timog (2018) has an interest in housing that has produced research papers published in journals and presented in conferences; and her dissertation, *Organized Women's Responses to Urban Poor Housing: Towards Transformations in Housing in the Philippines*, was one of her major research studies on housing.

D. Research Methodologies and Data Gathering Methods Used

Most of the research studies used the qualitative research approach such as feminist research, descriptive case analysis, participatory action research, and ethnography. For research methods, the authors combined more than one data gathering method such as: case studies, key informant interviews, in-depth interviews, semi-structured interviews, documents review, participant observation, life story and narratives, and focus group discussions. Immersion in communities was another method used by some to fully understand the processes and dynamics in the communities

under study—commonly done by those with community organizing-community development (CO-CD) orientations or who were development practitioners themselves.

Of the 13 dissertations, seven employed mixed methods – qualitative and quantitative methods – of which the quantitative used surveys and statistical analyses such as inferential statistics and descriptive statistics. In addition, four of these were feminist research studies – adopting feminist perspectives, processes, values, and ethics.

In terms of sample size, the 13 studies used small samples of research respondents, sample organizations, or sample communities. Although the studies of Columna-Tongson (2019) and Abenir (2014) utilized secondary data from large national surveys as backdrops of the conditions of their study respondents, all the studies are considered micro studies. As such, each study only provided the reality in a specific setting.

E. Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

All the dissertations explored various SD theories, perspectives, and concepts to frame the topics under study. These theories – human rights-based approach, capability approach, human development, social relations approach, feminist grounded theory, standpoint feminism, systems theory, Third World feminist theory, inclusive development, feminist solidarity economics and ecology, development as freedom, and feminist intersectionality – as well as concepts – transnationalism, social capital, restorative justice, gender and development (GAD), participation, inclusion, citizen participation, community governance, empowerment, agency, capacity and community-building, indigenous knowledge, flourishing, and sandwich generation – provide the analytical handles of the dissertations under study.

F. Research Outputs

Based on the observations made on the 13 dissertations, the research outputs may be categorized as follows:

1. Current conditions of specific groups.

Organized women (Laguilles-Timog, 2018; Verceles, 2014), unorganized women (Columna-Tongson, 2019; Villamor-Barrameda, 2015), humanitarian workers (Paez-Beltejar, 2015), and inmates (Rueda-Acosta, 2015) in various settings.

2. *Initiatives in theorizing from practice, consequently developing frameworks, models, and tools.*

Abenir (2014), for instance, proposed a framework focusing on five specific rights and three capabilities that could enhance the capabilities of children of OFWs to mitigate the social cost of migration. In like manner, Meneses (2016) and Will (2014) formulated indigenous models of the good life and well-being from the perspectives of indigenous peoples – the Ayta of Zambales and the Yakan of Basilan, respectively. Le (2015) proposed a model for inclusion of internal migrants through SD processes – people's participation, capacity building, and community building – in improving the quality of life of internal migrants within a socialist welfare state. Will (2014) also identified indicators in assessing the good life in combination with rights obligations that could be a tool for the flourishing of a particular group, whether in a conflict situation or not.

3. *SD processes and strategies in different settings.*

The study of Carolino (2016) highlighted participation, sense of ownership. and empowerment as elements in community governance in coastal communities. On the other hand, the study of Dumaraos (2014) underscored the elements needed in sustaining citizens' participation within the local governance mechanisms, while Pham's (2014) study highlighted the application of social enterprise as a SD strategy by civil society organizations in the context of a socialist central economy.

4. *Applications of existing theories, concepts and approaches.*

The studies of Columna-Tongson (2019), Laguilles-Timog (2018), Villamor-Barrameda (2015), and Verceles (2014) used the social relations approach (SRA) in various SD concerns – sandwich generation, urban poor housing system, disasters, and informal economy, respectively. Likewise, Paez-Beltejar (2015) adopted the UNIASC guidelines for mental health as the standard measurement for assessing psychosocial support for humanitarian workers, while Villamor-Barrameda (2015) applied major principles of human rights – participation, anti-discrimination, transparency, humaneness, empowerment, and rule of law – as indicators to determine the rights-based responsiveness of DRR programs of local government units.

Despite differences in many aspects, the studies had a common trajectory contributing to policy development and policy reforms. It

was also observed that the studies had varied depths of analysis. Some studies were limited to descriptions of current conditions, SD processes, and strategies; while others, particularly those that adopted the feminist perspectives, showed the intersections of two or more axes of difference such as gender, class, age, identity, and disability.

It may be posited that the 13 dissertations were a microcosm of the current SD issues, presenting a comprehensive understanding of critical and pressing social problems. Although these SD dissertations were micro studies and therefore cannot provide generalizations of the phenomena being examined , these studies represent the realities of the poor, marginalized, and/or disadvantaged sectors in Philippine society. They cited specific challenges to current SD research and practice as a means of enriching understanding on the emerging knowledge and experience on SD. Likewise, these studies showed the applications of various SD strategies and processes in various settings.

IV. Trends of SD Research

Two major trends are evident: one, the defining features of DSD research, and two, knowledge and meaning-making initiatives.

1. Features of DSD Research

The dissertations vary in perspectives, depth of analysis, approaches, and methodologies. Based on features, two salient points can be identified:

- *A clear standpoint and bias for the poor, marginalized, and disadvantaged groups and communities*. Drawing from Paolo Freire's ideas, knowledge and learning can never be neutral. As such, these could either change or preserve the status quo. Research studies as sources of knowledge are not immune to being located in either position. A clear standpoint and bias for the poor, marginalized, and disadvantaged sectors in our society are reflected in the DSD research studies. This can be observed in the choice of topics, sectors, research settings, and the goal of transforming the lives of the subjects of study. The studies did not only show interest in generating knowledge from the lived experiences of these people, but looked at realities from their own perspectives as well.

The dissertations were conducted not only as academic requirements but, more so, as a means to effect changes in the lives of the

poor, marginalized, and disadvantaged:

- Use of the research results by organized grassroots groups and organizations in their advocacy work in claiming rights of children of OFWs (Abenir, 2014), in improving housing and upholding the right to decent housing (Laguilles-Timog, 2018), and in improving lives of women in the informal economy (Verceles, 2014);
- Advocacy within the authors' organizations and institutions in developing policies for the support of humanitarian workers (Paez-Beltejar, 2015), improvement of inmates' conditions (Rueda-Acosta, 2015), and enhancement of mechanisms for the full participation of farmers and fisherfolk in local governance (Dumaraos, 2014);
- Advocacy and basis for dialogues with local and national governments about the post-disaster conditions of poor and unorganized rural women (Villamor-Barrameda, 2015), mechanisms for the inclusion of internal migrants in development processes in a socialist State (Le, 2015), and the importance of social enterprises in the economic development within a socialist welfare society (Pham, 2014);
- Affirmation of indigenous knowledge on well-being and the good life as alternative models to the dominant Western models (Will, 2014; Meneses, 2016);
- Provision of information as a basis for education, consciousness-raising, and planning to enhance the participation of fisherfolk in local governance (Carolino, 2016) and to improve the conditions of urban poor women in the sandwich generation (Columna-Tongson, 2019).

- *Privileging the voices and perspectives of the research participants.* The poor, marginalized, and disadvantaged have found themselves excluded from the development discourse and from the development planning and policy-making processes. These sectors were given prominence in the DSD dissertations. The research studies served as venues to hear their voices as well as their perspectives – their ways of making sense of the conditions they live in, their analysis of these lived conditions, their strategies in surmounting such conditions, and their agency in improving their lives. Likewise, ideas, perspectives, and the wisdom of the research participants were valued and acknowledged as legitimate knowledges. Further, they were regarded as people with agency

rather than victims of their own conditions. Most importantly, they were recognized as experts of their own experiences and conditions.

2. Knowledge and Meaning-making

There were initiatives from the research studies to theorize from the ground as reflected in the development of frameworks, models, and tools as metrics in measuring SD elements, strategies, and processes. As results, concepts, and approaches were drawn out from the local knowledge and processes, Western concepts such as human rights and development were given new meanings. Among the major points gleaned from the dissertations in terms of knowledge construction are as follows:

- Community organizing-community development (CO-CD) is the crucial core element of SD in which community participation, citizens' governance, empowerment, capacity building, and community building are hinged;

- Feminist perspectives complement and enhance the SD perspective by examining and interrogating social institutions (i.e., family, community, organizations, the State, and market) as sites of power dynamics and contestations;

- The dissertations provided a learning platform for DSD students to engage in development discourse and grounded theorizing. The research participants were generally regarded as co-learners in the research process.

V. Concluding Notes

Based on the lessons generated from the DSD research studies, the question, "What then is SD research?" remains a relevant concern. The following provides a summary of the points presented in the dissertations for reflection and possible sources of future research interest, and as a basis for ocial policy development and developing planning processes:

1. More in-depth analysis of SD strategies and processes as applied in different settings and situations;
2. Interrogating specific SD theories, combining the perspectives of both the grand theories and grounded theorizing; examining marked boundaries and dichotomies; and finding interconnections among different theoretical viewpoints.

3. The research methods used in the SD studies can be cases for students to analyze the methodologies used vis-à-vis the research questions. In addition, the combined use of quantitative and qualitative methods in some studies showed complementation rather than contradiction. The studies can also enhance the curriculum design of the course on statistics for SD practice, providing a better measure of SD indicators and setting of SD research parameters. The dissertations have significantly contributed to the application of statistics in processing and analyzing SD data, providing shape for the data presentation in the research studies.

4. Presentation of specific socio-political-cultural-economic contexts, as presented in two dissertations where the area of focus was Vietnam. Having local and international field study/visits as part of the DSD program has offered opportunities to broaden and deepen the understanding on different development contexts, given the varying cultural and eco-political structures. Thus, comparative studies also make a significant contribution to understanding the SD context of a sector, within a specified community/locality; and,

5. The interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary nature of SD as an academic discipline. The research studies reflect the fusion of SD with the previous academic backgrounds of the researchers (i.e., anthropology, community development, law, philosophy, social work, women and development studies, home economics, theology, law), eventually enhancing and complementing the SD perspective. Aside from the academic backgrounds and experiences of the researchers, future SD dissertations can be further enriched by other disciplinal fields. As such, future doctoral students can be encouraged to take electives in other disciplines to further enhance the transdisciplinary character of SD as well as the intersectionality of SD issues and concerns.

Ten years of DSD research have generated knowledge and information about social development as these studies provided new perspectives in enhancing discourses on SD. Since SD concerns and issues are broad, these dissertations are already significant contributions. Considering the broad concerns of SD, the DSD program has complemented these research efforts with its own initiatives through symposia, fora and other activities, harnessing the knowledge and experiences of local SD experts to amplify the voices and perspectives of the poor, marginalized, and disadvantaged sectors in the development arena. And recognizing the challenges of studying other SD issues, especially in these unsettling times

of climate change, worsening mass poverty, violence, and authoritarian governance, future DSD students can take on these challenges to generate new research studies to sustain the relevance of SD as an academic discipline.

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Engendering Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) in the Context of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda

Rosalinda Pineda Ofreneo, Ph.D.

How can women in poverty, as well as other vulnerable groups, realize their aspirations for a life of dignity and prosperity within the framework of the 2030 Development Agenda given the persistent poverty, extreme inequality, recurring financial and food crises, climate change and its disastrous impacts gripping the world today? One pathway being tried out in many places is Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE). As defined by the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on SSE, this "refers to the production of goods and services by a broad range of organizations and enterprises that have explicit social and often environmental objectives, and are guided by principles and practices of cooperation, solidarity, equity and democratic self-management" (UNTFSSE, 2014:1). SSEs, however, may not necessarily be supportive of women's empowerment. This paper, therefore, aims to explore this dilemma by attempting to answer the following question: Do SSE initiatives documented in existing case studies within Asia, particularly in the Philippines and other ASEAN member countries, consciously pursue the SDG on gender equality as they aspire to realize other SDG goals? Its objectives include: 1) To examine the relationship between SSEs and the achievement of SDG goal number 5 on gender equality in available case studies from the region; 2) To surface gains and gaps in these initiatives by employing SDG and SSE evaluation criteria; and 3) To make recommendations for future action based on insights culled from the research.

Key Words: sustainable development goals, social and solidarity economy, gender equality, women's empowerment, SSE initiatives

Introduction

"Let no one be left behind." This is the fearless premise and promise of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda being pursued globally amidst the persistent poverty, extreme inequality, recurring financial and food crises, climate change and its disastrous impacts gripping the world today.

Although extreme poverty defined as surviving below USD1.90 a day went down to 10% in 2015, almost half (45%) of the world population are still poor, meaning they are living below USD5.50 a day (World Bank, 2018). "Inequality is keeping people trapped in poverty," (Oxfam, 2019) as the number of billionaires has grown in tandem with their wealth since the global financial crisis struck the globe 10 years ago and caused enormous suffering among mostly ordinary folk who belong to the 99%. In 2018, 26 super-rich people owned an amount of wealth equivalent to that of the poorest half of humanity. Hunger is on the increase, affecting 851 million or one out of nine people, and stunting the growth of 150 million children (WHO, 2018).

Climate change and the "extreme weather events" it generates have wreaked havoc on food security and the quality of life of vulnerable populations. According to one report, "2018 saw unprecedented heatwaves, storms and floods across the globe, and global greenhouse gas emissions continued to grow last year, with the current concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere the highest it has been in 3 million years" (UNFCCC, 2019). Yet climate action is lagging far behind what is necessary to stem the already alarming level of global warming, reflecting "environmental policy failure" on the part of many governments (UNFCCC, 2019).

These intractable and overlapping problems have been widely attributed to a flawed development model based solely on the profit motive (Utting, 2015). The 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which include SDG no. 5 on gender equality, are in themselves responses seeking to correct, if not transform, an increasingly unacceptable world order perceived to be bringing the whole of humanity to the brink of destruction, if not extinction. However, since the SDGs are in themselves results of negotiations between and among governments, business interests, civil society organizations, and other stakeholders, they can be both limiting and liberating depending on how forces for positive change can critically engage in the complex processes of SDG implementation.

In a world where almost half (48.5%) of all women—those who are not in the labor force (ILO, 2018)—are being left behind by the engine of dizzying growth and technological change that aggravates existing forms of inequality even more, the challenge of including and empowering them and other marginalized groups is an awesome one. Given the 2030 Development Agenda, which has provided a sense of hope and direction despite its limitations, how can women in poverty, as well as other vulnerable

groups, take advantage of its existence and assumed implementation to realize their aspirations for a life of dignity and prosperity in a crises-ridden world?

One pathway being tried out in many places is Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE), part of a concerted effort to search for and apply in practice people- and planet-centered alternatives that are inclusive and sustainable. For women in particular, however, such alternatives must also address their most urgent issues and lead to their empowerment.

As defined by the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Social and Solidarity Economy, SSE "refers to the production of goods and services by a broad range of organizations and enterprises that have explicit social and often environmental objectives, and are guided by principles and practices of cooperation, solidarity, equity and democratic self-management" (UNTFSSE, 2014, p. 1). Social protection and equality are central to building this form of economy. As explained by a leading SSE proponent within the UN system, "The SSE movement that is growing worldwide is attempting to reassert social control over the economy by prioritizing social objectives above profit maximization, recognizing the key role of collective action and active citizenship for both economic and political empowerment of disadvantaged groups in society, and reintroducing notions of ethics, sharing, equity and democracy in economic activity" (Utting, 2015, p. 1).

As further described by a Filipino proponent, SSE has five important dimensions which may be used for assessing existing models: 1) socially responsible governance; 2) edifying values; 3) products and services for social development; 4) environmental conservation measures; and 5) economic sustainability (Quiñones, 2014).

But as borne out by evidence obtained from SSE organizations such as cooperatives, which will be presented later in this paper, these are not necessarily supportive of women's empowerment. This paper, therefore, aims to explore this dilemma by attempting to answer the following question: Do SSE initiatives documented in existing case studies within Asia, particularly in the Philippines and other ASEAN member countries, consciously pursue the SDG on gender equality as they aspire to realize other SDGs?

Its objectives include: 1) To examine the relationship between SSEs and the achievement of SDG no. 5 on gender equality in available

case studies from the region; 2) To surface gains and gaps in these initiatives by employing SDG and SSE evaluation criteria; and 3) To make recommendations for future action based on insights culled from the research.

SSE and SDG 5 on Gender Equality

According to SSE advocates, SSEs can be instrumental in achieving the 2030 Development Agenda by addressing many Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UNTFSSE, 2014). With respect to SDG no. 5, "Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls," SSE initiatives can be relevant to the following specific targets:

> 5.4. Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and family...
>
> 5.5. Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic, and public life.
>
> 5.6. Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land, other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws.

SSEs include "cooperatives, mutual and self-help groups, community-based organizations managing forests and other common pool resources, fair trade networks, associations of informal economy workers, and new forms of social enterprise" (Utting, 2015, p. 1). Many, if not most, members of SSEs are women. Many SSEs are led by women who have been empowered by organizing and capacity building processes common among SSEs. The pursuit of gender equality goals within SSEs thereby becomes stronger and more visible, inviting increased attention to the need to address the unequal gender division of labor. Within this context, a major finding is that women do much more unpaid care work than men, which prevents them from spending time and focusing effectively on their productive work in SSE initiatives (IDS, IDRC, Oxfam, 2016).

Aside from transforming the gender division of labor, the other strategic need of women which has to be addressed in an SSE context is for them to be empowered enough to participate meaningfully in both

economic and political decision-making. Initially, this can be at the enterprise, household, and community levels, but eventually, this can extend all the way to national, regional, and global levels.

The above assertions are supported by a recently conducted study on women in cooperatives by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA). The study showed that there had been progress in terms of increasing numbers of women-owned cooperatives and women's membership in cooperatives. However, according to respondents in this same study, women comprised less than 50% of the governing boards and of the management positions. Fifty percent of these respondents also claimed that there had never been any training or awareness-raising session on gender issues (Schincariol McMurtry & McMurtry, 2015, pp. 14-16). Thus, it seems that a lot of challenges still remain in the journey of cooperatives towards gender equality and women's empowerment.

Women's Enduring Issues: Unpaid Care Work and Informal Employment

Solidarity economy as a pathway to make change work for women acquires urgency given existing constraints to gender equality and women's empowerment.

UN Women has recently provided global data on the situation of women specific to particular SDGs. According to a document released in 2018, the proportion of women living in extreme poverty is higher than that of men: 122:100. More than 30% of income inequality is due to inequality within the household, particularly that between women and men. More women (11%) report suffering from food insecurity compared to men. Only 13% of agricultural landholders are women. There are 15 million girls who will not be able to read or write compared to ten million boys. During disasters, women and girls are 14 times more likely to die (UN Women, 2018, pp. 6-7).

Data on unpaid care work show that globally, women and girls, especially those in poverty, shoulder a disproportionate burden compared to men and boys. They spend 2.6 times more time on such work (UN Women, 2018, pp. 6-7). The gender division of labor has proven to be a well-entrenched and widely observable reality, with cultural norms dictating that women take on tasks necessary to maintain domestic life and keep

households running in the reproductive sphere. Men, on the other hand, play the role of breadwinner doing remunerated work in the productive sphere, and wield visible power in public life.

Because women are largely tied to the home, the value of their reproductive work is statistically invisible because it is generally not reflected in the National System of Accounts. Many of them are classified as "housewives" and considered not in the labor force, meaning that they are not considered economically active. Globally, 48 women out of 100 are in the labor force, compared to 75 out of 100 men (ILO, 2018: Table 1, p. 7). For many of those not in the labor force, the time they spend on doing unpaid care work leaves them no opportunity to engage in work that earns a clear and visible income. This phenomenon, called "time poverty," is more apparent among grassroots women in rural and urban poor areas, who have no access to basic utilities and social services, and who cannot afford hired help or labor-saving devices. Such deprivation can have harmful effects on health and even on life itself. According to global data released by UN Women, 80% of household water collection, which can be very time-consuming and back-breaking, is done by women and girls. Inefficient stoves using combustible fuel within households and resulting in harmful indoor pollution claimed 4.3 million lives in 2012, 60% of whom were those of women and girls (UN Women, 2018:6-7).

Grassroots women who are able to engage in productive work, despite their reproductive burden, are found mostly among the working poor in the informal economy in both urban and rural areas. Among their ranks are home-based workers and store owners, vendors, small farmers and fisher folk, unpaid or contributing family workers in household farms and micro-enterprises, waste recyclers, domestic and other service workers doing laundry, massage, hair and nail care, etc. They do work that are compatible with or akin to reproductive work, and since this work is considered secondary or supplemental to the productive work that men do, the pay is usually dismally low, working conditions are substandard, and social protection is lacking or completely absent.

Many women who are employed are in the bottom rungs of the formal economy. Their vulnerable and unprotected situation magnifies the issues emanating from their dual status as women and as workers deprived of rights and benefits enjoyed by men and by those who are in formal employment.

The scale of informal employment and non-realization of rights resulting from this has given rise to the global discourse on transitioning from the informal to the formal economy embodied in the 2014 report of the International Labour Conference. In the transitioning document, solidarity economy is identified as an important component of informal employment and as a strategy for facilitating formalization (ILO, 2014). In other words, it is seen as a pathway towards more and better work that is recognized and protected, that is productive yet sustainable, that pays more, that is more regular, that is more marketable, and can provide flexibility in meeting family responsibilities while maintaining work-life balance (Pineda Ofreneo, 2014).

Decades of discussion regarding the unequal gender division of labor have not made a sizeable reduction in the obviously intractable burden of unpaid care work for both housewives and women and the informal economy. This has led to an increasing resolve to systematically address the issue as articulated in SDG no. 5. The three Rs responding to unpaid care work—recognition, reduction, and redistribution—have captured the imagination of gender advocates in many countries. The care diamond, which places responsibilities not only on households, but also on the state, the market, and civil society organizations, provides a base for advocating change among all these actors.

But since gender equality is a human right, the state is considered to be the principal duty bearer, primarily accountable for respecting, protecting, and fulfilling this right. The state, therefore, is expected to recognize unpaid care work by including it in the National System of Accounts. It is tasked to provide basic utilities such as water and electricity to reduce unpaid care work devoted to fetching water and gathering fuel sources. It is mandated to extend accessible and affordable public and social services such as child and elderly care, health care, community kitchens, laundry stations, transportation facilities, education, decent housing, etc., that will also reduce the time spent by household members, especially women and girls, in taking care of the young, the old, and the sick, in preparing food and cleaning clothes, in marketing and taking/fetching children to and from school, etc. By taking on these obligations, the state will not only reduce unpaid care work but also help in redistributing it.

Redistribution may occur at the initiative not only of the state but of the various actors in the care diamond as well. At the household level, more men and boys can have a bigger and more equitable share of unpaid

care work. Women and girls can facilitate this change if they become more conscious of the need to transform the gender division of labor through awareness-raising done in school, through media, and women's movement advocacy. SSE initiatives of community-based groups and other civil society organizations can lead in similar awareness-raising activities to enable women to participate more actively in economic ventures as well as take on community leadership positions. Market-based production activities can have built-in child care mechanisms such as lactating stations for mothers and play stations for young children.

Case Studies of SSE Initiatives

Do existing SSE initiatives consciously pursue the SDG on gender equality as they aspire to realize other SDG goals as well as the five dimensions of social and solidarity economy?

Four case studies presented during the ASEAN SSE Dialogue held in Quezon City in November 2017 under the sponsorship of the Asian Solidarity Economy Council (ASEC) show mixed results illustrating both gains and gaps. Two of these case studies focus on the rural poor in agricultural communities: one on the Orang Asli indigenous people in Malaysia, and the other on Prayatna Samiti self-help groups in Rajastnan, India. The other two case studies are on the working poor in the informal economy: one on the Homenet Thailand Association, and the other on the PATAMABA in the Philippines, which the author updated through field interviews in March 2019.

These case studies were selected because they consciously employed SSE and SDG evaluation criteria, although only the first two (Orang Asli and Prayatna Samiti) may be considered pure SSE organizations. The other two (Homenet Thailand Association and PATAMABA Philippines) have larger advocacy concerns, programs, and services but have subgroups focusing on SSE initiatives and goals. Although these case studies were already analyzed in terms of SSE and SDG evaluation criteria, the relationships with the SDG of gender equality have not yet been traced, and the possibility of teasing this out from existing and updated data presented itself as a subject for further exploration. And in the Malaysian case study, how the additional factor of ethnicity in the Orang Asli group influenced both SSE and gender equality goals seemed to be an important concern that could be highlighted. Last but not least, the subjects of these case studies are found in developing countries in Asia, where the enduring issues of women (low labor force participation rate, employment mostly in

the informal economy, and disproportionate share of unpaid care work) are striking.

For example, in India, only 27 out of 100 women are in the labor force; in the Philippines, 50; in Malaysia, 51; and in Thailand, 60 (World Bank, 2018). A recent ILO report reveals that women do 4.1 times more unpaid care work than men in Asia and the Pacific; in India, in particular, women spend 297 minutes per day on unpaid care work, while men spend only a little over 10% of that time with just 31 minutes; and in Thailand, women spend 173 minutes compared to men's 56 minutes (not even one-third) (ILO, 2018). According to the Household Care Survey conducted in Mindanao with 410 respondents, women reported averaging 10.6 hours of care work a day, while men reported only 3.6 hours (Kidder, Mapandi, & Ortega, 2014, p. 508).

Regional data on South and East Asia show that around 60% of those who work in the non-agricultural sector are in informal employment, with the range being from 42% in Thailand to 84% in India (ILO, 2014, p. 12). The most recent ILO report reveals that on average, in the Asia-Pacific region, more than 58% of total employed are in the informal economy (ILO, 2018). In the Philippines, one credible source claims that more than 80% (33 million out of 40.7 million) of employed workers are informal (PIDS, 2018). More than 95% of women in South Asia, which includes India, are in informal employment.

Orang Asli organic vegetable farm in Malaysia

The Yayasan Kajian dan Pembangunan Masyarakat (YKPM, Malaysia) set up an organic vegetable farm in 2015 among the Orang Asli indigenous people. According to the author of the case study, "it is primarily designed to give hope in the face of helplessness…(as) current income and food sources are being destroyed by a diminishing forest and an imposed cash economy. The farm enterprise is designed to improve their incomes by three fold and to strengthen their leadership through a SSE community enterprise" (Kon, 2017, p. 1). The long-term aim is to provide inspiration to other Orang Asli groups and make them believe in their capacity to enhance and transform their livelihoods and communities.

The organizers found that it was taking more time to develop leaders "of vision, integrity, and discipline…who will inspire hope and motivate others to move forward" (Kon, 2017, p. 2). With respect to the SSE dimension of "socially responsible governance," they had to contend

with traditional cultural structures. Thus, although the collective farm is formally managed by a committee of four (two men and two women), it is "under a larger oversight of the traditional leadership of the village council" consisting entirely of men (Kon, 2017, p. 2).

The business model based on collective ownership of the farm and sharing of profits and benefits, was built on traditional values within the Orang Asli community. These seem to be consistent with the SSE dimension of "edifying values." The aim was for the farm to capture 60% of the retail price, and an additional 10% for the community chest. Aside from the value of sharing, other values which the model sought to develop in the daily work routine of the members include cooperation, accountability, integrity, and discipline. However, majority of the original members dropped out because they could not adjust to the group and to the routine.

With regard to the SSE dimension of "social development," there are gains for the members such as access to land and capital, the creation of jobs and a fair market, an increase in incomes, and acquisition of organic farming and management skills. Hunger is addressed when villagers gain access to second grade vegetables which they can take home and eat. The non-use of chemicals is consistent with the SSE dimension of "environmental conservation" but the "economic sustainability" dimension remains a challenge that has to be addressed through stronger partnership among the community leadership, fair markets, and civil society to upscale farm production, reduce dependence on subsidies, and build self-reliance.

Prayatna Samiti in India

A contrasting model is that of Prayatna Samiti, a voluntary organization founded in 1989 to facilitate the development of poor rural communities in Udaipur district of the Rajasthan state of India. The organization "believes in the collective strength of communities to achieve a just society, free of exploitative forces" and promotes "self-empowerment… among marginal farmers and rural labourers by developing institutional structures, management capacity, and leadership abilities" (Prayatna Samiti, 2017: 1). It works in 120 villages with more than 50,000 people who have very little formal education.

Prayatna Samiti has focused on engaging women directly in development work, considering their participation crucial to livelihood

improvement. There are 220 self-help groups (SHGs) aiming to empower women and reap collective economic gains recognized by the larger society. Girls' education and enrollment in schools are promoted and facilitated. Women's community leadership roles are continually honed through capacity building. Campaigns against gender-based violence have been mounted.

The SHGs comprise the basic form of SSE aimed at developing sustainable livelihood and community resilience. A revolving fund accessed through "intraloaning" among the SHGs enables women members to acquire inputs and assets such as land, seeds, cows, goats, animal shelters, etc. Seventy-five social enterprises managed by local people have emerged from SHG lending; other economic activities have increased household capital. Small loans have been used for developing nurseries, vegetable gardens, crop seed production, dairy and goat-raising, while large ones have gone to building groceries and purchasing transportation facilities. Business development training has accompanied lending mechanisms.

Prayatna Samiti has also considered women's participation as crucial in pursuing SDG no. 2 on ending hunger, achieving food security, improving nutrition, and promoting sustainable agriculture. Women are in charge of raising minor millets to improve calorie and protein intake, and increase community food consumption especially among women and girls. They have created grain banks and nutrition gardens following good agricultural practices.

The pursuit of other SDGs through Prayatna Samiti activities contribute indirectly to gender equality. The revival and development of wells, and the availability of potable water in or near households not only address SDG no. 6 on clean water and sanitation but also have the effect of reducing unpaid care work of women and girls in fetching water. Similarly, the use of more efficient and environmentally-friendly stoves not only leads to the mitigation of climate change (SDG no. 13); it also makes cooking healthier, faster, and cheaper, thereby facilitating women's work and contributing to achieving SDG no. 7 on clean and affordable energy. Self-help groups have been capacitated and mobilized in a participatory way to identify risks and to engage in climate change adaptation through livelihood practices such as procuring stronger seeds, better breed of goats, improved animal shelter, land leveling, and mixed cropping, among others.

Using the SSE dimensions in assessing Prayatna Samiti, it is clearly striving to achieve SSE status, seeing it as the key to sustainability

and resilience. The organization's structures encourage participation and comply with the requisites of the SSE dimension of socially responsible governance, while its principles are consistent with the SSE dimension of edifying values. Achievements in social development are palpable, and the climate change mitigation and adaptation activities are consistent with the SSE dimension of environmental conservation. The SHGs and the social enterprises that have emerged from them provide a viable pathway towards the SSE dimension of economic sustainability.

Homenet Thailand Association

This association is a membership-based organization of home-based workers from northern, northeastern, southern, and central regions of Thailand, including Bangkok. It consists of women producer groups engaged in food, handicraft, and agricultural production. These groups cater to local, city, or foreign markets, depending on the scale of their operations. They are now challenged by stiff competition from cheaper products, which has led to uncertain income and livelihood. In response, they plan to form a social enterprise with support from the Rockefeller Foundation so they can network among themselves, develop their products, and improve their marketing. This plan is based on an SSE framework which includes members' ownership and participation, adherence to fair trade principles, employment of vulnerable groups (women workers, persons with disability, older persons), facilitating access to social protection, and production of healthy, safe, and environmentally friendly food and other products.

Homenet Thailand claims that it promotes socially responsible and social mission-oriented governance not only in the association of home-based workers but also in the Garments and Leatherwear Producers Cooperative, and the network of domestic workers (foreign and Thai) it helped organize. This is also in accordance with SDG no. 16 on building strong institutions. Homenet Thailand also brings to life edifying values such as solidarity with and assistance to vulnerable groups, while also pursuing SDG no. 1 on ending poverty.

Homenet Thailand's services that enhance social development include marketing products based on fair trade principles, employment of vulnerable groups, facilitating access to social welfare schemes, conducting workshops on occupational safety and health, as well as successful campaigns for health care for foreign domestic workers, and extending social security to informal workers. This is also in pursuit of SDG no. 3 on

health and well-being, and SDG no. 10 on reducing inequalities. Regarding environmental conservation, Homenet Thailand is proud of its promotion of healthy organic food, support for women farmers to produce organic rice, and use of natural dyes in woven material. Economic sustainability is still a challenge but in developing this SSE dimension, Homenet Thailand is also pursuing SDG no. 8 on decent work and SDG no. 15 on building the capacity of local communities to pursue sustainable livelihood opportunities.

There is no mention of gender equality and women's empowerment in the Homenet Thailand case study but the concern for women workers is made visible in the practical sphere of organizing where they are the most numerous and hold leadership positions.

PATAMABA (National Network of Informal Workers in the Philippines)

In the Philippines, a women-organized national network of informal workers called PATAMABA has 20,000 plus members spread over eight regions and 34 provinces.

Although PATAMABA has many other examples of SSE initiatives, this particular case study focuses on PATAMABA found in two coastal barangays highly susceptible to flooding, namely, San Vicente and Kalayaan, as well as in the upland barangay of Mahabang Parang, an agricultural area. The Kalayaan sub-chapter was established in 1992; San Vicente followed in 1995, and in 2015, the Mahabang Parang sub-chapter was organized as a result of the Child Labor Program that PATAMABA implemented with the support of the Department of Labor and Employment. In the early '90s, majority of the women members were involved as subcontracted homeworkers in smocking and embroidery for the export market. Eventually, when demand for smocking declined and now is almost exclusively catering to the domestic market, other livelihood activities were explored.

The PATAMABA Rizal governance and advocacy framework has the following components: social security and insurance, protection of/at workplaces and social justice, human development, asset reform (particularly on land and housing), participation and recognition of informal workers, employment and enterprise building (SHAPE). Recurrent and worsening experiences of flooding have also pushed PATAMABA members to address their vulnerability through disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM) training and practice.

PATAMABA Rizal also highlights gender concerns in its work, holding workshops on gender and development (GAD), conducting para-legal training concerning violence against women and children (VAWC), and coming to the aid of VAWC survivors. A good example is that of a PATAMABA member who was once a battered woman but who later was able to send her husband to prison. Since she acquired new livelihood skills, she was able to support her family. She also learned about the anti-VAWC law through the organization. A recent group interview conducted with PATAMABA leaders revealed plans of the municipality to reserve space for a Women's Crisis Center as well as a child care facility in a common building which is also used for production by the various clusters (Parilla, Nacario, Torres, Amano, & Aquino, 2019). This initiative is the result of advocacy by the GAD Focal Point, where a PATAMABA leader sits.

PATAMABA members also became leaders in a social housing program in Angono. The 216-strong PATAMABA Housing Association now enjoys a stable and accessible supply of water and electricity from service providers. They have worked to achieve this vast improvement since the time when water was being rationed and electricity had to be bought through sub-meters. They have also promoted the development of urban gardens for food security in the area.

Angono producers are organized under the PATAMABA-WISE (Workers in the Informal Sector Enterprise) which is the economic arm of PATAMABA Rizal. It was registered with the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) and the municipal government of Angono. It began with 29 members contributing Php200 each in 2009, and since then has expanded to 238 (overwhelmingly women, with less than 10 men).

Angono, being one of the 1,233 poorest municipalities in the Philippines, was covered by the Bottom Up Budgeting (BUB) program. The Angono BUB is spearheaded by the Local Poverty Reduction Action Team (LPRAT) composed of 28 members (14 from government and 14 civil society organizations or CSOs) chaired by the Mayor and co-chaired by Josephine "Olive" Parilla of PATAMABA WISE. LPRAT is mandated to facilitate the drafting, finalization, and approval of the Local Poverty Reduction Action Plan (LPRAP) of the municipality primarily identified by the CSOs .

The BUB has its own project management team under the Local Poverty Reduction Action Office (LPRAO) which handles the day-to-day operations of the livelihood projects. There are production clusters (on

rag making, doormat making, sewing curtains and bed linens, homecare products, accessories, box and picture-frame making made of water lily and recycled Ilocano cloth) mostly headed by PATAMABA WISE leaders who are compensated by the municipality with a small monthly allowance amounting to Php2,000. The cluster heads supplement this allowance by also engaging in production paid through piece rates agreed upon collectively. The main buyers are the employees of the municipality and nearby communities, but some of the products are also bought through the Homenet Producers Cooperative and DTI (Department of Trade and Industry)-facilitated bazaars and mall displays.

PATAMABA's participation in local governance facilitates access to state funding, resources, and support services. It helps that the Angono Municipality, which has won the Seal of Good Local Governance for three consecutive years, is committed to the BUB project process under its Local Economy Program even after the exit of the Aquino government and BUB's renaming into Assistance to Disadvantaged Municipalities (ADM) and now to just Assistance to Municipalities (AM). However, with the recently concluded elections, continuity is dependent on whether or not the winner of the mayoralty race will be just as supportive. Nevertheless, PATAMABA WISE is confident their production clusters can survive with or without government support, since many of these clusters had been in existence even before the BUB project started (Parilla, Nacario, Torres, Amano, & Aquino, 2019).

PATAMABA also has had a good experience relating with the private sector. For example, PATAMABA WISE forged an agreement with Lafarge Holcim cement factory to use the latter's waste materials to produce higantitos souvenirs which the Angono municipality used as giveaways to guests. Production, however, has stopped pending payment of receivables from the Municipality (Parilla, Nacario, Torres, Amano, & Aquino, 2019).

Relations with the academe have developed through the years. For example, the Department of Women and Development Studies of the University of the Philippines College of Social Work and Community Development (UP CSWCD) has fielded practicum students in the area since the early 2000s, with partnerships forged in gender awareness training and GAD planning, organizational development, implementation of the anti-VAWC law, sexuality education for youth and older persons, feminist leadership, and social marketing. The Ateneo de Manila University engagement with PATAMABA Angono began with DRRM training, and is now moving on to youth-focused skills training in livelihood development,

starting with the production of decorative boxes.

PATAMABA is a membership-based organization adhering to democratic principles. As explained in the case study, "it employs participatory governance in the management and operation of livelihood projects. The members own and govern their business because they are not mere members of the organization, but they are also the investors who are themselves involved in the production, marketing and management of their business" (Royandoyan, 2017:5). Opportunities for members to develop themselves are implied in the statement of its President, Josephine Parilla: "In participatory leadership, I want everyone to shine, not just the leader" (Royandoyan, 2017, p. 6).

What holds the organization together is not the experience of increased incomes, which at best remains supplementary but a sense of solidarity and belongingness which are the values the members hold dear. Members know that they can rely on each other for mutual aid during critical times. They also put to life the traditional Filipino value of *tangkilikan*, which is important for SSE success. Parilla explains *tangkilikan* in this manner: "We produce, we sell and buy our own products. In return we provide our members the opportunity to earn. The more the members sell and buy, the more they earn" (Royandoyan, 2017, p. 6).

PATAMABA has contributed a lot to social development by ensuring that their products first of all address community needs. It provides fair compensation, encouraging incentives for product patronage, and flexible working conditions to women who also have to contend with child care and other family responsibilities. When they were working together in a common production center, producers made sure that space was reserved for children to play in. Surplus is plowed back to the members in the form of mutual aid and educational funds. Members benefit from awareness-raising on gender sensitivity and GAD, the Magna Carta of Women, the Reproductive Health law, the Kasambahay law, Exclusive and Continued Breastfeeding (ECBF), among others. Some have also undergone certificate courses on dressmaking, welding, and solar energy provision through cooperation with the Technical and Skills Development Authority (TESDA). These courses opened up better employment opportunities for the certificate holders through the PESO (Public Employment Office) and CTLO (Community Training and Livelihood Office) of the Municipality of Angono.

PATAMABA's production processes also exhibit a concern for the environment. Home care products are biodegradable. Findings of the

Bureau of Product Standards of the Department of Trade and Industry show that WISE powdered laundry detergent soap and liquid dishwashing soap have no hazardous chemical content. These are high-quality, community-based products. BUB home care products are made of coconut and sodium sulfate, and are safe for watering plants. Rags and doormats use recycled waste materials from nearby factories, and picture frames are made of water lily from the lake.

PATAMABA leaders, however, admit that they still have a long way to go before they achieve economic sustainability. They still rely on grants, and need to move towards self-reliance and better marketing through product development and wider networking. They have had productive relations with national agencies, local government units, women's organizations, and academic institutions such as the Ateneo de Manila University and the UP CSWCD. Over time, and with the support of allies, they hope to truly achieve full SSE status.

Insights from the Case Studies

The four case studies have contrasting features which bring out the strengths and weaknesses of these organizations, as well as their possibilities and limitations in terms of developing the five dimensions of SSEs, and pursuing various SDGs, particularly SDG no. 5 on gender equality and women's empowerment.

The first case study on the Orang Asli organic farm in Malaysia shows at the micro-level how gender, resource status, and ethnicity intersect to influence results. The farm has the potential of exemplifying a model which can provide sustainable livelihood as well as inspire hope in an indigenous community undergoing a challenging, if not painful transition. The model is project-based and emanates from an external NGO which is trying to build a strong governance structure anchored on traditional community leadership. The project claims success in building unity through good governance mechanisms in the farm management committee and strengthening the village council leadership, which however remains all male. An unresolved issue, therefore, in terms of gender equality is women's inclusion in the community leadership. How this can be addressed is still an unanswered question.

Although the project has had concrete gains since its founding in 2015, in terms of increasing income, developing fair trade mechanisms, and networking with supporting institutions, it still has to be completely

owned by the community and build a core of farm worker leaders with management and leadership capabilities to steer it towards self-reliance. For the group, SSE is not yet a reality but an aspiration partially fulfilled. Gender equality and women's empowerment within the indigenous community are not yet consciously pursued.

The second case study on Prayatna Samiti in rural India has had more than a quarter century of experience and has focused on empowering women through self-help groups (SHGs) and social enterprises born from these SHGs. Women's gains are concrete in terms of increased incomes, more and healthier food, access to water, efficient and environmentally friendly cooking stoves, accumulation of assets and household capital, and participation in planning and implementation of programs. Education of girls as well as gender-based violence are concerns that are also addressed. Prayatna Samiti has moved ahead in terms of the five dimensions of SSEs and the pursuit of the SDG on gender equality and other related SDGs. Unpaid care work is assumed to have been reduced through access to water and better stoves. However, redistribution of this kind of work through a fairer gender division of labor within the household remains a question for further research.

Homenet Thailand, which was founded in the early '90s, believes in the primacy of democratic and membership-based organizations. These include informal workers and other vulnerable groups as the key actors ready to work with other stakeholders in the community. Homenet is an SSE proponent, organizing producer groups, cooperatives, and social enterprises. It operates within the framework of providing informal workers legal and social protection based on decent work principles and ILO-recommended strategies towards transitioning from informality to formality. Its current concerns are ensuring product quality and development, sustained networking for marketing, SSE promotion and advocacy. In this endeavor, it aims to improve, expand, develop, upgrade, and upscale its current SSE initiatives while plowing back greater benefits to people and the environment. It is ready to advocate for policy reforms and state support, and converge with potential allies to ensure sustainability and resilience.

Although most of Homenet's members are women, being mostly home-based and domestic workers, gender equality is not clearly articulated as a goal, although in practice it may indirectly be partially addressed. The gender division of labor and the resultant unpaid care work of women and girls are not yet problematized as significant barriers to the empowerment

of workers in the informal economy, many of whom are women.

PATAMABA is a well-established people's organization founded in 1989, run and managed by home-based and other informal worker leaders. Although it shares Homenet Thailand's concerns with regard to the realization of decent work for workers in the informal economy, it is also engaged in promoting women's economic, social, political, and reproductive rights, as well as in preventing and addressing gender-based violence. Accessing water and electricity in the social housing program led by PATAMABA has the effect of reducing unpaid care work. Gender awareness sessions have also borne fruit, albeit slowly. An estimated 30% of men in member households are said to be already engaging in child care and domestic work (Parilla, Nacario, Torres, Amano, & Aquino, 2019).

The experience of PATAMABA WISE in cluster-based production with local government support can serve as a model of SSE initiatives using a multi-stakeholder approach. Aside from adhering to the principles of a democratic, transparent, and inclusive membership-based organization in the tradition of socially responsible and mission-oriented governance, it also believes in sharing responsibilities with other stakeholders, and accessing resources from the state, the private sector, the academe, and CSOs.

Aside from addressing the primary economic needs of the community, PATAMABA engages in recycling, environmental safety and conservation measures connected to disaster risk reduction and management, and climate change adaptation. Through awareness-raising and capability building activities, it instills edifying values such as solidarity, *damayan* (mutual aid), and *tangkilikan* (supporting each other's products). Production and community-based activities of PATAMABA have given visibility and prominence to its women members who have stepped up to the challenge as empowered leaders whose private and public lives increasingly show manifestations of gender equality.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Although there are clear gains, there are also gaps which need to be addressed, as the four case studies show. When women and girls are specifically named and targeted for organizing, awareness raising and capability building, strong empowerment results, impacts, and outcomes ensue. These empowering processes have to be inclusive and sensitive to many intersecting as well as differentiating factors aside from gender, among them poverty, informality, ethnicity, age, educational attainment, disability,

and citizenship (in the case of migrants).

Even so, more attention needs to be paid to the intractable issue of unpaid care work, and an unfair gender division of labor which saddles women and girls with multiple burdens and prevents them from fruitfully engaging in productive work, participating in community activities, and taking on leadership roles in local governance and beyond. SSEs can offer women more and better jobs approaching decent work standards but they can do more in terms of recognizing, reducing, and redistributing unpaid care work in a consistent and systematic fashion.

SSEs can advocate for "better provision of essential services, including care services; more investment in time-labor saving equipment and infrastructure services; more investment in initiatives to shift perceptions, norms, and gender roles about care" (IDS, IDRC, & Oxfam, 2016, p. 4). Many case studies around the globe show that these policies and practices are effective in laying down the requisites for the economic empowerment of women and girls.

On the whole, and as pointed out in a dissertation employing case studies focused on gender and solidarity economy in the Philippines, women and men must be able to share power and decision-making not only in SSE organizations but also in the household and the larger community, including in local government and beyond (Verceles, 2014, pp. 53-65). Coming from a disadvantaged position, women through SSEs must gain greater access to and control over resources as well as legal and social protection, and have greater visibility and voice not only as members but also as leaders.

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Grassroots intermediaries in urban informal trading: Brokering for development or stifling dissent?

Redento B. Recio, Ph.D.

In many Global South cities, informal hawkers occupy public spaces to earn a living. They often face eviction, resulting in uncertain income and insecure access to workplaces. Inevitably, many vendors nurture a clientelist link with political brokers to cope with their precarious street life. In some cases, vendor groups engage with state agencies to resist eviction and push for social inclusionary policies. While the informal vending literature has examined the strategies and outcomes of various state-vendor relationships, there has been scant scholarly account on the role of intermediaries in the engagement channels. In this paper, I ask: How do grassroots intermediaries facilitate and sustain engagement channels between street vendors and state actors? What role/s do they play in the engagement practices? I draw on the experience of Baclaran hawkers to demonstrate how grassroots intermediaries perform four functions: a) conduit to power structures; b) instrument of control; c) facilitator of social dialogues; and d) channel for policy advocacy. I argue that these critical roles reinforce grassroots democratic entanglements where collective action practices contain progressive and regressive democratic elements as well as conflicting motives or routines in a context of acute inequality and informality.

Key Words: urban informal economy, Baclaran hawkers, grassroots intermediaries, grassroots democratic entanglements, urban citizenship

Introduction

About 2.5 billion people, or half of the global labor force, work in the informal economy (ILO, 2017). In developing Asian countries, over 50% of the urban labor force is informal (Vanek et al., 2014). Within the urban informal employment, street vending is seen as the most visible livelihood. Yet, there are no accurate statistics on the volume of street vendors. Informal trading activities are not included in official planning documents; they are "off the map." This invisibility largely stems from state rules that consider street vending illegal.

Amid the harsh policies, vendors occupy public spaces to earn a living. They often face eviction, resulting in precarious income and insecure

access to workplaces. State officials, who associate vending with filth and congestion, prefer relocating hawkers to regulated market spaces away from busy locations. When the eviction-relocation approach fails, the state-vendor relationship is characterized by conflict or constant negotiation. As a result, many vendors nurture a clientelist link with political brokers, which entrenches their uncertain situation.

In some cases, street hawkers collectively undertake activities that promote their welfare. In India, Indonesia, and the Philippines, for instance, vendor coalitions and allied groups engage with state agencies to stop eviction, gain legal recognition, and push for social inclusionary policies. While the outcomes from these engagements have been diverse due to a number of issues (e.g., organizational capacity, divisive politics), the collective efforts indicate how street vendors demand legitimacy for their livelihood.

While the informal vending literature has examined the strategies and outcomes resulting from various state-vendor engagement practices, there has been limited focus on the role of grassroots intermediaries in the engagement channels. In this paper, I ask: How do grassroots intermediaries facilitate and sustain engagement channels between informal vendors and state actors? What roles do they play in the engagement practices? I draw on the experience of Baclaran hawkers to demonstrate the key functions that grassroots intermediaries play as local brokers. Four roles emerge as critical: a) conduits to power structures; b) instruments of control; c) facilitators of social dialogue; and d) channels for policy advocacy. As I will show later, there are strengths and constraints embedded in these roles, illustrating how brokering contributes to what I call "grassroots democratic entanglements." In what follows, I situate the intermediaries in the literature and explain the notion of grassroots democratic entanglements.

Revisiting grassroots intermediaries

Throughout Philippine history, various organizations develop out of volunteerism to confront state power, oppose policies, and propose actions on different issues. These organizations that intersect with the state domain without being part of its apparatus are commonly referred to as civil society organizations or CSOs (Constantino-David, 1997). CSOs are vital to democratization as they enable and widen citizen participation, protect citizens from the abuse of state power, and help guarantee state political accountability (Krut, 1997). CSOs are viewed as independent non-governmental and non-profit groups that interact with the state and

business sector. These groups are categorized into socio-civic organizations, professional associations, cause- oriented movements, people's organizations (POs), and non-government organizations (NGOs).

NGOs are defined as intermediary groups between the people and the state, speaking for or on behalf of the poor and disadvantaged without being from among them (Cariño, 2002). By contrast, POs come from various sectors including the poor and disadvantaged (Cariño, 2002). POs are membership-based organizations formed on a voluntary basis, functioning as community-driven and/or issue-oriented grassroots groups (Tuaño, 2011). They have identifiable leadership, membership, and structure with the capacity to promote the public interest. Some POs may partner with NGOs, but they remain autonomous from such partner organizations (Abao, 2011). Street vendor groups can be considered POs as they collectively address their needs and demand recognition.

The informality literature has noted how street vendor organizations deal with state agencies. In Mexico City, the vendors' encounter with the government's *Departamento del Distrito Federal* paints a relatively good picture of informal associations. One hawkers' organization acts as a negotiator and a manager of social assets (Peña, 1999). The Johannesburg case (South Africa), however, unmasks the undemocratic and rent-seeking side of informal groups. In this city, accountability issues hound vendor groups that seem to wield substantial power on who is able to trade in the city's strategic locations. The group determines the rental which "favors more affluent traders, who might also be more organized, at the expense of those who are poorer and less organized" (Hlela, 2003, p. 2). In Bogota (Colombia), the government's engagement with vendors is tokenistic. Vendors' involvement in state negotiation is valued not for its potential to arrive at better policy outcomes, but for its educational quality, participatory nature, and the legitimacy it lent the government (Hunt, 2009).

In addition, Tucker (2016) has chronicled the role of political intermediaries known as punteros in the Paraguayan border economy. In India, Routray (2014) has documented how the intermediaries, locally called pradhans, simultaneously embrace solidarity, patronage, and exploitation of the urban poor. In the Philippines, my previous studies (Recio, 2010; 2014; 2015) have shown how some NGOs act as intermediaries in advancing the rights of street vendors. Intermediaries serve as conduits between marginalized groups and the more powerful actors like state officials. They often link local struggles with the broader socio-political milieu (Kritsanaphan & Sajor, 2011) and enhance the urban poor's social capital

(Routray, 2014). They can include academics, politicians, journalists, and NGOs (Evans, 2002; Lee, 1998). In this paper, intermediaries are confined to those who connect Baclaran vendors to power structures and governance processes. These grassroots intermediaries consist of local political leaders and vendor organizers. I will present later how these intermediaries undermine and/or introduce change in Baclaran's unequal socio-spatial relations.

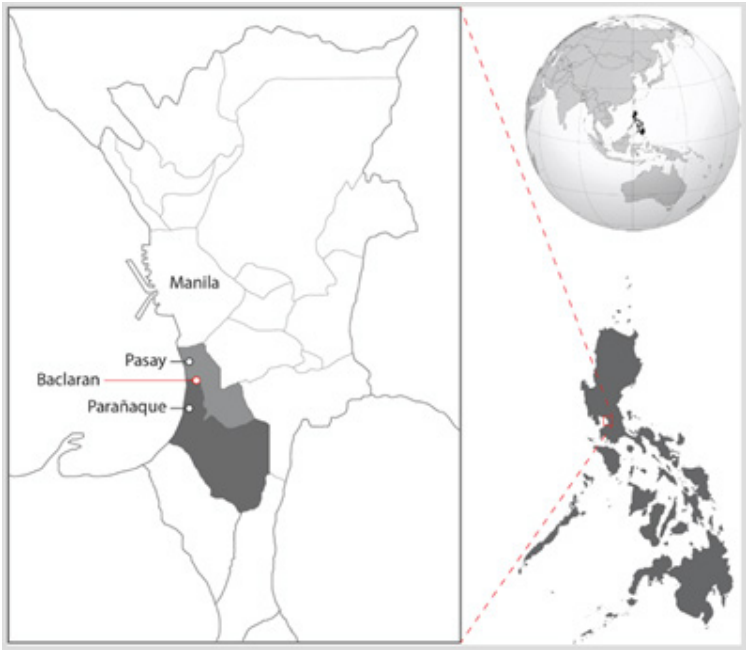
I view local intermediaries as key actors in what I have called "grassroots democratic entanglements" (Recio, 2018), which possess progressive and regressive democratic elements as well as conflicting motives or routines in a context of entrenched inequality and informality. Grassroots democratic entanglements are grounded in two strands of scholarly literature. One is the literature on grassroots agency in which a running thread underscores the contingent and context-specific nature of grassroots initiatives. This argument resonates with Chatterjee's (2004) politics of the governed, Honwana's (2008) strategic and tactical agencies, Kerkvliet's (2009) everyday politics, Musoni's (2010) adaptive resistance, and Bayat's (2013) non-movement of the dispossessed. The other stream of thought stems from Quimpo's (2005) contested democracy and Caldeira and Holston's (1999) disjunctive democracy. While Quimpo has emphasized the importance of grassroots struggle in Philippine history, Caldeira and Holston have pointed out how actually-existing democracies in the Global South are diverse, uneven, and contain contradictory elements. Thus, examining grassroots democratic entanglements entails looking at how grassroots actions might constitute resistance and coping strategies while being attentive to factors that impede transformative collective action in a democratic context. In the empirical discussion, I will illustrate how the roles and routines of local intermediaries are embedded in grassroots democratic entanglements. In the next section, I present the case study area and research methodology.

Studying Baclaran street vending

The findings in this paper are part of a qualitative research that interrogates urban governance and informality issues in the Baclaran vending district. I employed the case study as a research strategy to investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin, 1994). It has allowed me to understand complex social phenomena and explain what has transpired and how it occurred (Duminy et al., 2014). While the case study has received criticism on its supposed inability to produce scientific generalization, it is generalizable to theoretical

propositions and not to populations or universes (Yin, 2014). A case study does not represent a sampling unit and the researcher's goal is to shed light on some theoretical concepts/principles or analytic generalization (Yin, 2014). In this paper, analytic generalization pertains to empirical themes on the roles of grassroots intermediaries in Baclaran's informal trading.

Baclaran district (see Figure 2) refers to the area occupied by informal hawkers, encompassing one barangay[1] in Parañaque (Barangay Baclaran) and five barangays in Pasay (Barangays 77, 78, 79, 145, and 146). The 2015 Philippine census reveals that 38,306 residents live in these six barangays.



Source: Author
Figure 1 – Baclaran borders Pasay and Parañaque Cities in Metro Manila

Studying "informal" livelihoods is fraught with empirical ambiguities that elude neat conceptual categorizations and methodological approaches. Even the ways of collecting data involve ethical considerations as some street vendors thrive on learned habits that evade the state's watchful gaze. Although this poses challenges to urban scholars—who want to lend voice to marginalized groups—academic work can still be a vital tool for

[1]Barangay is the smallest political administrative unit in the Philippines with elected executive and legislative officials.

articulating issues that are often muted in the government's cost-benefit calculations. Given these considerations, I used multiple data gathering methods to examine the views and experiences of those involved in urban informality: document review, in-depth interviews (55 respondents), focus groups discussions (20 participants), life-history accounts (7 vendors), and repeated site observations (between February 2015 and February 2017).

Interview respondents—chosen through purposive, quota, and snowball approaches—included: a) national and local government officials, b) members and leaders of organized vendors, and c) unorganized vendors. Three FGDs took place involving vendors who were not part of the interviews. FGD participants, identified through the snowball approach, comprised the following: a) members and leaders of vendor groups; b) unorganized vendors with varied religious affiliations; and c) unorganized Muslim vendors. Lastly, life-history entailed chronicling the narratives of seven vendors—five women and two men, with different backgrounds and who became part of the conducted interviews. I used the Nvivo software in coding and analyzing key themes from written materials, transcripts, and field notes. In what follows, I examine some empirical threads on how grassroots intermediaries broker socio-spatial ties between vendors and state authorities.

Baclaran street vendors

> *If you don't allow street vendors to sell, it is tantamount to killing them. They sell to earn a living; their family members depend on vending. They get their food from vending.* (Myra[2] , a stallholder)

The statement above captures the precarious claim of many urban poor on the right to livelihood. It is a common sentiment among Baclaran vendors. Informal vendors began occupying Baclaran streets in the 1950s, and their number started rising in the 1980s. At that time, hawkers were using carts, *bilao* (a round native woven container), and small pieces of cloth to display their wares. They were on the roads near the Baclaran Church. Julie, an old vendor leader, shared how hawkers have multiplied over time, "It's because we were allowed by the mayor, the Mayor of Pasay… It seemed related to politics."

Different estimates on the current number of Baclaran vendors abound. Local officials say there are 1,000 to 3,000. Vendor leaders peg it

[2]All the names that appear in this paper are pseudonyms I have used to protect the research participants' identity.

at 1,500 to 2,000. My own repeated calculations using a digital tally counter reveal over 1,500 semi-fixed stalls and ambulant hawkers during ordinary days and almost 4,000 on peak days (Wednesday, Saturday, Sunday) and during Bermonths[3] (September-December).

Vendors put up semi-fixed kiosks (see Figure 2) or roam around four Baclaran road networks: Taft Avenue Extension, Harrison-Quirino Avenue, Redemptorist Road, and Roxas Boulevard Service Road. They sell clothes, shoes, housewares, toys, gadgets, street-food, fresh fruits and vegetables, among others (see Figure 3). As vendors occupy streets, they generate an urban environment that makes people think they are a homogenous group with common needs. Yet, as what has been observed in other contexts (Etemadi, 2004; Bhowmik, 2005; Recio, 2010), Baclaran vendors are heterogeneous with diverse interests, issues, and relations.

Figure 2: Vendors with semi-fixed stalls in front of shopping malls

In terms of mobility, two types of vendors occupy the Baclaran spaces. The first consists of ambulant vendors who use *bilao,* carts, steel panels, and plastic bags (see Figure 4), which they easily pack up when there is eviction. Dubbed as *"haging"* or "sniper," some of these unorganized vendors are mobile; others occupy certain "territories" they have marked off using electric posts, building facades, and street lines.

[3]On ordinary days, vendors earn between PhP 100.00 (US $2.17) and PhP 500.00 (US $10.9). On peak days, they earn over PhP 500.00 (US $10.9) a day; a few of them even take home around PhP 3,000.00 (US $65.22).

Figure 3: Baclaran street products

Figure 4: Ambulant hawkers in Baclaran

Figure 5: Vendors under the LRT1 rail track

A second group comprises hawkers who have semi-fixed stalls[4]. They can be considered organized in that they have leaders who coordinate with local state officials. Equipped with informally-granted permits from the local governments, many of their kiosks (see Figure 5) have been informally-built while some were installed as part of a local government's livelihood programs. In some areas, the presence of semi-fixed stalls has left only about a two-meter-wide space for the pedestrians and slow-moving vehicles. The congested space is under the LRT Baclaran station.

Mobility is also linked to security of vending spaces. The itinerant hawkers are less secure than those with temporary kiosks who have political ties. No less than the city mayor is their key ally. As Jason, a local government staff, narrated: "If there's a vendor who is a relative of a Barangay official, that official will go to the Mayor. Then, the Mayor will instruct us to allow [the vendor/s]. We cannot do anything. It's the instruction of the Mayor." This statement illustrates how vendors occupy Baclaran streets and nurture tenuous ties with local government officials. Two grassroots players help vendors grapple with Baclaran's precarious environment. They are examined in the following section.

Baclaran's grassroots intermediaries: Brokering amid informality

While street vendors often operate in political society (Chatterjee, 2004), an engagement space mostly created by those on the margins of power, some of them use the available spaces within formal governance structures. Others transcend the limits of legal norms and embrace "informal" relations that enable them to earn a living. These formal and informal channels are sustained by grassroots intermediaries: the local political leaders and the vendor organizers. What follows presents how these intermediaries operate in Baclaran.

Local political leaders

In Baclaran, local political leaders or operators are usually part of the electoral machinery of local government officials or politicians vying for state positions. They sometimes occupy appointive positions in the city or barangay bureaucracy. Some act as Barangay Intelligence Officer (BIO) and Barangay Intelligence Support (BIS)[5] volunteers who gather information

[4]A vendor typically owns one stall. The exceptions to this are the leaders and old vendors who have occupied the streets since the 1980s and acquired more than one stall over the years.

[5]BIO and BIS volunteers are informally mobilized as part of an ad hoc electoral machinery of incumbent local state officials and/or politicians. They operate during the 45-day local campaign period until the election day.

on the electoral support of politicians in barangays. They help strengthen the latter's political base during election season. In exchange, some BIS ask their political patrons to allow some people they endorse to sell on the streets. Jenny, a vendor and a BIS, admitted that she can also facilitate the release of confiscated products after an eviction. "If someone's products got confiscated, we can get them back. They [vendors] just need to approach a BIO who is part of our network."

Local official, Jason, acknowledged the presence of this informal channel and linked it to the rising number of Muslim vendors.

> *Some of them [Muslim vendors] got involved in politics. [They have become] barangay leaders, political leaders of the Mayor… So, that's the problem… they use the political leverage. We are trying to be non-partisan in the [Anti-vending Ordinance] implementation. But some people within the city hall tell us we should be less strict with the vendors since they are also our voters.*

Jess, a political leader for local politicians, confirmed this arrangement.

> *We got in touch with leaders of Muslim residents who got evicted from their settlements. We helped them register as barangay residents in Pasay. This assistance forged a relationship between political operators and Muslim leaders who have later on capitalized on their growing number as an electoral leverage with politicians vying for government positions.*

Armed with this political influence, the Muslim leaders have gained concessions from local officials such as an access to vending spaces for Muslim residents. The same strategy has occurred in Parañaque. As city official, Krisha, explained, "Since many vendors have been there for a long time, they got [their voter's] registration there. Their purpose is to have a link to the barangay, to the city [government]."

Lastly, there have been instances when political leaders link up with vendors to undermine the latter's collective initiatives. As vendor organizer, Leo, shared,

> *We were coordinating with the [Parañaque] Mayor [for vendors' social protection programs]. But they [political operators] were doing something else, [an] underground [move], involving other vendors. But their leaders were not vendors, they were political operators. They slowly disbanded [the vendors'] federation. They would say there will be clearing operation.*

> *During the clearing [operation], the political operator would intervene. [S/he would say], "These [vendors] are [our] political allies. Do not disturb their area." The vendors witnessed that and [they thought] these [political operators] have power. Some vendors began to cling [to the operators].*

Belinda, a vendor organizer, also recalled how local government officials undermined vendors' organizing efforts.

> *They [local government] did a divide-and-rule strategy. [In Baclaran], they appointed new leaders to be able to control the vending spaces. If you're an ordinary member, you would simply follow even if it's difficult. You must obey otherwise you would not have an income… One leader was asserting her leadership. She was still the president, but they could not come up with decisions. The local government was disrupting the organizational process.*

Hector, an academic who has worked with vendor groups, offered an explanation on this political move.

> *It occurs because there are parties who want to maintain the situation… [T]he government is the main player who does that… Why? Isn't that a divide-and-rule [strategy]? They know that once the urban poor gets organized, they [erring state officials] will fall; so, their strategy is to disrupt the process. It's a divide-and-rule [strategy]… [T]hey initiate and nurture it.*

The insights above illustrate how local political leaders capitalize on their access to governance structures by serving as brokers between the powerful and the marginalized. While they may have helped vendors gain access to streets, they also feed on the latter's insecure conditions. In other words, they act simultaneously as a vendors' conduit to power structures and as a dominant players' instrument of control over the vulnerable groups. To a certain extent, these political leaders operate in the "realm of calculated self-interests" (Osella, 2014) by using their socio-political capital to satisfy certain wishes of their political bosses, respond to the urgent needs of the marginalized, and advance their own interests. This echoes Routray's (2014) observation on how some intermediaries employ skills and knowledge to gain power and respect in a neighborhood. At other times, however, these intermediaries, like Baclaran's local political operators, are denounced as money-makers and cunning manipulators.

Vendor organizers

Besides the local political leaders, the role of vendor organizers needs to be examined to understand the complexity of relationships among different groups and the nature of collective action in Baclaran. While political leaders are tied to state officials and politicians, vendor organizers are part of informal worker coalitions and advocacy NGOs pushing for reform-oriented socio-economic agenda for hawkers.

Belinda, a vendor organizer and former sectoral representative in the National Anti-Poverty Commission – Workers in the Informal Sector Council (NAPC-WISC)[6] , shared their approach.

> *[Our approach] was issue-based organizing... We wanted them [Baclaran vendors] to articulate their own issues because they know their situation better. We don't want to represent them. We would only facilitate their representation… We touched base with them… Then they [started] joining us [in WIS Council meetings] and even in rallies. [There were] 48 organizations, [which] we got registered at SEC [Securities and Exchange Commission] and DOLE [Department of Labor and Employment] so they could be [recognized] as workers' associations.*

When a series of evictions took place, Belinda was at the forefront of mediating work.

> *They [Baclaran vendors] became more active [during the evictions]. We had media coverage… We were on the streets until 2:00 AM when there were demolitions… My approach then was to bring in the [national] agencies such as the DOLE, the PCUP [Presidential Commission for the Urban Poor], the DSWD [Department of Social Welfare and Development].*

Apart from dealing with national government agencies, vendor organizers helped vendors engage with local governments. Leo, a vendor leader-organizer and former NAPC-WISC member, explained some of their activities in Baclaran from around 2002 to 2004.

> *We helped them create a channel to the LGU [local government unit of Parañaque]… We engaged in an LGU conference ...We invited them to meetings with the NAPC, LGUs for them to explain their situation on the*

[6]The vendor organizers who used to work with the NAPC–WISC were technically not part of the state bureaucracy as government workers. They were sectoral leaders who represented informal worker groups pushing for social inclusionary policies and programs.

> *ground… Some LGUs sent their [Mayor's] Chief of Staff, which helped us get an access to the [Mayor's] office. Sometimes, during the WISC meetings, we invited vendor leaders and city officials… One outcome of these dialogues was the formation of an Informal Sector Desk in some local governments...*

In Parañaque, the LGU engagement produced two local regulations on informal workers' welfare. Executive Order (EO) No. 02-04 (Series of 2002) establishes a local Task Force that will promote and protect the informal workers in the city by identifying programs that address the issues of their issues. Meanwhile, City Council Ordinance No 826 (Series of 2003), which builds on EO 02-04, identifies the local government offices constituting the Task Force. These offices/officials include the City Council Committee on Social Services, Planning Officer, Health Officer, Social Welfare and Development Officer, and Public Market Office, among others. While these two regulatory instruments provide key steps in responding to informal workers' issues, there is limited evidence on whether the Task Force has undertaken any meaningful programs for Baclaran vendors since its establishment.

Although the LGU engagement produced some encouraging outcomes, the vendor organizers like Leo were aware of the need to navigate the local political dynamics.

> *When we started, they [vendors] had different groups. They said they wanted to form a [vendors'] federation for the whole Baclaran area… We challenged them to continue forming the federation and we supported them in dealing with the barangay and city governments… [We focused] on what we call social dialogue, social insurance, social protection... security of workplace... There's nothing about "politics."*

Leo's point on "politics" refers to how they avoided confronting the political leaders/operators in Baclaran. As he clarified, "I told them (vendors) 'whatever discussion you have with others, it's different [from our talks]. Let's concentrate on our agenda. I won't meddle in your negotiations with them.'" This evasive tactic stems from the entrenched patronage relations in the area. Maura, a long-time vendor organizer, described how she experienced dealing with the political relations in Baclaran. "At one point, it became a matter of life and death... I remember, before in Pasay area, our group was being monitored… Some vendors even whispered to us, 'Maura, please take care, some eyes are watching you.' That's the situation." Leo and Maura's concerns are linked to the divide-and-rule strategy, as previously discussed, which has eroded democratic collective action initiatives in Baclaran.

Based on the foregoing account, vendor organizers help Baclaran hawkers in two ways: as facilitators of social dialogues and as channels for policy advocacy. They were with vendors when a series of "clearing operations" occurred, creating channels with key government agencies. As vendor organizers brokered for democratic politics and policy change, they had to contend with local politics in the area—apparent in the divide-and-rule strategy. In addition, they needed to manage the resistance of other local stakeholders and the internal dynamics in their own organizations. The subsequent paragraphs expound on the last two issues that vendor organizers had to face.

Besides dealing with local political operators, vendor organizers have to consider the role of the Baclaran Vendors' Development Cooperative (BVDC) in providing economic resources to some vendors. Established in 1976 by 250 street vendors to address the usurious lending arrangements with loan sharks, the BVDC now requires a business permit if one wishes to apply. Thus, they have only accepted hawkers as associate members who can only avail of certain loan packages.

For old vendor, Julie, it is beneficial to be a BVDC member: "Yes, it [BVDC] is a big help. We have savings and shares in the cooperative." Hannah, another vendor, agreed but pointed out a concern: "I'm a member of the Baclaran Cooperative. I pay them daily [for my past loan]. [But] during lean season, I could hardly pay." Apart from the payment issue, Myra, a former street vendor and now a stallholder, raised another concern: "I used to be a Cooperative member; but I left because it is not really an association that protects [vendors' welfare]. It's more about loans, livelihood stuff. It is not focused on promoting the interests of vendors [beyond economic concerns]."

Mayeth, a social worker who tried organizing Baclaran vendors, explained the deeper implications of Myra's concern.

> *Before, we tried to organize [Baclaran vendors] but it was difficult because the cooperative is strong… They reacted adversely… because our approach [to vendor organizing] is [it should be seen as] a mass struggle… [We believe], they [vendors] must assert their rights and exert pressure on the local government to address their problems… Their traditional approach is not like that. They (BVDC) are not after the security of tenure… Still, the members keep paying. Yes, they have big [financial] asset but it's purely economic. It is not concerned with governance; they don't think about how to be political [about other issues] … The [vendors] are fine with it as long*

as they receive annual dividends. Of course, the government likes it because they [vendors] do not resist."

Mayeth's explanation captures the constraint of BVDC's economic-oriented engagement with vendors. It reveals the Cooperative's limited role in the broader local political relations. As BVDC leader, Nelson, admitted, "We are an accredited NGO [by one barangay in Baclaran] so we attend their meetings... But we don't want to interfere when it comes to implementation [of policies on vendors] since we know how complex the situation is."

Intersecting with local concerns, the internal dynamics within the vendor organizers' institutional affiliation contributed to the decline of reform-oriented collective action in Baclaran. As vendor organizer, Belinda, noted, "After our term [at NAPC-WIS Council], they [new leaders] focused on other things they wanted to pursue." This change in priority reflects the wider sentiment within many Philippine labor unions, which focus on formal employees. Belinda and Mayeth, members of two of the country's largest trade union federations, have been struggling even within their own labor groups to justify their engagement with informal workers. In Belinda's words, "They [labor unions] support the informal sector but on a project-based arrangement."

The preceding discussion points out how vendor organizers, serving as intermediaries, engaged with government units to push for vendors' welfare. They capitalized on existing formal spaces and created new paths for state engagement. Yet, the local power relations and the internal dynamics within their groups proved too much to sustain their efforts.

Conclusion

Street vending is a precarious urban livelihood. Vendors endure harassment and eviction resulting from hostile and unresponsive state policies. In Baclaran, land use plans are notably inattentive to informal vendors. This concern underscores how the urban planning process often "seeks order in simple mappable patterns, when it is really hiding in extremely complex social organization" (Webber, 1963, p. 54). Such a depoliticized approach fails to consider how grassroots players are entangled in messy socio-spatial relations. In this paper, I have shown how local brokering operates in a context of entrenched informality and inequality. The power asymmetries manifest in a tapestry of ties where grassroots intermediaries generate informal engagement channels and/or employ the spaces afforded by formal state rules.

On the one hand, some vendors and political leaders engage in fragile political bonds with local officials. Their link to the Mayor's Office rests on one agenda: temporary access to streetscape. While this may appear particularistic for outsiders, it is a fundamental agenda for many vendors. On the other hand, the narratives by vendor organizers show the potential of hawkers, when organizing assistance is sustained, to resist and break the cycle of uncertain relations. They formed a federation, joined rallies, and attended meetings with government agencies. Alas, their collective action encountered fierce resistance from political leaders and local officials. In other words, while local political leaders sustain clientelist ties, vendor organizers enhance the civil component of citizenship (Caldeira & Holston, 1999), leading to a fragmented urbanity in which citizens interact differentially with state authorities to claim (the rights of/to) urban citizenship. This phenomenon reveals how urban citizenship is not simply a set of laws delineating proper behavior; it is more importantly about social relations on the ground (Hammett, 2017). The various spaces for political and policy engagements generate uneven experiences of urban citizenship. As the street traders fight off eviction and inhabit contested sidewalks to earn a living, they also learn to engage with local state officials not as rights-bearing citizens, but as a client or a part of a network hinged on mutual exchanges and loyalty.

Indeed, there seems to be a paradox in the roles grassroots intermediaries play in Baclaran informal trading, where they act as: a) a conduit to power structures; b) an instrument of control; c) a facilitator of social dialogues; and d) a channel for policy advocacy. These somewhat contradictory roles demonstrate how vendors rely on conflicting motives and routines, embracing social inclusionary agenda as well as tenuous clientelistic ties. This is inevitable in a contested environment where players simultaneously collaborate and compete to maintain their insecure access to coveted workplaces. Amid a deeply unequal socio-spatial environment, local brokering may stifle resistance and, at the same time, inspire developmental aspirations. In this sense, the empirical insights show how political brokering between informal vendors and state authorities is embedded in grassroots democratic entanglements in which cooperation, contestation, and co-optation generate a mosaic of problem-solving strategies undertaken by marginalized groups. Put another way, the Baclaran case reveals how grassroots democratic entanglements are both an offshoot and a driving force of diverse and uneven experiences of urban citizenship, rights, and development.

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Learning Tourism Destination:
Contributions towards Community Education and Social Development

Aleli B. Bawagan, Ph.D.
Miguela M. Mena, Ph.D.
Richard Philip A. Gonzalo
and Victor G. Obedicen

Learning Tourism Destination (LTD) is a learning organization approach that improves the sustainability of tourism destinations. This development concept advocates collaborative learning and co-creation of knowledge between the tourist and the various service providers in the destination and recognizes the capacity of societies to learn and to develop economic organizations that are relevant to its unique context. Grounded in the point of view of the local community, the goal of this research was to look at the contributions of LTD to social development, specifically in the improvement of human well-being, with emphasis on community learning that occurs among different stakeholders. The Municipality of Maribojoc was deemed an appropriate study area for the application of LTD as it was recovering from the effects of the 2013 earthquake where volunteer tourism was used as a recovery strategy. Secondary data analysis and qualitative research methods, such as community immersion, personal and key informant interviews, and workshops, were conducted in six barangays of Maribojoc to explore tourism development in the province of Bohol and in the municipality. Research findings showed that LTD has contributed to the improvement of the human well-being, specifically on continuing community education processes, as well as in terms of organization building and strengthening; environment protection and rehabilitation; and stronger linkages and partnerships among various tourism actors.

Key words: learning tourism destination, learning communities, community education, social development, Maribojoc, Bohol

Introduction

Learning Tourism Destination (LTD) is a novel development concept in the field of tourism that advocates collaborative learning and co-creation of knowledge between the tourist and the various service

providers in the destination. It is an approach that recognizes the capacity of societies to learn and to develop economic organizations that is relevant to its unique context. As an alternative to external development models, the LTD is a system where a society defines problems based on its perceptions and formulates solutions from its cultural resources in order to address situations specific to that society (Schianetz, Kavanagh, & Lockington, 2007).

LTD is part of sustainable tourism development and management, which looks at tourism's potential as an instrument of positive change. It is known to be achievable and can be realized when the "spiritual elements" of the practice of tourism take precedence over its technical and material elements. These spiritual elements include: (1) fulfillment of the human being; (2) contribution to education; (3) recognition of equality of destiny of nations; (4) liberation of the individuals in a spirit of respect for their identity and dignity; and (5) affirmation of the originality of cultures and respect for the moral heritage of people (World Tourism Organization, 1980). In order to advance sustainability in the tourism industry, approaches are needed that promote stakeholder collaboration and learning on an organizational as well as destination level. Learning on a destination level is necessary to ensure that sustainable development issues are incorporated.

In communities, where the people are always in need of new knowledge to fulfill their functions in various aspects of community life (e.g., political, economic, environmental and/or socio-cultural), non-formal education such as LTD is essential. According to the United Nations Economic and Social Commission (UNESCO,n.d.), non-formal education is "an addition, alternative and/or a complement to formal education within the process of the lifelong learning of individuals…[that] is often provided to guarantee the right of access to education for all." Key to non-formal education in the community setting—which usually happens through processes such as community-based trainings, skills demonstration, educational group discussions, exposures outside the community, and organizational development trainings that enhance skills related to planning, decision-making, monitoring, and evaluation—is how it prepares the community members to engage in community-based programs and projects which propel them to improve their current situation.

Education—including non-formal and community-based—is essential in social development. As stated by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD),

> [Social development] is concerned with processes of change that lead to improvements in human well-being, social relations and social institutions, and that are equitable, sustainable, and compatible with principles of democratic governance and social justice. It includes material achievements, such as good health and **education**, and access to the goods and services necessary for decent living; and social, cultural and political achievements, such as a sense of security, dignity, the ability to be part of a community through social and cultural recognition, and political representation. (UNRISD, 2011, p.2, authors' emphasis)

This study aims to look at the contributions of LTDs to social development, specifically in the improvement of human well-being, with emphasis on community learning that occurs among different stakeholders. The research is grounded on the point of view of local peoples, local organizations, and local communities. Since the Philippine national government hopes to develop a tourism sector that will promote inclusive socio-economic growth (DOT, 2012), lessons from the creation of an LTD is furthermore an opportunity to transform the tourism industry in the target municipality into a creator of learning opportunities.

Research Problem

This research is part of a larger project entitled, "Learning Tourism Destinations: Creating functional partnerships and initiating positive change for sustainable tourism development in local economies." It aims to answer the following research questions on LTDs and their contributions to community education and social development:

1. What community learning processes have taken place in Maribojoc? Who provided trainings and what learning methods were employed?
2. How does learning among members of the organizations happen?
3. How does learning between the community members and tourists happen? What topics are shared (e.g., culture, history, environment)? What learning methods are used?
4. What is the people's evaluation of the learning methods used? What other topics still need to be learned by the community members?
5. What are the other contributions of LTDs to social development?

"Learning Tourism Destination" as a Development Concept

Tourism Destination. Rapid development of tourism due to new technologies of transport and data communications brought corresponding changes in the concept and understanding of destinations (Laws, 1995). Medlik (1993) defines tourism destinations as countries, regions, towns, or other areas visited by tourists. Throughout the year, their amenities serve their resident and working population, but at some or all times of the year, they also have temporary users—tourists. How important any geographical unit is as a tourist destination is determined by three prime factors: attractions, amenities, and accessibility, which are sometimes called tourism qualities of the destination. Vukonic (1997) examines the meaning of tourism destination in the context of growth and sustainability and defines the notion of tourism destination as "an integral and functional unit in which its particular components (such as tourist places, localities, zones, etc.) can have their own specific offering, grow and develop independently." He further emphasizes that, regardless of the attractiveness and the capacity of their tourist offering, such areas can be called "tourism destinations" only if a great number of tourists are attracted to them.

Most destinations comprise a core of components, which is usually referred to as the "six As" framework (Buhalis, 2000, p. 98): Attractions (natural, artificial, purpose built, heritage, special events); Accessibility (entire transportation system comprising of routes, terminals, and vehicles); Amenities (accommodation and catering facilities, retailing, other tourist services); Available packages (pre-arranged packages by intermediaries and principals); Activities (all activities available at the destination and what consumers will do during the visit), and Ancillary services (services used by tourists such as banks, telecommunications, post, news agents, hospitals, etc.).

From LO to LTD. To aid and guide the successful transformation of destinations, learning ability, data and research capabilities, agility and adaptability should be fostered through long-term strategies for change (McLennan, Ritchie, Ruhanen, & Moyle, 2014), which can be aided by learning organizations (LOs). The concept of learning organizations (LOs) was introduced by Senge in 1990s. He defined LOs as organizations where people expand their capacity to create the results they desire, where new expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, and where people are learning how to learn together.

In the context of tourism, the LO concept is implemented by creating Learning Tourism Destinations (LTDs). An LTD is any tourism city, town, village, and surrounding area that, in the process of achieving agreed upon objectives based on sustainable development: (1) uses lifelong learning as an organizing principle for community, organizations, and individuals; (2) promotes collaboration of the economic sectors, directly and indirectly linked to tourism, civic, voluntary, and education sectors; and (3) provides an infrastructure to collect new information, disseminate, process, and apply gained knowledge (Schianetz et al., 2007).

When building LTDs, major players are identified, and their interdependencies understood. *Entrepreneurs* take responsibility for the development of tourism destination competitiveness (Komppula, 2014). The *local government* provides a supporting role as facilitators of an entrepreneurial environment for these private enterprises (Komppula, 2014). In addition, governments can facilitate the learning process by providing data and research capabilities, and even initiating collaboration through strategic planning, which all ultimately facilitate the learning process (McLennan et al., 2014). *Tourists* and *host communities* also play a role in the creation of LTDs. Despite being viewed as responsible for much of the damage to destinations, *tourists* contribute to the productivity of LTDs. Tourists can bring new knowledge by creating social opportunities where guests can share insights from cultures outside the destination. The *host communities*, composed of the local people, serve as stewards of the culture and attractions that provide the pull in tourism. Universities also contribute to the transformation of LTDs as facilitators and initiators of change. *Universities* also contribute to the transformation of LTDs as facilitator and initiator of change. Interventions of university researchers may be viewed as a form of eco-acupuncture for positive change. Eco-acupunctures are small interventions that can shift the community's ideas of what is permissible, desirable and possible and provide transformation points (Ryan, 2013).

The component learning systems of an LTD are learning individuals, learning organizations, and learning communities while its fundamental elements are: (1) Shared vision and goals; (2) Information system; (3) Continuous learning and cooperative research; (4) Co-operation (informal collaboration); (5) Co-ordination (formal collaboration); (6) Cultural exchange; (7) Participative planning and decision making; and (8) Adaptive management (Schianetz et al., 2007).

These eight elements are not fixed, complete, or static but all are highly interlinked; and promotion, implementation, and/or maintenance

of one will have a positive effect on another. Some of the elements, such as information systems and co-operation, are well established in some tourism destinations but their implementation in isolation does not realize all the benefits of an LTD. Lasting collective learning in a tourism destination can only be achieved if the organizational structure has been provided to foster learning processes (Schianetz et al., 2007).

Community Education. Millwood (2012) mapped a compilation of learning theories based on various scientific disciplines. Social learning theory combines cognitive learning theory (that learning is influenced by psychological factors) and behavioral learning theory (assumes that learning is based on responses to environmental stimuli) to describe the psycho-social functions of humans when learning occurs in the context of a social setting (Bandura, 1986). Under the organization domain is David Kolb's (1984) Experiential Learning Theory, where learning refers to the process of creating knowledge through the transformation of experiences (Kolb, 1984). According to the theory, knowledge acquisition is a continuous process and is gained through a variety of personal and environmental experiences. It posits that the learner must be capable of (1) reflecting on experiences, (2) conceptualizing experiences using analytical skills, and (3) decision making and problem-solving using ideas gained from the experience.

The most important challenge of Learning Tourism Destinations seems to be equipping local communities with the required knowledge, skills, and awareness to enable them to meaningfully participate in tourism development (Razzaq et al., 2013). For this concern, community education plays a major role in the development of LTDs (Luna, Ferrer, Dela Cruz, Bawagan, Magcuro, & Torres, 2009). This is a process where community members, through their community-based organizations, learn various topics important to their lives in the community, as members of a particular sector, such as farmers, fisherfolk, women, or young people and as members of a people's organization. Examples of these would be trainings on community organizing, organizational development, leadership, project development, gender sensitivity, advocacy, and specific skills trainings relevant to their livelihood, such as records management, organic farming, and sustainable agriculture and fisheries.

Various organizations, whether internal or external to the community, support the education process. Examples of these are non-government organizations which introduce new ideas and projects to the community based on the people's current situation, such as Sentro para sa Ikauunlad ng Agham at Teknolohiya (SIKAT), a non-government organization, which introduced community-based coastal resource

management projects in fishing villages, and Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP), a national peasant people's organization which trains farmers' organizations on peasant advocacy (KMP, n.d.; SIKAT, n.d.).

Such education processes are guided by principles of critical consciousness as espoused by Paulo Freire (1973). These principles are as follows: collaborative learning; raising critical consciousness; learning as enhancement of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and habits; learning as participatory and collective; learning as two-way between the community and the facilitators or between the community and tourists; and learning as a lifelong process. The format likewise follows a participatory process of learning where community members identify their training needs, proposed schedule of training, proposed participants, etc. Support organizations implement projects with their eventual phase-out as part of the over-all plan, when community members have been trained to carry on the organizational and project development processes on their own.

Community education is complementary to other community-based activities such as community organizing and resource management. These processes have a transformative objective in mind, such that the community becomes empowered to analyze their situation, their capacities, and weaknesses and can work on projects and activities that will improve their situation, especially for the benefit of the marginalized sectors of the community (Luna et al., 2009).

Methodology

Using secondary data analysis, this study explored tourism development in the province of Bohol and in the municipality of Maribojoc. It also used qualitative research methods, such as community immersion, interviews, key informant interviews, and workshops. This research was conducted in six of the 22 barangays of Maribojoc, as follows: Agahay, Bayacabac, Poblacion, Punta Cruz, San Vicente, and Toril (Maribojoc, n.d.).

Through community immersion, informal interviews/ conversations were conducted with as many types of stakeholders as possible directly and indirectly involved in the tourism development programs in the community. Observations of interactions between community members and tourists were also done, especially in terms of the learning processes that happen between them. Interviews were likewise done randomly with tourists and tour operators/guides regarding the learning process that happened while they were on tour.

Key informant interviews were conducted with the barangay chairpersons, the municipal tourism officer, and selected tour operators. A workshop on LTD and Disaster Risk Reduction was done as a response to an expressed need of community members. Focus group discussions were implemented to evaluate the tourism development program and the learning processes that have taken place, as well as come up with recommendations for a more effective and sustainable tourism development program.

Maribojoc, Bohol as a Learning Tourism Destination

Bohol is an island province in Region 7 in Central Visayas and the 10th largest island in the country. Mainland Bohol is surrounded by 72 smaller islands, the largest of which is Panglao Island facing Tagbilaran City, Bohol's capital. The province has 47 municipalities in a land area of 4,117.26 sq. km. (1,589.68 sq. mi.). It has 261 km. (162 mi.) of coastline. Its population as of the 2007 census is 1,230,110. The province is accessible by air and sea transport. Boats ply the waters to and from the country's capital city and other ports in Visayas and Mindanao.

Bohol has gently rolling terrain, ideal for commercial and industrial site development. It has beautiful landscapes, coastlines, diversified flora and fauna, religious and historic landmarks, and archaeological artifacts, all of which form the foundation of the province's tourism. Starting in 2004, Bohol has experienced a boom in tourism, making it one of the fastest growing tourist destinations in the country (PPDO, 2013).

However, in recent years, frequent world-wide natural disasters have been observed (Faulkner, 2001), bringing huge devastation to human society, life and property. With the tourism industry being one of the most susceptible and vulnerable to such disasters (Santana, 2004), the resulting challenges to the tourism sector serve as continuous reminders that crisis management should no longer be ignored, by both the destinations and the tourism companies (Glaesser, 2006).

The effect of these natural calamities on tourism has been observed in the Philippines, considered one of the world's most disaster-prone countries, vulnerable to typhoons, floods, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions (UN OCHA, 2013). In 2013, the Philippines experienced several major natural calamities—among them, the Visayas region being hit by a 7.2 magnitude earthquake in October and Typhoon Yolanda (Haiyan) in November.

Bohol was one of the places in the Philippines that experienced the effects of both these disasters. Its geographical and cultural landscape and heritage suffered extensive damage from the powerful earthquake. Furthermore, the after-effects of Typhoon Yolanda negatively affected the tourism industry supply chain, thus creating an undesirable dent in Bohol's economy.

Maribojoc, 14 kms. away from the capital city, lies on the southwestern coast of Bohol. It has a culturally-rich heritage and a vibrant past, as well as a sprawling bay rich in bio-diverse marine life, rugged panoramic mountain ranges, rolling plains, extensive water resources, and high-grade limestone. Forest products provide an abundant source of raw materials for the municipality's native handicrafts. Prior to the destruction of the 2013 earthquake, Maribojoc had already been known for its centuries-old Church, a museum, the historical Punta Cruz Watchtower, and a Spanish-era flight of stone stairs.

Maribojoc was one of the Bohol municipalities that was severely hit by the 7.2 magnitude earthquake on 15 October 2013. Many houses were damaged, and the historical church was destroyed. The seabed was lifted more than a meter and, as a result, the coastline receded some 50 to 100 meters. A few weeks after the earthquake, the town was again affected by Typhoon Yolanda making landfall in the neighboring Cebu and Leyte Islands.

The provincial government has identified the following tourism attractions in the town of Maribojoc: Punta Cruz Watchtower in Bgy. Punta Cruz; Demonstration Organic Farm in Bgy. Bayacabac; San Vicente Mangrove (SAVIMA) forest walk in Bgy. San Vicente; Abatan river tour in Bgy. Cabawan and Bgy Lincod; socio-cultural activities in Bgy. Toril; and church ruins in Bgy. Poblacion. After the earthquake, uplifted ridges emerged in Bgy. Punta Cruz.

The natural calamities that struck Bohol in 2013 revealed the need for approaches to encourage volunteering for disaster recovery. In the past, volunteering had already been a proven approach to mustering the needed logistical support for disaster relief operations. Recognizing this potential role of volunteers in assisting organizations to deal with calamities, volunteer tourism projects were organized to facilitate Bohol's post-disaster recovery.

To facilitate rehabilitation and recovery efforts in Maribojoc, volunteers were invited to be part of special tourism programs in earthquake-

hit villages. The inspiration likely came from similar volunteering efforts in the past. There had been several documented cases of tourists contributing to recovery efforts, such as in 2004 after the devastation of Hurricane Katrina and in 2005 following a tsunami that hit Western Thailand in 2004. In these cases, volunteer tourism or "voluntourism" became recognized as a disaster recovery strategy, with many tourists choosing to use their vacation time to volunteer on recovery efforts (Crater, 2013).

In 2014, the University of the Philippines Asian Institute of Tourism engaged a community in Maribojoc for a voluntourism program with the aim of facilitating disaster recovery in the municipality. The voluntourism project was dubbed Buklod Bohol. Three batches of tourists went to Barangay Toril, Maribojoc in February, May, and October 2014. The group was composed of medical doctors, local and foreign students, and foreign guests willing to do volunteer work. This voluntourism program was packaged as a series of cultural tourism and immersion activities where both tourist volunteers and members of the local community could share time, labor, and resources to accomplish the target volunteer work. The program goals were to rebuild communities and to reconnect the host locality with the larger Philippine community through volunteering and cultural tourism. These goals were achieved by: (1) construction of traditional houses; (2) revitalizing community sources of living through cultural tourism; and (3) reaching out to local communities through community engagement and attending to the community's health needs (Gonzalo, 2014).

Subsequent field research in 2015 and 2016 also revealed tourism patterns similar to those observed in 2014, despite the tourism programs no longer taking the form of voluntourism. New activities like firefly watching, mangrove adventure tours, educational tours of organic farms, and viewing the post-earthquake ruins and uplifted ridges had become popular.

Anchored on the community linkages and knowledge established from previous research in the province of Bohol, in general, and the municipality of Maribojoc, in particular, the municipality was deemed an excellent study area for the LTD demonstration. The effects of the natural disasters on the people of Maribojoc included diminished income, livelihood, and employment, as well as losses in terms of damaged state properties. By investigating the feasibility of establishing learning organizations that comprise an LTD, Maribojoc had the opportunity to enhance the capacity of the learning organizations and allow these organizations to adopt to change using their local resources and develop models for learning and knowledge co-creation, so that they could pursue and achieve sustainable tourism development.

Tourist Attractions and Activities in Maribojoc. For decades, tourists have been enjoying the natural and historical sights and cultural performances that Maribojoc has to offer. In recent years, firefly watching along the Abatan River has become very popular, while a river day tour takes tourists to see the nipa and mangroves along the river on board a kayak, and a mangrove adventure tour is also available in San Vicente. The Punta Cruz Watchtower offers a glimpse of history from a time when pirates would attack the local communities of Maribojoc.

An educational tour of an organic demonstration farm presents vermiculture, different kinds of herbs and their medicinal uses, and how organic pigs, chickens, goats, and cows are grown. Cultural groups showcase the local culture, by providing homestay facilities and conducting performances of the nipa dance and demonstrations of basket weaving. Since the October 2013 earthquake, tourists now see the ruins of the San Vicente Ferrer church in Bgy. Poblacion as well as the geological changes, specifically the uplifted ridges, that resulted from the movement of the fault line in Bgy. Punta Cruz.

Tour Providers. In Maribojoc, there are different types of management of tours, the primary tourist product, as follows:

1. Tours managed by government: These include the Bayacabac organic demonstration farm and the Punta Cruz Watchtower;
2. Tours managed by people's organizations: These include the San Vicente Mangrove Adventure (SAVIMA) managed by a women's organization, performances of the nipa dance by the Lincod Cultural Collective composed of young people and elderly of Bgy. Lincod, a cultural trail organized by the organizations in Bgy. Toril, a river tour offered by Abatan Lingkod Mangrove Growers Association (ALIMANGO), and a homestay arrangement managed by a local organization in Bgy. Bayacabac; and
3. Tours managed by private establishments such as the kayak firefly tour of KayakAsia in Bgy. Lincod and the motorboat firefly tour of Maribojoc Mangrove Firefly in Bgy. Cabawan.

Learning Processes of the Learning Tourism Players. *Entrepreneurs* such as the kayak tour operators and firefly tour operators make use of the lecture/demonstration method, such as using kayaks to take tourists to see the different types of mangroves important for fireflies and other fishing species. They have also learned how to diversify their enterprise, such as having a small restaurant to cater to other needs of the tourists. They also

interact with other service providers to learn more about the peculiarities of certain groups of tourists, e.g., what Koreans and Chinese prefer for their tours.

The *local government* provides the general overview of the tourism sites in their locality, identifying in the process the different tour service providers and the learning opportunities available in each destination. When funds are available, the local government may produce flyers which the tourist can read and further learn from either on site or during their downtime. Moreover, as the local government links with different tourism agencies, it provides learning opportunities as well to the service providers/ entrepreneurs in their area, especially on how the local enterprises may link with service providers in other sites in the island to increase their capacities.

Host communities present a wealth of information to tourists about their community, focusing on the local history and culture, such as their songs, dances, and cuisine. They also share about the resources in their environment and how these are preserved to sustain the tourism activities. These are usually done through demonstration activities which the tourists get to participate in, such as cooking and preparing nipa wine. In Maribojoc, the tourists are specifically shown the effects of the earthquake on the communities and how these have impacted on the people's livelihood. The tourists likewise learn of the impacts of the earthquake on the geological formations in some municipalities, such as the raised sea bottom. Locals have learned to become tour guides, with some men who did not have any economic activity in the past acquiring the skills to become good tour guides. These include learning about the technical aspects of the tour, such as the types of mangroves and nipa, fireflies and their habitat, the raising of organic chickens and pigs, the medicinal uses of herbs, first aid and lifesaving techniques, as well as how to handle a paddle and maneuver a kayak. The host communities also re-learn their local songs and dances as they perform these with the guests. In essence, the host communities, composed of the local people, serve as stewards of the culture and the attractions that provide the pull for tourism in their locality.

Affirming related literature regarding tourists' role in the promotion of a learning environment, they learn how to use a kayak and keep their balance, especially when they kayak while doing the firefly tours. Tourists learn of the importance of keeping the environment sustainable and participate in planting mangroves and clean up drives. There are also instances when visitors provide the communities with additional training on organic farming.

The involvement of universities in the Maribojoc, Bohol experience, such as through the volountourism program, similarly affirms what related literature says regarding the role of universities in creating small interventions that facilitate transformation points or what Ryan (2013) called "eco-acupunctures."

Learning Activities. Community-based service providers have learned various skills, such as: being effective tour guides, dancers, singers, actors, cooks of local delicacies, housekeepers for those who offer their homes for homestay, project managers, and other staff needed to implement activities in the learning tourism destination. They have learned more about the history of their place and the attractions so that they can explain these to the tourists, such as those who visit the ruins caused by the earthquake. They mingle with individuals from various other countries, despite using "broken English"; and through their interaction with different nationalities, they have learned the specific interests of certain groups, such as Koreans preferring firefly watching, while the Chinese want to kayak through the river or to go firefly watching by kayak.

Learning exchanges also take place between the tour guide and the tourist, such as when the guide describes the various types of mangroves, the fireflies and their habitat, how to grow organic chickens and pigs, the uses of herbal medicines, and how to handle a paddle and maneuver a kayak. On the other hand, learning opportunities between the cultural performers and the tourists occur when the group members perform local dances and songs and demonstrate to the tourists how these are done; tourists then participate in the performance of dances and songs native to Bohol.

Meanwhile, the learning activities between the homestay host and the tourist emerge when host families share their village life with the visitors who stay with them for at least two nights. In the same manner, the tourists share about their lives in their own countries. Through the homestay, the hosts ensure that they converse with the visitors, entertain them, share meals and build relationships with them.

There is also learning among the members of the people's organizations. These groups have learned how to manage tourism projects through trainings provided by government, non-government organizations, and academic institutions supporting their activities. They have learned more about managing their tourism programs such as establishing a tourism network to attract more tourists; conserving and

protecting the environment such as Bohol's mangrove plantations; and organizational and finance management. They have also come to realize the importance of incorporating disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation in their tourism plans (e.g., considering the resiliency of buildings and having contingency plans). Among the members of the cultural group, they have learned to innovate in their performances (e.g., they created a new "earthquake dance" to show tourists the effects of the earthquake in their area).

For their part, the communities have learned how to manage their natural resources (e.g., communities along the river and coasts regularly hold a river and coastal clean-up), and how to maintain and manage their tourism facilities (e.g., the boardwalk and activity center).

Whenever time allows, the tour operators ask for feedback from the tourists about the tours and the performances, and solicit suggestions on how they can further improve their services.

Learning Methods. Community members have gained from different learning methods utilized by the institutions which helped them in their education processes. Prominent methods have been seminars, exposure visits, demonstration techniques, on-the-job learning, and informal learning sessions during organizational activities. Seminars are provided by government agencies, non-government organizations, and academic institutions on various aspects of sustainable tourism and on specific topics of their tourism activity such as management of their mangrove areas. Some of the trainings incorporate exposure visits to other communities or organizations that are implementing a program of similar nature, such as that of the organic farm.

The community members have likewise benefitted from the visits and lectures of geologists and other academics who visited their areas to survey the physical changes brought about by the earthquake. They have come to understand the impact of the movement of the fault line resulting in uplifted ridges in their area.

They also learn through demonstration techniques, as in the case of the cultural groups who acquire skills like singing, dancing, script writing, acting, and nipa-weaving. The original members of the cultural groups had to do a lot of "recall" on the dances and songs of old and how these were performed by their parents or other community members. They then showed the younger members how things are done and how they should

relate with the tourists. Demonstration is also used in the Bayacabac farm, where community members learn to prepare organic feeds, raise organic pigs, and prepare vermicast.

Other informal means of learning come through on-the-job experiences, such as learning the English language by having to communicate with the tourists using English. Through exchanges with the visitors, community members also gain exposure to other methods that can be used to conserve their natural resources, especially when the country where the tourists come from use environmentally-friendly methods.

Learning Tourism Destination and Social Development

The adoption of the LTD model provides an opportunity to transform the tourism industry through inclusive livelihood activities for stakeholders promoting tourism products and services. However, more than that, findings show that LTD contributes to social development, not just economic development. This approach has led to improvements in human well-being, specifically in continuing community education processes, one of the main goals of social development. Moreover, by emphasizing and strengthening learning processes among community organizations, community members have been able to adapt to change using their local resources as they pursue sustainable tourism development. Apart from community education, LTD contributes to social development through organization building and strengthening, environment protection and rehabilitation, and stronger linkages and partnerships among various tourism actors ultimately benefitting the local communities.

LTD and Community Education. The LTD approach has proven to be an effective mechanism for community education where collaborative learning between the tourist and various service providers takes place. The focus on community education is important since the LTD approach emphasizes that tourism should be a community effort and should redound to the benefit of the community members. Various community learning processes and activities take place in the LTD, extending across multiple actors in any tourism activity, mostly through non-formal sharing and interactions where experiences are processed to create knowledge (Kolb, 1984; Luna et al., 2009). There are also formal seminars and workshops conducted by academic institutions, non-government organizations, government agencies, and other volunteers who wish to share their knowledge on topics which are useful for the community members. These seminars enhance the knowledge and skills of the community members on

management of their tourism products, whether these be a mangrove walk or a river tour.

The community members have also learned organizational management, especially with the need to boost the morale of the members after experiencing setbacks due to the 2013 earthquake; and financial management, with their finances coming from entrance fees and other charges paid by the tourist or donations received from private organizations. Even so, community members have expressed the need for more learning activities to enable them to strengthen their tourism activities, consolidate their organizations, and strengthen themselves as a learning organization. These trainings range from basic skills like learning English to more complex knowledge on tourism planning. Various partners from the academe, non-government organizations, and government agencies are able to support them on these.

LTD and Organization Building and Strengthening. Community organizations are vital in any LTD to manage the various tourism activities in the area. In Maribojoc, the active organizations include the cultural collective, the homestay providers, and the women's organization managing the mangrove resources. The tourism activity was not the original program of the latter, but they realized that they could take advantage of the mangrove areas in their community by engaging in tourism as an additional livelihood source for members of their organization. Senge (1990, as cited in Schianetz et al., 2007) explained that, in learning organizations, people continually expand their capacity to create the desired results, their patterns of thinking are nurtured, and they continually learn how to learn together.

The application of the LTD approach in Maribojoc has shown that the community organizations are well on their way to transitioning into learning organizations where they share vision and goals, have opportunities for continuous learning, have established cooperation and coordination with various entities, and engage in participative planning and decision making (Schianetz, et al., 2007). To maintain the area as a Learning Tourism Destination, education processes towards organizational strengthening are important. The organizations can also take on new challenges—in partnership with both public and private organizations—to improve their area as a tourist destination, such as constructing rest areas and canteens.

LTD and Environment Protection and Rehabilitation. Tourism activities designed around natural resources, such as Maribojoc's mangrove and firefly tours, will only be sustainable if the resources are well maintained,

as cited by Nyaupane and Poudel (2011). The community members are conscious of this imperative, making coastal and river clean-ups a staple activity. This has generated awareness even among the younger members of the community. It is important to note that unrestrained tourism developments can diminish the tourism product and image of Maribojoc. Since tourism activities rely on the protection of environmental and socio-cultural resources for the attraction of tourists, planning is an essential activity for the success of Maribojoc as a tourism destination.

Communities are very often threatened with unwanted developments and face problems from unplanned or carelessly planned tourism expansion. To overcome these multi-faceted problems, a comprehensive tourism plan is needed to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs or disadvantages of development through the involvement of the local community who must live with the tourists and the costs and benefits they bring.

It is therefore important to examine Maribojoc's and Bohol's existing destination marketing and tourism development planning. Developing destinations like Maribojoc should consider making sustainability a core of their destination development and marketing since, despite increasing instability on a national level induced by economic, political, and environmental challenges, tourism is expected to remain a significant driver of economic growth and social development.

LTD and Partnerships. Strengthening partnerships among various stakeholders is another area important to LTD (Komppula, 2014). This is particularly vital in Maribojoc, which is not yet part of the usual tourist routes in Bohol. It is one of those areas that need to be marketed for its unique attractions, especially after the earthquake. Major marketing tourism players such as provincial and municipal tourism officers, public and private tour operators, community organizations, and the academe play important roles towards this end.

Conclusion and Recommendations

For many tourism destinations, the most compelling reason for pursuing tourism as a development strategy is its alleged positive contribution to the local economy. However, the extent to which tourism contributes to the local economy depends on a variety of factors. As a basis for exploring the relationship between tourism and development, it is important to define not only the desired outcome of tourism, namely

development, but also the means of achieving that outcome.

The adoption of the LTD approach provides an opportunity to transform the tourism industry into inclusive livelihood activities grounded on the community situation. Exploring tourism in Maribojoc revealed that LTD has indeed been able to contribute to community education and social development.

To further strengthen the tourism activities in Maribojoc, it is recommended that the various tourism stakeholders in the municipality take stock and address the following identified challenges to sustain the community education and social development gains from the LTD approach:

1. Difficulty of some tour guides with conversing in English, which allows them to only present a regular spiel to the tourists, many of whom are foreigners, instead of carrying on light conversations and educational exchanges with them;
2. Limited time allocation for specific sites in tour packages, causing tourists to hurry from one site to the next and thus discouraging learning opportunities from more substantial interaction between tourists and locals;
3. Mostly one-way interaction (i.e., from the tour guide to the tourist), giving tourists limited opportunities to share about their lives in their own country;
4. Need for the rehabilitation of tourist areas affected by the earthquake, such as building rest areas and canteens for visitors and pilgrims who visit the church ruins, and conservation efforts for the environment, such as regular planting of mangroves;
5. Specific training needs expressed by community members and tour operators, such as marketing of the destination and their tourism products, safety measures and responding to emergency situations, mitigating and preventing possible negative impacts of tourism such as prostitution, and strengthening and consolidation of community organizations;
6. Need for a) continuous knowledge building and sharing across different tourism sites where communities can learn from each other, b) continuous training of second liners who can become potential members of the cultural collective, kayak tour guides, and others, and c) improving knowledge on and maximizing the use of various social media platforms to enhance tourism activities; and
7. Need for stronger linkages with the Bohol Tourism Office (BTO), Bohol Federated Travel Tour Operators (BOFETTO), and Bohol

Integrated Tour Guide Association (BITGA), as well as proper harmonization and coordination from the city to the barangays, and the barangays to the local organizations.

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Disaggregated Data: Making sure that excluded peoples are included

(The experience of the Las Piñas Persons with Disability Federation, Inc. in participatory data profiling)

Paul Edward N. Muego

Addressing disability is a fundamental aspect of re-imagining social development and reclaiming people's development. An essential aspect of this is having disability-related data which can be used in measuring and tracking the progress of global development initiatives such as the Sustainable Development Goals as well as in deciding priorities, crafting policies, and developing and implementing development programs at the national and local levels. This article aims to describe the experiences of the Las Piñas Persons with Disability Federation, Inc. (LPPWDFI), an organization of persons with disabilities in developing, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating their own data-profiling project. This article utilized a combination of three methods: (a) Pakikiisa at Pakikipamuhay (Integration), (b) Kwentuhan at sama-aralan (Conversations, dialogue, reflection, and learning sessions) and (c) Pagbabasa at pagsusuri ng mga kwento at dokumento (Review and analysis of existing documents) with the underlying intent of listening to and valuing the perspectives and voices of persons with disabilities. Four critical factors that contributed to the success of the LPPWDFI's collective initiative are also discussed in the article: (a) Rights, identities, and aspirations of persons with disabilities, (b) Leadership development, capacity-building, and local initiatives, (c) The role of support organizations and the state, and (d) Facing the need to build on local gains. The article hopes that the story of LPPWDFI's data profiling initiative can open up spaces for introspection among organizations of persons with disabilities and eventually for their collective action aimed at creating inclusive communities in a more inclusive world.

Key Words: disability-disaggregated data, participatory data profiling, social inclusion, persons with disability, LPPDFI

Introduction

Addressing disability is a fundamental aspect of re-imagining social development and reclaiming people's development. Development, after all, is about making sure that excluded peoples, or what the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development refers to as people who are vulnerable—children, youth, persons with disabilities (of whom more than 80% live in poverty), people living with HIV/AIDS, older persons, indigenous peoples, refugees, and internally displaced persons and migrants—are in schools, in playgrounds, at work, in government offices, in avenues for decision-making, and everywhere else that those who are "included" often take for granted (Wolfenson, 2002; United Nations General Assembly [UNGA], 2015).

There has been a constant call for people living in poverty and vulnerable groups to be included not only in the targets, but in the planning and implementation of development policies and programs—in Agenda 21 in 1992, which reiterated the idea that poverty is a complex multidimensional problem; in the Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development in 1995, which stated that social development and human well-being are highest priorities; as well as in the 1st United Nations Decade for the Eradication of Poverty (1997-2006). In 2001, the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) further offered another promise for a global collaboration towards these ends, "to make the right to development a reality for everyone" (UNGA, 2015).

Invisibility of persons with disabilities. Up to the end of the implementation of the MDGs in 2015, there have already been admissions that the goals, targets, and indicators will not be fully achieved. While there would be various reasons for these bleak outcomes, one of the main reasons is that the MDG failed to include one of the most vulnerable sectors, persons with disabilities. The conspicuous absence of persons with disabilities in the MDG represents a lost opportunity to address the pressing social, educational, health, and economic concerns of the majority of the most marginalized citizens (Department of Economic and Social Affairs [DESA], 2012).

In 2011, the United Nations Secretariat's Department of Economic and Social Affairs came up with the report entitled *Disability and the Millennium Development Goals, A Review of the MDG Process and Strategies for Inclusion of Disability Issues in Millennium Development Goal Efforts*. The report associated the dismal achievements of the MDG with regard to persons

with disabilities with

> [T]he lack of the systematic collection and monitoring of disability-related statistics and analysis of this data, which are the primary tools for tracking MDG efforts and allocating further funding and resources at the local, regional and global levels (DESA, 2012, p. x).

In 2015, the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) carried out POPCEN 2015 or the 2015 Census of Population. The primer for this document stated that this "is a complete enumeration of households in the country… designed primarily to take an inventory of the population of the entire Philippines" (PSA, 2015). Contrary to the claim of "complete enumeration," however, questions related to persons with disabilities were left out of the census. This ultimately meant that data on Filipinos with disabilities remained inadequate to serve as bases for the inclusion of their strategic and practical needs in national-level socio-economic plans, policies, and programs. The policy and program implications of the lack of data on persons with disabilities at the national level are magnified when seen in the context that most of the 145 cities, 1,489 municipalities, and 42,036 barangays of the country do not have reliable disability-disaggregated data.

Moves towards inclusion in data collection. One of the main recommendations in the 2011 World Report on Disability "for action towards achieving a society that is inclusive and enabling, providing equal opportunities for each person with a disability to fulfill their potential… (is to) include disability in national data collection systems and provide disability-disaggregated data" (World Health Organization [WHO], 2011, p. 268). A few years later and promising to take on what the MDG failed to achieve, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) were more explicitly focused on empowerment and the needs of the most vulnerable. Persons with disabilities are referenced 11 times in the goals and targets of the SDG including but not limited to education (Goal 4), employment (Goal 8), inclusive cities (Goal 11), and in data disaggregation. While the 17 goals are integrated, a cursory examination of the targets under *Goal 10, Reduce inequality within and among countries,* drives home the point that inclusion, equal opportunities, reduction of inequalities, and elimination of discrimination are all important facets of re-imagining development considering the situation of persons with disabilities.

To support the abovementioned challenges, the SDG and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) emphasize on increasing the availability of "high-quality,

timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts" (UNGA, 2015). Apart from the importance of such data in measuring and tracking the progress of the SDG, these data are even more important in terms of deciding priorities, crafting policies, and developing and implementing development programs.

Data inclusion, an uphill climb. However, it has been observed that almost four years into the implementation of the SDG, "disability data overall are not being collected by National Statistical Offices (NSOs) for SDG monitoring" (Cuk, 2018). Pisani, Grech, and Mostafa's (2014) assertion that the continuing absence of disaggregated data on persons with disabilities exacerbates the marginalization of disability as an area of practice migration and humanitarian affairs can be extended to development policies and practice in general. Grech and Soldatic (2016) note that the "call for disaggregated data to account for disability is a positive way forward but generating this data will not be a simple or precise endeavour, not least on account of different disability definitions, methods, costs and political inconvenience" (p. 15). The resulting lack of information on persons with disabilities poses a major barrier and challenge for inclusion of persons with disabilities in different communities (Pisani et al., 2014; Cuk, 2018).

Generating disability data at the local level. While the debates and finger-pointing continue on who gets the blame for the persistent situation described above, there are examples of local initiatives which can be sources of learning in coming up with a more reliable disability-disaggregated data at the local level. For example, in an unpublished article entitled *Community-Based Rehabilitation (CBR): Disability-Responsive Development*, Muego (2016) presented the case of the Local Government Unit (LGU) of Cervantes, Ilocos Sur when it partnered with the CBM Community-Based Rehabilitation Coordination Office in 2010.

The lack of reliable data on persons with disability at the LGU level was one of the main reasons why they were not included in mainstream programs and services of the LGU. One of the first steps taken by the LGU of Cervantes was to update its registry of persons with disabilities. After conducting a training on identifying persons with disabilities, the Barangay Health Workers (BHW) went to the different barangays and were able to register more than 700 persons with disabilities. The new data became the bases for the LGU of Cervantes' policy issuance, Resolution No. 264 or the 2012 Community-Based Rehabilitation Action Plan of the Municipality "for the protection, rehabilitation, inclusion and participation of people with disabilities in the mainstream of society, honing and utilizing their God-

given gifts for the total development of the Municipality of Cervantes, Ilocos Sur." The LGU of Cervantes "allocated a total budget of PHP4,987,000... and made sure that the Executive-Legislative Agenda of Cervantes would be disability-responsive by ensuring that persons with disabilities and their organizations were part of the process" (Muego, 2016).

Research Objectives and Significance

The case briefly described above is an LGU-led data profiling initiative. While the data generated were utilized by the LGU in crafting a local policy and developing local plans, the process of generating the data did not significantly include persons with disabilities themselves. One factor that contributed to this is the fact that there was no organization of persons with disabilities to speak of during the time that the data updating project was conceptualized and implemented.

Thus, the present article aimed to describe the experiences of an organization of persons with disabilities (OPD), the Las Piñas Persons with Disability Federation, Inc. (LPPWDFI)[1] , in developing, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating their data-profiling project. The article also sought to identify and interrogate critical factors that contributed to the success of their collective initiative.

The data profiling project of the LPPWDFI covering all of the 20 barangays of Las Piñas City was their collective response to the dearth of disability-related data at the barangay- and city-levels which often resulted in local plans and programs that failed to include persons with disabilities. This was one of the organization's ways of pushing the LGU of Las Piñas City to re-imagine local development that includes persons with disabilities. This was an example of organized collective action aimed at "creating inclusive communities in a more inclusive world" (Ledwith, 2012, p. 23).

The data-profiling project of the LPPWDFI and the lessons that were gleaned from their experiences can serve as an example as well as a source of insights for other organizations of persons with disabilities so that they can take the lead in producing reliable disability-disaggregated data at the local level to serve as important inputs in re-imagining and reclaiming development that includes everyone.

[1] "LPPWDFI" and "Federation" will be used interchangeably in this article to refer to the Las Piñas Persons with Disability Federation, Inc.

Methodology

The study is rooted in qualitative, critical, and emancipatory methodologies. Using qualitative methods ensured that the process of documenting the experiences of the LPPWDFI in data profiling captured the depth and richness of their contexts, experiences, and insights as well as privileged their voices and stories. Listening to and valuing the perspectives and voices of persons with disabilities leads to a deeper understanding of their lives, experiences, and aspirations (Hosking, 2008).

Data gathering employed a combination of three methods: (a) *Pakikiisa at Pakikipamuhay* (Integration), (b) *Kwentuhan at Sama-aralan* (Conversations, dialogue, reflection, and learning sessions), and (c) *Pagbabasa at pagsusuri ng mga kwento at dokumento* (Review and analysis of existing documents) (Muego, 2018). Relevant details from the author's engagement with the LLPWDFI since 2010, when he had begun working with them in different initiatives such as trainings, consultation workshops, and advocacy projects, also enriched the data gathered for this formal study, particularly as part of *Pakikiisa at Pakikipamuhay* and *Kwentuhan at Sama-aralan.*

Pakikiisa at pakikipamuhay emphasized the principle of "being there" and "being with them" which paved the way for the author to be included in the life of the organization and the people that form it. *Pakikiisa* included participating in their activities and programs such as their capacity-building activities for parents and caregivers, enrichment programs for children with disabilities, and sensitivity training programs for barangay officials. *Pakikipamuhay* included spending time with persons with disabilities and their families. This meant participating in their day-to-day activities including economic activities (e.g., rag-making or *paggawa ng basahan*, selling homemade trinkets made of beads), social activities (e.g., being at the wake of the sister of the LPPWDFI president), and political activities (e.g., joining them in their meetings with barangay officials). This also involved living for several days with five LPPWDFI leaders who were directly involved in the data profiling project. *Pakikiisa* and *pakikipamuhay* provided opportunities for the author to see firsthand the situation of persons with disabilities and relate these to their data-profiling project.

Kwentuhan at sama-aralan brought deeper meaning into this study, and in a very particular way in the analysis of the stories and insights that emerged. The leaders and members of the LPPWDFI that the author met with recalled how they developed the project at the beginning and

how they implemented it. They shared stories showing the difficulties they faced in the project such as having no previous experience in data profiling, not being allowed to enter some of the gated villages, inaccessible transportation, and even being ridiculed and threatened by a drunk man in one instance. More than these, however, they also shared stories such as the joy felt by a person with disability when she met the enumerators of the data profiling project who were also persons with disabilities themselves. The stories shared by the leaders and members of the LPPWDFI involved in the data profiling project were bound by the strong sense of pride, of individual and collective self-esteem brought about by being able to carry out a seemingly insurmountable task. Insights and learning were also drawn from their stories. A common lesson they expressed is the necessity of consistent participation of persons with disabilities throughout the design and implementation of the data profiling project if the aim is to really come up with disability-responsive data.

Pagbabasa at pagsusuri ng mga kwento at dokumento allowed the organization to collectively review and analyze existing documents regarding the data profiling project such as the project completion report prepared by the LPPWDFI and submitted to the City Social Welfare and Development Office, data validation presentations, and presentations made during disability-related fora and congresses (e.g., the 2nd Philippine CBR Congress). Other relevant documents, such as draft proposals, could no longer be accessed by the LPPWDFI since these were stored in an email and social media account that at the time of the study was no longer existent.

The Case Study: LPPWDFI Data Profiling Project

The Las Piñas Persons with Disability Federation, Inc. (LPPWDFI) is a cross-disability and city-wide federation of 20 barangay-level associations of persons with disabilities in the City of Las Piñas, National Capital Region. Founding members of the LPPWDFI organized themselves in 2009 to assert their rights and to facilitate their access to government programs and services. Coming to a consciousness that they have often been relegated to being recipients of charity and beneficiaries of "special" services, they saw the necessity of organizing themselves—to be empowered, to be able to make decisions and influence decision-making processes, to be part of their communities.

The need for data. Even before the SDG came into force with its call for disaggregated data by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, and geographic location, the LPPWDFI were already grappling with the problem of having no reliable data on persons with

disabilities and the implications of this with regard to local development planning, budgeting, service delivery, and more. The LPPWDFI officers shared that, after they had organized themselves, they had a lot of ideas to meet the different needs of persons with disabilities (e.g., sign language training for deaf people, parents, family and community members; therapy services for persons with disabilities and older persons) which they brought to the attention of the local government of Las Piñas City, particularly at the barangay level. In reply, they were often asked, "How many persons with disabilities are there? How many of them are needing therapy services? How many of them are blind? How many are deaf? What do the orthopedically impaired need?" At this point, the LPPWDFI realized that they were missing out on a lot of opportunities because they did not have the data.

Taking on emerging opportunities. Bottom-Up Budgeting (BUB) was implemented by the Human Development and Poverty Reduction Cluster (HDPRC), the Good Governance and Anti-Corruption Cluster (GGAC), and the Economic Development Cluster to "ensure the inclusion of the funding requirements for the development needs of poorest/focus cities and municipalities in the budget proposals of participating national government agencies" (DBM-DILG-DSWD-NAPC Joint Memorandum Circular No. 2, series of 2012). The initiative was also meant to involve grassroots organizations and communities in the planning and budgeting processes of local and national governments.

Alyansa ng May Kapansanang Pinoy (AKAP-Pinoy), a national-level federation of organizations and individuals dedicated to advocating for the rights and promoting the interests of persons with disabilities, was among the organizations interested in the BUB process. AKAP-Pinoy was invited to participate in a National Basic Sector Consultative Workshop organized by the National Anti-Poverty Commission (NAPC) on April 8, 2011. AKAP-Pinoy saw that this could also be an opportunity for some of its member organizations like the LPPWDFI. Through the efforts of AKAP-Pinoy, an invitation to participate in the NAPC consultative workshop was extended to the LPPWDFI. The Federation designated two of its leaders, Dr. Jeana Manalaysay and Mr. Mars Jaymalin (both persons with disabilities, founding members of the LPPWDFI, and currently members of its board), to participate in that workshop.

After the NAPC-led consultation workshop, Dr. Manalaysay and Mr. Jaymalin met with the rest of the Federation officers and started brainstorming on the project that the LPPWDFI would submit to the BUB process. The organization did not take long to decide: They wanted to do a data profiling project aiming to

> [R]ealign and justify appropriations for programs and services intended for persons with disabilities and at the same time help strengthen and consolidate the federation through active participation of its leaders and members in the data basing project. (LPPWDFI, 2014).

Developing the data profiling project—working with partners. Dreaming of doing a data profiling project was one thing but translating that dream into reality was a totally different story. In preparing for the proposal, Dr. Manalaysay and Mr Jaymalin were joined by other LPPWDFI officers[2] , Ms. Maria Fe Maravillas, Mr. Napoleon Castillon II, Mrs. Epifania Maria 'Chona' de Guia, and Mr. Michael Manuel. Important questions were raised by the group to help them define how to proceed with the data profiling project: Who among us has experience in data profiling? What do we need to be able to do the project? How much does it cost? How will we manage it? What training does the Federation need to accomplish the project? They were able to answer some of the questions they raised, but there were certain questions which they believed could be answered better with the help of partners and like-minded organizations and institutions.

For the questions which they could not answer, the Federation turned to several of its partners. One of its partners was the Philippine Coalition on the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (PCUNCRPD), a coalition involved in "policy review of domestic law in the context of international commitments, disability budget analysis, engagement with various national and local government agencies for participation in public finance, and legislative lobbying with Congress and Senate" (PCUNCRPD, 2013). Their contact in the Coalition, Dr. Lisa Martinez, linked them to another group in an academic institution that could help them in the data profiling project. The idea proposed by that research group was a pilot study covering only a sample of barangays in Las Piñas. While the LPPWDFI leaders could no longer recall all the details of the proposal, what they remember is the study was to be led by professional researchers and experts and would involve extensive training of enumerators. The Federation eventually turned down the proposal of that group saying,

> The cost was way beyond what we could get from the BUB, the cost of paying their resource persons was already half of the BUB budget! And what they wanted was simply to do a small sample with the end in view of doing the same thing nationally. What we needed was data for all the barangays.

[2] All of the officers of the LPPWDFI are persons with disabilities.

Not the kind to easily give up, the LPPWDFI leaders got in touch with another partner, Life Haven, Inc., an organization based in Valenzuela City and one of the leading organizations in the country in the advocacy for independent living through

> *[A] philosophy and a movement of persons with disabilities who work for self-determination, equal opportunities and self-respect… (providing opportunities for persons with disabilities) to support and learn from each other, organize ourselves and work for political changes that lead to the legal protection of our human and civil rights.*

Two of the leaders of Life Haven, Mr. Abner Manlapaz and Dr. Benjamin "Jun" Bernardino, came up with suggestions—e.g., have enumeration done by persons with disabilities and by parents or relatives of persons with disabilities, utilize existing resources or tap resources such as transportation from the barangays—on how to go about the data profiling project in a more cost-efficient manner.

With these suggestions and after a series of discussions and consultations among the leaders of the LPPWDFI, they eventually came up with the Data Profiling Project, "a participatory project that will actively involve its members and help empower persons with disabilities" (LPPWDFI, 2014). This proposal was submitted to the LGU of Las Piñas for inclusion in its Local Poverty Reduction Action Plan (LPRAP). This was followed by a series of consultations from March to September 2012 that were actively participated in by two LPPWDFI leaders, Dr. Manalaysay and Ms. Maravillas. Within this period, the Federation also entered into a Budget Partnership Agreement with the Department of Social Welfare and Development in April 2012.

LPPWDFI documents show that the project was finally approved in September 2012. After the approval, the Federation was asked to submit an action plan for the implementation of the Data Profiling Project. Though already approved, there were still some changes in the proposal particularly in the calendar of activities. Implementation guidelines for the project were completed in April 2013, and actual implementation started in the first week of November 2013. Throughout the process, the LPPWDFI was also supported by one of its closest partners in the LGU, the City Social Welfare and Development Office (CSWDO).

Another crucial aspect in preparing for the data profiling project centered on the question: Who will do the actual gathering of data at the barangay level? At this point, the Federation was also coordinating with the Department of Social Welfare and Development-National Capital Region

Field Office (DSWD-NCR FO). The DSWDD-NCR FO suggested that the survey should be done by social workers. The Federation, however, asserted their idea that persons with disabilities and their relatives should be the ones doing the data gathering in the different barangays. As one of the Federation leaders said,

> *We wanted to be the one to do the actual survey. It was our way of showing our ownership of the project. And besides, many of the persons with disabilities would rather talk or be interviewed by persons with disabilities.*

Furthermore, they also saw this as an opportunity for them to personally meet and get to know the life situation of persons with disabilities. The Federation's decision was respected by the DSWD-NCR FO; the Federation officers and the Disability Focal Person from the NCR FO worked together on the guidelines for doing the data gathering.

Phases of the Data Profiling Project. The data profiling project had five phases namely: (a) Preparation, (b) Selection and Orientation of Enumerators and Encoders, (c) Actual Conduct of Profiling and Data Encoding, (d) Midterm and Final Evaluation of Data Gathering Activity, and (e) Data Processing/Data Analysis.

In the *first phase*, the LPPWDFI developed policies for the hiring of enumerators and for the profiling of persons with disabilities. They also reviewed and enhanced their data gathering instrument. The *second phase* saw the LPPWDFI selecting enumerators and data encoders—those selected were either persons with disabilities themselves or family members of persons with disabilities. They also did an initial mapping of the barangays for the purpose of identifying the targets per day in each of the barangays, as well as the number of enumerators that would be assigned in each of the areas. The total target was 5,000 persons with disabilities for the whole of Las Piñas. The last part of this phase involved training and simulation exercises on the use of the survey form. In the *third phase*, the LPPWDFI conducted the survey in the span of 25 days (from November 18 to December 17, 2013). The *fourth phase* focused on encoding the data as these came in from the enumerators. Monitoring the progress of the data gathering was also done midway and at the end of the data gathering. Monitoring was primarily done by the LPPWDFI.

The *last phase* centered on analyzing the data gathered from the 20 barangays. Statistical presentation of the data was done by Mrs. de Guia, one of the officers of the LPPWDFI, based on the 10 indicators they had identified at the outset: the total number of the different types of disability,

cause of disability, disability and age category, education, employment, assessment, mobility, voting population of persons with disabilities, and the number of persons with disabilities with or without disability card. The LPPWDFI also drew several recommendations based on the results of the profiling. The organization provided the local government of Las Piñas City (including the 20 barangays), the City Social Welfare Office, and the DSWD-NCR FO with the findings, analysis, and recommendations that arose from the data profiling. The table below provides details on key activities, dates, and accomplishments made during the different phases of the project.

Table 1: The Five Phases of the Project

Phase	Activity & Date	Accomplishments, Highlights
Preparation	Writeshop November 4-6, 2013	1. Established guidelines in hiring enumerators, encoders, evaluators; 2. Established implementing procedures for enumeration process, 3. Identified strategies for enumeration phase 4. Developed goals & indicators for evaluation of output 5. Started developing the survey forms
Selection and Orientation of Enumerators and Encoders	Screening of enumerators and encoders November 7-8, 2013	1. 40 enumerators were selected; grouping of enumerators into 4 teams; 1 team of 10 enumerators per barangay 2. 4 Area Supervisors selected from the 40 enumerators 3. 5 encoders were hired
	Mapping of 20 barangays November 11, 2013	1. Determined the schedule of the barangays to be surveyed per day and the number of enumerators assigned per barangay

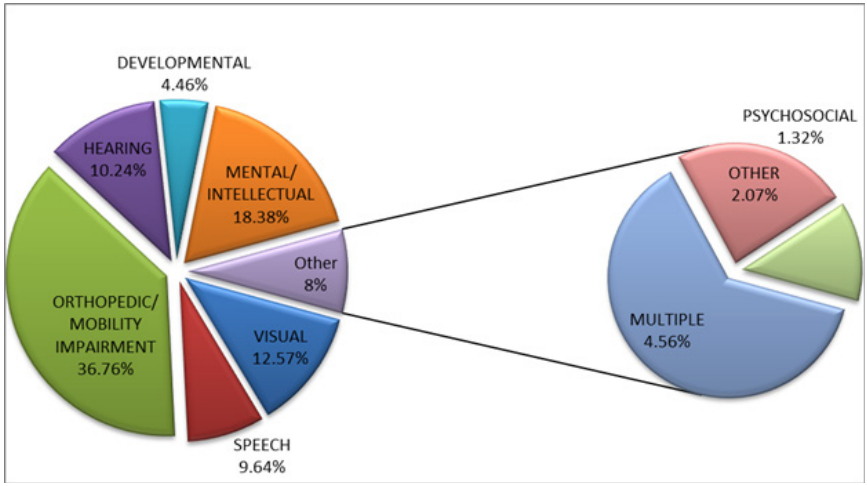
Phase	Activity & Date	Accomplishments, Highlights
	Orientation of Enumerators and Encoders November 12, 2013	1. Conducted brief training on different types of disabilities 2. Conducted interview simulations using the questionnaires
Actual Conduct of Profiling and Data Encoding	Actual conduct of profiling November 18 – December 6, 2013 December 8 to 17, 2013	1. As of December 6, 2013, a total of 2,617 PWDs were surveyed covering 14 barangays 2. Remaining barangays were covered after the mid-term evaluation 3. Advised persons with disabilities to register with CSWDO 4. Information on rights of persons with disabilities, privileges and benefits that can be accessed using the government-issued ID card, and LPPWDFI and the associations in their barangay 5. Households were also informed on how to provide appropriate support to persons with disabilities 6. New advocates and potential leaders were identified

Phase	Activity & Date	Accomplishments, Highlights
Midterm & Final Evaluation of Data Gathering Activity	Midterm Evaluation December 7, 2013 Final Evaluation Workshop December 27-28, 2013	1. Team of enumerators identified learning and challenges faced during the enumeration 2. Submitted the total number of PWDs they had interviewed per barangay 3. 8 members of the LPPWDFI Core Group, 4 Area Supervisors and encoders together with the project facilitator from DSWD NCR, BUB Project Coordinator of Las Piñas City, and CSWDO Focal Person for PWDs evaluated the data profiling activities from Phases 1-5
Data Processing/ Data Analysis	Extraction of data Preparation of summary & analysis Drafting of recommendations Presentation of final output January to March 2014	1. Prepared tables and graphs from the encoded data using the 10 indicators 2. Prepared the final output 3. Provided each barangay a copy of the findings, analysis, and recommendations
Source: LPPWDFI, 2014, Profiling of Persons with Disabilities in Las Piñas City		

Data profiling, an on-going endeavor. Among the disability-disaggregated data that emerged from the 2013 data profiling project of the LPPWDFI is that there are 3,183 persons with disabilities, 36.76% of whom are persons with orthopedic/mobility impairments. The LPPWDFI (2014) report also showed that "the specific types of orthopedic/mobility impairment with most number are: poliomyelitis (22.31%), stroke (18.72%) and cerebral palsy

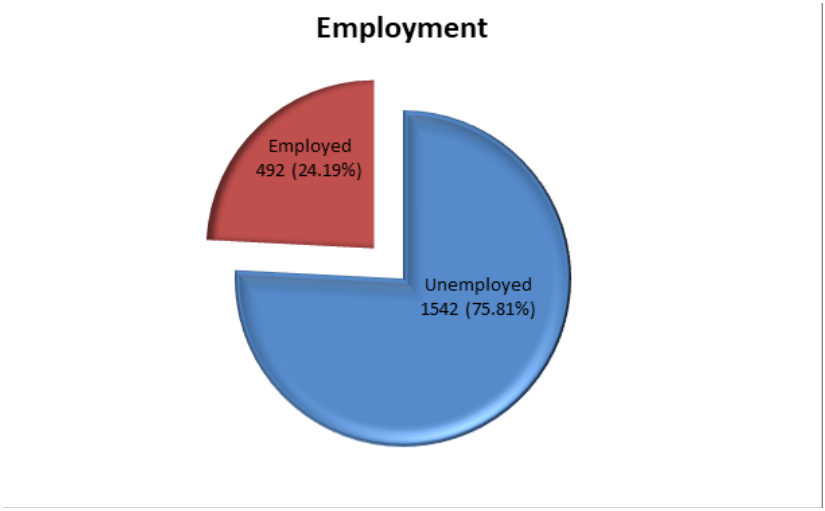
(15.41%)" (please refer to the figure below). The data generated further showed that there were slightly more men with disabilities, a total of 1,747, compared to 1,436 women with disabilities. The data profiling project showed that three of the highest causes of impairments are: (1) congenital or inborn, (2) illness, and (3) injury.

Figure 1: Types of Disability in Barangays from District I and II



For educational attainment, 75.56%, or 2,405 out of the 3,183 persons with disabilities identified, reported having gone to school. Close to half of these, however, reported attending school only until the primary level. Only 444 reported having attended college or enrolled in vocational training. The data also showed a total of 2,034 adults with disabilities. Of these, 492 were employed while 1,542 were unemployed. Men topped the list for both employed and unemployed. The data generated in the profiling project were further disaggregated by age, access to medical assessment services (the main reason cited for not accessing such services was financial difficulties), voting population of persons with disabilities, and the number of persons with disabilities with or without disability card (the main reason identified for not having a disability card is lack of knowledge or information).

Figure 2: Employment Among Adults with Disabilities in Barangays from District I and I



In 2013, the officers of the LPPWDFI who led the data profiling project stated/declared, "The output will serve as a basis in all future programs and activities for persons with disabilities towards their empowerment and in claiming the rights due them" (LPPWDFI, 2014). The LPPWDFI was able to use their disaggregated data to influence changes at the barangay level, such as through successful lobbying among many of the barangay officials to provide funding support for such projects and activities of the Federation as sensitivity and awareness-raising workshops for barangay officials. With the data, they were also able to convince barangay officials to give them access to use the barangay transport vehicles when they needed to attend meetings or trainings in the city hall or in other LGUs in the National Capital Region. Capacity-building activities for persons with disabilities also began receiving support as a result of the data on their educational situation. At the city level, LPPWDFI was able to leverage their data to influence the priorities of programs, projects, and activities of the City Social Welfare and Development Office thereby ensuring that these would address what persons with disabilities truly need. Whereas before, "services" for persons with disabilities consisted only of gifts given during the National Disability Prevention and Rehabilitation Week and during Christmas, the data that came out from the profiling project paved the way for more capacity-building activities (such as community organizing, leadership training of officers, local budget advocacy, and proposal making) for the LPPWDFI leaders and members.

Apart from these, the following are some of the other recommendations that the LPPWDFI came up with in 2013 and which are now being implemented. The LPPWDFI recommended that the LGU of Las Piñas pursue the establishment of the Persons with Disability Affairs Office (PDAO) in the city pursuant to Republic Act 10070. To date, the LPPWDFI have already drafted the implementing rules and regulations for the city PDAO, and these will likely be approved by the city council before the end of 2019. They also recommended the maximization of learning opportunities for persons with intellectual disabilities. To date, the Federation is already in its second year of implementing its Children with Disabilities and Parents Enrichment Program with funding support from the CSWDO.

Data profiling, still an on-going endeavor. The organization, however, did not stop at the 2013 Data Profiling Project. To date, they continue to regularly update their database. They are now in the process of validating their 2018 and first quarter 2019 data—with the raw figures showing that there are already over 12,000 persons with disabilities in their database. The LPPWDFI also sees further improvements in data gathering as it has partnered with the Center for Disaster Preparedness (CDP) which is currently implementing a project entitled Inclusive Data Management System for Persons with Disabilities. The data that will come out from this partnership will be used in influencing the disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM) plan of the City of Las Piñas towards being more disability responsive. It must be noted as well that the review of existing DRRM policies and programs in Las Piñas including rescue procedures, drill exercises, early warning systems, and information materials was also one of the recommendations made in the 2013 data profiling project.

Their experiences and their continuing initiative to build on their data profiling project has opened up opportunities for the LPPWDFI to partner with different organizations locally, nationally, and even at the international level in pursuit of their advocacy for inclusive development. Speaking from their context in Las Piñas, this means, "Truly inclusive—not just for persons with disabilities. This includes older persons, children and youth, women, the urban poor, and fisher folk." This, for them, is their re-imagination of development.

Discussions of Critical Factors

The discussions of the author will focus on four critical factors that he sees contributed to the success of LPPWDFI's collective initiative:

(a) Rights, identities, and aspirations of persons with disabilities, (b) Leadership development, capacity-building, and local initiatives, (c) The role of support organizations and the state, and (d) Facing the need to build on gains.

Rights, identities and aspirations of persons with disabilities. In a conversation with Dr. Manalaysay, one of the founding leaders of the LPPWDFI, she stressed that they organized themselves around human rights and their shared aspiration to have a voice, to be empowered. Further conversations with officers and members at barangay-level associations showed a growing appreciation of their being claimholders and of their organizations as avenues for holding the local government accountable in fulfilling its obligations.

Being a cross-disability organization, the LPPWDFI was also very much aware that they needed to have disaggregated data that they can use in holding the local government accountable in enhancing existing programs and services or developing new ones that will include the different needs of its members. While the majority of those identified in the 2013 data profiling were persons with orthopedic/mobility impairments, the recommendations they drafted covered the needs of all their constituencies. Apart from impairments, there was also a good effort to identify women and girls with disabilities so that they can be rendered more visible and thus included in mainstream development programs and services (LPPWDFI, 2014). The data profiling project also provided the LPPWDFI the opportunity to have a deeper appreciation of who among them needed the most support due to their socio-economic status.

The Articles of Incorporation of the LPPWDFI speaks of aiming for the improvement of the lives of persons with disabilities. Conversations with leaders and members of the LPPWDFI and its barangay-level associations provided a glimpse into how they see this aspiration hopefully playing out in their communities: communities that are more respectful, communities that are more sensitive to the needs of vulnerable people, communities that provide opportunities for them to participate in all aspects of community life, communities that are becoming more aware of the different barriers that exclude people and the need to reduce, if not remove, such barriers.

The rights, identities, and shared aspirations of persons with disabilities belonging to the LPPWDFI, or what might also be referred to as collective identity and organizational unity, provided the firm foundation for the data profiling project of the LPPWDFI. All these taken together

have led to the Data Profiling of Persons with Disabilities, a participatory project that involved persons with disabilities themselves from planning, to implementation, to monitoring and final evaluation (LPPWDFI, 2014).

Leadership development, capacity-building, local initiatives. The lack of reliable data particularly on disability had become an easy go-to excuse for local government units and different agencies. This attitude provided fertile ground for business-as-usual development, i.e., development that sees persons with disabilities as beneficiaries and not as agents. The continuous development of the LPPWDFI leaders—through participation in different capacity-building programs—enabled them to gain more confidence to develop more complex local initiatives such as the data profiling project. At another level, investing in capability-building has contributed in levelling the playing field to allow more room for participation. For example, pushing for persons with disabilities to serve as enumerators for the project and ensuring that they are sufficiently trained so that they can carry out their tasks allowed for greater participation. There was also a strong sense of ownership of the data profiling project since this idea emerged from the organization's analysis of its situation and it was perceived to be a relevant response to their need to influence how local government programs and services are developed and implemented.

Role of support organizations and the state. While the LPPWDFI were at the front and center of the data profiling project, it was evident from their story that different individuals, organizations, and institutions also played important roles at different phases of the project. Partnering with other organizations has been one of the main strategies of the LPPWDFI that enabled it to develop and implement many of their ideas, including the data profiling project. In partnering with other organizations, it was essential for LPPWDFI to have a firm belief in their capacity and the centrality of their role with regard to their local initiatives. For their partners, on the other hand, like the DSWD-NCR and the Las Piñas CSWDO, it was essential for these organizations to take a step back and recognize their facilitative role in the process. It must be said however that such a situation did not simply come about. In the words of the leaders of LPPWDFI, "We fought for our views, our rights." The respect that support organizations have come to accord to them is a result of their collective struggle and their local initiatives to change their situation.

Facing the need to build on gains. The Federation recognizes that, while there have been positive outcomes across the barangays and even within the city government, these changes have been uneven and have not really levelled the playing field, so to speak. There is a recognition that most

of the outcomes respond to practical needs of persons with disabilities and their families, but outcomes in terms of strategic concerns around social barriers (prejudicial attitudes, environmental and institutional barriers) are still wanting. In this regard, the LPPWDFI sees the need to continue to deepen their analysis of the data they have produced and are producing, and utilize the results of this in further enhancing and developing their strategies, programs, and projects towards broader and deeper societal changes. They also see the need to use the data (and the continuing generation of disaggregated data on persons with disabilities) to inform their initiatives in (a) consolidating their organizations at the barangay and city levels, (b) partnering with support institutions, and (c) pursuing their advocacy for a more inclusive society.

Conclusions

While having disability-disaggregated data, be it at the national level or at the level of the barangay, is not enough to ensure that excluded peoples are included, it cannot be denied that having such is critical in ensuring that the rights of persons with disabilities are included in all development efforts. The value of disaggregated data in shaping development policies and programs is further increased if excluded peoples themselves play a central role in producing such data. In the case of the LPPWDFI, however, it seems that it was not merely the resulting disaggregated data which convinced policy makers and program implementers at the barangay and city-levels. Rather, it was the collective action of persons with disabilities and their commitment to their cause to be included in their communities, which persuaded the government to start to change and be more disability-responsive.

Furthermore, the value of the data profiling project of the LPPWDFI goes beyond the fact that relevant data was produced. Being at the front and center of the data profiling project gave LPPWDFI the opportunity to deepen their (a) understanding of the different but intersecting realities of persons with disabilities in Las Piñas City; (b) appreciation of their individual and collective capabilities; and (c) relationships with each other within their organizations—which they believe is essential if they are to continue to genuinely participate in re-defining and re-imagining development in their communities.

The lack or absence of disability-disaggregated data in the majority of Philippine communities continues to be a major barrier that results in the exclusion of persons with disabilities in social development. While local government units can take the lead in doing this, such as in

the case of the LGU of Cervantes mentioned in the earlier section of this article, the Data Profiling Project of the LPPWDFI shows the significance of persons with disabilities themselves being at the forefront of such an endeavor. Not only does it ensure that the data generated are relevant to their lives, experiences, and aspirations, but the process itself contributes a lot to their empowerment as individuals and as an organization. While many organizations of persons with disabilities in the country are looking and waiting for their respective LGUs to take the lead in data profiling, perhaps the story of the LPPWDFI can open up spaces for introspection and eventually for their collective action.

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Interrogating Human Rights:

A Personal Journey in Drafting the Right to International Solidarity

Virginia B. Dandan, DSD

(Editor's Note: This article is based on the initial chapter of a recently concluded dissertation. The dissertation is 'different' from the conventional dissertation in terms of form and substance. The dissertation chronicles the author's journey in working within the UN human rights system as an Independent Expert tasked to prepare the Draft Declaration on the Right to International Solidarity. The author describes it as a process of deconstructing and constructing the Right to International Solidarity.)

Introduction

There is something profoundly intriguing in the idea that everyone is born equal and free, with human rights that no one can take away from us, no matter who and where we are, our skin color, what gods we worship, whether we are rich or poor, young or old. That was the thought that ran through my mind when I first read the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in the late 1980s. I came across the UDHR as I was doing a library search for a Philippine law that could be applied so that the women potters of Samoki—a small village in the Mountain Province where I was doing research—could continue to gather their clay in a neighboring patch of land that had become private property. I was at that time part of a team of faculty members from the University of the Philippines College of Fine Arts conducting field research on the traditional art forms of Northern Luzon; and being a sculptor, pottery was assigned to me. I divided my time between my teaching duties, artmaking, and traveling to visit the potters' village. It was a relief when a local lawyer intervened and negotiated a mutually agreed solution to the problem between the potters and the private property owner. The village of Samoki is still there today, with a few of the potters still living but now grown old with just a few of them still making an occasional traditional clay pot that less and less people still find useful as storage vessels in this age of inexpensive plastic containers and the introduction of piped water services.

That chance introduction to human rights changed the course of my life. I have since all but set aside my art practice, to pursue what has turned out to be a journey spanning three decades now and still counting. I concentrated on doing human rights work in the United Nations system

as an "independent expert," a term of art denoting a person with a formal United Nations mandate without compensation and, as such, acts and speaks in her individual capacity. I brought with me to the UN system an approach to human rights that was seen as different from that of the UN diplomats and international lawyers who monitored compliance with human rights treaty obligations by the so-called duty-bearers, the States. In my early years as a member of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR or the Committee), there were only a few colleagues who found my approach "refreshing" while most rolled their eyes heavenward whenever I showed more interest in the best practices by States instead of their neglect or failure in implementing their obligations to promote and protect human rights. I was attempting to strike a balance between the prevailing inordinate focus on violations of human rights and the positive instrumental value of human rights. The negative approach, sometimes referred to in the vocabulary of human rights as the violations approach, largely contributed to the misconception that human rights are only about torture, executions, forced evictions, repression of the media, and so on. This state of affairs dismayed and disturbed me and I wondered how a shift could ever be achieved given the established negativity in the vocabulary of human rights. It occurred to me that my UN mandate could be a useful platform to raise awareness of the positive values that human rights can bring to people's lives.

This approach launched me on a path that has led me to this point—writing a paper with the objective of illustrating and expanding the understanding of human rights through my experience of constructing and then deconstructing a United Nations document titled "Draft Declaration on the Right to International Solidarity," referred to onward as the Draft Declaration. This is the first time that a single individual has been tasked by the UN Human Rights Council (HRC or the Council) to prepare a UN declaration in her capacity as the mandate-holder of human rights and international solidarity. The preparation of a UN declaration has always been assigned to a working group composed of representatives of States assisted by legal experts. Like all other UN declarations, the Draft Declaration will be negotiated by the Member States of the UN, modified to their satisfaction, before it is submitted to the General Assembly for adoption. Although the task of writing the Draft Declaration was assigned to me simply by virtue of circumstance, as part of the myriad duties of the "what is known as a mandate holder" in UN parlance, it was for me a privilege that gave me a singular opportunity to make a direct impact on the fulfillment of human rights. The first mandate holder—I was the second—was unable to complete the preparation of the Draft Declaration within the maximum allotted term

of six years, owing to daunting obstacles that this paper will discuss.

This paper serves as the introduction chapter to my dissertation that traces the processes and questions I confronted in my journey in understanding human rights, particularly the right to international solidarity. The entire dissertation is a firsthand account of my modest contribution to the human rights work of the UN where I devoted the most productive years of my professional life, culminating in the submission to the Human Rights Council of the Draft Declaration at the end of my term in 2017.

Looking Back: My Engagement with Human Rights

The ensuing years as part of the UN human rights system were hectic, as I worked simultaneously on my teaching duties in the University and my responsibilities as a member of the UNCESCR. I was also managing a project for the Commission on Human Rights of the Philippines on integrating human rights in community development where I first encountered a vocabulary of human rights that gave a name to my own thinking regarding a shift in attention from the violations approach to human rights to their essential positive values. The project team and I were working with three indigenous communities, one in Northern Luzon and two in Mindanao. It was encouraging how well those communities responded to learning about human rights, and surprising that these communities were already practicing human rights principles although these were not named as such. They could easily translate into their local languages the human rights principles of equality, non-discrimination, participation, accountability, and rule of law. They spoke of these human rights terms in analogous phrases rather than single words. In effect, they were describing the connotations of each term rather than denoting them.

There was one community in particular—the Badjao of Tampalan close to Zamboanga City in Mindanao—who understood the meaning of the human rights principles as expressions of love in their personal relations with each other and with their community. For example, the rule of law was about the reverence for and obedience to their council of elders, whom they regarded as the bearers of the wisdom and love as handed down by their ancestors. I recall a long conversation with the head of the Badjao community whom they called Panglima. He explained to me that the term human rights which I was using was just another way of referring to love which in the Bisayan language spoken in Mindanao, is translated as *paghigugma* or just simply *gugma*. He was apparently unimpressed about

what I called "human rights" because they regarded *gugma* as a behavioral norm in their culture. What he said was not a revelation because indeed human rights principles are akin to the golden rule, "Do unto others as you want others to do to you." But the way the Panglima casually but explicitly proclaimed that human rights was simply *gugma*, love, had an impact on me. Even if I secretly held the same conviction that human rights are really all about love, I was reticent to openly talk about human rights as such for fear that I would be ridiculed.

The New Road in the Same Direction

I stayed on course with the CESCR for 20 years, with eight of those years as the Chairperson. The UN Human Rights Council then appointed me as the Independent Expert on Human Rights and International Solidarity, where my priority task was to prepare a draft declaration on the right to international solidarity while at the same time taking into account the processes and outcomes of all major United Nations conferences and other global summits and ministerial meetings in the economic, social, and climate fields. I was also requested in this context, to seek the views and contributions from governments, United Nations agencies, other relevant international organizations, and non-governmental organizations in the discharge of my mandate. Further requests from the Council included participation in relevant international forums and major events to promote the importance of human rights and international solidarity in, for example, the post-2015 development agenda and after that, in the processes that went into the outcomes of the 2030 development agenda of the United Nations, more familiarly known as the Sustainable Development Goals.

The Council resolution that defined my mandate did not specify concrete instructions as to how I would go about the task of creating a draft declaration. It was apparently my decision as to how I would go about creating a new human right. I approached the task in the only way I knew how, by problematizing the subject. The problem itself was fairly simple—how to create a new human right. My past experience taught me that the full understanding of human rights cannot pre-exist the right itself. Human rights are a work in progress, and come into full light and existence as enforceable claims only through continuous development of its dimensions, made possible through the experience and hands-on work done on the ground by local actors themselves. In this case, I had to ask myself questions that would spur my initial imaginings of how a Draft Declaration might be. What is the definition of the right to international solidarity? What are the relevant principles, norms, standards, and practices that

could be applied for an effective implementation of a right to international solidarity? Other questions linked to multiple issues convinced me that my work would benefit greatly from the expertise and insights of other human rights experts.

The first major step I took in relation to my tasks was to convene a two-day expert workshop on human rights and international solidarity under the auspices of my official mandate. I invited 26 internationally recognized human rights experts selected from various regions. Representatives of States, United Nations agencies, and non-governmental organizations were also invited as observers in the private meetings and as participants in the workshop groups. The discussions in the workshop focused on relevant issues that included the content, nature, and added value of international solidarity; the definition of international solidarity and a right to international solidarity; the relationships between international solidarity and international cooperation; and working beyond the Millennium Development Goals. The participants expressed their thoughts freely, based on their individual expertise, and exchanged views on the issues at hand.

The outcome of the expert workshop provided invaluable data from which I gained a clearer understanding of what the contour and scope of a right to international solidarity might be. In terms of justifying the right to international solidarity, there was no need to look beyond the various crises facing the world. If the right were in place, better tools would be available with which to tackle issues. The right could also be justified by exploring existing good practice in terms of international solidarity and by bringing in human rights standards, including non-discrimination, equality, transparency, participation, and accountability of national and international institutions and State and non-State actors. The participants stressed the importance of the concept of "preventive solidarity" as a normative framework, in particular to minimize the negative effects of crises. It could take the form of safeguards against financial recessions or of early warning systems for natural disasters, for example. The work of the International Labor Organization on the social protection floor was cited as a good example of preventive solidarity.

The right to international solidarity would capture the ways in which solidarity was used by the public to achieve development and to push for a more revolutionary definition of the concept. A note of caution was that imposing a right to solidarity and turning it into a State obligation might actually undermine the right because it could weaken

community solidarity and make the Government solely responsible. Several participants pointed out that, in drafting a declaration, it was important to strike the correct note, tone, and balance so as to be forward-looking but also to focus on what was palatable at a time of crises and what would have both strength and content. The added value of the right to international solidarity in the form of a declaration would be that the declaration would set forth interpretive principles and forward-looking text. It would also be important at some stage to look at how to muster sufficient support among Member States and civil society for the declaration. One way to build consensus was to base the declaration on the Charter of the United Nations and existing human rights obligations.

The workshop was only the beginning and, in the course of my mandate, more stakeholders would be sought out and consulted. At the sessions of the Human Rights Council, I held numerous informal consultations with the delegations of the regional groups of countries, to listen and exchange views. It was my intention to listen to as many people as possible. I managed to compile a rich resource basis from which to draw a first attempt at crafting a preliminary text of the Draft Declaration. This compilation was complemented by my informal conversations with different groups of people with whom I engaged in UN world conferences. I also benefited from the country study missions I conducted, particularly in Brazil where solidarity is integrated into its Constitution, and where the government practices what they call "solidarity diplomacy."

Defining International Solidarity and a Right to International Solidarity

The most common understanding of the word "solidarity" from the dictionary is in terms of a unity or agreement of feeling or action, especially among individuals with a common interest; and mutual support within a group. Solidarity also refers to an independent trade union movement in Poland that developed into a mass campaign for political change and inspired popular opposition to communist regimes across eastern Europe during the 1980s. The Human Rights Council resolution that spelled out the terms of my appointment as independent expert also stipulated that international solidarity is a "…broad principle not limited to international assistance and cooperation, aid, charity or humanitarian assistance, and that it includes sustainability in international relations, especially international economic relations, the peaceful coexistence of all members of the international community, equal partnerships and the equitable sharing of benefits and burdens" (HRC, 2011).

A particular vocabulary of human rights prevails in the language of the international human rights domain as well as in the various legal instruments denoting interpretations of the human rights standards contained in the UDHR. I took this into account as I went through a review of UN documents relevant to my task of preparing the Draft Declaration. Since I was creating a document that would be closely examined specifically by the Member States of the Human Rights Council, I had to learn to write using the dominant vocabulary of human rights.

It has been said, and rightly so, that the *principle* of solidarity—emphasis mine—is a concept that progressively moves forward in asserting common rights and responsibilities and in the shaping of an international community, representing values to be attached, as a whole, to the life of present and future generations, and to the development of a democratic and equitable international order (Van Boven, 2012). When I first accepted my appointment to the mandate, I spoke in "lay person's terms" of solidarity as a persuasion that combines differences and opposites, holding them together in one heterogeneous whole, imbuing that whole with the universal values of human rights. For that reason, solidarity should be protected from exploitation and corruption, particularly at the international level, across national boundaries and cultural diversities. Furthermore, international solidarity should be explicitly a human right if it is to be true to the purposes of the United Nations, and if it is to be the engine that will drive the international community's collective actions to overcome the common challenges, risks, and threats faced by nations and peoples, and to achieve the transformative changes that are imperative in these troubled times. It did not take long for me to realize that, more than anything, what was required was an understanding of international solidarity in human rights terms. This is the rationale and significance of the Draft Declaration on the Right to International Solidarity.

Article 1 of the Draft Declaration provides a definition of the *principle* of international solidarity: "*International solidarity is the expression of a spirit of unity among individuals, peoples, States and international organizations, encompassing the union of interests, purposes and actions and the recognition of different needs and rights to achieve common goals.*" The above definition of international solidarity as a principle encompasses a comprehensive and coherent conceptual and operational framework to regulate a spectrum of global governance issues beyond the more limited instances of international cooperation in the field of development. For example, international solidarity requires the deployment of preventive solidarity aimed at proactively preventing and removing the root causes of inequalities

between developed and developing countries, as well as the structural obstacles that generate poverty. International solidarity represents a multi-directional—rather than a one-way—deployment of action, together with the corresponding obligation and accountability, thus creating a nexus of intersecting elements that would bring about an enabling environment where human rights can be exercised and enjoyed by individuals, groups, and peoples.

In Article 4, the full definition of the right to international solidarity is stated in two paragraphs—

1. The right to international solidarity is a human right by which individuals and peoples are entitled, on the basis of equality and non-discrimination, to participate meaningfully in, contribute to and enjoy a social and international order in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.
2. The right to international solidarity is grounded in the codification and progressive development of freedoms and entitlements contained in international human rights treaties reflecting civil and political rights, economic, social and cultural rights, the right to development, and international labour standards, and complemented by other responsibilities arising from voluntary commitments undertaken in the relevant fields at the bilateral, multilateral, regional and international levels.

The framework for international solidarity derives from four general sources: the Charter of the United Nations; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights along with the international human rights treaties; the numerous commitments relating to human rights and development that have been adopted by States in UN conferences and summits; and the resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly. These documents stand on the positions taken by States that reflect their acceptance of these resolutions and, more importantly, their actual practice. UN resolutions are key to the treaty-making process as well as the formulation of declarations, with the respective texts having to be negotiated among States of the General Assembly.

The wide political divide among Member States of the UN is a reality that most UN people have learned to live with, and mostly ignore. But like it or not, this great political divide can be the single most destructive element within an institution that is founded on solidarity, cooperation, and "brotherhood." There has always been among States

of the Human Rights Council, a general recognition of international solidarity as a principle. However, the Council is divided along political lines when it comes to supporting the concept of international solidarity as a human right. Developed countries, particularly the European Union countries, and their political allies like the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and South Korea, all reject international solidarity as a human right. On the opposite side, there is strong support from Russia, China, and the developing countries from Africa and the Latin American and Caribbean and Southeast Asian regions. In my bilateral consultations, I was informed by the Western group that their objection lies in the fact that international solidarity as a right does not have a legal basis because it applies to collectives in direct contradiction to its avowed position that human rights belong only to individuals. As a postscript to this issue, I place on record that the mandate of international solidarity was created under the sponsorship of Cuba and it is my opinion that this fact has made all the difference in their staunch political position against a Draft Declaration on the Right to International Solidarity. When I began my term as the Independent Expert, my first bilateral meeting was with an ambassador from a Latin American country who gently pointed out to me that this state of affairs will be the single most formidable obstacle to the success of the mandate.

Relevant Literature

Direct reference in the major literature of the United Nations to international solidarity as a right does not exist but, in contrast, the reference to the principle of international solidarity is abundant. The Draft Declaration therefore makes generous use of the principle of international solidarity to build upon in the articulation of its preambular paragraphs and in laying down the foundations of the right to international solidarity.

International solidarity is a foundational principle underpinning the three pillars of the Charter of the United Nations—peace and security, development, and human rights. The Charter distinctly reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. The Charter adopted in 1945, is a testimony to the determination of States

> …to establish the conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained; to promote social progress and better standards of life in greater freedom; and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and

> social advancement of all peoples. Accordingly, international solidarity should be understood within the context of the conditions that States are bound to maintain, and not otherwise.

The Charter of the United Nations needs to be revisited as often as necessary, as a reminder of its timeless vision, given the evolving needs of a changing world. Article 1 of the Charter, articulating the purposes of the Organization, implicitly calls for international solidarity to undertake effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace. Article 1 also calls for international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character. The Draft Declaration interprets this article as consistent with its claim that international cooperation is a key feature of the right to international solidarity.

The adoption in 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights put into motion the extraordinary promise and exhortation in its Article 1: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." Further in its penultimate Article 29 paragraph 1, the UDHR makes a powerful point: "Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible." These two articles together with the other articles between them, set out a "…common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations" (UDHR Preamble). The preamble and the articles of the UDHR shape the contours of international solidarity as both a principle and a right. They also reinforce the idea of international solidarity as an instrument that responds to the existing imperative to establish the conditions under which all individuals and peoples can enjoy and realize their human rights. It is in addition the engine for international assistance and cooperation towards the effective implementation of sustainable development.

The Declaration on the Right to Development, adopted in 1986, was a response to the need for substantive change in the reprehensible conditions of the world's most marginalized and vulnerable groups. Yet its effective implementation continues to be fraught with complex political issues and, to this day, support for the Declaration on the Right to Development, the source of the so-called human rights-based approach to development, has not risen beyond lip service from the same States that signed it. The issues that emerged out of the right to development are the same issues being echoed in discussions around the right to international solidarity. The political divide between the developed and the developing countries so intensely polarized the United Nations. The Declaration on the Right

to Development itself was not the issue. It was also on its implementation where the opposing factions simply could not agree on how the provisions of the Declaration would be implemented. The controversy centered on the same position of the EU countries and their allies that collective rights such as the right to development do not have a legal footing because of the fact that human rights belong only to individuals. The question of who should foot the bill in the implementation of development assistance brought the debate to a virtual standstill. An intergovernmental Working Group on the Right to Development was created and an Independent Expert on the Right to Development was appointed, who would report to the Working Group on the implementation of the Right to Development. *The Right to Development: Reflections on the First Four Reports of the Independent Expert on the Right to Development,* published by Franciscans International (2003), is a compilation of commentaries by varied authors who had been following the issues linked to the processes and activities surrounding the controversies. I found this book useful in gaining relevant knowledge on how and why these controversies seemed to find no solution even with the passage of many years. The articles cover a wide range of topics that may be relevant to my own mandate such as development cooperation strategies, the establishment of a development compact, and escaping poverty through development cooperation (FI, 2003).

I make special mention of the book *Human Rights and Their Limits* by Wiktor Osiatynski (2011), a professor at the Central European University in Budapest, who spent his boyhood years in communist Poland of the 1950s. His book represents his most significant learning about human rights over 20 years doing research and teaching human rights, witnessing firsthand "…the world around me slowly waking up to the concept of human rights" (Osiatynski, 2011). With such opening remarks, it is no wonder that I have been keeping this book within easy reach and regret that I have not spent as much time reading it as thoroughly as it deserves. My readings of the book so far have left me with more questions than answers in my quest of finding something that I could use in my task of writing the Draft Declaration. Aside from finding resonance with the idea that the author wrote the book from firsthand experience, I did find the book's format unusual. Osiatynski divided the parts of his book into two, providing two separate conclusions for each part. I also found resonance between his discussion of rights in the public sphere, rights and society, and the theory of communicative action of Jurgen Habermas (1991) which I used to frame my examination of variables in preparation to writing the Draft Declaration.

The Process of Making the Draft Declaration

Through all the years that I was working with the UN, I was constantly engaged with colleagues among whom were some of the best minds of international law. It was from them that I learned to pay attention to Human Rights Council resolutions because resolutions emanating from international organizations such as the UN General Assembly and the Human Rights Council have a persuasive effect on international law.

This entailed a tedious process of sifting through countless UN documents in search of the appropriate elements for a draft declaration; numerous bilateral consultations with the various delegations of States at the UN headquarters and at their permanent missions in Geneva as well as in New York; interviews with other independent human rights experts and academics both within and outside the UN system; and spending the rest of the time studying relevant references.

Consultations with the delegations of States were part of my official duties and I took that effort as a matter of priority, recognizing that the support of delegations would be crucial to the success of the Draft Declaration, and the continuation of the mandate itself. My objective during the initial round of consultations with the delegations was to listen to and note what they had to say about a right to international solidarity and, just as importantly, to what they *did not* say.

The insights, comments, and inputs from United Nations agencies, independent experts, non-governmental organizations, academics, national human rights institutions, and local communities on the Preliminary Text were of great benefit in the process of amending the original text to its new form which I started referring to as the Proposed Draft Declaration. The Proposed Draft Declaration was circulated for further comments.

I modelled the original Proposed Draft Declaration after the traditional format of UN declaration documents. It took on a different form after it went through the step-by-step procedure that was put in place to finalize it. The two versions of the Draft Declaration were framed by the communicative action theory of Jurgen Habermas (Bolton, 2005) who created a distinction between Lifeworld and System, two distinct but related spheres of social life in which what he calls communicative and instrumental action occur. Lifeworld refers to the everyday world whose realities are influenced by System that consists of structures and patterns of instrumental action such as money and power. Lifeworld is the medium

of the symbolic and cultural reproduction of society and System is the medium of material reproduction of society (Bolton, 2005).

In my quest for a theoretical foundation on examining the vocabulary of human rights, my position on the matter resonates with the idea of the language-world relationship dealing with questions on what gives words their meanings and what is it for a word to even have a meaning to begin with (Geisz, 2011). It is a simple starting point to questions about representation and reference. However, what is more related to the context of this paper is Frege's concept (Dummett, 1973) that expressions which share their referents (that which is referred to; in this case, human rights) could generally be substituted for one another without changing the truth value of a sentence. In other words, anything we might predicate with the one we may predicate with the other, so long as the two expressions have the same referent. I attempted to do this while I was in the process of revising the Proposed Draft Declaration.

The final version of the Draft Declaration of the Right to International Solidarity was submitted to the Human Rights Council at the end of my term as Independent Expert in June 2017.

Human Rights as Language of Love?

Specialists in international law use legal language to interpret the substance of human rights which contribute to the skewed perspectives on human rights among those who have no legal background. More often than not, the average person relates human rights only to violations that are featured in dramatic fashion in print and broadcast media. Even today, when human rights education has become part of the curriculum in schools, there is a lack of awareness and understanding of human rights in its positive light. Philip Alston has recently sounded the alarm regarding the "nationalistic, xenophobic, misogynistic and explicitly anti-human rights agenda of many populist political leaders" (Alston, 2017). He has called on human rights proponents to rethink long-standing assumptions about human rights, re-evaluate strategies and reach out more actively and broadly to reaffirm the basic human rights principles. Alston's words may also be taken as a criticism of the lack of creative initiatives to revitalize the already enervated vocabulary of human rights. In response to this, it could well be that the time has come to be less didactic and be more open to other possibilities in reaffirming human rights principles.

Alston's warning is truly alarming; and not only human rights advocates but rather every one of us should be concerned as to the future of

democracy in the face of the rising tide of change in the opposite direction of where we would want the world to go. The sad truth is the idea of human rights is growing old and tired. Too much has been expected of the promise of the UDHR, as though it were the panacea to every large and small crisis that happens in the world on a daily basis. That was the feeling I had as I went through the process of crafting the Draft Declaration on the Right to International Solidarity.

The notion of international obligations becomes even more relevant in the present context of globalization, where the role of the State is increasingly being reduced—inadvertently in some cases, it might be argued. Whether or not this is the case, the State's capacity to respect, protect, and fulfill human rights is diminished. In such a context, the value of international cooperation, a key feature of international solidarity, takes on even more importance, particularly in connection with supporting a State that needs assistance in complying with its core human rights obligations. Collective action by States in undertaking measures of reactive solidarity, as well as preventive solidarity, are of critical importance in minimizing adverse impacts on the exercise and enjoyment of human rights.

More recently, a friend called my attention to Michael Hardt's thoughts on love as a political concept which he discusses in *Multitude, War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (Negri & Hardt, 2004). Hardt makes a distinction between "love as politics" and the other more familiar forms of love. In his own words he sums up his view on

> …a political notion of love that is not only open to difference, like not only a kind of tolerance, but a love that loves the stranger, a love that functions through the play of difference rather than the insistence on the same….not merging into unity, but constructing of constellations among differences, among social differences.

In an interview, Hardt points out that limiting love only for what is the same kind has destroyed the possibility of a more generous and positive concept.

Hardt's theory of love as politics resonates with the convictions I have held and which have been driving my human rights work through all these years. Although I have yet to find literature on the topic of human rights as a language of love, there is a significant body of human rights literature that can be understood as a connotation of or an inference from human rights as a language of love. The sense of the words in the UDHR "act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood" obviously signifies

love in a direct manner, and at the same time reinforcing the place of love in the political context.

In one of my occasional lectures on integrating human rights in development, a young woman from the audience asked me *"How did you become a human rights defender? Isn't that a scary profession?"* My answer came quickly: *"I call myself a human rights worker, not a human rights defender."* I explained that, while the subject of human rights has filled my life for almost three decades now, I have never been challenged to the point where I have had to defend human rights. This is also because I choose to focus on the aspects of human rights that make them positive interventions on human life. This brings me to the fact that after all these years, I am still in search of a concept frame that matches my understanding of the meaning of human rights as I have come to understand it. With all due respect, human rights are more than what the eminent human rights experts and theorists say they are. My task now is to articulate my understanding about what human rights are.

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AUTHORS' PROFILE

ANGELITO B. MENESES, DSD is a faculty member at Philippine School of Social Work, Philippine Women's University. He earned his Bachelor of Science in Social Work from Saint Louis University, Baguio City. He holds a master's degree in Community Development and a Doctor of Social Development from the College of Social Work and Community Development, University of the Philippines, Diliman. Prior to joining the academe, he has been involved in development work with Kapatiran-Kaunlaran Foundation, Inc. He has worked with Ayta communities in Bamban, Tarlac and in Zambales when he served as Community Organizer in the Office for Community Development of the University of Santo Tomas and as Director of the Center for Institutional Community Involvement of St. Joseph's College of Quezon City.

MARK ANTHONY D. ABENIR, DSD earned his AB Philosophy (2003) from the University of Santo Tomas (UST) where he graduated with honors (cum laude). He is a graduate of Master of Community Development (2008) and Doctor of Social Development (2014) from the College of Social Work and Community Development (CSWCD), University of the Philippines-Diliman. In 2013-2014, he was a fellow of Brown University, USA under their Brown International Advanced Research Institute (BIARI) Program and at the same time received the BIARI Seed Grant Award in order to hold an international workshop and conference on children and youth studies in Universidad Militar Nueva Granada, Bogota, Colombia. Currently, Assoc. Prof. Abenir currently serves as the Director of the UST SIMBAHAYAN Community Development Office. He teaches at the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Letters, UST. He is also a research associate of the UST Research Center for Social Sciences and Education (RCSSED), and leads the research interest group on Community-engaged Studies (CEnS).

EXCELSA C. TONGSON, DSD is a faculty member of the Department of Family Life and Child Development, College of Home Economics, University of the Philippines. She is currently the Deputy Director for Training, Outreach, and Extension Program of the UP Center for Women's and Gender Studies. Her research interests include Early Childhood Education, women and gender studies, and unpaid care of women in the sandwich generation. She finished Bachelor of Elementary Education (Cum Laude) at the Philippine Normal University and Masters of Family Life and Child Development at the College of Home Economics, University of the Philippines. She also has a Doctoral degree in Social Development from the College of Social Work and Community Development, University of the Philippines.

MEREDITH DEL PILAR-LABARDA, M.D., DSD is a faculty member of the University of the Philippines Manila-School of Health Sciences (UPM-SHS), Leyte Campus. She was the former chairperson of the Medical Department. She finished BS Medical Technology and Doctor of Medicine at the Remedios Trinidad Romualdez Medical Foundation in Tacloban City. She took her Master of Health Social Science in La Salle University. In 2014, she became a Fellow of the Team Based Learning at Duke-National University of Singapore. She recently completed the Doctor of Social Development Program at the College of Social Work and Community Development (CSWCD),

University of the Philippines Diliman. She is an advocate for building equitable health systems, socially accountable medical education, transformative leadership, integration of spirituality in development work, empowering marginalized groups in the community and Filipino wellbeing.

TERESITA VILLAMOR BARRAMEDA is an Associate Professor and the Chairperson of the Department of Women and Development Studies, UP College of Social Work and Community Development. Prior to teaching, she has been a development worker for more than three decades in various fields of social development. She finished her Doctor of Social Development, Masters of Community Development, MA Women and Development, and BS Community Development at UP-CSWCD. She also completed BS Fisheries from the University of the Philippines.

ROSALINDA PINEDA OFRENEO, Ph.D. is professor emeritus of the University of the Philippines. She continues to teach at the Doctor of Social Development Program of the UPCSWCD, which she also served as Dean from 2011-2013, and Chair of the Department of Women and Development Studies for three terms. She has several researches and publications, focusing lately on gender equality, social protection, solidarity economy, poverty, and sustainable development in the context of climate change. She has been active in the women's movement for almost five decades, working mainly with women in the informal economy organized by PATAMABA, Homenet Philippines, and Homenet Southeast Asia. She also writes poetry, for which she won several awards.

REDENTO B. RECIO, Ph.D. is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Informal Urbanism (InfUr) Research Hub of the University of Melbourne's Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning. Before joining the UniMelb in 2018, he worked with academic institutions, development NGOs, and social movements in the Philippines. His scholarly interests include urban informality, grassroots collective action, social inclusion policies and other urban planning and governance issues in the global South. He is currently pursuing a research examining the role of urban informal livelihoods in post-disaster recovery process. He took his BS Community Development (Magna Cum Laude) at the UP College of Social Work and Community Development and MA Urban and Regional Planning at the UP School of Urban and Regional Planning. He also obtained his Post Graduate Diploma in Children, Youth and Development from Erasmus University – International Institute of Social Studies, Netherlands.

ALELI B. BAWAGAN, Ph.D. is a professor of the Department of Community Development, UP College of Social Work and Community Development. She obtained her BS Chemical Engineering, Masters of Community Development and PhD Education at the University of the Philippines. She was on special detail as Assistant Secretary at the Department of Social Welfare and Development for three years. Concurrently, she is the Director of the UP Institute for Small-Scale Industries.

MIGUELA M. MENA. Ph.D. is a professor and former Dean of the University of the Philippines Asian Institute of Tourism. She obtained her Ph.D. in Tourism

Management at The Hong Kong Polytechnic University School of Hotel and Tourism Management, Master of Statistics and Bachelor of Science in Statistics at the University of the Philippines School of Statistics, and Diploma for Tourism Management (Highest Distinction) from Institute of Tourism and Hotel Management in Salzburg, Austria. She has extensive experience in Philippine tourism education and training and has handled various technical consultancy and research projects for international organizations and non-government organizations.

RICHARD PHILIP A. GONZALO is currently Assistant Vice President at the Office of the Vice President in Administrative Affairs, University of the Philippines. He is a faculty member of the UP Asian Institute of Tourism, where he teaches graduate courses in Investment Planning and Tourism Development Planning. He also provides technical assistance on Destination Development, Cultural Education, and Project Monitoring and Evaluation to a number of Local Government Units and National Government Agencies in the Philippines. He obtained his BS Business Administration & Accountancy and MS Finance degrees from the UP College of Business Administration. He is currently pursuing doctoral studies in the Doctor of Social Development program of the UP College of Social Work and Community Development.

VICTOR G. OBEDICEN finished his BS Community Development and Masters of Community Development at the UP College of Social Work and Community Development. He is currently teaching community organizing, participatory planning, and community-based disaster risk management. Prior to teaching, he worked with various Non-Government Organizations in the field of community-based resources and risk management.

PAUL EDWARD N. MUEGO is a faculty member of the Department of Community Development, UP College of Social Work and Community Development. Prior to joining UP-CSWCD, he worked with Asia Southeast Regional Office's CBR Coordinating Office in 2010 and the Philippine Coordinating Center for Inclusive Development in 2014 to 2018, which gave him the opportunity to further work closely with organizations of persons with disabilities and other support organizations. working with and for persons with disabilities on various development initiatives at the local, national He is currently enrolled in the Doctor of Social Development Program of CSWCD and is now working on his dissertation entitled *From KAPANSANAN towards KA-PASAN: Re-envisioning organizing of persons with disability towards inclusivity amidst complexities.*

VIRGINIA B. DANDAN, DSD is a former Dean of the UP College of Fine Arts where she graduated with a Bachelor of Fine Arts major in Sculpture, with honors. She holds a Master of Arts degree in Anthropology from UP and has recently completed the Doctor of Social Development program at the UP College of Social Work and Community Development. She was a United Nations Independent Expert on human rights from 1990 to 2017 and continues to work extensively for the recognition, protection and promotion of human rights in development through advocacy, education and training.

DSD@10
Dekada ng Serbisyo at Dedikasyon