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Community Development as reflective and reflexive practice

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Preface

Community Development (CD) theory and practice have evolved through the years. For the Department of Community Development (DCD) of the University of the Philippines - College of Social Work and Community Development (UP-CSWCD), the last five decades of teaching CD created opportunities to re-think, interrogate and put forward emergent themes derived from community practices and development discourse.

The DCD Field Instruction Program (FIP) has remained the core of the CD curriculum. Most often, this is where praxis-oriented learning is grounded and nurtured for both faculty and students. This issue of the Philippine Journal of Social Development (PJSD) is about community stories from the field as a new generation of CD practitioners engage in reflective and reflexive learning.

Praxis seems to be a common word for UP-CSWCD. Yet, its essence maybe lost in the fast-paced and complex world of everyday life. According to Paulo Freire (1984):

> Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other. (p. 58)

In the process of weaving through action and reflection, CD practitioners undergo reflective learning as they make sense (understand/ analyze) and build on the lessons (re-imagine/ theorize) from field practice in the context of pro-poor and transformative development. Reflective learning questions beliefs and values particularly those which have become unquestioned and remain to be majority positions. It pays particular attention to the analysis of power relations (Reynolds, 1999). Parallel to this process is engaging in reflexive learning – or analyzing one's own actions, thoughts, feelings, values, identity, and how these relate with other people, situations, and social structures. Reflexivity (as applied both in social research and in teaching) involves greater sensitivity on how one's presence

affect the situation, and how the experience itself can challenge or transform one's thoughts and feelings.

Seven articles were selected for this issue and are presented in two parts. Part 1 showcases four different community experiences from which the authors derived new meanings and explanations about specific development concepts. Part 2 presents three articles based on the Field Instruction Program as the authors examine their experiences 'from within' as CD educators and development practitioners.

For Part 1, four CD concepts were explored: sustainable agriculture, organizing persons with disabilities (PWDs), development aggression, and participation. Reflective practice can take varied forms: by expanding the meaning of sustainable agriculture from the perspective of "agribistas" from Batangas (W. Awitan); or proposing 'Ka-Pasan' as an analytical framework to guide organizing PWDs based on the experiences of the Las Pinas Persons with Disabilities Federation, Inc. (P. Muego); or re-interpreting development programs as a form of aggression among indigenous peasant women from the Mountain Province and their communities (M. Teves); or deconstructing the meaning of participation based on the analysis of two cases, Bagong Silang and the Workers Cooperative of Caloocan (K. Hapal).

For Part 2, reflexivity is evident as the three authors attempt to integrate their FIP involvement with their past and present experiences to come up with alternative (or 'transformative') ways of thinking and doing. The articles examined the following themes: community-engaged scholarship, poverty, and teaching CD. Reflexive learning can provide spaces to re-imagine one's perspectives: by reiterating the significance of using feminist lens as an integral part of community-engaged scholarship (T. Barrameda); or by interrogating the narratives on poverty (V. Papa); or by 'stepping back' and reviewing one's learning journey as a CD educator (D. Lagos).

The articles focused on emergent concerns in CD practice as experienced in different settings. There were two recurring themes that were interwoven in the discussions: (1) community organizing and (2) development praxis. The CO-CD framework regards organizing work among marginalized groups as the core element of people-centered

development efforts. And the greater challenge for CD practitioners is to engage in praxis-oriented learning as part of development theorizing and transformative CD practice.

As we, the issue editors, read through the seven articles, we realized that all the authors are either students or alumni of the Department of Community Development – representing different generations of CD educators and practitioners with varied engagements and advocacies. Even though Prof. Barrameda teaches and is the current Chair of the Department of Women and Development Studies, she is an undergraduate and graduate alumnus of the DCD. We would like to think, therefore, that what the authors imbibed about Community Development grounded them to the primacy of field practice as basis for engaging in development discourse.

Ma. Theresa V. Tungpalan, Ph.D.
Ma. Linnea V. Tanchuling
Issue Editors

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Agribista: Pag-oorganisa at kolektibong pamamahala sa agrikultura ng Molinete Farmers Association ng Laurel, Batangas

Wilfredo P. Awitan

Ang Agribista ay mula sa pinagsamang mga salita na agrikultura at aktibista. Ito ay tungkol sa kolektibong pagkilos ng Molinete Farmers Association (MOFA) ng Laurel, Batangas upang isulong ang sustenableng programa ng agrikultura sa Molinete. Ang mga karanasan ng MOFA sa pag-oorganisa, mobilisasyon, at pakikipag-ugnayan sa mga suportang institusyon ay naka-ugat sa pagtataguyod ng samahan patungo sa likas – kayang pag-unlad.

Sinasalamin ng karanasan ng MOFA ang paglalakbay mula sa kawalan ng pagkilos at direksyon ng dating samahan ng mga magsasaka - tungo sa mas aktibo at kolektibong pagkilos sa agrikultura para sa kapakanan ng kasapian tungo sa sustenableng pag-unlad.

Susing Kataga: Agribista, pagpapaunlad ng pamayanan, pag-oorganisa, likas-kayang pagsasaka.

Panimula

Ang mga magsasaka, bilang bahagi ng batayang sektor, ay mahalagang pundasyon ng kaunlarang panglipunan. Ang lupa at yaman ng pagsasaka ang kanilang puhunan upang maitawid ang kumakalam na sikmura at maitindig ang pagkakakilanlan bilang mahalagang sektor ng lipunan. Sa matagal ng panahon, patuloy ang pagpapahayag nila ng pagnanais ng pagbabago sa sistemang agrikultura at sistemang panglipunan.

Ang Molinete Farmers Association (MOFA) ay isang samahan ng mga magsasaka sa barangay ng Molinete, sa bayan ng Laurel,

Batangas. Ang samahan ay nagpapalaganap ng "natural farming system" o sistema ng pagsasaka gamit ang mga natural at organikong pamamaraan.

Malaking bahagi ng lupain sa bayan ng Laurel, Batangas ay lupang sakahan. May mga programang nakalaan ang lokal na pamahalaan upang mapaunlad ang sistemang pang-agrikultura. Isang mahalagang usapin ay kung sumasapat ba ang mga programang ito upang paunlarin ang sistemang pangsakahan sa bayan ng Laurel. Para sa MOFA, matinding hamon sa samahan ang patuloy na pagkilos at pagsusulong ng interes ng mga magsasaka.

Ano ang nagbibigkis sa samahan ng mga magsasaka sa Molinete upang mag-organisa at kumilos? Ano ang proseso ng pag-oorganisa na kanilang pinagdaanan at paano pinananatili ang mapanlahok na proseso sa pamamahala ng proyektong pang-agrikultura at sa pagtataguyod ng sustenableng kaunlaran? Paano maiuugnay sa gawaing pagpapaunlad ng pamayanan ang mga karanasan at inisyatibong nagawa ng MOFA?

Layunin ng pag-aaral ang mga sumusunod:

- Matukoy ang mga salik na nagbibigkis sa sama-samang pagkilos ng mga magsasaka ng Molinete sa Laurel, Batangas;

- Mailahad ang mga pinagdaanang karanasan at proseso ng pag-oorganisa at pakikilahok ng samahan sa pamamahala sa gawaing pang-agrikultura; at

- Maiugnay ang mga aral mula karanasan ng MOFA sa pag-oorganisa at pamamahala sa gawaing pagpapaunlad ng pamayanan.

Mga kaugnay na konsepto

Kalagayang Panlipunan

Ang konsepto ng kahirapan ay lumawak mula pa noong pagpasok ng ika-dalawampung siglo. Bahagi ng konseptong ito ay ang pagtingin sa bulnerableng kalagayan at kawalan ng kapangyarihan

ng ilang sektor ng lipunan (ADB, 2005). Maiuugnay ang bulnerableng kalagayang ito sa pagkakaroon ng diskriminasyon sa partikular na grupo, o tingnan ang kawalan ng kapangyarihan kaugnay ng kawalan ng inklusibong pananaw ng kaunlarang panglipunan. Ito ay maituturing na tunggalian sa lipunan. Kaugnay ito ng pagtingin na ang pagbabago sa antas ng pamumuhay ay kailangang dumaan sa isang tagisan, ito man ay usaping panglipunan, ekonomiya, politika, kultura at kalikasan.

Ayon kay Charles Darwin, na naglikha ng isang teorya ukol sa ebolusyon, ang buhay sa daigdig ay tagisan ng matitibay— at ito ay nasa kamay ng mga nagwawagi sa tagisan (CPAR, 1991). Iniangkop naman ito ni Karl Marx sa larangan ng tunggalian ng mga uri sa lipunan. Ayon sa kanya, kailangan mag-ipon ng lakas ang naaaping uri upang sila ang magwagi sa tagisan ng mga uri at mamuno sa pagpapatakbo ng lipunan (CPAR, 1991). Mahalaga ring isaalang-alang kung paano binibigyan ng kahulugan ang ugat at dahilan ng kahirapan. Dahil ito ay magbubunsod sa mamamayan upang alamin ang akmang tugon na pipiliin upang harapin at baguhin ito (Dela Cruz, L.P., 2009).

Gawaing Pagpapaunlad ng Pamayanan

Malalim ang kahulugan ng kaunlaran. Ang kaunlaran ay isang proseso na nagpapalawak sa kalayaan na tinatamasa ng pamayanan (Sen, 1999). Dagdag ni Sen, ang kaunlaran ay dapat tumugon sa pagpapalawig ng ganap na buhay at pagkakaroon ng kalayaan. Ang kaunlaran ay paglikha ng maayos na buhay para sa lahat (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Ang konsepto ng maka-kalikasang karapatang pantao ay binigyan-pansin kaugnay ng pagkilala sa karapatang magkaroon ng malinis at ligtas na kapaligiran.

Ang pakikilahok ng mga tao ay kritikal na salik sa gawaing pagpapaunlad ng pamayanan (Luna, et al, 2009; Gaventa, 2012; WB, 2013). Ang pakikilahok sa lokal na antas ay kailangan sa pagsusuri ng kalagayan, pagbubuo ng mga ugnayan sa pamayanan, at upang magkaroon ng maayos na pamamahala (Mansuri & Rao, 2013). Bukod dito, mahalaga rin ang desentralisasyon ng mga rekurso sa lokal na pamayanan (Mansuri & Rao, 2013).

Kolektibong Pamamahala

Ang pamamahala ay tumutukoy sa kolektibong pagdedesisyon (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009). Dagdag ni Stoker, ito ay mga interaksyon ng mga independenteng samahan sa lipunan na magkaka-ugnay sa isang sistemang pampulitika. Isang makabagong anyo ng pamamahala ay ang mapanlahok o kolektibong pamamahala. Binigyan-pansin sa konseptong ito ang pagkakaroon ng mas malawak na kahulugan ng pamamahala bilang proseso at istratehiya ng pagpapaunlad ng pamayanan.

Tatlong pangunahing prinsipyo ng mabuting pamamahala ang tinukoy sa isang pag-aaral ng Affiliated Network for Social Accountability in East Asia and the Pacific (ANSA – EAP, 2014): "*transparency*" o isang bukas na impormasyon para sa publiko, "*accountability*" o pag-ako sa desisyon o responsibilidad, at ang pakikilahok ng pamayanan sa isang makabuluhang gawain sa lipunan. Kaugnay nito ay ang konsepto ng "*social accountability*" o ugnayan sa pagitan ng mamamayan at ng pamahalaan sa pagsubaybay sa paggamit ng mga rekurso at implementasyon ng mga proyekto ng pamahalaan. Layunin nito na mapahusay ang mga serbisyo, maprotektahan ang mga karapatang pantao, at maitaguyod ang kapakanan ng pamayanan.

Ang bawat nilikha ay may potensyal na kakayahan – nagsisimula sa anyong kulang o di ganap at tumutungo sa kaganapan o pinakamaunlad na estado ng sarili (CPAR, 1991). Mahalaga ang potensyal na ito sa pamamahala ng samahan at pamayanan, gayun din sa pamamalakad ng mga proyekto. Tatlong bagay ang puedeng tingnan sa proseso ng pag-unlad: (1) Ang larawang diwa o sukatan ng inaasam na antas ng isang lipunan; (2) Ang kasaysayan ng pagbabago ng lipunan; at (3) Mga inisyatibo tungo sa kaunlaran mula sa mga iba't ibang katuwang na grupo at institusyon (Dela Cruz, L.P., 2009).

Ang konsepto naman ng mapanlahok o kolektibong pamamahala ay nangyayari sa pang araw-araw na gawain ng komunidad at ugnayan ng mga tao. Maituturing itong bahagi ng kaugalian sa pamayanan sa pagharap sa mga kondisyon sa buhay, upang lumago at umunlad (Ferrer, 2006). Ang kumpas ng ganitong pamamahala ay nakabatay sa pamumuno, pag-angkin o pakikiisa

ng mga kasapi sa mga gawain, at pagpapalakas ng samahan. Ang pakikilahok sa konsepto ng kaunlarang panglipunan ay nagtataguyod ng pantay na pagpapahalaga sa bawat indibidwal at sa pangkalahatang pamayanan; at pinatataas nito ang kapasidad ng isang tao patungo sa kaganapan ng buhay (Ferrer, 2006).

Ang paglalakbay ng Molinete Farmers Association (MOFA)

Ang Molinete Farmers Association (MOFA) ay samahan ng mga magsasaka sa Barangay Molinete, Laurel, Batangas. Nabuo ang samahan taong 2013 na kinabibilangan ng halos 70 kasapi mula sa kababaihan at kalalakihan na manananim ng gulay, magsasaka ng palay at mga naghahayupan. Sa kasalukuyan, ang samahan ay nagsusulong ng natural at organikong sistema ng gawaing pang-agrikultura tulad ng paggawa ng mga pataba gamit ang mga organikong pamamaraan. Bahagi ng adbokasiya ng grupo ay ang pamamahala ng isang maliit na "demo farm" kung saan sinimulan ang pagtatanim ng iba't ibang gulay, pag-aalaga ng baboy, at pagtimpla ng mga inumin galing sa prutas.

Naging matingkad at mapanghamon ang pinagdaanan ng kasapian sa pag-oorganisa at pakikilahok upang makamit ang kasalukuyang antas ng samahan. Kaugnay nito ang masidhing paghahangad na maisakatuparan ang mga pangarap na kaganapan ng buhay para sa pamayanan ng Molinete, lalo na ang mga kasama sa gawaing pang-agrikultura.

Maikling Kasaysayan

Nagkaroon noon ng isang samahan ng mga magsasaka sa Molinete na halos lagpas isang dekada rin nagtagal. Naging miyembro nito ay mga magsasaka at manananim na nakatira sa barangay. Ngunit may kakulangan ang samahan sa pagsulong ng interes ng mga magsasaka. Mayroong programang pang-agrikultura ang lokal na pamahalaan subalit hindi ito ramdam sa pamayanan ng Molinete. Marami ang dumaraing na miyembro pero walang naglakas loob na basagin ang ng pananahimik ng samahan. Kinalaunan, nagpasya ang ilan sa mga miyembro na magsulong ng panibagong halalan upang makapili ng magiging bagong lider -- lider na magpapadaloy ng interes ng samahan at hindi lider na nagsusulong ng interes ng iilan.

Namulat ang kasapian sa tunay na kalagayan ng sistemang agrikultura sa Molinete: kawalan ng pag-usad ng samahan dahil sa walang malinaw na direksyon at gampanin; kakapusan ng kaalaman sa mga teknolohiya na magpapabago sa proseso ng sakahan; at kakulangan sa dagdag ani at kita sa kabila ng mga kasalukuyang programa ng lokal na pamahalaan. Ang suliranin ay uminog sa mahinang pamumuno, kawalang direksyon ng grupo, at kakulangan sa inobasyon sa agrikultura. At ito ang naging tuntungan ng kasapian para sa isang kolektibong hamon at desisyon na nagpabago sa anyo ng samahan sa Molinete.

Hindi malilimutan ng grupo ang paghalal sa kauna-unahang babaeng lider na kilala bilang aktibo, masipag at mapagkumbabang magsasaka sa Molinete. Nagkaisa ang mga miyembro na maghalal ng isang babae bilang bagong mamumuno para sa samahan, bagay na hindi tinutulan ng pangkalahatan dahil sa paghahangad ng pag-usad ng interes ng mga kasapi. Binigyan ng samahan ng kahalagahan ang pagiging maaruga at mapagkalingang lider; ang pagiging matiyaga, masinop at mapangarap na pamumuno para sa interes ng nakararami. Para sa kanila ito ay ang prinsipyadong pamumuno. Para sa bagong pagsisimula, nagdesisyon ang grupo na pangalanan ang samahan bilang Molinete Farmers Association o MOFA. At dito pinunla ang bagong binhi ng pangarap at pag-usad ng bagong samahan ng magsasaka sa kanilang barangay. Naging hamon sa pamunuan at mga miyembro kung paano lilinangin ang kasalukuyang kalagayan ng grupo. Higit na mapanghamon ay kung paano hubugin ang direksyon ng MOFA patungo sa pag-unlad. Sa kabila ng mga hamon, nagkaisa ang lahat na ang kanilang kolektibong pagsusuri at pagdedesisyon ang kailangan para tugunan ang kasalukuyang suliranin.

Diwa at direksyon ng samahan

Pinalalim ng karanasan ng MOFA ang kolektibong pagsusuri, pagdedesisyon at pagkilos ng samahan. Ang pag-angkin sa kanilang nakaraan at tagumpay sa kasalukuyan ang nagsilbing tuntungan ng MOFA upang pukawin ang diwa ng kasapian at bigyan ng hugis ang kanilang samahan. Ang pagbalangkas ng malinaw na tunguhin at pangarap ang nagbunsod upang mabuo ang mga batayang prinsipyo na mag-uugnay sa bawat miyembro.

Bilang batayan ng pagkakaisa, naniniwala ang bawat kasapi ng samahan sa pagpapaunlad ng kabuhayan at antas ng pamumuhay sa pamamagitan ng natural na pamamaraan ng pagsasaka. Kolektibong pinagkasunduan na dapat direktang makinabang ang pamayanan sa mga gawaing pangkabuhayan. Maisasakatuparan ito sa pamamagitan ng mga sumusunod na pamantayan: ang pagkakaroon ng kasiguruhan sa kasapatan sa pagkain sa bawat hapag ng pamilya, ang mapaunlad ang kaalaman, mapalakas ang mga kasanayan, at mapayabong ang mga magandang pag-uugali kaugnay sa sistema ng pagsasaka. Hangad nila na pagkalipas ng limang (5) taon, lahat ng kasapi ng MOFA ay may sapat o higit na pagkain sa mesa, natutugunan ang pangangailangan ng pamilya at nakakapagbahagi sa iba. Bilang panimula ng kanilang pag-oorganisa, napagkaisahan ng kasapian na magbuo ng labinlimang kalatas na magsisilbing binhi na magpapaalala sa bawat kasapi ng mga prinsipyo at sandigan ng samahan.

Labinlimang kalatas ng Molinete Farmers Association

1. Sa akin magmumula ang pagbabago, ngayon ako magbabago, dito ako magbabago.

2. Ako ang kikilos para sa pagbabago at kaunlaran ng bayan ko.

3. Lagi akong magsisiskap sa anumang larangan upang makamit ang kaunlaran.

4. Itataas ko ang antas ng pamumuhay ng aking pamilya upang maitaas ang antas ng pamumuhay ng aking pamayanan at bansang Pilipinas.

5. Pagpapahalaga at paggalang ang ibibigay ko sa aking kapwa.

6. Lagi kong aalalahanin at pagbubuhusan ng pansin ang magagandang pangarap sa sarili, pamilya, kapwa, bayan at kalikasan.

7. Proteksyon at pangangalaga ang alay ko sa kalikasan mula sa lupa, lawa at himpapawid.

8. Hindi mahalaga kung gaano karami ang aking nakamit bagkus kung gaano karami ang aking naibigay at naialay sa bayan, kapwa at kalikasan.

9. Itataguyod ko ang diwa ng pagkakaisa, maayos na ugnayan ng may hustisya, kapayapaan, at pagmamahalan.

10. Igagalang ko ang aking watawat at ang pambansang awit ng aking bayan.

11. Sisikapin ko sa lahat ng pagkakataon na maging masunurin, matapat at uliran sa mga umiiral na batas ng aking bayan.

12. Itataguyod ko ang lupang sakahan para sa paglaya sa gutom at makamit ang kasapatan sa pagkain, maayos at maunlad na pamumuhay.

13. Sisikapin kong magpakumbaba at manatiling simple sa kabila man ng aking naabot o naiambag.

14. Itataguyod ko ang Molinete Farmers Association hanggang sa mailuklok siya sa mapa ng Pilipinas at maging huwaran ng kagalingan, kaayusan, respeto, pagpapahalaga, kaunlaran at kasaganahan hindi lamang ng barangay Molinete kung hindi ng buong Pilipinas.

15. Ang lahat ng aking gagawin ay alay ko sa Diyos at walang ibang itataas kung hindi ang Diyos lamang dahil siya ang dahilan, pangarap, kahulugan ng lahat ng aking ginagawa.

Sa mga kalatas na nabanggit umusbong ang mga pananaw, gampanin, layunin at mga prinsipyo ng samahan upang bigyan ng direksyon ang landas na tatahakin ng MOFA.

Pananaw ng samahan: "Isang samahan na maka-Diyos, nagkakaisa, may mayaman na kaalaman at kakayahang masiguro ang sapat na pagkain, pantay na bahaginan na natutugunan ang seguridad ng pamayanan"

Gampanin ng samahan: "Ang samahan ng mga magsasaka ay magkaroon ng kasiguruhan sa pagkain sa pamamagitan ng aktibong pakikilahok ng mga kasapi sa mga kasanayan sa pagtangkilik sa natural o organikong pagsasaka at paglulunsad ng mga proyektong pangkabuhayan, na may kahandaan para sa mas likas-kayang pag-unlad, may pagpapahalaga sa Dakilang Lumikha, kalikasan, kasapian, at mga patakaran ng Molinete Farmers Association".

Mga prinsipyong gumagabay sa samahan: "May pananalig sa Dakilang Lumikha, Mahusay na pamamahala, Paniniwala sa kakayahan ng mga kasapi, Pagpapahalaga sa kalikasan at kapaligiran, Pagkilala sa tuwangan."

Mga layunin ng samahan:

- Maging aktibo ang 80% ng mga kasapi ng Molinete Farmers Association sa taong 2017.
- Magkaroon ng karagdagang 25% kasapi ng samahan ang mayroong sapat na kaalaman, kasanayan at gumagawa ng mga natural na paraan ng pagsasaka sa taong 2016.
- Sa taong 2020, 90% ng mga magsasakang kasapi ng Molinete Farmers Association ay maging kabahagi ng mga proyekto sa kasiguruhan sa pagkain at pangkabuhayan.
- Mapalawig ang mahusay na pamamahala sa samahan at mga proyekto para sa likas-kayang pag-unlad sa taong 2020.

Pag-oorganisa at Pagkilos

Nagdaos ang MOFA ng dayalogo at negosasyon para sa malinaw na programang pang-agrikultura kasama ng lokal na pamahalaan ng Laurel, Batangas. Ang sama-samang tinig at pagkilos ng MOFA ay nagsilbing panggising sa mga lokal na ahensyang pang-agrikultura. Pumukaw din sa bawat miyembro ng bagong samahan ang prosesong pinagdaanan at kolektibong pagkilos. Sa tingin nila, naging matagumpay ang proseso at plano na sinimulan ng samahan.

Simula noon nagkaroon ng ugnayan ang Molinete Farmers Association at ang lokal na pamahalaan at ang lokal na ahensya sa pang-agrikultura, naging maigting ang pagsusulong sa interes ng mga magsasaka.

Mga kasalukuyang gawain at proyekto ng samahan:

1. Ang pagtatayo at pagtataguyod ng sentrong linangan ng mga kakayahan

   Sa pasilidad na ito nagaganap ang paggawa at paggamit ng iba't ibang inobasyon at makabagong teknolohiya para sa natural na pagsasaka. Kalakip ng pagtuklas na ito ang produksyon ng mga organikong produkto na makakatulong sa sistemang agrikultura. Pinalalakas din ng proyekto ang patuloy na pagtataguyod at pagpapalaganap ng impormasyon sa lokal na produksyon ng mga organikong produkto. Higit pang pinagyayaman at pinauunlad ang mga gawaing ito kasabay ng pagpasok sa larangan ng pamilihan upang makinabang ang nakararami sa mga organikong produkto at mga pataba para sa paghahalaman at paghahayupan sa mas mababang halaga. Hangad ng samahan na makinabang hindi lang ang mga kasapi ng samahan kundi ang nakararaming pamayanan pang-agrikultura.

   Sa lahat ng inisyatibong nabanggit, magkatuwang ang lokal na pamahalaan, mga organisasyon tulad ng World Vision na gumagabay sa teknikal na aspeto, at ang MOFA upang mas epektibong mapanatili ang tuloy-tuloy na adhikain para sa sistemang agrikultura. Ang sentrong linangan ng mga kakayahan ang nagsisilbing lugar at tagpuan ng lahat ng mga pagsasanay para sa lahat.

2. Pagtataguyod at paglilinang ng organikong pataba

   Ang pagtataguyod at patuloy na paglikha ng mga organikong pataba at mga iba't ibang organikong inumin na gawa sa natural na pamamaraan ay isa sa mga proyekto ng samahan. Sinimulan ang inisyatibong ito upang tumugon sa pangangailangan ng mga magsasaka sa Molinete para sa mga abot kayang pataba sa agrikultura. Ito ay nakakatulong sa pagtaas ng produksyon ng mga produktong pang-agrikultura. Nagsimula ang MOFA na pumasok sa pamilihan noong 2015 hanggang sa kasalukuyan. Simula noon naging bahagi na ang mga produktong gawa sa natural na pamamaraan sa paghahayupan (kapit-babuyan) at pagtatanim ng gulay (kapit-gulayan). Sa

kasalukuyan, patuloy na tinataguyod at pinapalaganap ng MOFA ang mga impormasyon tungkol sa benepisyo ng natural na pamamaraan ng pagsasaka. Kaakibat nito ay ang adbokasiya na umiwas sa paggamit ng mga patabang mayroong kemikal na maaaring may masamang epekto sa lupa, halaman, kapaligiran at sa tao.

3. Proyektong Kapit-Babuyan at Kapit-Gulayan

Ang proyektong kapit-babuyan ay nakaugnay sa pag-aalaga ng mga baboy na pinalaki gamit ang natural at organikong pamamaraan. Nagsusulong ito ng makakalikasan, mababang gastusin, mas malusog at malaya sa anumang uri ng kemikal na pataba para sa hayop. Ang kapit-gulayan naman ay tungkol sa pagtatanim at pagpapalago ng iba't ibang uri ng gulay na nakalaan para sa pagkain ng mga pamilya ng mga kasapi. Ang ibang bahagi naman ng produksyon ay dinadala sa pamilihan. Ang kita na nakukuha mula sa pagbebenta ng mga produkto ay pinagsasama-sama at pinaghahatian sa takdang panahon.

4. Community Managed Savings and Credit Association (CoMSCA)

Ang pamamahala sa aspetong pinansyal ng pamayanan ang siyang tuon ng proyektong CoMSCA. Layon nito na itaguyod ang kapasidad ng mga pamilya na magkaroon ng sariling inisyatiba at mekanismo sa pag-iimpok. Binibigyan pagkakataon ang lahat -- bata, kabataan, babae, lalaki, may kapansanan, nakatatanda at iba pang sektor na lumahok sa mga impukan na tulad ng CoMSCA upang mapaunlad ang kanilang kakayahan sa pamamahalang pinansyal at pag-iimpok.

5. Programa ng imersyon para sa mga estudyante ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas

Ang samahan ng Molinete ay naging lugar para sa imersyon ng mga mag-aaral mula sa Departamento ng Pagpapaunlad ng Pamayanan. Naging daan ang samahan upang matutunan ng mga mag-aaral ang pakikipamuhay sa mga magsasaka. Dito pinakilala ng MOFA ang salitang "agribista" na naglalarawan ng pagkilos nang sama-sama upang isulong ang sistemang paggamit ng natural at

organikong pagsasaka. Bahagi ng mga gawain sa imersyon ay ang aktuwal na pagtatanim ng mga estudyante ng mga gulay gamit ang organikong pataba. Pinararanas din sa kanila ang paggawa ng mga organikong pataba gamit naman ang mga sangkap mula sa mga gulay at iba pang mga halaman.

Nagkakaroon ng mga palitan ng kuro-kuro at kaalaman sa pagitan ng mga miyembro ng MOFA at mga mag-aaral tungkol sa mga proseso at pamamaraan ng gawaing pagpapaunlad ng pamayanan na nakabatay sa karanasan ng samahan. Layunin ng ganitong talakayan na maunawaan ng mga mag-aaral ang balanseng pagtingin sa teorya at praktika tungo sa pagkatuto.

Kolektibong pamamahala

Naipanalo ng MOFA bilang samahan ang pagkakaroon ng pondo upang masimulan ang mga planong proyekto at ang pagkakaroon ng isang lugar na pagdadausan ng mga pagsasanay para sa mga kasapi. Ito rin ang naging tanggapan ng samahan at lugar na nagtataguyod ng kanilang adbokasiya para sa paggamit ng organikong pagsasaka at iba pang mga inobasyon. Dahil sa mga proyektong ito ay nagkaroon ng taunang pondo ang samahan mula sa lokal na pamahalaan para sa tuloy tuloy na pagpapadaloy ng kanilang mga proyekto. Naging daan din ang MOFA upang tukuyin ang mga manananim at naghahayupan para mabahaginan ng mga binhi at hayop na pinamamahagi ng lokal na pamahalaan. Katuwang ang samahan sa pagsubaybay sa pagpapatakbo ng mga proyekto sa pamayanan. Layunin ng mga gawaing ito na makinabang ang mga karapatdapat na indibidwal sa mga proyekto ng pamahalaan, mapakinabangan ang pondong nakalaan sa agrikultura, at masubaybayan ang implementasyon nito.

Ang MOFA bilang Agribista ay kolektibong kumikilos upang mapaunlad ang sistemang agrikultura sa kanilang pamayanan. Ito ay praktikal na paglalarawan ng pagpapaunlad ng pamayanan. Matingkad ang pagpapahalaga sa pag-oorganisa, pagsusuri ng kalagayan, at pagkatuto mula sa karanasan. Naging daan ito sa paglago ng samahan at pamamahala ng mga rekurso at proyekto, gayun din sa mobilisasyon at kolektibong pagtataguyod ng mga organikong pamamaraan sa pagsusulong ng makakalikasang interes sa sistemang pang-agrikultura.

Ang Gawaing Pagpapaunlad sa Pamayanan batay sa karanasan ng MOFA

Ayon kay Deriquito (2009), ang karunungan ay lumalago at lumalawak sa gitna ng pagharap sa mga suliranin, lalo kung ito ay napag-uusapan at natutugunan. Batay sa karanasan mula pag-oorganisa hanggang sa mapanlahok na pamamahala ng mga proyekto at rekurso ng MOFA - patuloy ang kanilang pagiging agribista - patuloy na pagkilos para sa agrikultura, patuloy ang daloy ng sama-samang pagsusuri at pagpapanday ng sistemang agrikultura. Magkatuwang ang mga organisasyon at lokal na pamahalaan sa mga gawain tungo sa pagpapaunlad sa pamayanan.

Kritikal ang proseso ng aktibong pakikilahok ng mga lokal na samahan sa pagpapaunlad ng pamayanan. Para sa sektor ng agrikultura, ang pag-oorganisa at pagkilos ay kakabit ng sustenableng pag-unlad ng agrikultura. Mahalaga sa usaping ito ay ang pagpapalalim ng mga kakayahan at mga kasanayan ng mga tao, pag-angat ng antas ng pakikilahok ng pamayanan hindi lamang bilang porma ng 'tokenismo' ngunit sa antas ng pakikibahagi sa mga susing desisyon, at pagtataas ng antas ng kalagayan ng mga tao tungo sa ganap na buhay (Luna, et al., 2009).

Ang gawaing pag-oorganisa ay tinuturing na gulugod ng gawaing pagpapaunlad ng pamayanan. Mula sa pagsusuri ng kalagayan, pagpapanday ng kapasidad ng mga lider, pagbubuo ng mga samahan, mobilisasyon, tungo sa pagpapatatag at pagpapalawak ng samahan - layunin nito na mapagsama-sama ang mga tao sa proseso ng kolektibong pagkilos para mabago ang kanilang kalagayan (Luna, et. al, 2009). Dagdag ni Luna, ang pamamahala ng mga rekurso sa pamayanan ay ang unang hakbang sa pagkakaroon ng '*assets*' na magbibigay ng mga pangunahing serbisyo. Kaugnay ito sa paghahanap ng alternatibong sistema ng produksyon at pamamahagi ng serbisyo at benepisyo para sa mga nangangailangan.

Nagsilbing daan ang karanasan ng pagkilos at negosasyon sa pagitan ng kasapian ng MOFA at lokal na pamahalaan upang makalahok ang samahan sa mga importanteng desisyon. Ang negosasyon ay nagsilbing hakbang sa kolektibong pagkilos at kritikal na kolaborasyon ng samahan sa lokal na pamahalaan at ibang organisasyon. Kritikal na kolaborasyon ito dahil nananatili ang kanilang pagtindig bilang

agribista, na nagsusulong ng sustenableng sistema ng agrikultura para sa interes ng nakakarami.

Ang pagiging agribista ay nangangahulugan ng patuloy na pakikibahagi at paggampan sa pagpapaunlad ng lipunan gamit ang mga pataba ng pag-oorganisa at kolektibong pamamahala ng mga rekurso upang alagaan ang mga pinunlang binhi ng pagbabago tungo sa mas mayabong na ani ng kaunlaran. Mahalagang hamon sa pagiging agribista ay ang patuloy na paglilinang ng kapasidad tungo sa mas ganap at epektibong programang pang-agrikultura.

Ang karanasan ng MOFA bilang agribista ay nagpapatibay ng pananaw na susi ang pagmumulat at aktibong partisipasyon ng batayang sektor sa pagpapaunlad ng pamayanan. Para sa MOFA ang pag-oorganisa at pag-aaral ay tuntungan sa kanilang patuloy na pagkilos para maiangat ang kalagayan ng samahan at ng pamayanan.

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Engaging persons with disabilities in organizing and development work

Paul Edward N. Muego

Working with persons with disabilities has emerged as a "new" arena for development work. A critical reflection on community organizing work of persons with disabilities is necessary at this point since there is a growing interest on disability and disability-inclusive development. The study seeks to examine how disability is understood by support institutions, mainly by Local Government Units (LGUs), and how such understanding shaped why and how they engage in community organizing work with persons with disabilities. The study puts forward the concept of ***ka-pasan*** *to examine the experiences in organizing persons with disabilities from the perspective of strengthening people's capacities to live together.*

Three data gathering methods were used: 1.) Being there and being part of (integration and observation), 2.) Conversations and dialogue (interviews, focus group discussions), and 3.) Leafing through, reflecting on (review of existing documents). The study focused on the experiences of the Las Piñas Persons with Disabilities Federation, Inc. The study shows that developing deeper disability awareness comes hand in hand with enhancing skills and capacities for collective action. In the process, everyone can become part of building better communities—'kasama sa pagpasan sa paglalakbay tungo sa ganap na kaunlaran'.

Key words: persons with disabilities (PWDs) , community organizing, working with LGU

Context of the Study

In the Philippines and globally, people are marginalized and excluded based on class, gender, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation. A closer look reveals many more people marginalized and excluded because of being labelled as "with impairment" or "with disability."

The World Report on Disability says that at least 15% of a given population live with some form of disability (WHO, 2011). While the Philippine Statistics Authority's Census of Population and Housing 2010 shows 1.57% of Filipinos with disabilities (PSA, 2014), a far cry from the 15% WHO estimate, this still means 1.443 million Filipinos are largely excluded from development initiatives.

The adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) by the UN General Assembly on December 13, 2006 and the subsequent ratification by member countries like the Philippines[1] underscored a new way of understanding disability and a new way of engaging persons with disabilities. The UNCRPD Preamble recognizes that "disability is an evolving concept and that disability results from the interaction between persons with impairments and attitudinal and environmental barriers that hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others." It moves away from the often default approach to persons with disabilities as "objects of pity" or "problems to be fixed" towards an approach that regards persons with disabilities as "subjects" with rights, capable of making decisions and of being active members of society (UNOHCHR, 2014). Article 4 of the UNCRPD also emphasizes the active involvement of persons with disabilities through their representative organizations "in the development and implementation of legislation and policies to implement the present Convention, and in other decision-making processes."

Working with persons with disabilities has emerged as a "new" arena for development work. In the Philippines, one of the organizations that took the lead in engaging in this area of work is the

1 The Philippines signed the convention on September 25, 2007 and ratified the same on April 15, 2008.

Philippine Coordinating Center for Inclusive Development (PCCID[2]). PCCID's conversations with persons with disabilities and support institutions working with and for persons with disabilities all over the country point out one crucial aspect of their struggle for inclusion—the setting up and strengthening of organizations of persons with disabilities or DPOs[3].

These conversations provided a good insight into the organizing work involving persons with disabilities. There are organizations from the national to the local levels "participating" in various avenues set up by the government for participation, such as the municipal, provincial or regional councils on disability affairs. However, the stories of how these organizations have been set up and are being managed are more reminiscent of what Manalili (2012) describes as the practice of support institutions, e.g. non-government organizations (NGOs) and local government units (LGUs), to be "commanding officers" rather than community organizers -- a marked departure from the idea of people-centered community organizing.

Research Objectives

The study seeks to examine how disability is understood by support institutions, mainly by local government units (LGUs), and how such understanding shaped why and how they engage in community organizing work with persons with disabilities. Parallel to these concerns, the study also aims to surface the DPOs' assessment of the LGUs' understanding of disability and community organizing practices.

A critical reflection on community organizing work of persons with disabilities is necessary at this point since there is a growing interest in disability and disability-inclusive development

2 Before being formally organized and registered with the Philippines Securities and Exchange Commission, PCCID was set up in 2004 as the CBM Community-Based Rehabilitation Coordination Office by the CBM Southeast Asia and Pacific Regional Office to coordinate CBR work of its local partners in the Philippines. PCCID carries out different activities in pursuit of its vision of Philippine communities inclusive of everyone and mission of building capacities for inclusion.

3 Organizations of persons with disabilities are referred to in many official documents as "disabled peoples' organizations" or DPOs.

internationally, e.g., the inclusion of disability as a key marker in the Sustainable Development Goals (Lockwood, 2016), and locally, e.g. the push by the National Council on Disability Affairs (NCDA) and persons with disabilities themselves for the implementation of Republic Act No. 10070 or the setting-up of Persons with Disability Affairs Offices (PDAOs) in local government units. The role of DPOs is of great significance to ensure that such changes and processes are cognizant of disability as a development issue, and that DPOs are capable as agents of change and transformation.

Disability and Community Organizing: Perceptions, interpretations and understanding

Disability. It is all too common to hear people say, "Disability should not be an obstacle." The confusion lies in what is really meant by "disability." Is disability referring to what other people term as "impairment"? The term "impairment" itself is being challenged as well, as it is seen to be too focused on deficits and the idea of "normalizing" rather than starting from a perspective of differences, diversity, capacities and abilities that are innate in each person (Shier, Sinclair, & Gault, 2011; Macartney, 2011). Or are they referring to something else? In the Philippines only one term is used for both—*kapansanan*.

There are different definitions, opinions and understandings of disability and about persons with disabilities. All of these exert influence on the kind and quality of relationships they have with individuals and society in general and vice versa. There are four dominant approaches to disability: (1) charity, (2) medical, (3) social and (4) human rights. Table 1 provides a summary of these approaches.

Table 1: Four dominant approaches to disability: How is disability understood?

Charity	Medical	Social Human	Rights
Persons with disabilities are in a tragic situation, they cannot take care of themselves, they inspire compassion, they are objects of benevolence	Persons with disabilities need to be cured and fixed; passive patients; considered abnormal; are unable to live independently	• Disability is the result of a wrong way of organizing society: thus, persons with disabilities face bias and barriers that prevent their equal participation • It is not an individual problem, and mainly lies in the social environment • Persons with disabilities can and should participate in society	• Ensures full and equal enjoyment of all human rights to persons with disabilities, and promotes respect for their inherent dignity • Focuses on equal opportunities, non-discrimination, and participation in society • Requires authorities to ensure rights and not restrict them • Views persons with disabilities as rights-holders

Based on The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: Training guide. Professional Training Series No. 19, UNOHCHR.

The concept of disability continues to evolve. This evolution, however, does not necessarily mean that the human rights model has already supplanted the three other models of disability. Dalit (2016) points out that these models continue to operate and are often intertwined particularly in the context of the Philippines. While the models described above dominate most of the literature, Pfieffer (2002) identified nine versions of the disability paradigm. Yee (2013, pp.20-21) provides a summary of Pfieffer's nine models of disability studies as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Pfieffer's nine models of disability studies

Version of the Disability Paradigm	Key Premise(s)
1. Social Construction (United States)	• Disability is a social construct • Environmental factors can play a role in the social construction of disability identity
2. Social Model (United Kingdom)	• Informed by a class perspective, this model holds that society bears the onus to provide adequate services for the disabled and to include the needs of persons with disabilities in social structures
3. Impairment	• This version argues for the inclusion of impairment and personal experience into the social model
4. Oppressed Minority (Political)	• Persons with disabilities face ongoing discrimination in their daily lives; they are thus denied many rights and access to social, cultural, and economic capital
5. Independent Living	• As a philosophy and a movement, this version regards persons with disabilities as responsible agents for themselves; endowed with agency and self-determination, they must be granted the right to choose
6. Post-Modernist, Post-Structuralist, Existential	• Genesis of this version lies in cultural studies; the lens of culture, as both a social and political construct, may be applied to examine the experience of disability
7. Continuum	• As an emergent, proto-version, it holds that different representations of disability exist and that these are both inter and intra-related to each other
8. Human Variation	• Disability is multidimensional in nature and impairment is heterogeneously complex; the capacity of social systems currently is limited in adequately addressing the entire range of human variation
9. Disability as Discrimination	• Discrimination is the unifier of all the above versions; disability is a policy concern, rather than a health or medical concern

Pfieffer (2002: p.7) drives home the point: "All of the previous eight versions of the disability paradigm have some basis in logic and experience, but a person with a disability only feels she is disabled when confronted with discrimination. It is this discrimination which brings together the other versions."

Community Organizing. The right of persons to organize is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This same right is reiterated in the UNCRPD. This is also reflected in the 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines, as well as in various acts, policies and programs of different government agencies. People's participation via their organizations is recognized as an essential part of our government and of national and local governance and development.

Development, however, remains to be an exclusive domain of a few. This is precisely the context of Manalili's (1990) call for community development to be concerned with the welfare of the whole community, particularly those who are discriminated, exploited, marginalized, oppressed and subordinated. In our experience, one of the sectors that is often excluded from development initiatives, as partakers of the fruits of development and much more as agents of change, are persons with disabilities. As the description of disability in the UNCRPD shows, the exclusion of persons with disabilities is the result of their interaction with the discrimination and prejudices that are extant in communities.

It is imperative to work for social change, to transform unjust social conditions. This imperative also serves as the reason for community organizing. The DPO is the embodiment of the hopes of people with disabilities and as such must be rooted in their lives, experiences and aspirations. The Philippine CBR Manual points out that community organizing aims to empower people, build institutions, and improve quality of life for all (Manalili, 1990; McGlade & Mendoza, 2009).

The process of community organizing should enable people to be able to "define their deprivations and increase their entitlements… enlarge their choices and capacities… leading to equality, freedom, empowerment" (Torres, 2010, p.25). Putting it in a different way, Manalili (1990, p.65) speaks of community organizing as "a process

that is people-centered and geared towards their continuing capability-building, self-reliance, and empowerment." The Philippine CBR Manual also emphasizes that it is a process that people undertake consciously and not something that is done to them. Furthermore, it also emphasizes that "core values, goals and basic principles should be collectively agreed upon prior to setting up the organization (of persons with disabilities)" (McGlade & Mendoza, 2009, p.91). The development of strong people's organizations, like the DPOs, is crucial in the context of policy reforms and in responding to strategic needs of vulnerable groups.

Analytical Framework

Conventional studies focusing on disability are often focused on the individual; this focus is largely informed by the medical, individual, deficit model of disability (Oliver, 1992; Barnes & Mercer, 1997). This perspective limits the potential of studies on disability to contribute in confronting power structures and social relations that exclude many people, including people with disabilities, from participating in and benefitting from decision-making and development processes. Addressing this gap is necessary if any study on disability is to be consistent with emerging realities.

This study is guided by the critical disability theory which posits that there are new ways and other possibilities of conceptualizing and understanding disability, "a new understanding of citizenship that encompasses the disabled, new policies to respond to the needs of the disabled, and a new legal vision of the entitlements of the disabled… (a new understanding and conceptualization of) disability that focuses on genuine inclusiveness, not just abstract rights" (Pothier & Devlin, 2006, p. 2).

The study also draws from four 'models' that expound the critical disability theory. **First**, the Community Development Framework espoused by Manalili (1990) is anchored to the fundamental belief on people's capabilities, particularly the poor and excluded, as agents of change and transformation. **Second**, the reiteration of the CD framework as grounded practice that emphasizes people's potentials and capabilities, their active participation and collective action in pursuing people's wellbeing and social

transformation (Luna, 2009). **Third**, the TIDES[4] Model (developed by Colin Craig) highlights the significance of "Transformation, Interdependence, Diversity, Equity and Sustainability" principles to guide decision making, actions and the use of resources (Nilsson, 2011). And **fourth**, the inclusive education framework developed by Naas Demyttenaere of the Institute for Inclusive Education in Baguio City. Demyttenaere emphasizes the "building of a better Philippines by developing potentials" of every Filipino. Foremost is the potential to "live together" (*mamuhay ng magkakasama*) which is simple but profound and revolutionary in a deep sense, as it runs contrary to the neo-liberalist emphasis on individualism and competition. Booth and Ainscow (2011) also said that inclusion means putting inclusive values (e.g., equality, participation and respect for diversity) into action.

These concepts are synthesized into a conceptual framework that serves as a basis for this study. The Filipino word used for disability is kapansanan, which is usually associated with words like *walang kwenta* (worthless), *pabigat* (burden to the family and to society), *walang kakayahan* (not able; no capacities), *walang lakas* (weak; no strength; no power), *kawawa* (pitiful), impairment of functions, someone being in a tragic situation, broken, poor, feeble, crazy and the list goes on. To move away from such definitions and understanding of kapansanan, and in the process, emphasize people's dignity and rights, the study puts forward a coined term: ***KA-PASAN***. The prefix *KA-* denotes "partnership, being included as a part of" while the word *PASAN* emphasizes the act or process of carrying. Merged together the word *ka-pasan* means *kasama sa pagpasan*. This underscores the belief that building better communities is a collective effort of everyone—*lahat kasama sa pagpasan*. It is a movement away from the deficit-oriented label that is usually attached to the words "with disability" or "*may kapansanan*" towards recognizing the person as an empowered agent of change and transformation.

The concept of *ka-pasan* is inspired by the idea to come to new ways of looking at and understanding disability from the perspective of genuine inclusiveness. *Ka-pasan* is another way of looking at the experiences of LGUs, disability-focused NGOs, and organizations of

4 TIDES stands for Transformation, Interdependence, Diversity, Equity and Sustainability. The model was adopted as one of the core models of conflict management and mediation by the Dialogue for Peaceful Change project which was started in 2004 in Utrecht, The Netherlands. The author was part of the group coming from 16 countries that started the project.

persons with disabilities focusing attention on inclusive values and how such can be nurtured and brought to fruition at various levels of the community. It also deals with aspects of diversity or differences and interdependence. *Ka-pasan* calls on 'empowered' individuals and communities, to enhance their skills and capacities needed to genuinely participate in the life of the community. The concept of *ka-pasan* also opens another possibility of looking at the experiences in organizing of persons with disabilities from the perspective of strengthening people's capacities to live together. This 'frames' the analytical lens used in examining the interplay of how disability is understood with how community organizing is done (see Figure 1).

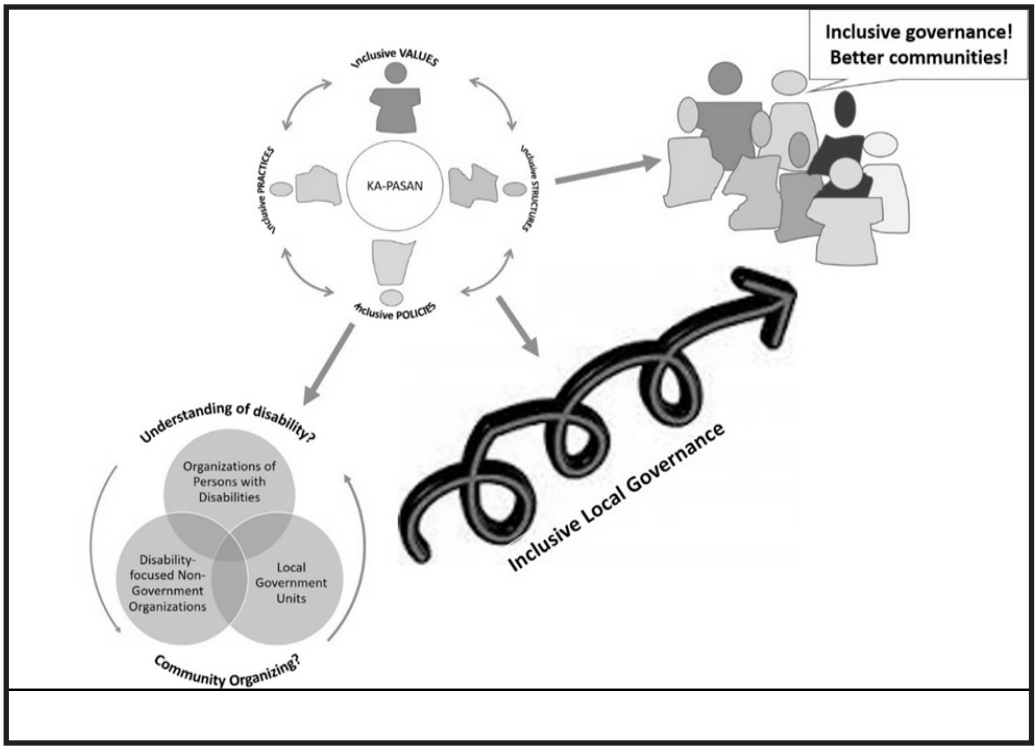

Figure 1 : Analytical Framework

Methodology

The selected locale of the study is Las Piñas City since the LGU has existing policies, programs and services for persons with disabilities. The city is also home to 20 barangay-level associations of persons with disabilities as well as a city-level federation, the Las Piñas Persons with Disability Federation, Inc. (LPPWDFI). Additional data were also generated from the results of the PCCID-organized workshop in Bacolod City wherein five cities and municipalities from Negros Occidental were represented by their respective Disability Focal Persons and/or PDAO officers and representatives from the local DPOs.

A combination of three data gathering methods were used: (1) being there, being with them, and being part of (integration and first-hand observation); (2) conversations and dialogues (interviews, focus group discussions); and (3) leafing through, reflecting on (review of existing documents).

True to the spirit of conversations and dialogues, the participants expressed that they preferred the usual *kwentuhan at bahaginan* (sharing of stories) over the more formal key informant interviews and focus group discussions. The LPPWDFI leaders also suggested an important change in the sharing guidelines—to look at both previous and current perspectives of the LGU with regards to disability and the involvement of persons with disabilities in local governance.

A total of six formal conversations were held with the DPO representatives during the data gathering period. While an initial conversation with the current Disability Focal Persons of the City Social Welfare and Development Office (LSWDO) was conducted. Other data used in the study came from documents provided by LPPWDFI as well as materials culled from PCCID-organized workshops. The narratives and stories shared in the conversations as well as those presented in the documents were used as bases for analysis, insights and recommendations.

Summary of Findings

Conversations on Disability

Common definitions, perceptions and understanding. The group of leaders from LPPWDFI pointed out that the organizing effort of the LSWDO started after the issuance of DSWD Administrative Order No. 13 series of 2008 or DSWD AO No. 13 s2008 entitled "Guidelines in organizing persons with disabilities into self-help groups (SHGs)". This AO provided the rationale, legal basis, goals and objectives, core components as well as procedures in the organizing of persons with disabilities.

AO No. 13 s2008 defines disability as "any restriction or lack of ability resulting from impairment, to perform an activity in a manner considered normal given the age and sex of the individual." This is similar to what is stated in Republic Act 7277 or the Magna Carta for Persons with Disability: "a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more psychological, physiological or anatomical function of an individual or activities of such individual." Both documents see persons with disabilities as "those suffering from restriction of different abilities, as a result of mental, physical and sensory impairment (to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for a human being)."

The leaders who joined the conversations reflected that prior to the issuance of AO No. 13 s2008, the LSWDOs' perspectives of disability, and addressing disability for that matter, could be categorized into three. The first is the Charity perspective. This perspective sees persons with disabilities as having very limited or no capacity and thus should simply act as recipients of the goodness of others. Several of the leaders said, "*Ang inaasahan lang ng community noon sa amin ay maghintay kung ano ang ibibigay sa amin; dole out kumbaga*." Second is the *Pa-picture* (photo-op) perspective. Closely related to the first, addressing disability is limited to simply taking photos of persons with disabilities receiving goods/gifts during special occasions, e.g., National Disability Prevention and Rehabilitation Week. The main goal is to simply be able to show that something was accomplished. Last is the Medical perspective. This perspective sees people with disabilities as being "not physically fit." Based on the group's experience, this perspective resulted in persons with disabilities being discouraged from attending

meetings and other activities because it was very difficult for them to participate.

DPO feedback on how actions are shaped by how disability is understood. When asked how perceptions and understanding of disability affect how policies, programs, projects and activities were developed and carried out, the Disability Focal Persons from the different LGUs that were represented in the conversations unanimously said, "How we understand disability shapes the way we develop our programs and services and how we deliver these. If our perspective of disability is *kawawa* (pitiful), *walang kaya* (incapable), then our resulting approach is basically dole out."

The participants representing the DPOs agreed with the observations mentioned above made by the Focal Persons. They recalled: "*Ang tingin nila sa taong may kapansanan noon ay taga-ganap lang. Sila (LSWDOs) pa rin ang magpaplano, magsasabi ng mga gagawin… artista lang ang tingin nila sa amin pero sila ang producer, sila ang direktor*" (before, persons with disabilities were merely seen as stage/movie actors, but it was still the LSWDO that acted as producers, directors; LSWDO planned and told us what to do).

Others remarked that before in the past, the LSWDOs did not believe that persons with disabilities had the capacities to organize, or to plan. The role given to persons with disabilities was merely to listen and to follow instructions. One of the leaders said, "P*arang mga puppet lang ang tingin nila sa amin. Sila ang mga puppeteer, sila ang nagpapagalaw.*" (They just saw us as puppets. They were the puppeteers.) The other leaders shared, "Before, local leaders in the barangay often thought and believed that persons with disabilities no longer need to learn. Thus, they did not support us to participate in trainings and meetings. They simply wanted persons with disabilities to receive, to be dependent on the goodness of other people."

Conversations on Community Organizing

P*urpose, Strategies, Steps by the government and NGOs.* The organizing of DPOs done by LSWDOs of the cities and municipalities all over the country is guided by the DSWD AO No. 13 s2008. The document outlines the goals, objectives, core components, and implementing procedures of the organizing of DPOs. The stated

goal is to "Develop skills, positive attitude and confidence as well as maximize the residual capacities of persons with disabilities to become self-reliant, productive and contributing members of society through organized SHGs (Self-Help Groups)." (DSWD AO No. 13 s2008). The stated objectives are: (a) Organize persons with disabilities of different nature into SHGs by cluster barangays, municipalities, provinces/ cities, regions and a national federation, (b) Nurture the psychosocial well-being of the persons with disabilities through SHGs' mutual help and peer support and counselling, and (c) Develop productive skills and confidence of employable members of the SHGs organized, thereby improving their economic status and autonomy. Apart from these, the LGU Disability Focal Persons also shared that organizing was also pursued to provide opportunities for persons with disabilities to participate in the achievement of the LGUs' goals.

The guidelines identified five core components for the organizing of SHGs: 1) Social Preparation, 2) Organization of persons with disabilities into SHGs, 3) Capability Building, 4) Networking and Resource Generation, and 5) Monitoring and Evaluation.

The guidelines explicitly mentioned that the groups and organizations to be formed will be cross-impairment. LSWDOs play the primary role in the different phases of the organizing process. The role of persons with disabilities, however, becomes more prominent once the organizations are already organized, i.e. when membership is being expanded.

The organizing of DPOs done by Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) was also explored. In one of the conversations, it was mentioned that NGOs that have been working with the DPOs engaged in community organizing work "to contribute in changing how people with disabilities are being treated." This was coupled with other objectives such as the formation of local chapters and establishing links with LGUs. Some of the strategies that were used by the NGOs were strengthening barangay-level organizations, identifying and developing leaders, and putting emphasis on training, capability building, and mentoring.

DPO feedback on the LSWDO's community organizing purpose, strategies and steps. In one of the conversations with the group of LPPWDFI leaders, they shared that prior to the efforts of the LSWDO

to organize persons with disabilities, there were already efforts by persons with disabilities to organize themselves. One of them recalled his previous involvement in the setting up of an organization of persons with disabilities in another city; that organization, however, was short-lived due to funds mismanagement. The dream to organize, however, stayed with that leader. Another LPPWDFI leader got the inspiration to organize from attending workshops and training organized by Akap-Pinoy. The other leaders in the conversation group also shared that before setting up their organization most of them were already involved in different initiatives involving persons with disabilities.

The group of leaders from LPPWDFI shared that prior to 2008 there were only token efforts from the LSWDO with regard to setting up an organization. Persons with disabilities were often remembered only during occasions such as the National Disability Prevention and Rehabilitation Week. After the issuance of DSWD AO No. 13 s2008, the leaders still felt that the efforts were merely attempts by the LSWDO to comply with the guidelines. The organization serving as a mechanism for participation in local governance was not part of the agenda in the initial stages of the initiatives of the LSWDO.

For the leaders, however, they wanted to organize themselves as they see this as their right. They believed that having an organization would help them in accessing much needed support from the government and from other support institutions. LPPWDFI shared that they wanted to organize themselves because "people with disabilities want to be empowered; that people with disabilities will be the one to implement plans and make decisions, to have a sense of ownership over programs."

Some of the founding leaders of the organization looked for possible support from the government in getting themselves organized. One of them went to the National Council for the Welfare of Disabled Persons (now called NCDA). He was handed a book on community organizing and was told, "Your sector is very difficult to organize!" No further assistance or support was given.

Another leader went to the LSWDO to talk about setting up barangay-level organizations of persons with disabilities. The LSWDO Disability Focal Person shared with her a list of persons with

disabilities. She got in touch with the people in the list, through phone calls and home visits. During the visits, she talked about their rights and the need for them (persons with disabilities) to come together and regain their voice. She challenged them, "Would you not like to change the situation wherein you are only remembered by the government during December or during election time?"

An initial group of 16 people met, got to know each other, talked about setting up an organization, and even went to visit and learn from an organization of persons with disabilities in the province of Nueva Ecija. They eventually agreed to organize themselves as a rights-based organization of persons with disabilities. This decision, however, was not accepted by the LSWDO since an ad hoc committee had already been organized composed of five individuals—only one was a person with disability. They were advised by Akap Pinoy to "go with the flow" and so they collectively decided to join the ad hoc group and worked with the LSWDO in conducting barangay visits, identifying persons with disabilities, electing officers for the barangay associations, and the like—following the process outlined in the DSWD guidelines.

By August 2009, the group had been able to help organize 15 barangay associations. They decided to federate themselves. For the second time, a decision made by persons with disabilities was not recognized by the LSWDO since they (LSWDO) were not present when the decision was made. The LSWDO insisted on repeating the process of formally setting up the Federation—the barangay associations acceded, but they also re-affirmed the decision they had previously made. One of the original members of the ad hoc committee, related that his attention was called by the LSWDO for allowing the first assembly to take place. He recalled telling the LSWDO then, "Is it not you who told us that we should be the one to act? That we should be the one to organize ourselves? That we should be the ones to plan?"

According to the group, the relationship between the LPPWDFI and the LSWDO has improved considerably over the years. Now the LSWDO, with the Disability Focal Person playing an important role, continues to provide a lot of support to the Federation, e.g. conducting capacity-building activities, as well as facilitating the Federation's participation in local governance. However, they still have an ongoing struggle with the LSWDO on how the LPPWDFI should be structured. The LSWDO is pushing for the idea that all association presidents

should automatically be the board members of the Federation (a set up akin to the federation of older persons). LPPWDFI, however, is holding on to the idea of having different sets of officers. They see this as necessary since it provides an opportunity to develop new leaders.

Conversations with the Disabled People's Organization: LPPWDFI

Influencing changes in the LGU. Las Piñas Persons with Disabilities Federation, Inc. (LPPWDFI) is a city-level federation of 20 barangay-level associations of persons with disabilities. According to their Securities and Exchange Commission registration papers, the LPPWDFI was set up to "unite all persons with disabilities in Las Piñas City, generate avenues, opportunities, and establish a network for their empowerment thus improving their lives to become productive, self-reliant and active members of the society."

The organization has gone a long way since 2009 in influencing changes in the way the LGU, particularly the LSWDO and the barangay officials, regard persons with disabilities. Some barangay associations are already part of their respective Barangay Development Councils. The LPPWDFI is also recognized as a member of the city's Local Development Council and a member of the Local Poverty Reduction Action Team (LPRAT).

One of LPPWDFI's major accomplishments was the conduct of a Data Profiling Project in 2013 covering the 20 barangays of the city. The project was developed and implemented fully by the organization. They were able to secure funds from the DSWD's Bottom-Up Budgeting. As a result, they were able to identify 3,183 persons with disabilities in the 20 barangays 2013. LPPWDFI says that this number has more than doubled since the profiling, as more and more persons with disabilities are coming forward to be registered. In recognition of this project the Federation was given the Apolinario Mabini Award.

Another accomplishment that came out of this project is the conduct of Sensitivity Training for Barangay Officials in all 20 barangays of the city. This was followed up by sensitivity trainings with the different agencies of the LGU. These resulted in further gains, such as influencing the barangays and the city to include disability concerns in the annual investment plans, purchase of an accessible van, the setting up of the DPO and the installation of an elevator going

to 2nd floor offices of the city hall. To date, the LPPWDFI continues to access funds from the LGU through the LSWDO for projects and activities.

Strengthening the organization. The LPPWDFI's annual investment plan (AIP) is submitted to the LGU. The plan is drawn up after a process of consultations with the different barangay associations as well as looking at external opportunities being offered by national and regional government agencies and other support institutions. The local associations also have their respective AIPs.

Key leadership positions are allocated for persons with disabilities. The LPPWDFI has a nine-member board of directors and, from this body, a smaller six-member core group leads in the day to day operations of the organization. Decisions such as planning of activities are made through a process of consultations with the different associations. A LPPWDFI leader explained, "Even if it proves to be very difficult for us, even if we fail because we do not know how to do it yet, it is still ok. What is important is, this is ours!"

Presence of women and men leaders. The 2013 data gathering that was done by the Federation listed down 3,183 persons with disability. Of the total number, 1,445 were women and 1,738 were men. Of the 20 barangay associations, in the Federation, nine are led by women and 10 are led by men (Brgy. Ilaya was not accounted for at the time of the conversation). Out of the nine LPPWDFI officers, five are women. In the six-member core group, three are women and three are men. The group clarified that, while there is a seeming balance in the number of men and women leaders, this was not something that was intentionally done by their organization.

On intersecting identities, roles and positions. Before women with disabilities are seen as women, they are first seen as being "with impairments" or "with disability." The group observed that these two identities, of being a woman and being "with impairments," make it doubly difficult for women with disabilities. One of the leaders, however, pushed this even further when she said, "It is even more difficult for an older person with disability, who is also a woman, who is not 'retired'—because she was not able to work as a professional, and who is blind."

While LPPWDFI has a good number of women leaders, there are still many women with disabilities who continue to be deprived of the opportunity to explore and expand their horizons because they are held back by responsibilities and duties at home. A story was shared about a woman with disability being 'asked' by her family not to accept any leadership position in the organization or else her allowance would be cut off. She should not take on a leadership role as this will take time away from fulfilling her obligations in the family, such as taking care of her three nieces and nephews. And while there are women leaders in the organization, women's capacity to face off with local officials is often belittled. "*Naku, baka di kayanin niyan ang humarap sa kapitan* (She might not be able to stand her ground in front of the barangay captain)," is but one of the remarks often made.

Are these realities equally true for men with disabilities? The group agreed that it is very rare, if at all, that you would hear a man saying that he cannot be a leader in the organization because he must take care of his children. According to them, men have very few responsibilities in the home in comparison to women.

Discussion and Analysis

Disability as a lens and perspective. Disability as defined in AO No. 13 s2008 and RA 7277 is different from how it is described in the UNCRPD where it is stated that "disability results from the interaction between persons with impairments and attitudinal and environmental barriers that hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others." The latter description reflects the evolution of how disability is understood—from a charity-based orientation to one that is socially and rights-based oriented. It shifts the focus of analysis and the locus of action from the individual to the society. It is saying that the poor living conditions and lower status of persons with disability relative to those "without disabilities" is not due to their "impairments" but is due to the attitudinal and environmental barriers of the society in general.

If disability is viewed as the problem of an individual, as is the case in AO No. 13 s2008 and RA 7277, the solutions and strategies are also geared at fixing the individual person with disability. It assumes that there is nothing wrong with how society is structured or organized. It does not question social relationships nor the current dominant development paradigm that puts emphasis on an individual's capacity

to effectively compete. If disability is understood from the social and rights-based perspectives, then this also influences the direction and methods of work of different institutions. Attention and resources are directed at transforming society, enabling it to effectively work with differences and diversity. It brings societal transformation into the center or heart of development and disability-responsiveness. It puts emphasis on ensuring that practical and strategic needs are met, while also ensuring that appropriate supports are in place.

The charity (welfarism, dole-out) and medical (fixing the individual and presuming that there is nothing wrong with how society is structured and organized) perspectives that guided the early organizing work of LSWDOs have contributed greatly to developing, reinforcing and maintaining the attitude of dependency among persons with disabilities and even in their organizations. Charity and paternalism still play a dominant role in shaping how disability and persons with disabilities are viewed and understood. Such an understanding continues to promote the idea that persons with disabilities are simply objects of services and support and cannot really be meaningful subjects in development processes (Keogh, 2014). This is in stark contrast with the call and challenge for empowerment and genuine participation in the life of the community.

Whatever gains have been achieved, for example in the case of Las Piñas, with regard to how things are done to include persons with disabilities not only as beneficiaries but as agents of change, can be sustained and further broadened and deepened if there is a conscious effort to modify how disability is understood and how persons with disabilities are seen by society.

A good starting point would be to critically examine the inconsistencies in definitions. AO No. 13 s2008 describes persons with disabilities as "those suffering from restriction of different abilities, as a result of mental, physical and sensory impairment." Yet the same document also states that the target beneficiaries (of organizing work) are persons with disability who are "physically fit as certified by a medical practitioner"—by definition, this excludes most if not all people with disabilities.

The role of NGOs and LGUs in community organizing. The stories shared by LPPWDFI and other DPO leaders show how the mind-set of support institutions such as the LSWDOs with regards to disability

and persons with disability shapes how these institutions regard the capacity of persons with disabilities to set up and manage their own organization. The comment made by an official of a national agency that is supposed to champion the rights of persons with disabilities in the Philippines shows the prevailing assumption, or rather the prevailing prejudice, that persons with disabilities do not have the capacity to set up their own organization and much less manage it.

Even when organizations have already been formally set up, their capacity to sustain their initiatives is still put into question. The assumption is still biased against them—with the expectation being that they will eventually fail. This recalls a story shared by a disability advocate in Mindanao. He asked the LGU Disability Focal Person about the repayment scheme for loans given to persons with disabilities for their livelihood projects. The Focal Person answered, "Ah, don't worry about it. Yes, it is a loan, but we do not really expect them to be able to pay it back."

If organizations of persons with disabilities are vehicles for their empowerment and their participation in local governance, it is crucial for support institutions to hurdle this first obstacle. This means that support institutions should move away from seeing the setting up of organizations as merely a means to receive benefits and privileges and move towards seeing community organizing as a matter of right. DPOs are not organized to serve as mechanisms for service delivery of support institutions. DPOs are organized—by persons with disabilities themselves or with the assistance of support institutions—in recognition of their capacity as agents of change and transformation in their communities. Support institutions must shift their views towards people with disabilities and see them as partners in transforming prejudicial attitudes and in ensuring that the government includes persons with disabilities in its programs and services. In essence, a major task of DPOs is ensuring that local governance is guided by inclusivity.

AO No. 13 s2008 places the primary role of organizing in the hands of the LSWD officer. This leaves persons with disabilities at the periphery, their role only to come at a later stage in the process. Persons with disabilities have been and continue to be at the receiving end of prejudices, resulting not only in their marginalization and disempowerment as a sector but also in the erosion of their belief in their own capacities. Being born and growing up in a society that tells

them that they are not capable, that they are weak, that they should simply be passive recipients has resulted in the creation of attitudes of dependency and submissiveness. Recognizing and respecting the right of persons with disabilities to be at the front and center of setting up and strengthening their organizations is imperative. The process itself should be empowering and liberating; it should be a process of capacity building.

AO No. 13 s2008 provides a template for organizing. The community organizing process is placed in neat phases which are, as mentioned previously, led by the LSWDO, e.g. the tool for assessing the needs and problems of persons with disability shall be made and administered by the LSWDO in coordination with the persons with disabilities; the consolidation and validation of findings shall ensue with the LSWDO as the lead person, in coordination with persons with disabilities. In the end, it is expected that the process that is clearly initiated and led by the LSWDO will generate interest, participation, commitment and involvement among persons with disabilities in the organization that will be formed. This template of community organizing fails to capture the dynamism of the process. The centrality of the role of the LSWDO in the community organizing process goes against the challenge for support institutions to play an enabling and facilitative role.

"Enabling" is not merely tokenism or lip-service; this means coming up with concrete actions such as making information accessible, removal of physical barriers in public places, providing appropriate support when needed, etc. The government's enabling role extends to ensuring that persons with disabilities, and other marginalized people for that matter, are involved through their organizations in all phases of development initiatives including policy and decision-making processes (Groce, 2011).

Looking at the experiences of several DPOs, Dalit (2016) identified several points that describe how support institutions should work with persons with disabilities. Such an institution:

- Works with people with disabilities so that they recognize and believe in their innate capabilities;
- (Serves as a) Facilitator of opportunities and avenues for persons with disabilities to enhance and build their capacities as community organizers;

- Does not set up and hand over the organization to people with disabilities; (but) works with them as they set up their organization;
- Supports and facilitates avenues that build persons with disabilities' self-reliance and capacities to decide for themselves;
- Affirms the organizations' strengths and encourages them to improve their weaknesses; recognizes that both factors contribute to organizational strengthening;
- Serves as resource/support for specific needs that are beyond the current capacities of DPOs;
- Works with persons with disabilities to enrich/support various efforts in reducing/eradicating societal barriers; and
- Encourages the organizing efforts of persons with disabilities towards the building of inclusive communities.

LPPWDFI, starting from where they are and building on what they have. The barangay associations have been organized prior to the setting up of the city-wide federation. Based on the information that emerged from the conversations, the associations are still largely dependent on the federation leadership for whatever projects and activities they will work on. There is a need to strengthen the barangay associations so that these can also develop their own programs of action that respond directly to more parochial concerns, without of course compromising the need for a broader front (via the Federation) to effect lasting changes in their community.

LPPWDFI 's experience is significant in examining the societal barriers that have prevented the active participation of DPOs in efforts to respond to their own needs and aspirations—as opposed to simply being spoken for and being spoken about (Khasnabis & Heinicke-Motsch, 2010). Awareness building and capacity building are prerequisites to the formal setting up of the organizations. These could be developed through different learning activities and community engagement aimed at enhancing their awareness as well as their organizing skills.

Conclusions and Recommendations: LPPWDFI as KA-PASAN, everyone as KA-PASAN

"Ngayon may respeto na sila sa amin." (Now they respect us.) Numerous gains have resulted from the persistent struggle of the LPPWDFI to effect changes in their community, to be a ka-pasan. If the Federation's members had previously been regarded by the LGU of Las Piñas, particularly the LSWDO, from a charity/welfare and medical perspective, they are now regarded more as partners in development. The consistency of the messages from LPPWDFI with regard to their rights as individuals and as an organization coupled with the openness of their counterparts in the LGU, particularly the LSWDO, have resulted in a significant shift in values, practices, policies and structures towards being more inclusive.

The LPPWDFI is now being sought out and consulted on concerns pertaining to persons with disabilities, and are now being involved in the crafting of local policies. Physical accessibility of key infrastructures is being addressed. They are now being involved in the crafting of local policies. The Federation's plans and activities, e.g., trainings and sensitivity workshops, are being supported by the LGU. There is greater appreciation and respect for the capacities of the individual members as well as the capabilities of the organization. The role of the LGU Disability Focal Person has also been delineated —as an ally, a facilitator, helping the LPPWDFI navigate the intricacies of the bureaucracy, but never taking the centerstage.

While many positive changes and gains have been achieved, there are also 'preconceptions' that must be surfaced and unmasked. Persons with disabilities must constantly 'prove themselves' because the dominant mind set among both people and institutions is that such persons do not have the capacity. Thus, people are often 'awed and amazed' when persons with disabilities accomplish something— the expectation being that they are incapable because they have disabilities/impairments.

Furthermore, while there have been changes within the LSWDO, can the same be said with regard to other agencies or departments within the LGU? Apart from being largely invisible, it is also common to see the pervasiveness of developing programs and services solely for persons with disabilities (often euphemistically called 'special

programs') without first ensuring that existing programs and services that are meant for all truly include persons with disabilities and other marginalized sectors. Persons with disabilities have the same needs that everyone else does, e.g. food, shelter, education, etc. Likewise, they also have unique needs like everyone else, e.g., assistive devices, medicines, rehabilitation, etc. And above all, there are the strategic interests—reduction of prejudices, discrimination, etc.—that must be pursued to improve their position in society.

LPPWDFI and the other DPOs that joined the conversations for this study provided insights and recommendations for their counterparts in the LGUs, NGOs as well as other DPOs. These are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Insights and Recommendations from LPPWDFI and other DPOs to improve CO

Principles & Values	Purpose & Direction	Steps & Strategies
• Believe in the person, in the capacity of people as agents of change • Move away from being puppeteers; from regarding people as beneficiaries of help to regarding them as partners in development • Change methods of work—from dole out to empowerment • Support institutions as facilitators in the development process • Learn the art of diplomacy • Recognize and work through differences • Become more selfless rather than selfish. Leaders should be concerned with the needs of all impairment groups • Develop more love and concern and other values such as tolerance/respect for differences in the organization, forgiveness, volunteerism, caring • Develop values of cooperation and collaboration (as opposed to individualism) • Do good to the poor	• Emphasize on changing mind-sets; disability consciousness is a continuing struggle • Inclusion—go beyond the issues of the sector; work with other sectors to pursue a broader development agenda • Recognize and respect the person • Avoid the tendency to fall back to the charity/welfare and medical approaches • Focus on empowerment	• Start with children. Right attitudes with regard to differences, diversity start at a very young age. At a very young age, the children become advocates to their parents! • Ensure that needs are met and appropriate support services are provided • Focus on strengthening barangay-level organizations • Education work at the barangay level
For Support Institutions	**For DPOs**	
• Develop a deeper understanding of the situation and aspiration of the sectors they are working with—immersion, integration is necessary • Increase investments and support on conscientization, advocacy and awareness activities for the whole community • Increase investments on capacity building of DPOs	• Build up links with other local support institutions • Continually identify new leaders and develop second liners • Develop assertiveness; to use the laws and policies to hold the government accountable, e.g., emphasize Article 4.3 of the CRPD—participation in all written communications to government offices	

The following additional recommendations are put forward based on the findings and analysis presented in this study:

1. Definitions of disability in key documents, such as those in AO No. 13 s2008 and RA 7277, must be aligned with the UNCRPD.

2. The current tools being used for data gathering, such as those used by LPPWDFI in their data profiling project, are impairment-focused. To have a better analysis of the situation of disability, an appropriate tool or combination of tools is needed.

3. More conversations and dialogues with DPOs are needed to surface their experiences and learning with regard to community organizing for the purposes of influencing the way support institutions carry out their work. DPOs can be supported to document their own experiences, to relate their stories through their own voices and images.

4. The role of development professionals in supporting the disability movement is crucial: How disability is understood, how it is considered in development, how it is an important perspective or lens in analyzing social relationships—all these must be integrated into academic and institutional programs.

5. Lastly, critical reflection on disability work must be pursued to assess whether it is indeed dealing with the systemic nature of socially constructed relations between people 'with and without impairments', with special attention on prejudices that result in the lower position of persons with impairments. The concept of the 'able-bodied' remains prevalent and supports the subordination of people that are 'dis-abled', people with impairments. If prejudices based on sex must be rooted out, this is also true for prejudices based on abilities and impairments.

Community organizing work with persons with disabilities must take off from a social and rights-based perspective of disability. Previous attempts and initiatives in organizing persons with disabilities often tended to view them as a homogenous group—when in fact, there are differences that are inherent among persons

with disabilities. This calls for more creative ways of dealing with differences while at the same time building on interdependence.

Conscious efforts must be made on the part of support institutions and even among DPOs to focus not only on providing programs and direct services, but on reducing prejudices, transforming unequal power relations between people labelled as 'with and without impairments', and promoting the empowerment of persons with impairments. Equal, if not more, energy and resources must be geared towards developing our potentials and capacities to live together. This is what inclusive local governance is—collectively transforming our relationships as a people, collectively transforming our communities to become better than what they are now.

It is important to highlight the need for conscientization for disability awareness— for everyone. Developing deeper disability awareness comes hand in hand with enhancing skills and capacities for collective action. In the process, everyone can all then become part of building better communities—*kasama sa pagpasan sa paglalakbay tungo sa ganap na kaunlaran, katarungan at kalayaan* (partners in the journey towards genuine development, justice and freedom)—*tayong lahat ay ka-pasan!*

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Ug-ugfo: Pagkilos ng Katutubong Kababaihang Magsasaka Laban sa Proyektong Hydropower sa Bontoc, Mountain Province

Miriam T. Teves

Abuyog sa Benguet, Innabuyog sa Kalinga, Binnadang sa Mountain Province, Ug-ugfo sa Bontoc – iba't ibang katawagan sa bayanihan, ang tradisyunal na sistema ng pagtutulungan ng mamamayang Pilipino. Sa Bontoc, ito ay tradisyon ng pagkakaisa at pagtutulungan ng katutubong kababaihang magsasaka hindi lamang sa gawaing bukid kundi maging sa pamilya, personal na buhay at mga hangarin. Paglilinang din ito ng kamulatan para sa kolektibong identidad at pagkilos ng katutubong kababaihang magsasaka.

Ang mga prinsipyo ng sama-samang makababaihang pananaliksik (participatory feminist research) ang naging gabay sa pag-aaral. Ito ay panimulang pagsusuri sa posibleng epekto ng proyektong 'renewable energy' ('hydropower') at pagtatayo ng 18 kilometrong tunnel na makakaapekto sa lupaing ninuno ng mga katutubo ng tribong Ibontok. Layunin ng pag-aaral na makatulong para higit na maunawaan ang kalagayan ng kababaihang katutubong magsasaka at ang pakikibaka ng tribong Ibontok laban sa agresyong pangkaunlaran.

Isang barangay sa Bontoc, Mountain Province ang naging tuon ng pag-aaral na ito. Labing walong (18) kababaihan at limang (5) kalalakihan na kasapi ng Womens Club, Farmer's Association at Youth Organization sa Bontoc ang kasama sa mga talakayan, kwentong buhay, interbyu at mga impormal na pag-uusap. Dahil sa mainit na isyu ng 'proyektong pangkaunlaran' at seguridad, pinagkaisahan ng mga kalahok at mananaliksik na gumamit ng ibang pangalan ng mga tao, lugar at organisasyon upang itago ang kanilang tunay na pagkakakilanlan. Katuwang sa isinagawang pananaliksik ang dalawang lider kababaihan mula sa tribo, mula sa pag-aayos ng mga layunin hanggang sa pagsusuri ng datos.

Inaasahan na ang pag-aaral ay makakatulong sa organisasyon ng katutubong kababaihan para matukoy ang mas angkop na estratehiya ng pag-oorganisa at makapag-ambag sa gawaing adbokasiya para sa lupa, kabuhayan, at mga karapatan ng tribong Ibontok.

"At saan magmumula ang ating ikabubuhay? Mula sa lupa.
Ang gumawa sa lupa ay isang obligasyon, di lamang isang karapatan.
Sa pagbubungkal ng lupa, inaari mo ito.
At kung gayon, ang lupa ay isang biyaya na dapat arugain."

(Macli-ing Dulag, 1984)

Panimula

Malaki ang papel na ginagampanan ng kababaihan sa Pilipinas. Sa mahigit 102 milyong populasyon ng bansa, halos kalahati ng populasyon ang kababaihan (NSO, 2016). Gumagampan sila ng iba't ibang mahahalagang gawain sa reproduksyon, produksyon at gawain sa komunidad, subalit madalas ang mahalagang papel ng kababaihan ay hindi kinikilala dahil sa tradisyonal na hatian sa gawain (*division of labor*). Tinuturing na mas mahina at mababa ang kababaihan kaysa sa kalalakihan. Sa mahigit 11 milyong populasyon na pagsasaka ang pangunahing kinabubuhay, hindi kasama sa bilang ang mga katutubong kababaihan. Sa kabuuang populasyon ng Pilipinas, 15 hanggang 20 porsyento o higit 15 milyon ang bilang ng mga katutubo. Matatagpuan sila sa Luzon, Visayas at Mindanao. Nahahati sila sa 153 etnolingwistikong grupo ayon sa kanilang rehiyon. Pinakamalaking bilang ng mga katutubo ang matatagpuan sa Mindanao – ang mga Lumad at Moro; sa rehiyon ng Panay sa Visayas – ang mga Tumandok at Ati; ang Aeta sa Gitang Luzon; Dumagat, Mangyan at Palaw-an Hillstribes sa Timog Luzon; Igorot sa Kordilyera; Aggay at iba pa sa Hilagang Luzon (NCIP at Sandugo Praymer, 2016).

Ang katutubong magsasakang kababaihan ang pangunahing "*seed keepers*" o tagapangalaga ng binhi na itatanim para sa susunod na taniman, sila rin ang nagtitiyak ng pagkain na ihahain sa mesa para sa pamilya at komunidad. Para makapagbigay ng pagkain sa mesa, kailangan nilang bungkalin at alagaan ang lupa para sa tuloy-tuloy na biyayang ipagkakaloob nito kung patuloy nila itong babantayan at pangangalagaan. Para sa kanila, ang "lupa ay buhay; kung walang lupa, walang kasiguruhan sa pagkain, kung walang lupa, walang tubig, kagubatan, unti-unti tayong mamamatay dahil sa gutom." Ito ang madalas na sinasabi ng isang matandang katutubong magsasakang kababaihan mula sa tribo ng Ibontok sa Bontoc, Mountain Province, tuwing pag-uusapan ang pagpapaunlad ng pamayanan.

Subalit madalas, sa usapin ng "kaunlaran" ay hindi kabahagi ang kababaihan. Ito ay ibinabahagi na lamang sa kanila, at ang pakikilahok ng mga tao sa "kaunlaran" ay ang maging tagasunod na lamang sa programang pagpapaunlad na itinatakda ng pamahalaan at ng dayuhang korporasyon batay sa kanilang interes at pangangailangan (Manalili, 2012).

Ang Pilipinas ay nakaasa sa mga dayuhang pinanggagalingan ng enerhiya katulad ng langis, uling at natural na gas para sa paglikha ng enerhiya. Dahil dito, bulnerable ang bansa sa madalas na pagbabago ng presyo sa pandaigdigang pamilihan kung kaya't ang gobyerno ay nagpapaunlad ng renewable na mapagkukunan ng enerhiya.

Ang Republic Act 9513 o ang Renewable Energy Act of 2008 ay tugon ng gobyerno para makakuha ng malinis at *environment-friendly* na enerhiya upang mabawasan ang pinsalang dulot ng pagpapalit ng klima (*climate change*) at tumugon sa adbokasiya ng pagbabawas ng gamit laban sa mga mapanirang pinagkukunan ng enerhiya. Ang mga korporasyong lokal at dayuhan na papasok sa negosyong renewable energy ay magkakaroon ng mga insentibo sa ilalim ng RA 2008. Kasama rito ang sampung taon na libreng taripa sa lahat ng mga kagamitang ipapasok ng mga dayuhang korporasyon, diskwento sa buwis ng mga bibilhing kagamitan para sa itatayong pasilidad sa bansa, t*ax free carbon credits* at iba pa. Ang Philippine Energy Plan ng gobyerno ay naglalayon na itaas sa 100 porsyento ang paggamit ng renewable energy sa buong bansa sa loob ng dalawampung taon (AGHAM at Kalikasan, 2012). Pangunahing layunin ng gobyerno na manguna bilang prodyuser ng *geothermal energy* at doblehin ang bilang ng kapasidad ng mga *hydropower*, palawakin ang *solar and ocean energy* at iba pang potensyal na mapagkukunan ng enerhiya sa mga susunod na taon (AGHAM at Kalikasan, 2012).

Dagdag pa, ang gobyerno ay magkakaloob ng tulong pinansyal mula sa mga pinansyal na intitusyon nito para sa mga pribadong kumpanya na nagpapatupad ng mga proyektong sa paglikha ng *renewable energy*. Ang Renewable Energy Trust Fund ay binuksan ng Department of Energy (DoE) noong 2009 upang paunlarin at itaguyod ang pagggamit ng renewable energy sa Pilipinas. Manggagaling mula sa iba't ibang korporasyong pagmamay-ari ng pamahalaan at mga *royalty* ng pamahalaan sa mga kontrata ng mga serbisyo perang

gagamitin sa naturang *trust fund* (AGHAM at Kalikasan, 2012). Dahil sa mga insentibong ito, nagbigay ng oportunidad para sa agresibong pagsisiyasat, pagpapaunlad at paggamit ng mga pribadong kompanya sa mga katutubong yamang *renewable energy* sa bansa. Simula noong 2010, mayroon nang 205 na kontrata para sa *renewable energy* na pinagkaloob sa mga pribadong kompanya. Tatlumpu't tatlo sa mga kontratang ito ay gumagana na, siyam ay nasa maagang yugto ng paglikha at pagpapaunlad, at ang 163 ay naghahanda pa ng mga lugar na pagtatayuan ng mga proyekto at mga istrukturang kakailanganin (Aquino III, 2010). Dagdag pa, isinabatas din ang Republic Act 7156 of 1991 na mas kilala bilang Mini-hydroelectric Power Incentive Act na lumilikha ng mga insentibo para sa mga proyektong *mini-hydro,* istrukturang lumilikha ng kuryente sa mas maliit na dam. Sa ilalim ng batas na ito, nagtalaga ang pamahalaan ng US$30 milyon para sa paglahok ng pribadong sektor sa mga bagong proyektong *renewable energy* na may kapasidad mula 200 *kilowatt* hanggang 25 *megawatt* (AGHAM at Kalikasan, 2012).

Sa kasalukuyan, mayroong 26 na *hydropower plant* sa bansa, at 16 na plantang *geothermal*. Siyam dito ay matatagpuan sa Luzon, lima sa Visayas, at dalawa sa Mount Apo sa Mindanao (APITTAKO, 2014). Noong 2013, inilabas ng Kagawaran ng Enerhiya (DoE) ang listahan ng 43 na proyekto ng *hydroelectric power* sa rehiyon ng Kordilyera kung saan naroon ang malalaking ilog. Batay sa plano, tatayuan ang mga ilog na ito ng maliit na dam (*mini-dam*) hanggang sa *mega dam*. Hindi pa kasama dito ang planong pagtatayo ng *geothermal power plant* at *windmill power plant*. Noong Abril 2014, ang lahat ng ito ay may katuwang na mga pribadong kumpanya na may monopolyo sa paglikha at pagbenta ng *renewable energy*. Ang mga kompanyang nakapasok sa mga kasunduang ito ay ang Chevron/Caltex para sa proyektong *geothermal*; First Gen and Energy Development ng mga Lopez, San Miguel Corporation, HEDCOR/SNAboitiz, at ang Asiapac Capital Services, Ltd. naman para sa mga proyektong *mini-hydro* at iba pa (APITTAKO, 2014).

Ang agresibong pagtutulak sa paglikha ng *renewable energy* at pagtatayo ng mga dam para sa *hydropower* sa pamamagitan ng *public private partnership* ay nagdudulot ng malalaking usapin sa mga katutubo lalo na sa mga kababaihan dahil sa mga sumusunod na kadahilanan: Una, ang pribadong pagmamay-ari at kontrol sa industriya ng enerhiya sa pamamagitan ng pagsasapribado ng mga

planta ng enerhiya, dam, balon ng langis, natural na gas at pagkukunan ng enerhiyang *geothermal* ay nangangahulugan ng pagkawala ng kontrol ng mamamayan sa mga likas na yamang pinagmumulan ng enerhiya. Sa ilalim ng Electric Power Industry Act of 2001 o EPIRA, ginawang pribado ang sektor ng enerhiya at pinalaki ang papel ng mga pribadong korporasyon sa paglikha, paglilipat at pagbebenta ng enerhiya/kuryente sa mga mamimili (IBON, 2005). Diumano, ang layunin ng pribatisasyon ng enerhiya ay upang makatulong na maibsan ang pagkabaon sa utang at ang di kinakailangan pasanin sa pagkakaloob ng mga subsidyo sa mga produktong serbisyo tulad ng kuryente at tubig. Subalit sa ilalim ng pribatisasyon, pinadali nito ang pagpasok ng mga dayuhang namumuhunan at transnasyunal na korporasyon na pangunahing namumuhunan sa mga *independent power producers* (IPPs). Ang mga kompanyang ito ay libre sa pagbabayad ng buwis ng ilang taon kasama pa ang ilang insentibo na ikakalugi ng pamahalaan at ng mamamayan. Mangangahulugan din ito ng pagtaas ng presyo ng kuryente para sa mamamayan dahil ang pangunahing layunin ng mga kompanya ay negosyo at tubo (AGHAM, 2008). Ikalawa, ang mga proyektong ito ay may kakabit na panganib at hindi maibabalik na epekto sa kalikasan, kabuhayan at kultura ng mga katutubong masasagasaan ng mga proyektong pangkaunlaran.

Sa Mountain Province, 11 ang nakaplanong proyekto ng *hydroelectric power*. Kabilang dito ang Bontoc, ang sentro ng Mountain Province kung saan planong itayo ang *hydropower plant* kasama ang paggawa ng 18 kilometrong *diversion tunnel* mula Bontoc papuntang munisipyo ng Sadanga, Mountain Province. Masasagasaan ng "proyektong pangkaunlaran" na ito ng Hedcor-SN Aboitiz Corporation ang malawak na lupaing ninuno ng tribo ng Ibontok na pangunahing tinataniman ng tradisyunal na uri ng palay, kagubatan at pinagkukunan ng tubig na ginagamit sa bahay at irigasyon.

Layunin ng pag-aaral na ito na mailahad ang kuwento ng pag-oorganisa sa hanay ng mga katutubong kababaihan sa lugar, at ang iba't ibang porma ng kanilang pagkilos sa harap ng mga planong proyektong pangkaunlaran. Layunin din ng pananaliksik na ito na maka-ambag sa gawaing adbokasiya para sa lupa, buhay at kabuhayan ng tribong Ibontok. Ang papel na ito ay nahahati sa apat na bahagi: 1) Ugat ng problema ng katutubong kababaihang magsasaka; 2) Papel ng kababaihan; 3) Batayan ng pag-oorganisa at pagkilos ng kababaihan;

at 4) Mga aral sa pamumuno, pag-oorganisa at pagpapakilos ng katutubong kababaihan.

Upang maipakita ang kalagayan ng mga katutubong kababaihang magsasaka at maiugnay ito sa konsepto ng pag-oorganisa at pagpapakilos, ginamit ng may-akda ang mga sumusunod na pamamaraan ng pananaliksik at pangangalap ng datos: konsultasyon sa mga katutubong kababaihan sa tulong ng mga lokal na lider upang linawin ang layunin ng pananaliksik; paghingi sa kanila ng mga mungkahi upang higit pang mapaunlad ang pag-aaral; pagtukoy sa mga taong maaaring lumahok sa pag-aaral; at pangangalap at pagsusuri ng mga datos. Kumuha rin ng datos mula sa mga dokumento. Kasama ang dalawang lider kababaihan bilang mga lokal na mananaliksik, nagkaroon ng talakayan kaugnay sa kalagayan ng mga proyektong pangkaunlaran sa Pilipinas at oryentasyon sa usaping kababaihan.

Ugat ng problema ng kababaihan at agresyong pangkaunlaran

Ang sukat ng kagubatan sa buong mundo noong 2012 ay umaabot ng higit apat na bilyong ektarya, na sumasaklaw sa 31 porsyento ng kabuuang laki ng lupa sa daigdig. Ito ay mula sa pagtataya ng Global Forest Resources Assessment (FRA, 2010) ng United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Pinapakita rin sa datos na sampung bansa ang wala nang natitirang kagubatan, at dagdag pang 54 bansa ang mayroon na lamang na kulang sa 10 porsyento ng kanilang kabuuang sukat ng lupa (FAO, 2010). Simula noong dekada 1990, taon-taon ay nawawala ang 16 milyong ektarya ng kagubatan dahil sa malawakang pagpapalit-gamit mula sa agrikultural hanggang sa gamit ng lungsod (*urban uses*) (FAO, 2010). Sa nakaraang ilang dekada, umaabot na sa 130 milyon ektaryang kagubatan ang napalitan ng gamit o nawala dahil sa mga natural na dahilan (*natural causes*). Dagdag pa, noong 2000 hanggang 2010, maraming bansa sa timog at timog silangang bahagi ng Asya ang naulat na may mataas na antas ng pagkawala ng kagubatan, sa kabila ng paglaki ng kagubutan sa buong Asya (FAO, 2010).

Ang mataas na porsyento ng pagkaubos ng kagubatan ay epekto ng mabilis na paglago ng ekonomiya sa loob ng dalawang dekada. Kasabay ng paglago ng ekonomiya ay ang mabilis na paggamit ng mga *renewable* and *non-renewable* na rekurso na may malaking negatibong epekto sa likas yaman at *ecosystem*. Ayon sa Millenium

Ecosystem Assessment (MEA, 2005), mahigit sa 60 porsyento ng *ecosystem* sa mundo ang unti-unti nang nasisira dahil sa malawakang paggamit. Mahigit sa 50 porsyento ng lahat ng tipo ng kagubatan, lupang agrikultural, at *wetlands* sa paligid ng siyudad at karatig na lugar ang nawawala dahil sa malawakang pagpapalit-gamit ng lupa (FAO, 2012).

Sa pagtataya ng FAO (2012), umaabot sa 350 milyon ang pinakamahihirap na tao sa mundo kasama ang 60 milyong katutubo at magsasaka na gumagamit ng kagubatan para sa maliitang gamit pang konsumo para mabuhay. Ang populasyong ito ang pinaka bulnerable at walang politikal na kapangyarihan sa lipunan. Para sa kanila, ang kagubatan ang pangunahing pinagkukunan nila ng pagkain para mabuhay. Mahalaga rin ang gamit nito para makaiwas sa kalamidad o mga sakuna. Sa kabilang banda, may malaking pagkilala sa mga katutubo at magsasaka sa kanilang kahusayan sa pagtuklas ng mga kagamitan galing sa kagubatan at tradisyunal na pamamahala sa kalikasan. Dagdag pa, maraming katutubong mamamayan ang mayaman sa tradisyon at kaalaman sa pangangasiwa at paggamit ng kagubatan. Halimbawa rito ang tradisyunal na paggamit ng mga halamang gamot na nakukuha lang sa gubat na nakakatulong nang malaki sa kagyat na pangangailangang medikal sa katutubong komunidad. Naiulat din ng FAO na ang pangangaso at pangingisda sa kagubatan ang pinagkukunan ng pagkain ng mahigit sa 1/5 ng pangangailangan sa protina ng 60 papaunlad na bansa. Tinatayang mahigit sa isang bilyong tao ang nakaasa ang kabuhayan sa kakahuyan para sa kanilang pang-araw-araw na kabuhayan habang mahigit sa dalawang bilyong tao ang nakaasa sa paggamit ng kahoy sa pagluluto, pagpapainit ng katawan at pagpreserba ng pagkain tulad ng pagtatapa (FAO, 2012).

Sa pandaigdigang kalakaran na ito, nasasalamin sa kasalukuyang kalagayan ng Pilipinas kung saan 50.2 porsyento ng 30 milyong ektaryang kabuuang lupain ay klasipikado bilang kagubatan na sumasaklaw sa 15.2 milyong ektarya noong 2012 (DENR, 2012). Dagdag ni Mongabay (2015), sa pagitan ng 1990 hanggang 2000, 262,500 ektaryang gubat ang nawawala sa Pilipinas kada taon. Sa kabuuan mula noong 1990 hanggang 2005, ang Pilipinas ay nawalan ng 32 porsyentong kagubatan o humigit kumulang sa 3,412,000 milyong ektarya. Dahil sa tuloy-tuloy na pagkasira ng kagubatan sa bansa, ika-apat ang Pilipinas sa sampung nanganganib na kagubatan sa buong mundo (Mongabay, 2015).

Nakakabahala ang lawak ng pagkawala ng kagubatan para sa mga katutubo at magsasaka. Lalo na sa epekto nito sa mga kababaihan dahil 10.8 porsyento lang ng lupaing agrikultural sa bansa ang pagmamay-ari nila, habang ang karapatan sa pagmamay-ari (*ownership rights*) ay 0.17 porsyento. Ibig sabihin ang kalakhan ng bilang ng kababaihang magsasaka at katutubo ay walang sariling lupa, dahil hindi niya ito pagmamay-ari (FAO, 2011). Sa pinakahuling sensus sa agrikultura at pangisdaan, ang 39 na porsyento ng lupang sinasaka sa bansa ay may sukat lamang na mas mababa pa sa tatlong ektarya (CAF, NCSO-PSO, 2012). Dagdag pa, noong 1991, nasa 9,975,000 ektarya ang lupaing agrikultural sa bansa, habang sa taong 2002, lumiit ito sa bilang na 9,670,793 milyong ektarya, at sa pinakahuling sensus noong 2012 ay umaabot na lang sa 7,190,087 milyong ektarya ang lupaing agrikultural. Lumiit ito ng mahigit sa dalawang milyong ektaryang lupaing agrikultural sa loob ng isang dekada. Kung susukatin ang lawak nito, ang lupaing agrikultural na nawala sa loob ng sampung tao ay halos kasinlaki ng Cagayan Valley o ng MIMAROPA o ng katimugang bahagi ng Mindanao.

Dagdag pa, binabanggit ng Mines and Geo-Science Bureau (MGB) na mayroong mahigit na 1,120,919.37 milyong ektarya ang sakop ng mining permits mula ng isabatas ang Philippine Mining Act of 1995 kung saan maaari nang magmina ang mga dayuhang korporasyon sa bansa. Noong 2004, iniulat ng Kalipunan ng mga Katutubong Mamamayan ng Pilipinas (KAMP), isang pambansang pederasyon ng mga katutubong organisasyon sa Pilipinas, na 18 sa 24 na prayoridad na lugar sa pagmimina sa bansa ay matatagpuan sa komunidad ng mga katutubo. Dagdag pa, 27 sa 43 prayoridad na eksplorasyon sa pagmimina na may sukat na 400,000 ektarya ay sumasaklaw sa teritoryo ng mga katutubo. Tumaas pa ang bilang na ito noong 2010, kung saan binabanggit na 39 mula sa 63 prayoridad sa operasyon ng pagmimina ang makakapapekto sa malawak na lupaing ninuno. Sasaklawin nito ang humigit sa isang milyong ektaryang lupain ng mga katutubo (KAMP, 2010). Noong 2014, muling naglabas ng ulat ang KAMP na mayroong 281 aprubadong aplikasyon para sa malakihang operasyon ng pagmimina. Sa pagtataya nila, nasa 100,000 katutubo na kabilang sa 39 na grupo ng katutubo sa Pilipinas ang mapapaalis o mawawalan ng kabuhayan kung ang lahat ng mga minahan na ito ay magtutuloy-tuloy sa ilalim ng liberalisasyon sa pagmimina (KAMP, 2014). Hindi maikakaila na ang makabuluhang

bahagi ng isang milyong ektaryang lupaing agrikultural ay sumasaklaw sa lupaing ninuno ng mga katutubo na pangunahing pinagkukunan ng pagkain, tubig na maiinom, at patubig na ginagamit sa agrikultura at produksyon ng pagkain.

Noong 2014, nasaksihan din ang implementasyon ng iba't ibang proyektong enerhiya na itinatayo sa mga teritoryo ng mga katutubo, kabilang na rito ang *hydro-electric dams*, *geothermal* at *coal-fired power plants*. Sa State of the Nation Address (SONA) ni dating Pangulong Aquino noong Hulyo 2014, inihayag ang pagpapatuloy ng konstruksyon ng Jalaur River Multipurpose Dam sa Panay at Kaliwa Kanan Laiban dam sa Rizal at Quezon. Ang proyektong dam sa ilog ng Jalaur ay makakaaapekto sa may 17,000 katutubong kabilang sa tribo ng Tumandok at magsasaka sa isla ng Panay. Habang ang proyektong Kaliwa Kanan Laiban dam naman sa Rizal at Quezon ay tinatayang magpapalubog sa walong katutubong komunidad at magpapalikas sa higit 21,000 magsasaka at katutubong kinabibilangan ng Agta, Dumagat at Remontado sa probinsya ng Rizal at Quezon (KAMP at Sandugo Praymer, 2015). Sa rehiyon ng Kordilyera, iginawad ng DoE ang 43 proyektong hydropower kung saan nakapwesto ang malalaking ilog, kasama ang pitong geothermal at isang wind power, enerhiyang nagmumula sa hangin, noong Abril 2014.

Ang mga "proyektong pangkaunlaran" na ito ay may malaking epekto sa natitirang kagubatan ng bansa at teritoryo ng mga katutubo sa mga tukoy na komunidad. Dagdag pa ang implikasyon nito sa kabuhayan at kasiguruhan sa pagkain ng mga katutubong nabubuhay at nakaasa sa yaman ng kagubatan para sa pang-araw-araw na pangangailangan.

Ang Hydropower

Ang *hydro* o ang pasilidad ng *hydroelectric power* ay ang paggamit ng tubig na ginagamitan ng *turbine* para makapagpalabas ng pwersa sa paggawa ng enerhiya. Ang enerhiyang ito ay ipapasa sa *generator* para maglabas ng elektrisidad o kuryente. Ang kuryenteng ito ay maaring gamitin para sa pagpapailaw ng mga kabahayan, paggamit ng mga kasangkapan sa bahay at iba pa (APITTAKO, 2014).

Ang Hedcor-SN AboitizPower

Ang Hedcor ay isang subsidarya na pagmamay-ari ng AboitizPower na pinamumunuan ng Aboitiz Group o ng pamilya ng Aboitiz. Pangunahing negosyo ng Aboitiz Group ang paggawa at pagbebenta ng barko hanggang sa pagmamantine at pagsusuplay ng kuryente mula sa mga dam na gumagawa ng enerhiya. May mahabang karanasan ang Hedcor-SN AboitizPower (SNAP) sa pagbuo ng *renewable energy* mula sa *run-of-river* na isang sistema ng *hydropower.* Sa kasalukuyan, ang Hedcor-SN AboitizPower ay mayroong 22 planta na pimamamahalaan at pinapatakbo sa iba't ibang rehiyon sa Pilipinas kabilang dito ang 360-MW Magat Hydroelectric Power Plant (HEPP) sa hangganan ng bayan ng Ramon, Isabela, Alfonso Lista, Ifugao at probinsya ng Nueva Vizcaya. Ang Magat HEPP ay dating pag-aari at pinamamahalaan ng gobyerno hanggang sa mabili ito ng SNAP Magat noong Disyembre 14, 2006 sa halagang US$530 milyon sa ilalim ng programang pribatisasyon ng gobyerno. Ang SN AboitizPower-Benguet Inc. din ang nagmamay-ari at namamahala sa 105-MW Ambuklao HEPP sa Bokod at 140-MW Binga HEPP sa Itogon, Benguet. Nabili ito ng SNAP sa halagang US$325 milyon noong Nobyembre 28, 2007. Ang dalawang kompanya na ito ay joint venture sa pagitan ng SN Power ng Norway at AboitizPower ng pamilyang Aboitiz. Ang SN Power ay pag-aari ng Statkraft at Norfund. Binubuo ito ng dalawang kompanya ang SN Power AS at Agua Imara AS. Ang SN Power ay ekslusibong nakatutok sa "pagpapaunlad ng enerhiya" sa mga bansa sa Timog Silangang Asya, habang ang negosyo sa Africa at Gitnang Amerika ay pinamamahalaan ng subsidarya ng Agua Imara AS. Ang SN Power ay pangunahing nakatuon sa pagtatayo ng mga planta ng *hydropower* sa bansa para sa paghahatid diumano ng malinis at ligtas na *renewable energy* (www.snaboitiz.com).

Proyektong enerhiya: para kanino?

Walang masama sa pag-unlad lalo na kung ito ay nakabatay sa lupa tulad ng pagpapataas ng kanilang produksyon, ani at iba pa na pakikinabangan pangunahin ng mga kababaihan. Tinututulan lang nila ang sinasabing pagpapaunlad ng pamayanan kung ito ay makakaapekto sa kanilang lupa, kabundukan, at kapaligiran.

> "*Ti daga ket isu ti biag mi. Nu madadael ti daga, maawan ti pagbiagan, maawan ti pagbalayan, maawan ti pangalaan ti inaldaw nga masapul ti tao, maawan ti kultura. Isunga itul-tuloy mi lattanga mangsupiyat kadagiti proyekto nga makakadaelti aglawlaw, dagiti anti-people projects kasla hydropower, geothermal, wind mill, dadaelen na ti uma nga matalapos na.*"(Ang lupa ay buhay namin. Kung ang lupa ay masisira, ang aming kabuhayan ay mawawala, ang aming mga bahay ay mawawala, ang pantustos namin sa pang-araw-araw na pangangailangan ay mawawala, ang aming kultura ay tuluyan nang maglalaho. Kaya, kailangan naming magpatuloy na kumilos at lumaban sa mga mapanirang proyekto na makakasira sa kapaligiran, tulad ng mga kontra mamamayang proyekto ng *hydropower*, *geothermal*, *windmill* na sisira sa palayan.) (Mila, key informant interview [KII] respondent, 2017)

Ayon kay Cariño (2015) at sa Sandugo (2016), kaakibat sa pagpasok ng mga proyektong pangkaunlaran ay ang presensya ng militar sa pamamagitan ng pagtatayo ng *detachment* sa lugar kung saan itatayo ang naturang proyeto. Sa kasagsagan ng pagpasok ng mga planong proyektong pangkaunlaran sa buong rehiyon ng Kordilyera, tinayo ang *detachment* na pinamamahalaan ng mga sundalo at CAFGU sa barangay (kung saan ginawa ang pag-aaral) noong 2012. Habang isinasagawa ang pag-aaral na ito, nakaranas ang mananaliksik ng ilang beses na *harassment* at intimidasyon. Ilang magkakasunod na araw na sinundan ang mananaliksik habang nagsasagawa ng panayam sa komunidad. May karanasan pa na tinawag ng sundalo ang kagawad ng barangay para kausapin tungkol sa mga interbyung naganap. Kasabay nito ay ang pagpapakalat na miyembro diumano ng bagong hukbong bayan ang mananaliksik.

Ayon sa kagawad ng barangay at mga kababaihan, hindi nila pahihintulutan makapasok ang proyektong *hydropower* sa kanilang komunidad. Magdudulot ito ng malaking panganib at sakuna kung ito ay kanilang pahihintulutan, "M*aid serfin na inlablafan na ap-o mi, Ya Chaker ay kafafain kan chakami adwani. Nu iturok mi ay maafutan na filig mi ay mangshushop sina chanum ay umey as paywan mi at into pay umar an mi as kanen mi?*" (Mawawalan ng saysay/halaga ang ipinaglaban ng aming ninuno, isang malaking kahihiyan sa henerasyon

namin. Kung ipahihintulot naming mabutas ang bundok na hihigop sa tubig na papunta sa aming bukid, saan na kami kukuha ng aming kakainin?) (KII respondent, April 2017)

Papel ng Kababaihan

Walang opisyal na dokumentong nakasulat sa kasaysayan na magpapatunay na ang mga katutubong kababaihan ay may mahalagang partisipasyon sa pagkabigo ng pagpasok ng mga Kastila sa Kordilyera. Sa dokumentasyon ng Cordillera Women's Action Education Research Center (CWEARC), isang institusyon pangkababaihang sa Kordilyera, ang mga kababaihan ng Talubin sa Bontoc ay mahigpit na tumutol sa pagpapatitulo ng lupa noong panahon ng mga Amerikano. Ang mga kababaihan naman ng Agawa, Besao ay nagsama-sama upang mapahinto ang pagpasok ng pagmimina noong dekada trenta. Habang ang mga kababaihan sa Pidlisan, Mountain Province ay lumahok sa protesta laban sa *saw mill* na itinayo ng mga misyonaryong Amerikano na nagdulot ng pagkasira ng kagubatan at polusyon sa Ilog ng Wanga. Noong dekada sitenta, may isang malaking kilos protesta ang pinangunahan ng mga katutubong kababaihan sa Bontoc at Kalinga laban sa proyektong *hydropower* na planong itayo ng World Bank sa Ilog Chico, ang pagbabarikada at paghuhubad ng damit ng mga katutubong kababaihan sa pagpasok ng pagmimina ng korporasyong dayuhan sa Mainit, Bontoc (CWEARC, 2013).

> "Matapos ang paglaban ng mga kababaihan para ipatigil ang pagpapatayo ng *hydropower dam* ng World Bank, wala nang kasunod na proyektong pangkaunlaran na pumasok pa sa lugar hanggang noong panahon ni dating Pangulong Corazon Aquino" (KII respondent, 2017).

> "Noong panahon ni dating pangulong Joseph Estrada, tinutulan ng mga kababaihang katutubo ang pagpasok at pagpapatayo ng *cellsite* ng isang malaking kompanya dahil sa posibleng epekto nito sa kalusugan" (KII respondent, 2017).

Noong 2012, kinompronta at pinaalis ng mga kababaihan ang mga tauhan at inhenyero ng Hedcor-SN-Aboitiz na nagsasagawa ng pag-aaral sa Ilog Lattang at kabundukan para sa proyektong *hydropower*. Pumasok ito sa kanilang teritoryo ng walang paalam. Nilabag nito ang isinasaad sa Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) o Batas Hinggil sa Karapatan ng mga Katutubo ng 1997.

> Kinikilala at itinataguyod ng Estado ang lahat ng mga karapatan ng Katutubong Pamayanang Kultural/Katutubong Pamayanan na nakasaad dito alinsunod sa balangkas ng Saligang Batas ng Pilipinas: a) Kikilalanin at itataguyod ng Estado ang mga karapatan ng Katutubong Pamayanang Kultural/Katutubong Pamayanan alinsunod sa balangkas ng pambansang pagkakaisa at pag-unlad; b) Pangangalagaan ng Estado ang mga karapatan ng Katutubong Pamayanan sa kanilang lupaing ninuno upang matiyak ang kanilang kagalingang ekonomiko, panlipunan at pangkultura. Kikilalanin at paiiralin ng Estado ang mga nakaugaliang batas/katutubong batas hinggil sa mga karapatan o mga ugnayan sa ari-arian sa pagtiyak sa pagmamay-ari at saklaw ng mga lupaing ninuno; k) Kikilalanin, igagalang at pangangalagaan ng Estado ang mga karapatan ng Katutubong Pamayanang Kultural/Katutubong Pamayanan na pangalagaan at paunlarin ang kanilang mga kalinangan, salindunong/tradisyon at mga linangan/institusyon. Ang mga karapatang ito ay isasaalangalang sa pagbubuo ng mga pambansang batas at patakaran; d) Titiyakin ng Estado na tatamasain ng mga Katutubong Pamayanang Kultural/ Katutubong Pamayanan, anuman ang kasarian, ang ganap na mga karapatang pantao at kalayaan nang walang pagtatangi o diskriminasyon. (Kabanata 1, Seksyon 2).

Sa IPRA, kinikilala ang apat na bigkis na karapatan: 1) ang karapatan sa lupaing ninuno (*rights to ancestral domain*), 2) karapatan sa sariling pamamahala at pagbibigay-lakas (r*ight to self-governance and empowerment*), 3) katarungang panlipunan at karapatang pantao (*social justice and human rights*); at 4) integridad pang-kultura (*cultural integrity*). Ibig sabihin, sa ilalim ng IPRA, kailangang kilalalin ang karapatan, interes at kagalingan ng mga katutubo, dagdag pa ang

pagkilala sa kanilang mga kultura, paniniwala, tradisyunal na batas (customary law) at institusyon na nakatayo. Sa ilalim ng pamamahala ng National Commission on Indigenous People (NCIP), ang lahat ng proyektong pangkaunlaran na papasok ay kinakailangang dumaan sa tinatawag na Free Prior Inform Consent o FPIC. Ibig sabihin, ito ay libre, walang bayad na pagpayag ng mga katutubo sa proyektong pangkaunlaran na hindi sila pinipilit, dinadahas o tinatakot.

> "Ang 'lakbay aral' na isinagawa ng SN-Aboitiz sa loob ng tatlong araw, kung saan ay sinagot ang lahat ng gastusin at ang pamimigay ng Php 2,000 'pocket money' sa mga katutubo ay paglabag sa FPIC. Gayundin ang pangakong pagbibigay ng mga proyekto sa mga opisyal ng barangay tulad ng klinika, eskwelahan, kalsada, ambulansya, livelihood assistance, scholarship at iba pa para sumang-ayon sa proyekyong hydropower. Nagdulot ito ng pagkakahati sa opisyal ng barangay at komunidad; ng pagkakahati ng tribong Ibontoc dahil sa pangakong trabaho, kabuhayan at mataas na halagang kabayaran sa lupang tatamaan ng proyekto." (KII respondent, 2017)

Batayan ng pag-oorganisa at pagkilos ng katutubong kababaihan

Lupang ninuno

Ayon sa pagbabaliktanaw ng mga kababaihang kalahok sa *focus group discussion* (FGD) at KII sa mga kwentong ibinabahagi ng mga matatanda, bago pa man dumating ang mga kolonyalistang Kastila, mayroon nang hiwa-hiwalay na pamayanan sa mga katutubo ng Kordilyera. Ang lawak o sukat ng isang lupa ay nakabatay sa lakas at tapang ng mga kalalakihang makidigma o *headhunter* noong unang panahon. Ang barangay kung saan ginawa ang pag-aaral ay ang may pinakamalawak na *ancestral domain* sa buong bayan ng Bontoc, ang kanilang lupang ninuno. Batay sa depinisyon ng mga kababaihang katutubo ang "lupang ninuno para sa kanila ay ang minanang lupa ng katutubong tulad nila mula sa kanilang angkan mula pa noong unang panahon." Maliitan (*killeng*), kalat-kalat at gamit sa sariling pangkonsumo (*subsistence farming*) ang pangunahing pamamaraan ng pagsasaka ng mga katutubong Ibontok. Ayon sa APIT TAKO, isang

organisasyon ng mga katutubong magsasaka sa Kordilyera, natatangi ang pagpapahalaga ng mga katutubo sa lupang ninuno dahil, para sa kanila, ang lupa at kalikasan ay bahagi ng kanilang identidad na pagkakakilanlan bilang isang tribo. Ang lupa ang nagpapanatili ng mga katutubong pananaw, paniniwala at kultura lalo na sa mga matatanda. "*Nu maid tawid mo wenno luta, faken kas igorot*" (Kung wala kang lupang ninuno, hindi ka igorot o katutubo). (FGD respondent, 2017)

Ibig sabihin, ang lupang ninuno gaano man kalaki ay bahagi ng pagkakakilanlan ng isang tribo. Ayon kay Delya, kahit maliitan o *killeng* ang kanilang lupa at hindi sapat para sa kanilang pamilya ang naaaning *pakhey* (palay), napakain nito ang kanilang ninuno. "*Ashna ay naikaob na puseg mi, ashna kami'y matey*" (Dito naibaon ang inunan/pusod, *umbilical cord,* namin; dito kami mamamatay). (KII respondent, 2017)

Sa mga batong makikita sa paligid ng mga kabahayan matatagpuan ang mga nakabaong inunan (*umbilical cord*) ng mga katutubong Ibontok. Dito nanggaling ang ibig sabihin ng "lupa ay buhay" para sa mga mamamayang katutubo ng Kordilyera. Ang lupa ay karugtong ng buhay ng isang katutubo. Ito na rin ang kanyang identidad ng pagkakakilanlan. Ang paniniwalang ang "lupa ay buhay" para sa mga katutubong Kordilyera ay inuugnay sa pagtingin na ang lupa ay sagrado. At ang anumang banta para sirain ang kanilang lupang ninuno ay banta rin sa pagkawala ng kanilang katutubong kultura. Ito ay paulit-ulit na binanggit ng mga kababaihan na nakapanayam batay diumano sa naging dahilan ng pagkamatay ni Ama Macliing Dulag, isang *pangat* (*tribal council leader*) mula sa tribo ng Butbut sa probinsya ng Kalinga na nanguna sa pagtutol sa proyektong pagtatayo ng dam sa Ilog Chico na pinondohan ng World Bank noong dekada 1970. Ang pagtatayo ng dam ang magpapalubog sa malawak na lupaing ninuno na sumasaklaw sa maraming bayan, mula Bontoc hanggang Kalinga kasama na ang mga kabahayan, palayan, libingan (*burial grounds*), pook dasalan (*sacred sites*), kagubatan at iba pang kabuhayan ng mga katutubo. Sa kasagsagan ng mga pagkilos ng mamamayang katutubo, si Ama Macliing ay pinatay ng mga sundalo sa kanyang bahay sa Bugnay, Tinglayan, Kalinga noong ika-24 ng Abril, 1980. Ang pagkamatay niya ay naging inspirasyon sa mga Igorot para ipagtanggol ang kanilang lupa, buhay at kabuhayan (Cariño, 2009).

Ayon kay Sonya, kababaihang kalahok sa FGD, "*Daguiti produkto ditoy a daga ket isu timangbibiag kaniak*" (Ang produktong nakukuha

mula sa lupa ang bumubuhay sa akin). Para sa kanya, ang pagkawala ng akses at kontrol sa lupang pinagkukunan niya ng ikabubuhay para sa sarili at pamilya ay kamatayan ang katumbas. Dagdag pa ng isang kababaihan, "*Na filig mi et ideklara ay pribado ay kuan si kompanya*" (Gagawin itong pribadong pag-aari ng mga kompanya). Dahil para sa kanila, ang lupa ay para sa lahat. Sila ay tagapag-alaga lamang kaya kailangan nila itong pangalagaan para sa susunod na henerasyon.

Ang mga ganitong karanasan ang nagtulak sa Kongreso noong 1997 na isabatas ang Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA) o ang Republic Act No. 8371, para itaguyod, kilalalin at maprotektahan ang mga karapatan ng mga katutubo. Ito ang kauna-unahang batas para sa mga katutubo sa buong mundo. Ayon sa Deklarasyon ng United Nations sa mga Karapatan ng mga Katutubo:

> Ang mga katutubo ay may karapatan na pangalagaan at proteksyunan ang kanilang kapaligiran at kapasidad sa produksyon ng kanilang mga lupain o nasasakupan at likas yaman. Ang mga estado ay magsasagawa at magpapatupad ng mga programang tutulong sa mga ganitong pangangalaga at proteksyon, ng walang diskriminasyon" (UNDRIP, Artikulo 29)."Ang mga katutubo ay may karapatan na magtakda at bumuo ng mga prayoridad at estratehiya sa pagpapaunlad o paggamit ng kanilang mga lupain o nasasakupan at iba pang likas na yaman. (UNDRIP, Artikulo 32.1)

Ibig sabihin, kinikilala ng estado sa pamamagitan ng IPRA ang mga karapatan at kagalingan ng mga katutubo para sa pamamahala sa kanilang lupang ninuno kasama na ang likas na yaman.

Identidad at kultura: kailyan at katribu

Ang kultura at tradisyon ay kolektibong ginagawa ng isang komunidad batay sa pangangailangan ng miyembro nito. Halimbawa, ang *ug-ugfo* ay ang pagtutulungan o bayanihan para sa sama-samang pagtatanim sa uma o payaw, pagtatayo ng bahay, kasal, binyag o namatay, pag-aalay sa mga espirito, pangangalaga sa kalikasan at iba pa. Kung gayon, ang pag-oorganisa at sama-samang pagkilos ng mga katutubong Ibontok ay normal na bahagi ng kanilang kultura bilang magkakadugo at tribo. Ang kanilang identidad ay nakabatay

sa lupa, kapaligiran at kalikasan. "*Nuhaan kami nga agkaykaysa nga protektaran ti aglawlaw mi, anya ngay ti mapasamak iti sumaruno nga henerasyon?*" (Kung hindi kami magkakaisa para protektahan ang aming kapaligiran, ano na ang mangyayari sa susunod na henerasyon?) (FGD, 2017). Ang pagkilala sa kultura ng mga katutubong kababaihang magsasaka ay makakamit lamang sa pangangalaga ng kanilang lupaing ninuno para matiyak ang buhay ng susunod na henerasyon.

Pamumuno, pag-oorganisa at pagpapakilos

Ang mga organisasyon ng kababaihan na nakatayo sa komunidad ay nakatuon sa mga pautang pangkabuhayan na tinayo ng iba't ibang ahensya ng gobyerno. Walang pormal na organisasyon ng kababaihan na pangunahing nakatuon sa mg "proyektong pangkaunlaran." Gayunpaman, bilang isang tribo, bilang magkakadugo na maaapektuhan ng *hydropower,* nagkakaisa sila sa layunin na protektahan ang kanilang lupang ninuno laban sa pagkasira sa pagpasok ng *hydropower*. Ang pakikipagkaisa at pagpapahalaga sa tribo ay bahagi ng kanilang kultura at tradisyon. Ang mga magkakatunggaling grupo ay isinantabi ang hindi pagkakaunawaan at pinagtuunan ang pakikipagkaisa para sa isang layunin.

Pakikipagkaisa o solidarity

Ang "*agmaymaysa"* o pakikipagkaisa ay para sa kapakanan ng nakararami o ng komunidad. Ito ay maaaring ipakahulugan sa pakikiisa laban sa isang bagay o tao na nagbabanta sa pangkahalatang kapakanan ng mga tao. Ayon sa 81 taong gulang na lider kababaihan:

> "*Ti kayat na nga saowen ti solidarity kinyak a ket agmaymaysa ket kami iti pannakilaban mi iti kumpanya. Gamin, diyay Hedcor-Aboitiz ket haan lang nga kada maysa ti maapektaran, ti aglawlaw ket maapektaran, amin kami pati putot mi ket apektado. Isunga daytoy pannakadadael ti aglawlaw mi ket isu ti nakita mi nga rason apay nga agtitinnulong kami, agkaykaysa kami*" (Ang ibig sabihin para sa akin ng solidarity ay magkaisa kami para labanan ang kumpanya. Dahil hindi lang kami ang maapektuhan ng proyekto ng Hedcor-Aboitiz kundi ang buong paligid at mga anak namin. Dahil sa posibilidad na pagkasira ng kapaligiran ang nakikita kong rason kung bakit kailangan na magtulungan kami, magkaisa kami.). (FGD, 2017)

Ang pakikipagkaisa o solidarity sa salitang Itokkok, lokal na dayalekto ng tribong Bontoc, ay "*makipolipol*" o makilahok. Para sa kanila ang *makipolipol* ay hindi lang upang sumali sa gawain ng organisasyon kundi upang makipag-ugnayan at makipagtalakayan sa mga miyembro at hindi miyembro ng organisasyon at komunidad upang pag-usapan ang mga isyung makakaapekto sa kanilang komunidad. Dagdag pa, ang pagiging magkakadugo/magkakamag-anak ay hindi nangangailangan ng organisasyon –bahagi ito ng pagpapahalaga sa kultura, tradisyon at paniniwala ng komunidad mula pa noong unang panahon. Ang hindi pakikilahok sa isang layunin ng komunidad at ng nakakarami ay isang kataksilan at pagtatakwil sa iyong *ili* (komunidad) at tribo. Ito ay isang malaking kahihiyan.

Sa karanasan ng komunidad, ang konsepto ng pakikipagkaisa, sama-samang pagkilos ay may kaugnayan sa komunidad. Bilang miyembro ng katutubong komunidad, kinakailangan nilang kumilos bilang isa, "masapor ay waday pang-es esa" (dapat mayroong pagkakaisa) para protektahan ang kanilang komunidad. Sabi ng isang kababaihang nakapanayam:

> "*Chakami ay itokkok, siyana yangay na ili mi. Nan sacha tapina, mafalin cha ay sumaar as ili cha. Mafalin cha ay umey as teken ay ili. Nu achi mi protektaran na ili mi, ayen mi pay? umeyan na aan-ak mi? Isunga na pannakipulipol mi ket konektado sina panang-aywan mi sina ili.*" (Ito lang ang komunidad namin. Ang iba pwede silang umuwi sa bayan nila. Pwede silang lumipat ng ibang lugar. Kung hindi namin poprotektahan ang lupa namin, saan kami pupunta? Saan pupunta ang mga anak namin? Kaya ang pakikipagkaisa ay konektado sa pangangalaga ng komunidad.) (KII respondent, 2017)

Ayon kay Belen, maging ang mga "*fafaknang*" o ang mayayamang kababaihan ay sumasama sa pagkilos. Nakikiisa sila bilang babae at bilang bahagi ng tribong Ibontok. Dagdag pa ng isang kababaihan, bagamat maraming miyembro ng komunidad ang nakatira na sa ibang lugar, nananatili pa rin ang pag-aalala at malasakit kung ano ang kaganapan sa kanilang barangay at bayan sa kabuuan. Patunay nito ang paglagda ng mga *kailyan* o katribo na nakatira sa Baguio sa petisyong ipinaikot ng mga kababaihan kontra sa pagpasok ng proyektong *hydropower* ng Hedcor-SN AboitizPower. Kaisa rin sila

sa mga dayalogong isinagawa sa syudad ng Baguio.

Dagdag pa nila, "Nakita ng iba pang barangay, munisipyo at probinsya ang kawastuhan ng aming pagsusuri sa maaaring maging epekto ng proyektong *hydropower* ng Hedcor-SN Aboitiz matapos ang bagyong Lawin noong nakaraang taon kung saan sa unang pagkakataon ay umapaw ang ilog Chico na ikinasira ng mga *payaw,* inanod na mga kabahayan, alagang hayop at tulay. Saan nanggaling ang malakas na tubig? May nagsasabing galing ito sa dam, sa planta ng *hydropower* sa Sabangan na kagagawa lang." Dahil sa pangyayaring ito, ang kinatawan ng mga barangay ng Sadanga at Kalinga ay gumawa rin ng petisyon at nakiisa sa laban sa proyektong *hydropower* ng Hedcor-SN AboitizPower halaw sa petisyon na ginawa ng komunidad. Ibig sabihin, ang komunidad ay hindi lang dapat batay sa lokasyon ng lugar o *geographical location,* ito ay nakapaloob sa kanilang konsepto ng komunidad o tribo.

> "*Ti solidarity ket makitinnulong. Nu tumulong ti maysa nga tao, kayat na nga sawen makimaymaysa kinyami ti ilablaban mi. Isunga obligasyon kada maysa kinyami nga makitinnulong, makikaykaysa kadigiti dadduma tapno haan nga maawan ti kultura. Daytoy ti solidarity.*" (Ang pakikipagkaisa ay pagtulong. Kung ang tao ay tumulong, ibig sabihin kaisa ang taong iyon sa aming pagkilos. Kaya obligasyon ng bawat isa sa amin ang tumulong at makipagkaisa sa iba pa upang ang aming kultura ay hindi mawala. Ito ang solidarity o pakikipagkaisa.") (FGD, 2017)

Bukod dito, paulit-ulit na binabanggit ng mga *key informant* na ang pagkasira ng kalikasan at pagkawala ng kabuhayan ay isang malaking salik na makakaapekto sa kalagayan ng mga katutubo, at dahil dito ay kailangan ng kolektibong pagkilos para depensahan ang lupa, buhay at kabuhayan. "*Masapul nga agmaymaysa kami nga mangilaban ti biag mi.*" (Kinakailangan na magkaisa kami para ipaglaban ang aming buhay.) (KII respondent, 2017)

Pagpapahalaga at paniniwala

Ayon kay Cariño (2015), isang Ibaloy at dating guro, kabilang sa positibong sistema ng pagpapahalaga ay ang: pag-una sa interes ng komunidad kaysa sa sariling interes; pangangalaga sa rekurso at

kalikasan para sa susunod na henerasyon; at, ang "*ayyew*" o simpleng pamumuhay o ang pagtitipid at hindi pagsasayang ng anumang maaari pang gamitin. Ito ang tradisyunal na katutubong kultura ng paggamit ng kalikasan. "I*mportante ti aglawlaw; sagrado ti aglawlaw. Simple lang nga maawatan daytoy; nu madadael ti aglawlaw ket agputot ka, papanan da ngay?*" (Ang kalikasan ay napakahalaga; ito ay sagrado. Simple lang ito na maintindihan; kung ang kalikasan ay masisira at mayroon kang anak, saan sila pupunta?) (KII respondent, 2017)

Mga aral sa pamumuno, pag-oorganisa at pagpapakilos ng mga katutubong kababaihang magsasaka

Sa paglipas ng panahon, matapos ang matagumpay na pagkilos ng katutubong Bontoc at ng kababaihan sa paglaban sa proyektong Chico Dam, unti-unting humupa ang pagkilos ng organisasyon. Marami sa mga kasapi ang hindi na naging aktibong miyembro ng samahan. Marami na rin ang namatay na mga *lalakkay* (*elders*/ matatanda) at kababaihan na aktibong kumilos. Habang ang ilan naman ay nagtrabaho sa labas ng komunidad para may pandagdag na kita at pagkain ng pamilya.

Ang mga organisasyon ng mga kababaihang katutubo ay pinasok ng mga ahensya ng gobyerno tulad ng Kagawaran ng Pagsasaka (DA), Kagawaran ng Kalakal at Industriya (DTI), Kagawaran ng Kapaligiran at Likas na Yaman (DENR), mga n*on-government organization* (NGO) at simbahan para pahupain ang kanilang paglaban. Tinayo sa barangay ng iba't ibang ahensya ng gobyerno ang mga organisasyon ng mga katutubong kababaihan, katutubong magsasaka, at mga kabataan para paunlarin ang kanilang kabuhayan. Inianak nito ang Women's Club, Farmers Association, at Youth Organisation. Layunin nito na palakasin ang kapasidad ng mga kababaihan sa pagnenegosyo, paghahayupan at pagbubuo ng kooperatiba. Ayon sa ilan, ang mga ito ay maaaring itali sila sa pagpapaunlad ng produksyon at gawaing reproduksyon, at iwaksi sa kamalayan ng kababaihan ang pakikibaka para sa karapatan at sariling pagpapasya.

Subalit, kung ang lupa na kanilang identidad at ang kasiguruhan sa pagkain ay nasa panganib dahil sa pagpasok ng proyektong pangkaunlaran, kagyat at natural ang pagkilos ng kababaihan. Buong tatag at tapang nila itong ipaglalaban. "At saan kami pupunta? Sa Baguio, ano ang gagawin namin duon? Makakapagtanim ba kami ng

palay at gulay sa semento? Dito kami ipinanganak, dito kami nabuhay, dito kami mamamatay!" (KII respondent, 2017)

Totoo na malaki ang naitutulong ng pagiging magkakatribo sa pag-oorganisa at sama-samang pagkilos. Gayunpaman, hindi lahat ng tribo ay maaaring makapagbuo ng sama-samang pagkilos. Sa karanasan, ang sama-samang pagkilos ay hindi maaaring kolektibong kumilos batay lang sa pagiging ka-tribo. Halimbawa, sa kabila ng pag-unawa sa pagiging sagrado ng kalikasan ayon na rin sa mga kababaihan, may mga miyembro ng komunidad na sumasang-ayon sa proyekto *hydropower* dahil sa pangako ng Hedcor-SN AboitizPower na uunlad ang kanilang kabuhayan. May pagkakataon pa nga na "inilihim" ng ilang opisyal ng komunidad ang pagpasok ng kompanya para magsiyasat at magsagawa ng pag-aaral sa ilog at bundok. Batay sa kultura at tradisyunal na kaugalian ng katutubong Ibontok, anumang isyu o proyekto na may kinalaman sa lupa, teritoryo, *boundary* ng komunidad ay kinakailangan ang *tontong* (miting) sa *dap-ay* o *ator,* para makuha ang kolektibong pagsang-ayon at pagpapasya ng *lalakkay* (*elders*/matatanda) o lider ng *ili* at ng buong komunidad. Sa aktwal, ilang opisyal lang ng barangay ang kinausap at hiningan ng pagpayag. Dahil dito, nagkaroon ng pagkakahati at hindi pagkakaunawaan ang ilang miyembro ng *lalakkay* at komunidad. At noong nakaraang eleksyon ng barangay, napalitan ang ilang dating opisyal na nakaupo at "pumayag" sa pagsasagawa ng pagsisiyasat ng kompanya. Ang ilang nakatanggap ng *allowance*, pangakong trabaho, "malaking halaga" na kabayaran sa "tiwangwang na lupa" ay sumang-ayon din sa pagpasok ng proyekto. Ang lahat ng ito ay bahagi ng taktikang "*divide and rule*" ng kompanya para mapigilan ang pagtutol at protesta ng mga tao (KII respondent, 2017).

Pangunahing layunin ng mga kababaihan at ng komunidad ay ang depensahan ang kanilang lupang ninuno. Makikita ito sa iba't ibang pamamaraan na isinagawa at pinangunahan ng mga kababaihan. Una, ang pagsasagawa ng mga miting-talakayan sa iba't ibang grupo sa loob at labas ng komunidad. Ikalawa, paggawa ng petisyon. Ikatlo, pagsisiguro ng mobilisasyon sa pagsusumite ng mga petisyon at pagkakaroon ng dayalogo na pinangungunahan ng mga kababaihan. Ikaapat, ang pakikipagkaisa at pagbubuo ng malawak na suporta ng ibang barangay at munisipyo upang tutulan at labanan ang pagpasok ng *hydropower* sa kanilang komunidad. Ayon sa mga kababaihan,

nakaugat sa lupa ang kanilang kultura. Tanong ng isang kababaihan sa aming FGD, "*Nu maawan ti daga, kasano nga aramiden mi ti kultura mi*?" (Kung mawawala ang lupa, paano na ang aming kultura?) Hindi ito gaanong maintindihan ng ilang mga tao sa ibaba o kapatagan. Dagdag pa ng isang kababaihan, "kasi ang mga taga-baba, kaya walang masyadong pagpapahalaga sa lupa dahil nasakop sila ng Kastila."

Dahil maraming mga bayan ay napasok na ng mga proyektong pangkaunlaran na dala ng mga korporasyong dayuhan at dahil na rin ng migrasyon ng mga mula sa ibang lugar, napapabilis ang disintegrasyon ng mga katutubo sa ekonomiya at kultura. Naaagaw ang lupaing ninuno, nasisira ang tradisyunal na kabuhayan at napapalikas ang mga komunidad mula sa lupa at kalikasan na bahagi ng kanilang identidad (Cariño, 2015; Sandugo, 2016).

Ang karanasan ng pagkilos ng mga katutubong kababaihan laban sa proyektong hydropower ay nagsisilbing inspirasyon sa iba pang komunidad. Maaari itong gamiting gabay sa pagkilos at paglaban, halawan ng aral sa pagresolba sa mga usapin sa loob ng komunidad. Pinapakita rin ng katutubong kababaihan ang kanilang natatanging papel para sa tunay na pag-unlad at pagbabago ng komunidad at ng lipunan.

Implikasyon sa pagpapaunlad ng pamayanan

Bago pumasok sa komunidad, mahalagang may panimulang pagkilala sa katangian, kultura, tradisyon at paniniwala. Sa pagpasok sa komunidad ng katutubo, mahalaga ang pagpapaalam at pagkuha ng kanilang pagpayag. Bahagi ito ng pagrespeto sa kanilang kultura. Ang hindi pagbibigay halaga sa kultura ay paglapastangan sa kanilang karapatan.

Sa pagpasok sa komunidad, kinakailangan isaalang-alang ang kultura, mga tradisyon at paniniwala. Tulad halimbawa ng mga sumusunod: sa pananaliksik na isinagawa kinakailangan magpaalam o humingi muna ng permiso bago kumuha ng litrato sa tao man o sa lugar. Sa pag-iikot sa lugar, kinakailangan munang magsabi sa mayari, tanda ito ng pagkilala sa kanilang karapatan. Sa paggalang at pagrespeto sa karapatan ng mga katutubo at ng komunidad, ibibigay nila ang kanilang basbas, yayakapin at aangkinin ka ng komunidad bilang kaisa o kabahagi ng komunidad.

Mga hamon

Tinalakay ng pag-aaral ang antas ng pagkilos, partisipasyon at pagsasakapangyarihan ng mga katutubong kababaihang magsasaka sa gitna ng kanilang kasalukuyang laban sa *hydropower* ng Hedcor-SN AboitizPower. Bagamat kalat-kalat at hiwa-hiwalay ang mga lokal na organisasyon ng kababaihan, magsasaka at kabataan at walang pangmalawakang lokal na organisasyon na tumututok sa usapin ng mga proyektong dala ang agresyong pangkaunlaran, nananatili sa kanilang diwa ang pakikipagkaisa bilang bahagi ng tribong Ibontok. Para sa mga katutubong kababaihan na kalahok sa pag-aaral, nauunawan nila na ang mga proyektong tulad ng *hydropower plant* at *diversion tunnel* na bubutas sa kabundukan ay magdadala ng panganib sa maaaring pagkawala ng lupaing ninuno at pagkasira ng kalikasan.

Para sa mga katutubong kababaihang magsasaka ng komunidad, handa silang ipagpatuloy at isulong ang pagpapahalaga at pagkakaisa upang ipagtanggol ang kanilang lupaing ninuno na pangunahin nilang pinagkukunan ng kabuhayan laban sa pagpasok ng proyektong hydropower ng Hedcor-SN AboitizPower. Sila ay ang tumatayong pangunahing tagapagtanggol. Para sa kanila ang "buhay ay nakabatay sa lupa." Ang pangangalaga, kontrol at akses sa lupa ang pangunahing elemento para makamit nila ang sariling pagpapasya (*self-determination*) at pagkakaroon ng dignidad para mabuhay. Ang mataas na pagpapahalaga sa lupa, buhay at kabuhayan ng mga katutubong kababaihan ay sumasalamin sa kanilang mahalagang papel sa produksyon at reproduksyon. Para sa katutubong kababaihan ng tribo ng Ibontok, ang maging tagapangalaga ng lupa ay isang malaking responsibilidad at karangalan dahil ang lupa ang nagtitiyak ng identidad at kakayahan ng komunidad o tribo. Ang pagtutol sa proyektong *hydropower* at sa iba pang porma ng agresyong pangkaunlaran ay hindi dahil na sila ay "*anti-development*" kundi dahil nangangahulugan ito ng pagkawala ng kabuhayan, sapilitang paglikas o *displacement*, malawakang pagkasira ng kalikasan/kapaligiran o "*environmental destruction*" at away ng tribo (*tribal conflict).*

Dahil sa determinasyon ng kompanya na kumbinsihin ang mga tao, gumamit sila ng iba't ibang paraan para makuha ang pagsang-ayon ng komunidad: pangakong trabaho, imprastraktura,

scholarship, proyektong pangkabuhayan, "pamimigay ng pera" sa mga sumama sa lakbay aral at iba pa. Dahil dito, may ilang mga lider at opisyal ng barangay na pumayag sa pagpasok ng naturang proyekto. Gayunpaman, ipinakita ng mas malaking bilang ng komunidad sa pangunguna ng kababaihan ang pakikipagkaisa sa harap ng malaking banta ng pagkakawatak-watak. Nalaman nila na ang ganitong mga pamamaraan at taktika na ginagawa ng mga kompanya ng pagmimina at enerhiya sa iba pang komunidad ng mga katutubo sa Kordilyera at sa mga kababaihan.

Sa maraming pagkakataon, ipinamalas ng mga katutubong kababaihan ang kanilang katapangan at katatagan. Para supilin o pahupain ang lumalakas na pagtutol ng mga katutubong kababaihan laban sa pagpasok ng mga agresyong pangkaunlaran sa Kordilyera, isang istratehiya ay ang pagde-deploy ng mga sundalo pabalik sa kanilang mga probinsya lalo na sa lugar na may aktibong pagkilos o paglaban. Ang mga kamag-anak ng mga sundalong ito ay maaaring sumuporta sa pagkakaroon ng *military detachment* o tumahimik. Ang sundalong masaktan o mamatay sa teritoryo ng ibang tribo ay maaaring magresulta sa *tribal conflict*. Bahagi ito ng "*divide and rule*" *tactics* laban sa pagkilos ng komunidad. Isa ito sa mga matitinding hamon para sa mga kababaihang katutubo.

Sa kontekstong ito, inaasahan ang pagbubuo ng pormal na organisasyon ng katutubong kababaihan sa tribo ng Ibontok na magiging sentro ng kanilang pampulitika at pang-ekonomiyang pagsasakapangyarihan sa mga susunod na araw. Ibayo pa nitong palalakasin ang pamumuno at pakikilahok sa komunidad ng mga katutubong kababaihan para sa kanilang interes at sa interes ng nakararami pang mga katutubo na nakikipaglaban para sa lupa, buhay, kasiguruhan sa pagkain at sariling pagpapasya.

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Participation as Subscriptions: Re-examining participatory development practices

Karl Arvin F. Hapal

Participation is one of the most ubiquitous terms in the field of development. Yet, despite of its inspiring and effervescent effect, its attainment has remained elusive and tenuous. This article argues that the concept of participation must be appreciated as an ideology – a prescription or a vision of what society ought to be rather than acute description of social relationships and dynamics. This article instead proposes the concepts of subscription, congruence and buying-in as alternative concepts that may account for discrepant realities. These concepts were gleaned from the experience of community organizing in Bagong Silang and member-organization dynamics of the Workers Cooperative in Caloocan.

Key words: participation, community organizing, participatory development

Defining Participation

Participation, along with peace and empowerment, is one of the most ubiquitous terms in the field of development. Its ubiquity lies not only in its robustness as an ideal, but also in its ability to affect inspiration and effervescence. It is a buzzword which perfectly encapsulates what ought to be in a democratic society. As White (1996) observes, "participation as a 'Hurrah' word [brings] a warm glow to its users and hearers." Development programs by both state and non-state actors claiming to promote or enhance participation often bear a veneer of legitimacy or approval. Yet, despite its effervescent effect, explaining participation in theory and achieving it in practice have proven to be rather difficult, if not, elusive. It can be everything while, at the same time, mean nothing at all (van Deth, 2001).

The elastic, if not problematic, nature of participation has yielded persistent and sustained attempts by academics, administrators and practitioners to unpack and achieve it. Sherry Arnstein's (1969) article, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," is perhaps one of the more popular descriptions and explanations of the concept. Contemporary attempts include the articles of White (1996) and Cornwall (2008). Both attempted to re-examine the concept in order to, using Cornwall's words, "realize its democratizing promise." In the Philippines, the concept of participation remains central in community organizing and mobilization (Manalili, 1990; Francisco, 1997) as well as in promoting people-centered governance models.

Notwithstanding the plethora of attempts to unpack the concept, it appears that participation continues to be promoted for its instrumental, and more importantly, transformative and empowering potentials. The enduring relevance of participation stems from its idealized and normative formulation; that is, (genuine) participation is often considered as "desirable" or "good" for the government, society and its citizens (Cleaver, 2001). The idealization of participation emerged from a critical reaction against centrally planned and technocratic administration of development. As a critical reaction, it called for increasing people's influence and control over matters that directly affect their lives (World Bank, 1996). By increasing influence and control, people escape from being mere objects of development and instead become active agents in shaping their own destinies.

The concept of participation suggests an ideal or aspiration for modern democratic societies. It harkens to models of direct democracy where "good citizens" are actively involved with the affairs of their community and their actions are guided by the common good. Scholars, confronted with the complexities of empirical reality, have provided nuanced explanations, models or typologies (Arnstein, 1969; White, 1996; Cornwall, 2008). Yet, they remain committed to this idealized form either by adopting a perspective where participation is as transformative, empowering and intrinsically good or, as an ideal-type – a conceptual yardstick to distinguish what is, from what is not. However, this commitment to an idealized concept of participation is not entirely unproblematic.

The problem of this idealization lies in the privileging of *what ought to be*. The achievement of this rather utopic idealization,

however, has proven to be difficult or, to borrow from Cleaver (2001), "partial, tenuous and reliant on assertions of [its] rightness… rather than convincing evidence." This has led some actors to either blindly rejoice in the supposed benefits of participation only to become deeply skeptical, if not frustrated, in the process, especially in the face of defeat. The limits of this idealization are further pushed when confronted with peculiar situations such as when actors teeter between the metaphorical "ladder steps" of Arnstein (1969) or when contentious and patronage politics appear to be "co-constitutive" (Auyero, Lapegna, & Poma, 2009)[1]. Hence, measuring up against this idealized concept does not only set elusive goals, but also lacks the robustness to explain the "heterotopia" of participation in real life (Chatterjee, 2004).

I argue that part of the problem with the concept of participation lies in the implicit and often ignored assumption that it represents an ideology rather than an acute representation of social life. Schwarzmantel (2008) broadly defines ideology as a "totalistic" perspective which "cover the central aspects of how society should be organized… it offers answers to the question of what kind of society is desirable." Participation is predicated on a fundamental belief that "the people" must be enjoined in the process towards their development. As Manalili (1984) has incessantly preached throughout the years, development must be "*mula sa tao, para sa tao*." As an ideology, this assertion is viewed intrinsically desirable. Yet, this is insufficient in providing us with robust explanations of social life and processes. Instead it provides us with a *pangarap* (dream) and systems of belief.

The belief in this *pangarap* constitutes a subscription to the ideology. The process of subscription to these "dreams" or ideologies is the foundation of transformation and change. It serves as the *pinagkakapitan* (moral handles) of "the people" and developmental agents alike. The subscription of this "dream" informs belief, practices and, subsequently contestations among other ideological "competitors." When "the people" subscribe to a participatory developmental configuration, they share this *pangarap*. This shared belief may be motivated or hampered by different factors—personal projects, altruistic beliefs, socio-political contexts. However, the subscription to this *pangarap* tends to teeter, if not appears to be

1 See Karaos (2006)

tenuous and, its transformative trajectories become difficult to predict. The teetering motions surrounding people's participation, I argue, are reflective of relationships characterized by exchange or reciprocal relations between particular and contextual actors and, more importantly, the congruence between their perceptions of development.

This article is an attempt to re-examine the concept of participation and, in the process, present a robust re-interpretation of it. This attempt somehow answers Cornwall's (2008) call for "clarity through specificity" – that is, "spelling out what exactly people are being enjoined to participate in, for what purpose, who is involved and who is absent." The article shall realize this attempt by examining the experience of community organizing in Bagong Silang and the case of the Workers Cooperative of Caloocan (WCC). Using these experiences as a platform, the article shall then attempt to provide a re-interpretation of the concept of participation. This re-interpretation represents an incipient theory which, hopefully, possesses the foundation for a robust and dynamic explanation of participation. The article shall end by outlining some implications to community organizing and development work in general.

It must be declared that this attempt requires the suspension of the idealized notions and normative ascriptions loaded within the concept of participation. This is to avoid conceptual traps characterized by elusive moral and normative categories (i.e. its desirability, rightness and essentiality) which partly define the concept of participation. These ascriptions to the concept of participation are reflective of a particular political position, an ideology or to borrow from Cleaver (2001), an "act of faith" which confuses any sober attempt to examine the concept.

For this article, I shall use the case of community organizing in Bagong Silang, Caloocan during the late 1980s until the early 1990s and the contemporary attempts by the Workers Cooperative of Caloocan (WCC) as a platform to interrogate the concept of participation. Data for the case draws from interviews with former and current community organizers in Bagong Silang, representatives of political organizations and local politicians. These interviews were undertaken for my master's thesis. The data for the case of WCC on the other hand

was borne out of my role as a faculty supervisor for the Department of Community Development's (DCD) Field Instruction Program (FIP)[2]. This role has led me to assume, among other things, a participant-observer position in relation to the organizational dynamics of the cooperative.

To the reader, what lies ahead might be a polemical re-interpretation of participation. If it is any consolation, this attempt is not without agony nor is it a denial of the transformative and empowering potentials of the idealized concept of participation. Despite the seeming deep-seated skepticism surrounding the article, I continue to believe in the "intrinsic goodness" of participation. It has served as my conceptual and political handle throughout my career as a development worker and in everyday life. Yet, this reaction stems from unsettling moments when neat and idealized categories do not fit with presenting realities. Hence, this is part of my own search for alternative explanations through conscientious reflection and incessant problematization.

The Case of Community Organizing in Bagong Silang

In August 1982, informal settlers along then Don Mariano Marcos Avenue[3] in Quezon City had their shacks demolished and were then loaded in trucks en route to Bagong Silang, a resettlement site located near the northern border of the city of Caloocan. The demolition was part of the Marcos administration's "last campaign" to rid Metro Manila of its so-called eyesores—the squatters (Karaos, 1993; Van Naerssen, 1993). Soon after, other informal settlers in Tatalon, Quezon City and Tondo, Manila had their shanties demolished and were subsequently transported to what was supposed to be a new birth ("bagong silang") or beginning for them. Instead, the relocatees were dumbfounded as they saw stretches of land dotted, not with houses, but with toilets. Without any basic services, many of the relocatees struggled for survival while others simply left Bagong Silang only to return to the precarious life in the city as informal settlers.

2 The Field Instruction Program (FIP) is considered the cornerstone of the undergraduate Community Development (CD) curricula. It was designed to complement theoretical knowledge and skills taught in the classroom by providing opportunities for students to apply basic CD concepts, principles, approaches, strategies and techniques in real-life situations.

3 Now known as Commonwealth Avenue.

Deplorable living conditions and the lack of basic services made Bagong Silang a fertile ground for the politicization of the *masa* and community organizing. Community organizers, who were relocatees themselves, began to arouse[4], organize and mobilize people in Bagong Silang. Educational discussions (EDs), which exposed local problems and linked these with national issues, were vigorously conducted. Protests were mounted against the National Housing Authority (NHA) and other government agencies to demand for humane housing units and basic services. Demonstrations were likewise staged against then President Ferdinand Marcos together with other basic sectors[5]. Parallel to these mobilizations against the government were socio-economic projects and political education for the people of Bagong Silang. At the turn of the 1990s, people's organizations (POs) in Bagong Silang attained some degree of autonomy and self-reliance. This was evident in their ability to control or provide some basic services for the residents of Bagong Silang such as healthcare, water, and access to credit.

The post-EDSA Revolution context, however, seems to have marked the apex of community organizing in Bagong Silang. By the mid-1990s, community organizing in the resettlement site was remarkably different from its incarnation during the late 1980s until the early 1990s. When asked to describe this change Arnel, a community organizer in Bagong Silang, said "...before, if you go to your masa, they will voluntarily give you money for your transportation... it was more *madulas* (smooth) before... [during rallies] we could fill two mini-buses." The relative smoothness of community organizing was reflected in the palpability of support from the masses and the massive demonstrations staged by their group. However, Arnel, commenting on the transformation of community organizing in Bagong Silang remarked, "for the longest time we have been fighting. They sometimes think, 'here we go again'. The issues we are facing… it does not go away. That is why when we call for a meeting, it is very *makunat* (tough). Only a few attend."

What led to this change in community organizing? Some community organizers cited two main observations. First, there

4 The word arouse relates to the process of raising awareness and deepening critical consciousness.

5 Community organizers claim that back then, despite the inherent dangers in participating in such activities, they mobilized people by the thousands.

appeared to be a palpable lack or stark departure from the conduct of *basic mass work*[6]. In Bagong Silang, basic mass work took the form of agitating relocatees which, in turn, would lead to people's participation in demand-making activities, mobilizations and becoming part of a political organization. Basic mass work required intensive integration in communities and with the people. The departure from undertaking basic mass work was partly due to disruptive controversies faced by some POs such as accusations of particularism, mismanagement of resources and, intense debates on succession. These contributed to the thinning of some POs' membership base, fragmentation of old alliances and loss of support from donors. The "split" within the Philippine Left also had an impact. According to some community organizers, the "split" divided and planted mistrust and resentment among the mass base.

Second, some of the POs' members simply chose to focus on their respective *ekonomiya* or livelihood rather than attend various associational activities[7]. When some people participate, especially in political activities, Lando lamented, "sometimes, our community leaders go to where the resources are." The move to prioritize one's *ekonomiya* over political organizational activities was not limited to members of POs in Bagong Silang. For instance, some community organizers also adopted a rather "practical" approach given the increasing difficulties[8] of community organizing and the demands of their personal lives. Take Ronald for example. He and his wife shared how they distributed money for an aspiring politician during the 2013 elections. According to Ronald, "we had sacks full of money… people lined up in front of our house and we gave it all to them". Ronald maintains that he is still an activist but justifies his involvement with politicians to survive. The move by both members and community

6 See Manalili (1990)

7 It is interesting to note (randomly selected) respondents interviewed for a *victimization survey* in 2010 suggested that they face considerable difficulties participating in community or political activities as compared to economic and family-based activities. See Jensen, Hapal & Modvig (2013).

8 The difficulties of community organizing in Bagong Silang are many. Most of the community organizers interviewed began their work when they were in their 20s. This allowed them to lay their life "*para sa bayan* (for the nation)." Yet, as they began to age and have their own families, having a livelihood became a priority. For some, physical ailments have taken their toll. Those who continue to work as community organizers also face threats from the state or political rivals.

organizers to prioritize their *ekonomiya* is particularly interesting given the rich experience of community organizing in Bagong Silang--a historied past shared by people who, at some point in their lives, have attended intensive EDs, staged rallies against the NHA, and, fought alongside other basic sectors to end authoritarian rule in the Philippines.

While the description of some community organizers depicted a seeming decline of community organizing from *madulas* to *makunat*, others saw the change as a form of reconfiguration or a shift in terms of perspective and strategy (Hapal, 2017). According to some community organizers, democratization paved the way for the emergence of transformative and non-combative, albeit no less critical, engagements with the state. This discursive shift moved the attention away from community organizing geared towards self-reliance and autonomy and, instead focused on promoting democratic mechanisms and making governance structures work. According to Vicky, a community organizer, "Before, we were trying to make people angry. Now, it is different. Instead of keeping on hitting (*bira ng bira*), it is better to participate. That is my brand of organizing. That is how I raise their awareness (conscientization). I do not organize people so I could use them because I have a particular agenda. To understand the full extent of the problem you need to understand its inner workings (*kailangan mong pumasok*)." Democratization resulted in the widening of "political opportunity structures" (Tarrow, 1994) which consequently led to the "diffusion of organizing trajectories" (Hapal, 2017)[9]. The move to participate was further reinforced with the passage of Republic Act 7160 or the Local Government Code of 1991 which reinvigorated the role of barangay and city governments. This, together with the shifting priorities of donor agencies, supported the changing tide of development discourse and practice. Making government work and getting people to work with it was in vogue while support for community organizing from donor agencies became scarce (Hapal, 2017).

9 The diffusion of organizing trajectories has led to some peculiar situations (i.e. community organizers as political operators of some politicians while, simultaneously, claiming to represent the interest of communities).

The Case of the Workers Cooperative of Caloocan

The Workers Cooperative of Caloocan (WCC) began in 2009 with five founding members. These were all mothers who wanted to escape from being dependent on local loan sharks, commonly known as "five-six."[10] WCC also had a nucleus of community organizers who had decades of experience working with various urban poor communities. They began by initiating a system of *impokan* (savings) and lending it to needy individuals for one percent interest. The founding members began with a capital of PhP 5,000.00. After a year, the five founding members managed to recruit 50 members to their impokan and raise PhP 75,000.00. Expansion continued in the following years until, in 2012, the members of the *impokan* formalized their organization by establishing a (credit) cooperative. Soon after, the WCC launched other livelihood programs for its members which included a garments business, a *bigasan* (rice retailing business), and a school service for its members. In 2015, the cooperative launched a "housing program" for its members by attempting to access government services (i.e. the Community Mortgage Program or CMP). In 2016, the WCC claimed to have a net worth of around PhP 1 million and 500 members (mostly from the urban poor sector) in Caloocan City and in nearby cities.

The meteoric rise of WCC demonstrated the potential of a non-mainstream and solidarity-based means of generating wealth. However, despite the cooperative's remarkable experience, its organizational dynamics were not entirely unproblematic, especially regarding its members. A closer examination of the cooperative revealed a strong and decisive core of active members (Orlino, Hayashi, Abis, & Rico, 2017). These were members who actively engaged in the cooperative's programs (i.e., patronizing their products, depositing share capital, or loaning money) and participated in decision-making processes (Limbaga, Abis, Cimafranca, & Orlino, 2016). Outside of the core, however, the majority of WCC's members were perceived as inactive.

The inactivity of most of WCC's members was due to several factors: the geographical distance between its members and WCC, making it difficult for some to participate; the cooperative's

10 "Five-six" is an informal micro-lending system in the Philippines. In exchange for money or goods, creditors impose a 20 percent interest over the principal amount borrowed.

committees being non-functional; the centralization of activities; and the lack of local leaders in communities where members were present. In response, WCC attempted to decentralize the activities, instill the value of volunteerism, and continually engage its members through various educational discussions. Despite these measures, the degrees of participation by WCC's members remained varied.

The differing, if not fluctuating, degrees of "participation" by WCC's members became more evident in its "housing program." The cooperative's program, launched in 2015, sought to access a government housing program for poor and informal settlers living along danger zones[11]. The idea was for WCC to assume the role of a community facilitator to enable its members to access the government's housing program. Mass orientations were held among WCC's members and interested individuals. The membership base of the cooperative swelled thereafter. While WCC claimed that their role was simply to facilitate, many of the members were encouraged to participate because of the "promise" of eventually becoming homeowners.

The rather aggressive recruitment process for WCC's housing program was allegedly part of a larger attempt to broaden the constituency of its mother political organization. This, to say the least, was not well received by some people. A community leader remarked, "*Ayaw namin magamit sa rally* (we do not want to be used in rallies)." This remark was borne out of the militant tendencies of WCC's mother political group[12] and some people's experience in the past where they were "encouraged" to join rallies as part of their broader participation in a development program. Despite these reservations, many expressed their desire to join WCC's housing program and began to pay monthly dues.

Resentment and frustration soon crept in as the housing program of WCC did not deliver tangible results. Some members asked, "*Nasaan na ang bahay? Hindi na ako nagbabayad dahil wala naman pinatunguhan* (Where are the houses? I stopped paying because there were no results)." This led many members to become inactive. However, several opportunities were opened as the Duterte

11 See NHA (2015)

12 In some instances, WCC and its affiliate political organization was perceived to be associated with other militant or left-leaning groups.

administration rolled out its own housing program for the poor. WCC also took the initiative to further study the government's housing program in the wake of the failures of its past attempt. In 2017, contact was re-established, re-orientations were conducted, and community profiling activities were undertaken. This reinvigorated the interest of old, albeit inactive, members and encouraged other individuals to become members of the cooperative. This led some inactive members to renew their participation in WCC's *impokan* and explore means to effectively participate in its activities.

Meanwhile, WCC's core group which had, in the past, steered the cooperative's organizational trajectory continue to face several challenges. A number of core group members have left the cooperative for various reasons--–interpersonal conflict within the cooperative, better employment opportunities elsewhere in the Philippines or overseas, disillusionment with the management, etc.-–leaving the WCC with only a handful of active members. Those who have remained remark that they continue to participate because they consider WCC their second home or family. This is not simply a romanticized remark, as most of the core group members of WCC belong to one or two families-–a fact that some members and affiliate organizations have pointed out as a criticism about the cooperative.

Framing the Bagong Silang and WCC Experience

Thus far, I have presented, albeit briefly, the case of Bagong Silang and WCC. These cases point to different historical moments and reflect different developmental or organizational issues. A keen reader might also notice that the issue of participation was not the main problematique during the process of inquiry and, subsequently, the "re-construction" of Bagong Silang and WCC's narrative (Etherington, 2013). For instance, the case of Bagong Silang discusses the transformation of community organizing and political activism. WCC's experience, on the other hand, demonstrates cooperative-member dynamics and broader organizational issues. Notwithstanding the seeming tangential relationship of these cases (in terms of the initial objective of inquiry) with the concept of participation, it still raises some interesting questions. For example, both cases illustrate people actively engaging in alternative political or developmental configurations. Yet, both cases also show the inherent difficulties and dilemmas surrounding participatory processes. Both also illustrate

various motivations which informed people's participation-–ranging from political activism, familial ties to rational self-interest.

In general, the Bagong Silang and WCC experience reflect a less straightforward path towards a vision of change and the variegated trajectories of participatory processes. These processes are subject, not only to socio-political developments or discursive shifts, but are also based on perceptions, personal contexts and social relationships (Cornwall, 2008; de Sardan, 2005). Reading the experience might yield questions pertaining to the participatory techniques used, the existence of platforms for engagement, the quality of the conscientization process, and even the integrity of the actors. These are all legitimate questions. However, these questions only serve the purpose of measuring these cases against an idealized version of participation, participatory processes and constituent principles. Treading this track leaves few insights for exploring the nuances of the concept of participation. How then do we make sense of this less straightforward and, to some extent, messy trajectory of developmental processes as illustrated in the cases above?

To answer this question, I draw inspiration from de Sardan's (2005) "Entangled Social Logic Approach." The approach, according to de Sardan is "centered on the analysis of the embeddedness of social logic." It departs from the populist or essentializing (ideological) tendencies of some development theories and, instead, adopts a social interactionist perspective (de Sardan, 2005). The approach aims to study "social groups and their interactions in the context of development" (Ervin, 2016) which may be useful in juxtaposing concrete and practice-based reality with broad developmental discourses. This perspective also departs from viewing "the people" as inhabiting the domain of normative political theory (citizens) and functionalist policy (populations) (Chatterjee, 2004). Instead, it views "the people" populating participatory processes in non-normative or idealized terms. From this perspective the case of Bagong Silang and WCC do not reflect the process of climbing the metaphorical ladder or the gradual attainment of citizen power. Instead, their experiences and participatory outcomes reflect a diachronic process "[developed] via discreet passageways, relays, extended or restricted networks of transmission, interfaces [that] proceeds through a wide range of multiple, embedded, overlapping, intertwined mediations" (de Sardan, 2005). Off hand, this process seems to yield a "rhizomatic" unraveling

of participatory trajectories-–a seemingly teetering or variegated motion between different typologies of participation (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

Drawing inspiration from the "Entangled Social Logic Approach," I introduce congruence, buying-in and subscriptions as non-normative and interactionist concepts or analytical tools to examine people's participation. These concepts depart from idealized and often linear notions of participation and participatory processes. Instead, they reflect the seemingly wavering motions or tenuous relationships between "social logics" of actors. Again, while these concepts were formulated and inspired by community-based practices, I must declare that these are a product of generalizations and re-interpretations of situated experiences. These interpretations reflect an incipient attempt to theorize and to characterize social interactions. As such, the cases presented merely serve as platforms to illustrate these concepts and further research is necessary to examine the potency and limits of these concepts.

Congruence, Buying-in and Subscriptions[13]

What accounts for this seeming "rhizomatic" unraveling of participatory processes? To unpack this "puzzle," I propose that we examine the interaction between actors and the implicit meanings surrounding participatory processes. Both cases illustrate moments of robustness and lethargy in terms of people's participation. I argue that the relative robustness or lethargy of people's participation is founded on the congruence between so-called development agents and *mga tao* (the people) or *masa* (masses). Achieving congruence relies on the viability of the perspectives and strategies development actors have to offer. More importantly, however, from the perspective of the people, congruence relies on their appreciation of their context; that is, their assessment of their socio-politico-economic situation and probable solutions to it. In other words, the congruence of perspectives relies on the relative compatibility of development configurations with pre-existing "social logics." The term "social logics" was defined by Glynos & Howarth (2007) as "the 'patterning' of social practices, where such practices are understood in this regard as a function of the contextualized self-interpretation of key subjects."

13 These concepts were partially developed and articulated in the analysis section of my masteral thesis.

Yet, the congruence of perspective and strategies between development agents and the people does not necessarily prompt participation or non-participation. Participation is prompted as a result of the process of "brokerage" or "intermediation" by development actors, the promotion of alternative perspectives and practices (de Sardan, 2005). The process of brokerage is consummated when there is a "suspension of disbelief" on the part of the people; that is, they must buy-in and assume that the alternatives offered by development actors are viable and realistic. The suspension of disbelief is "contingent on a process of appraisal or rationalization where pragmatic, personal, social and even altruistic motivations simultaneously converge" (Hapal, 2017). The process of buying-in, predicated on the congruence of perspectives, "may be likened to a **negotiated exchange**… 'successful' negotiated exchange between the two results in a **subscription** – a form of social contract… characterized by a reciprocal relationship between [the people] and developmental agents" (Hapal, 2017). The integrity and quality of the reciprocal relationship between "the people" and development agents rests on the participation of the former and the viability of the latter's developmental configuration.

In the case of Bagong Silang, the congruence between development actors (i.e., community organizers) and the relocatees was somewhat achieved when lived experiences of destitution and neglect resonated with the social analysis which reflected the themes of inequality, oppression and injustice. On the other hand, the resonance between WCC and its members relied on the common desire to seek alternative opportunities to save and, in the process, generate wealth. In Bagong Silang's case, buy-in was achieved due to the viability and palpability of the alternatives provided by the development actors and their respective organizations. These alternatives took the form of a comprehensive strategy to address their destitute situation, housing support, welfare services and, access to other forms of resources. The relocatees' subscription to these alternatives paved the way for engagements to a wider arena of struggle. In the case of WCC, the cooperative's meteoric success or "track record" became the foundation for prospective members to buy-in and register as members. Furthermore, WCC's benefits and, more importantly its perceived "promise" to facilitate the acquisition of homes/dwellings

through the government's housing program, proved to be a significant motivation to join the cooperative or eventually disengage.

However, one must not mistake the concepts of congruence, buying-in and subscriptions as characterizing a linear process. The congruence of the perspectives by development actors and "the people" is contingent on the fluidity of the socio-politico-economic context. In other words, its relative strength or weakness is contingent on the interwoven nature of social realities, perspectives and practices. An individual's milieu influences his or her assessment and subsequent actions. These shifts either reinforce or compromise pre-existing subscriptions which may lead to the impression that participatory processes surrounding any developmental configuration are fleeting, or at times, tenuous. Furthermore, such oscillation is due to its synchronic characteristic; that is, subscriptions are non-exclusive social contracts-–several subscriptions may be at play at any given point in time (Hapal, 2017). This is readily apparent in peculiar situations where patronage and contentious politics appear to have a recursive relationship; both may occupy the same space and may be performed simultaneously (Auyero, Lapegna, & Poma, 2009).

The teetering motions surrounding the concepts of congruence, buying-in and subscriptions draw from the assumption that "the people" are discerning and calculating agents; that is, they constantly appraise their context and appropriate possible alternatives. This assumption departs from the homogenizing tendency of some theories on participation which views groups of people as aggregates (i.e., class, *mga tao* or *masa*). This tendency is often guilty of pre-determining their attitudes and interests instead of interrogating interactions and meanings surrounding them. From this perspective, subscriptions are deliberate and calculated acts. As result, the motivations to participate vary depending on one's assessment, and the subsequent economy of actions rests on the perceived viability of the developmental configuration. Subscriptions, therefore, may be seen as founded on the constant process of appraisal (*pagtantya*), opportunity-seeking (*diskarte*) and allocation of efforts (*pagtaya*) inasmuch as it is an outcome of participatory processes and techniques.

The variegated characteristic of people's subscription to any developmental configuration is apparent when the case of WCC, in

particular its active and inactive members, is examined further. Active members continue to engage in WCC's activities for several reasons. For example, while most active members continue to participate because of the perceived benefits, other members, especially some women, see their engagement as an opportunity for self-development or, in some cases, a means to become less dependent on their husbands. This example is very simplistic and tends to generalize the complexities of the case. The point however, is that each member appraises their engagement differently. The result of this appraisal may consist of a set of intertwined beliefs or justifications which, in turn, reinforce their continued engagement with the cooperative. However, these beliefs or justifications may be reinforced or challenged depending on relative successes or failures of WCC. The cooperative's failure to facilitate the process of acquiring houses from the government by some of its members appears to be an example of this. While the disengagement of some members may be viewed as the outcome of WCC's failures or as manifestations of fence-sitting attitudes, it may also be appreciated as an attempt to lay one's energies where it would matter. As in the case of the relocatees of Bagong Silang who eventually disengaged from organizational activities, the inactive members of WCC might as well have applied their energies to their respective livelihoods or to other activities which could grant them other opportunities. Yet, their disengagement does not seem to be equated to the severance of their subscription to WCC's programs. Rather, their engagement is simply suspended-–only to be reinvigorated when new and appealing opportunities come.

Notwithstanding the wavering tendencies of subscriptions, these may be maintained or deepened thereby giving them an enduring characteristic. Apart from the viability of developmental configurations, subscriptions may be reinforced or challenged by social relationships and histories such as kinship ties, *utang na loob, pinagsamahan* and, *pakikisama* (Jensen & Hapal, 2015). The maintenance and deepening of subscriptions may also be achieved through political education or conscientization. This may result in higher levels of political commitment or "elevated" forms of action. The maintenance or deepening of subscriptions also reveals an important point about their "transformative" (albeit non-normative) potentials. While subscriptions are influenced by people's appraisal of their context, it also assumes a structuring function by challenging prevailing perspectives and practices. Its structuring function lies on

the contestations within the reciprocal relationships in any given form of subscription. The congruence of perspectives and practices does not equate to agreeability; rather, it simply suggests the potentiality of people buying-in and subscribing to a developmental configuration. The relationships borne out of subscriptions constitute a gradual process of reinforcing or challenging perspectives and practices. The results of this process, depending on one's political position and principles, may reflect positive change or its opposite. In any case, the ever-changing socio-politico-economic context and constant appraisal of individuals makes the task of maintaining subscriptions an imperative, especially for political, ideological or developmental agendas requiring a broad constituency.

Subscriptions and Development Work: Tentative Implications

At this point, I have briefly discussed the concepts of subscription, congruence and buying-in. These concepts, I argue, provide a robust and situated re-interpretation of people's participation compared to its idealized counterpart. I have argued earlier, that these idealizations must be appreciated as ideologies or prescriptions of what society ought to be, rather than an accurate representation of social reality. The inherent limitation of the idealized concept of participation to represent social reality is the locus of this attempt to provide a critical reaction and, subsequently, a re-interpretation of the concept. Yet, despite this critique and re-interpretation, one may legitimately ask: What are the implications of these concepts to community organizing and development work in general? What I offer below are tentative answers to a question regarding an incipient theory.

Perhaps the most basic implication of these concepts is directed to one's perspective about "the people," the *masa* or *tao*. The concept of subscriptions, congruence and buying-in underscores an implicit rejection of viewing people as aggregates or, as I have mentioned earlier, "the people" as inhabiting the domain of normative political theory (citizens) and functionalist policy (populations) (Chatterjee, 2004). Instead, it adopts an agent-centric perspective where "the people" are rational, appraising or calculating actors. Moreover, these concepts suggest that "the people" are not mere objects of conscientized education, but are appropriating agents--that is, the appropriation of developmental configurations is contingent on their perceptions, social milieu, personal histories, relationships benefits, disadvantages,

etc. The concepts also imply that the people are multi-dimensional, ever-shifting and not monolithic entities. Their subscriptions, which involve the process of appraisal (*pagtantya*), opportunity-seeking (*diskarte*) and allocation of efforts (*pagtaya*), reflect a dynamic process reminiscent of Goffman's (1959) co-constitutive, interactive and shifting "frontstage" and "backstage" behavior.

This rather dynamic re-interpretation of the characteristic of "the people" has some impact to alternative development configurations and, up to some extent, political strategy. The concept of subscriptions does not only imply a congruence between "the people" and alternative development configurations; more importantly, it underscores an exchange and reciprocal relationships.[14] For this exchange to be consummated, from the perspective of "the people," it must pass the metaphorical test of confidence or their appraisal. On the other hand, developmental configurations must ensure that what they have to offer are timely, relevant, beneficial and congruent with prevailing belief systems. This suggests the adoption of a seemingly entrepreneurial attitude on the part of development agents; that is, ensuring that alternative development models remain relevant and, for a lack of a better term, appealing.[15] This requires the constant re-construction or re-imagining of development systems and models to suit the rapidly changing socio-politico-economic landscape. In many ways, these concepts ultimately imply that the elegance of any given developmental configuration or political ideology matters only as much as people's appraisal of it, the breadth of its subscribers, the depth of their buy-in, and the actions that it may entail. [16]

The implications discussed thus far seem to reflect a rather instrumentalist or pragmatic perspective about people's participation.

14 The consummation of these exchanges has a different dynamic when coercion, violence or the threat of violence is involved. Elsewhere however, we have described these reciprocal relationships and subscription to informal bureaucratic practices in operation between the police and residents of an urban poor community where violence or the threat of it was clearly a currency which informed the exchange. See Hapal & Jensen (2017)

15 The remark about development agents adopting a seemingly entrepreneurial attitude was inspired by Prof. Maureen Pagaduan's observation that community development and community organizing is in the "business ng *pagbebenta ng pag-asa (business of selling hope)."*

16 While this might reflect populistic undertones, recent political events in the Philippines and the rest of the world (i.e., the rise of populist regimes with authoritarian tendencies) arguably lend some credence to this assertion.

But what about participation as an ideology or a prescription of "what ought to be" in society? Earlier, I mentioned that this article must not be mistaken as an attempt to undermine or dismiss the idealized concept of participation. Furthermore, I continue to maintain that the idealization of participation is not necessarily incompatible with the concepts of congruence, buying-in and subscription. Given these, the concepts of subscription, congruence and buying-in must be appreciated, not as prescribing normative standards, but rather as analytical tools to interpret social relationships and dynamics between and among actors. However, as Manalili (1984) argued, an acute reading of society without an inherent bias, especially for the poor, oppressed and marginalized, is *baog* (impotent). The implicit ideology in the idealization of participation therefore sets the "what society ought to be" that the concepts of subscription, congruence and buying-in could not possibly provide.

Conclusion

I end this article, not by providing a synthesis, but through a reflection inspired by the philosophy of Deleuze & Guattari. In their book, A Thousand Plateaus, Deleuze & Guattari (1987) developed the concept of the "tree" and "rhizome." In simple terms, the authors used the tree as a metaphor for "centered systems" or "hierarchical structures" which "plots a point, fixes an order (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987)." The rhizome, however, stands in contrast to the "ordered" nature of the tree. As they write

> a rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, intermezzo… unlike trees or their roots, the rhizome connects any point to any other point… it brings into play very different regimes… it constitutes multiple multiplicities (p.21)

One may ask, why end this article by alluding to "trees" and "rhizomes"? The purpose of this allusion is to point out that perhaps, when we think of participation we frame it in the image of a tree. Just like the gradual unraveling of a tree's structure, we look for patterns of the organic growth of people's participation akin to that of a plant. We look for neat definitions, hierarchies in terms of typologies, indicators or a semblance of precision in theory and in techniques. However, these are challenged when we find that social life is complex, messy and, at times, incomprehensible. This is perhaps

the rhizomatic manifestation of the processes of participation and life, in general; a manifestation that is not structured, dualistic and causal but spontaneous and complex. Perhaps another point, however, is to look beyond the duality of "trees" and "rhizomes" and view both as co-constitutive. As Deleuze & Guattari (1987) point out, "the root-tree and canal-rhizomes are not two opposed models." The idealization of participation and the concept of subscriptions answer different questions and may serve different purposes. However, both concepts are crucial in attempts to de-construct and, more importantly, re-construct participatory processes.

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Reflections on community-engaged feminist scholarship from experiences in the DWDS Field Instruction Program

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This paper argues that applied social science disciplines like the Women and Development Studies program should develop their own parameters in defining what constitutes a community-engaged scholarship. Using the parameters of transformative, feminist and excellence-oriented community-engaged scholarship, this paper examines the Field Instruction Program (FIP) of the University of the Philippines' Department of Women and Development Studies (DWDS) as a community-engaged feminist scholarship. At the same time, it serves as an experience paper that synthesizes the FIP experience of the DWDS based on a document review of FIP assessment reports, fieldwork sharing documents, students' integrated papers and personal journals, complemented by interviews with past graduates and current agency partners. It highlights that community engagement through the FIP partnership provides mutual benefits to both the academic institution and the partner agencies/community organizations. The paper concludes that the FIP is a form of community-engaged feminist scholarship that is transformative in the sense that it creates life-changing conditions for the community of women and other marginalized groups, as well as life-changing experiences for the students. On the part of the academic institution, the FIP provides venues for faculty supervisors to render services and to produce knowledge products for curricular enhancement, dissemination and popularization. It also provides a venue for both the students and faculty to put feminist processes, principles, values and ethics into practice. While being transformative and feminist in practice, the FIP also reflects a scholarship of excellence anchored to academic rigor, accountability, relevance and commitment to genuine public service.

Key words: field instruction, community-engaged scholarship, , feminist scholarship

Introduction

The Field Instruction Program (FIP), a core component of the graduate course of the Department of Women and Development Studies (DWDS) links teaching, extension and research for both faculty and students while responding to the needs of women in communities where field work courses take place. It reflects the brand of scholarship – transformative and excellence-oriented – that is espoused by the College of Social Work and Community Development (CSWCD) to which the DWDS belongs.

The aim of the paper is to examine the FIP as a community-engaged scholarship using the parameters of being transformative, feminist and excellence-oriented. Data for this paper were culled from a review of existing documents[1] – FIP assessment reports, fieldwork-sharing documents, students' integrated papers and personal journals – and complemented by interviews with past graduates and current agency partners. The paper has four parts: the first part explores the meanings and processes of a community-engaged scholarship; the second part describes the parameters of a community-engaged feminist scholarship; the third part discusses the theory and practice of the FIP; and the fourth part examines the FIP in light of the community-engaged feminist scholarship.

Community-engaged scholarship and the CSWCD's tradition of scholarship

The term community-engaged scholarship came into being with Ernest Boyer's (1991) landmark report entitled, "Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate". Boyer's notion of scholarship of discovery, integration, application and teaching as applied in community engagement provides a new take on the meaning of scholarship. It defines scholarship of engagement as linking the university's expertise to respond to community problems, not only through more programs but more so in pursuit of a larger purpose or

1 Existing documents reviewed include the following: FIP assessment reports – annual reports culled from assessments of the FIP from the perspectives of both the students and the faculty members of the DWDS; field-work sharing documents culled from the students' reports during the mid- and end-term sharing activities; integrated papers or synthesis papers based on the students' actual fieldwork experiences and their personal journals containing their reflections and insights on their FIP experiences.

as a mission (Boyer, 1991). Forms of community-engaged scholarship may range from community-based teaching to research, and to services.

Inspired by Boyer's expanded framework for scholarship, many academic institutions came up with their own notions of scholarship within the context of their disciplines. For instance, in defining scholarship for the discipline of nursing, Peterson & Stevens (2012) adopted Boyer's four dimensions of scholarship. The first – was the scholarship of **discovery** or the search towards disciplinal knowledge production. The second was the scholarship of **teaching** or the transfer of knowledge production from the teacher to the students. The third was the scholarship of **integration** or the creation of knowledge products towards the development of new knowledge and interdisciplinary knowledge and products. And the fourth was the scholarship of **application** or the creation of products that provide opportunity for practice application and giving value to university-community partnership.

Likewise, Gelmon, Seifer, Kauper-Brown and Mikkelsen (2005) define community-engaged scholarship as:

> teaching, discovery, integration, application and engagement that involves the faculty member in a mutually beneficial partnership with the community and has the following characteristics: clear goals, adequate preparation, appropriate methods, significant results, effective presentation, reflective critique, rigor and peer-review. (p.1)

However, Gelmon et al (2005) note that while "community service, service-learning, community-based participatory research, training and technical assistance, capacity-building, and economic development" (p.1) are methods of community engagement that can only be considered scholarly when they include elements of the aforementioned definition of community-engaged scholarship. Likewise, Calleson, Jordan, & Seifer (2005) question whether all faculty engagement with communities could be considered as scholarship and proposed a framework for assessing community-engaged scholarship for considerations in tenure and promotion. This framework includes process measures – methods of collaboration with communities to

address problems – and product measures that balance community needs and academic requirements – peer-reviewed articles, applied products and community dissemination products.

Aside from defining community-engaged scholarship, there were programs for developing the competencies of academicians in community-engaged scholarship. Jordan et al., (2012) developed a competency-based and multi-disciplinary pilot program at the University of Minnesota to hone faculty members in community-engaged scholarship as well as to promote the concept and its benefits to colleagues within and outside the campus.

Other initiatives include the development of tools and standards for measuring community-engaged scholarship. For instance, Shinnamon, Gelmon, & Holland (1999) developed a measurement tool for faculty involved in community-engaged scholarship. The tool aims to draw out the perspectives and attitudes of faculty members towards their experiences in teaching service-learning courses – that are considered part of the community-engaged scholarship. Areas covered by the tool include: the faculty's view on the impact of service-learning on students, motivation for integrating service-learning into classes, process of teaching service-learning courses, community engagement, and the impact of service on their professional development.

In another initiative, Gelmon, Seifer, Kauper-Brown and Mikkelsen (2005), designed a self-assessment tool for institutions to assess their capacities for community engagement and community-engaged scholarship and to identify areas for action. The tool revolves around six dimensions: definition and vision of community engagement; faculty support for and involvement in community engagement; student support; community support; institutional leadership and support; and community-engaged scholarship. Each dimension has elements that correspond to four stages of institutional best practices in regard to commitment to community engagement and community scholarship. The result of the self-assessment tool enables/allows a particular institution to determine its present level of commitment to community engagement and community-engaged scholarship and areas for future action.

The Community-Campus Partnerships for Health (2013) developed a framework of an authentic partnership to guide existing

and newly-formed partnerships. It comprises four elements: 1) guiding principles of partnership; 2) quality processes; 3) meaningful outcomes; and, 4) transformative experiences. Moreover, issues related to community-engaged scholarship are being addressed by institutions. In an evaluation of a faculty development project for community-engaged scholarship, Gelmon, Blanchard, Ryan, & Seifer (2012) identify important elements for academic institutions that include external funding support, on-going support for faculty development and the presence of a set of standard curricular tools.

The aforementioned studies are just a few of the initiatives of academic institutions and scholars to put into practice Boyer's model of community-engaged scholarship. However, over the years, the discourse on what constitutes community-engaged scholarship and what could be considered as scholarship continues to be debated in the halls of academic institutions, both in developed and developing world settings.

The University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman, in particular, held a series of roundtable discussions to refine and institutionalize policies and processes for out-of-classroom academic engagement known as extension. Aside from teaching and research, extension is another important function of UP as part of its public service mandate as the National University. Given this backdrop, the College of Social Work and Community Development (CSWCD) continues to enhance and to refine its practice of community-engaged scholarship, given its disciplinal nature as an applied social science in the midst of the socio-economic, political and cultural context of the country. It posits that its scholarship is integrative – equally interweaving the three functions of teaching, research and extension – to strengthen the theory-practice as well as the learning-service connections (CSWCD, 2015):

> Research will not bear fruit if it does not result in action that benefits the people. Extension work gives life to and provides a useful channel for the fruits of research. Research and extension work contribute to the improvement and enrichment of teaching. (p. 19)

Furthermore, the CSWCD's notion of community-engaged scholarship is public service through volunteerism. Being a public service institution and considering the nature of its academic units' disciplines, the College has a strong bias for service learning in poorer communities. Over the years of public service, the slogan "*wagas*

na paglilingkod sa bayan" remains the moving force behind every voluntary initiative of the institution, and also serves as a mantra for both students and faculty in serving the poor and the marginalized sectors of Philippine society.

On the other hand, its notion of scholarship is by nature transformative while at the same time, within the standards of scholarship of excellence (CSWCD, 2015). By transformative, it means having a clear standpoint for the poor, marginalized and disempowered and most importantly, together with the people in poorer communities, taking actions towards positive change. As a measure of relevance, the question of "development for whom and for what?" (p.23) is always a central concern in every community-engagement scholarship that it pursues. From this perspective, the process is valued as equally important as the outcome:

> The process of societal change underscores a transformative and empowering process that takes place in partnership with the community. It involves the faculty and the staff in a mutually beneficial relationship with the community. Both the academics and the community are co-learners in the process of transformation, such that the experience is educational and liberating for both. Central in the change process is the community who are the main actors rather than the objects of change. (CSWCD, 2015:23-24, underscoring mine)

Moreover, this notion of transformative scholarship starts from the individual, extends to the community and, ultimately, impacts the larger society, effecting change not only at the level of the individual in a particular social context but also for the poor and marginalized in society based on social justice (CSWCD, 2015). Likewise, this form of scholarship interweaves with standards of excellence that entail rigor and reflect the core values and ethics of the CSWCD. These core values – transparency and accountability, commitment to human rights, equity of outcomes, commitment to solidarity and respect for diversity, and commitment to environment preservation and ecological sustainability – and the ethics – informed consent and confidentiality – are strictly observed in any community-engaged scholarship pursuits (CSWCD, 2015).

Despite differences in ideas among its departments and units, there is unity in terms of scholarship goals, values and ethics as well

as approaches (CSWCD Research Conference Proceedings, January 28, 2013 cited in CSWCD, 2015:32):

> In terms of goals, the college underscores the transformative intent of scholarship which leads to societal change and empowerment. Moreover, programs and consultancies outside the academe are geared towards knowledge production and dissemination. Our values and ethics … include: a democratic process; centrality of experience; value struggles (personal is political; practicing what we preach); standpoint for the poor, marginalized and dis-empowered communities; and a nurturing praxis…espous[ing] interdisciplinary and integrative approaches grounded to theorizing, and aiming at both movement building and reflexivity.

In application of the above, its community-engaged scholarship activities may include (CSWCD: 2015):

> information and educational materials in various Philippine languages, public opinion pieces published in local newspapers, training materials of various kinds, documentation of community-based practices for the use of the communities themselves. (p.33)

Aside from the above-mentioned activities, the Field Instruction Program (FIP) of the Department of Women and Development Studies (DWDS) is itself a form of community-engaged scholarship because it embodies all the features that constitute a transformative scholarship espoused by the CSWCD, and which is the subject of this paper.

Parameters of a Community-engaged Feminist Scholarship

Scholarship is a contentious concept debated in academic institutions and circles. Despite initiatives to expand its meaning based on Boyer's model (1991), notions of community-engaged scholarship still hinge on academic tenure and promotion. This paper posits that disciplines in the applied social sciences, such as the academic departments of the CSWCD, could formulate their own concepts and parameters that best suit their disciplinal nature and contexts. Initially, taking off from the CSWCD's notion of community-engaged scholarship, a community-engaged feminist scholarship has distinct features.

Feminist Scholarship. In a broader term, feminism is defined as:

> a variety of interrelated frameworks used to observe, analyze, and interpret the complex ways in which the social reality of gender inequality is constructed, enforced and manifested from the largest institutional settings to the details of people's daily lives which includes feminist scholarship. (Ali, Coate and Goro, 2000; Barsky, 1992; Bryson, 2002; Johnson, 1995; Ritzer 2000; Segal, 1999; Zalewski 2000 cited in Ngwainmbi, 2004. p.94)

Such definition highlights the essence of scholarship in the theoretical and intellectual aspects of feminism. On the other hand, within the context of community-engaged undertakings, feminist scholarship is about the creation of knowledge and the acquisition of learning through the study and analysis of and interaction with people in communities. Generating knowledge is not for knowledge's sake alone, but for gaining experience in how a body of knowledge is generated and used to respond to the practical needs and strategic interests of women and other marginalized groups in communities.

Moreover, feminist scholarship acquires and develops knowledge through the observance and application of feminist principles, values and ethics in all its community engagement methods and processes – organizing, research, education, counselling, program development, and other activities. Feminist principles and values include the following: democratic/shared decision-making, valuation of women's knowledge and experiences, de/reconstructing power as shared leadership, making the invisible visible, and "personal is political." At the same time, the feminist ethics – confidentiality, informed consent and giving back what is taken from the community – closely guide researches, community education/trainings and other community engagements.

Transformative scholarship. As defined by the CSWCD (2015), its community-engagement scholarship is transformative. Aside from having a "clear stance on the theoretical tradition it seeks to apply" (p.21), it is also a scholarship that is integrative – unifying the three academic domains of teaching, research and extension. And most importantly, its knowledge outcomes lead to action and improvements: development of relevant classroom- and field-based curricula, more

responsive policies and programs that improve lives in communities, innovative and creative approaches that empower women and other marginalized groups – at the individual, organizational and community levels.

In addition, it subscribes to transformational politics that links personal and social issues and concerns. As such, its vision of change covers both personal as well as societal change, while its approaches and strategies serve as models for empowering women and other marginalized groups to make changes in their lives and in their communities (Kravetz, 1986).

Excellence-oriented scholarship. It draws inspiration from the CSWCD's brand of scholarship that "strives for academic excellence based on clear standards of rigor and accountability developed and refined through time" (CSWCD, 2015: 24). Specifically for community-engaged feminist scholarship, its relevance to women and marginalized groups in communities, is one of the most important measures of scholarship of excellence. At the same time, the value of accountability is another key measure. From a feminist standpoint, accountability plays a central concern in a community-engaged feminist scholarship which could be examined at various levels: accountability to women and all marginalized groups; accountability to the partnership between the DWDS and partner organizations; accountability of students and faculty to one another as well as to the DWDS and partner organizations.

Using the above parameters, this paper examines the features of the FIP as to whether it could be considered as a community-engaged feminist scholarship.

The Theory and Practice of the Field Instruction Program

The FIP in Theory. The Field Instruction Program (FIP) – often called the fieldwork program or practicum – is an integral component of the graduate course of the Department of Women and Development Studies (DWDS). It was conceptualized as a core component of the graduate course to provide the students with venues for the integration of feminist theories and practice in community settings while working in partnership with women's and mixed organizations.

On the theory side, it was developed based on the belief that "women's studies need to be relevant to the realities of women, especially in poorer urban and rural settings". At the same time, it was designed for the students to have "venues to refine feminist praxis as they work and learn together with grassroots women, while enhancing their knowledge, skills and attitudes for personal and professional development or as advocates of grassroots women's issues" (DWDS Revised Field Instruction Program Manual 2006 cited in Barrameda, 2007, p.25).

Serving as the "practice" side of the graduate program, the FIP enables both the faculty and the students to link classroom learning to field experiences while creating impact on the lives of women and other marginalized groups in the communities. Moreover, the "classroom-fieldwork practice link" experience provided to the students is what sets the DWDS graduate program apart from other women studies programs offered in the country. On the part of the students, the "theory-informs-practice, practice-informs-theory" process provides them with thorough and "cyclical" learning experiences (Barrameda, 2007).

The FIP consists of two courses: Women and Development 280 (WD 280) which is required for students under the thesis track, while students under the comprehensive examination track are required to take both the WD 280 and 281 courses.

The FIP has three components that include: (1) a classroom-based field orientation about the academic requirements, agency and community placements; (2) actual fieldwork; (3) mid-and end-term sharing sessions of field experiences attended by the agency and faculty supervisors, representatives of community women's organizations and other faculty members of the DWDS. The FIP is managed by a Faculty Coordinator, while field activities of students are mutually supervised by the agency and faculty supervisors.

The FIP in Practice. In its initial implementation, the FIP established linkages and partnerships with various women's organizations and women NGOs, especially those coming from the women's movements, where students were involved in various areas of development work: education and training, research, documentation, organizing, counselling and group therapy work, advocacy work, and more.

In 1997, the need to institutionalize these partnerships with women's organizations and NGOs was seen in order to ensure continuity of partnership, to facilitate smoother coordination, and to create better impact. Given these thrusts, institutional partners were identified and pursued based on the following criteria: (1) pro-women standpoint; (2) diversity in areas of concern; (3) experience in feminist development work; (4) with capacity to supervise students in the field; (5) smooth coordination and placement in past FIP partnership; and, (6) expressed interest in institutional partnership with the FIP (DWDS Revised Manual, 2006 cited in Barrameda, 2007).

Over the years, the DWDS has established partnership with four institutional partners: the Center for Women's Resources (CWR), a resource center that provides research support to rural and urban grassroots women's organizations; PaTaMaBa, a nationwide federation of home-based workers; LIKHAAN Center for Women's Health, a non-government organization that provides health education, community organizing and reproductive health services to urban and rural poor women; and MAKALAYA, a women's organization composed of women members of trade unions that provides education and information on gender issues in the workplace.

Moreover, the students enrolled in the FIP were involved in a wide array of issues: violence against women (VAW), reproductive health, adolescent sexuality, globalization, water privatization, migration, contractualization of women, conflict mediation, demolition, land eviction, environment, informalization of women's work, enterprise development, LGBT+, lack of social services and social protection, food security, and safety and security – issues that many of the students went on to embrace as their own personal advocacies even after finishing their graduate studies (FIP Assessment Reports, 2010; 2016).

Problems in the Field. Based on the student and faculty assessments, the following were noted as problems in the field (DWDS Field Assessment Reports (2008; 2016):

- *Limited fieldwork placements*. Openings for students' fieldwork assignments were lacking. In response, the DWDS expanded its engagement with other organizations, some on a short-term basis only. Over the years,

partnership has been extended to grassroots women's organizations, mixed NGOs, feminist organizations, issue-based networks, regional formations, and lately, with local government units and academic-based programs or units within the University. Through the FIP, the students are exposed to and involved in various areas of development work – women organizing, participatory research, gender awareness and consciousness-raising, community training and education, casework and peer counselling, social enterprises, gender mainstreaming in local government units, campaigns and advocacy work, setting up women's desks, and institutional assistance and organizational development.

- *Differing views of students and partner agencies.* Prior to fieldwork, the FIP requires that the students, the faculty and agency supervisors level off on areas of difference so that possible differences in analyses, frameworks, methods of work, and understanding of requirements are threshed out and agreements are firmed up in a memorandum of understanding (MOU). In addition, assessments are conducted with the agency supervisor and a copy of the students' report is required to be approved by the agency prior to the mid- and end-term sharing sessions.

- *Length of the FIP.* Students have differing views about the 250-hour fieldwork requirement. Some find it too long while others find it too short. Since most of the students have full-time professional work, many have difficulty fulfilling this requirement. In response, the faculty supervisors are tasked to ensure that the work committed to the agencies is realistic and achievable within a one-semester time frame; while those who wish to extend their engagements with their respective agencies are advised to work with the agencies on a personal basis outside the requirements of the FIP.

- *Resource support for students.* Students assigned to grassroots women's organizations would often contribute financial resources for community activities due to the latter's limited resources. Such actions are discouraged by the FIP, however, and instead, students are encouraged to mobilize and capacitate organizations for fund-raising (e.g., garage sales, cash and in-kind solicitations, dance contests, etc.), to establish referral systems (e.g., linking up with the Department of Agriculture for training on urban gardening and seed dispersal, access to livelihood trainings from private and government organizations) and to facilitate co-sponsorship of these organizations' activities, such as community for a, with government and private organizations.

Challenges, Lessons Learned and Good Practices. The FIP offers many significant opportunities for students' learning, for community-engaged scholarship activities for faculty members, and for the capability-building of grassroots women's organizations. However, refinement is still needed to address the following concerns: (1) installing support mechanisms for the continuity of the joint development programs/projects developed in the field, (2) optimizing the fieldwork assignments of foreign students to make the best out of their FIP experiences and finding means to transcend language barriers in working with community women, and (3) exploring mechanisms for resource generation to fund field expenses of needy students.

On the other hand, the following lessons and good practices could be drawn out from the FIP experience: (1) the FIP provides avenues for students' personal growth and development; (2) it actualizes a hand-holding relationship with community women's organizations and NGOs; and (3) lessons culled from the field inform curricular development and enhancement.

For the students, the FIP not only provided them a venue for applying knowledge and skills learned in the classroom but, more so, for validating classroom-based theories. The field assignments allowed them to experience working in a collective – with other team members and the community women. The complex realities in the

field enabled them to better understand the realities of poor women -- eventually influencing them and developing their commitment to act on such issues and to work for the betterment of poor women even beyond their graduation.

For partner-agencies and community women's organizations, they experienced feminist practices and ethics as modelled by the students. The principles of participation, collective and consultative processes, the ethics of confidentiality as opposed to being extractive, as well as the feminist tools and processes, taught by the students have influenced these organizations, as reflected in the latter's planning, methods of work and programs. Feedback from some partner organizations included these comments:

> "The students helped us clarify what feminist counselling is. Confidentiality is an important thing taught to us by the students." (Assessment with staff of the Family and Community Healing Center, 2015).

> "Through the students, we were able to integrate gender in our regular planning and their researches helped us in our advocacy for affordable water as well as in the assessment of our work (Assessment with members of PaTaMaBa-Angono, 2015).

At the same time, these partner organizations have influenced the students' analyses of the former's issues and strategies, while the rich experiences of the community women provided inputs to validate the students' theories learned in the classroom. In the process, the students learned from them and affirmed that experiential knowledge of women is legitimate knowledge. In situations of differences, the students, the agency and faculty supervisors and the grassroots women engaged in dialogues to level off on concerns or issues. -- thus allowing the FIP to become a hand-holding partnership among equals.

On the part of the DWDS, the FIP serves to inform curricular content. Supervising students in the field enabled faculty supervisors to assess the students' capacities learned from the classrooms; recognize the gaps in students' knowledge, attitudes and skills in relation to the needs in the fieldwork communities; and identify burning issues confronting communities. These students' gaps and community needs then informed curricular development and review. For instance, the

gap observed in the students' handling of community trainings has led the DWDS to develop feminist pedagogy as an elective course. On the other hand, the issues of the LGBTs (lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgenders) in communities have enabled the DWDS to consider integrating these concerns in all classroom-based courses.

The FIP as a Community-engaged Feminist Scholarship

The FIP of the DWDS espouses the brand of community-engaged scholarship of UP-CSWCD that is transformative and excellence-oriented but nuanced by the disciplinal character of the Department – feminist in perspectives, methods and processes – in which feminist principles, values and ethics are interwoven in the practice and methods of work of both the students and the faculty in fieldwork settings.

The FIP as a Transformative Scholarship. In practice, the FIP moves beyond being an academic requirement but becomes an instrument for transformation for all the stakeholders involved. At the personal level, the stark social reality in the field enabled students to see its connection to the larger societal realities, the lives of grassroots women as mediated by class, gender, age and other inequalities somehow mirroring their own conditions. The constant interactions of women and students through an action-reflection process resulted to heightened students' political consciousness and commitment to change. Such transformation is expressed in these students' reflections:

> "It dawned on us that the realities and complexities, enveloped within women's lives in the community and in the larger society, are connected with our own issues as well. We came to terms with ourselves… and the full realization that we are bounded by the related experiences of systemic oppression and exploitation." (de Guzman & Mendoza, 2005)

> "This action research is not just a simple course requirement to fulfill...but more so, on a personal level, I was enriched by the quality of interactions with ordinary women yet exceptional with the way they live their everyday lives in struggle with power, with poverty…with issues of violence…[their lives] have drawn me the depths and nuances that informed me how I should see them and their struggles and how I should relate with them." (Mercado, 2005)

> "Since I had witnessed the hardships of most families…like being able to eat only once a day, I can honestly say it changed me. I now feel I have the obligation not to be wasteful, not to buy things that I do not need, or even as simple as not wasting food." (Daep, 2007)

At the institutional level, the FIP provides a mechanism for improving systems as well as changing policies. Lessons drawn from the FIP were utilized by the DWDS in improving FIP policies and curricular content. On the other hand, the research studies of the students became evidence-based information for the campaigns and advocacies of partner agencies and women's organizations. For instance, the research done on port and water privatization in Tondo resulted in a sustained campaign by people's organizations on these issues; the research on coal dumping, also in Tondo, mobilized the community to stage a continuous campaign that led to the closure of the coal plant; the research on the Gender and Development (GAD) budget utilization in Barangay UP Campus resulted in compliance of the LGU to allocate 5% to GAD concerns; and, the research on water privatization in Angono enabled women to claim their right to clean water and through dialogue with the local government, the community was provided with adequate and affordable potable water.

At the community level, the service learning provided by both the faculty supervisors and the students had helped to heighten community awareness and capacitate grassroots women and their communities to take action, to claim their rights, and to be advocates for social justice as shown in the above examples.

The FIP as a Feminist Scholarship. Practicing feminist principles, values and ethics is the cornerstone of the FIP as a form of community-engaged scholarship. Shared decision-making, valuation of women's knowledge and experiences, de/reconstructing power, "making the invisible visible," and "personal is political" are some of the feminist principles and values put into practice by both the faculty and the students while in the communities.

Shared decision-making in community undertakings enabled those concerned – the DWDS and agency partners, the faculty and the students, the students and the grassroots women – to experience democracy at the micro level. Inviting the women as resource persons

in fora and WD classes did not only acknowledge the value of their knowledge and experiences but legitimatized grassroots women's knowledge as well. Enabling them to name and articulate their issues and experiences in public and from their own perspective is, in a way, "making the invisible visible."

Moreover, through the FIP practice, power as hierarchy is deconstructed and reconstructed. Hierarchy and notions of divides are debunked and negated as students learn to work as teams and grassroots women work in committees in their respective organizations. Consensus-building flourishes as both students and the women work within horizontal structures of leadership and organizational processes.

The "personal is political" is a principle immensely valued by students in their transition from being students to becoming feminists and activists. This is manifested in the field as students assist women to understand that their personal issues and problems are not their own doing (victim-blaming) but rather related to inequalities in all domains of life. Likewise, as students impart their knowledge and skills to grassroots women as personal commitments to social change, it then becomes a political act as it empowers and changes lives, not only for the grassroots women but for the students as well, as captured in this student's insight:

> "UP students have often endearing relations with the non-academic personnel in campus: there is *Tatay*, the regular janitor, whose comforting smile one can always count on to break the early morning rush to classes; there is *Kuya,* the guard and *Manong*, the gardener. There is *Ate,* who mops the ladies room; *Mommy,* who is always generous with extra rice in the canteen. We have our favorite turon and fishballs, too. They are and will remain – part and parcel of our fondest memories of university life. Although, come to think of it, we never get to know who they are or what their lives are outside the corridors of our school. How many among our favorite *Ates* and *Mommies*, I wonder, had also returned after dark to domestic hell? How many among our cherished campus *Manongs* and *Kuyas* were wife beaters and abusers in private? Has the UP community done enough to stop the violence and abuse? Have I? This field experience, however, has been an eye-opener in more ways than one. It has been an inspiring journey as well.

> I am humbled by the women's courage and fierce dignity in the face of violence and abuse. Fieldwork – particularly of the feminist kind – in the non-academic underbelly of the university, can be a very disquieting experience." (Feria, 2012)

Moreover, informed consent, confidentiality and giving back are some of the ethics observed in relating and interacting with grassroots women. Particularly in research studies drawn from the field, ethics related to informed consent and confidentiality are given utmost importance. In addition, both the students and the faculty are aware of not being extractive of information but have to give back the benefits of these studies to the communities through actions – referrals, linking them to concerned institutions, barangay resolutions, etc. And most importantly, copies of researches, resource materials and integrated papers for the grassroots women's organizations are translated into Filipino to be more useful to them.

The FIP as an Excellence-Oriented Scholarship. The FIP reflects the disciplinal character of Women and Development Studies as an applied social science. As such, it would be a disservice to the discipline if it were to be measured using the logico-positivist parameters – objective, value-neutral, predictable and generalizable – and/or by people who are not familiar with its disciplinal character. It is fair that disciplines like Women and Development Studies use their own parameters to fully give justice to their disciplinal character. Relevance and accountability are what set it apart from disciplines with other parameters.

The relevance of the FIP is determined by the extent to which it responds to the needs and issues of grassroots women, the LGBTs and other marginalized sectors. The knowledge products and other outputs generated by the FIP – innovative strategies in addressing VAW, capacity-building strategies, researches on various women's issues with policy implications, revitalization and re-orientation of traditional community organizations (e.g., cooperatives, LGBT and women's organizations) – eventually change lives. The relevance of its outputs and knowledge products also contributes in advancing the goals of building women's and social movements. All these FIP outputs count more significantly as a form of scholarship.

Moreover, the FIP continues to be relevant and responsive to changing context. In its current community engagements, the FIP has developed innovations in response to pressing needs of the communities. Some key examples worth noting include: (1) the conceptualization of the eatUP program, a FIP project which is still at the developmental stage that aims to address food insecurity of UP students through the establishment of a cafeteria where needy students can access free meals without stigmatizing them; and (2) the refocusing of an organizing initiative in Barangay UP Campus from consolidation of a women's organization to forging alliances among women's organizations to respond to the safety and security concerns in the barangay, particularly, the rise of extra-judicial killings (EJK). Together with the community women, two FIP students conducted a participatory safety and security audit in the community with the aim of drafting a barangay resolution to address issues of safety and security. Most importantly, the audit shed light on the issue of EJK, leading these women's organizations to agree to get involved and not leave security concerns to police operations, but to take these in the hands and control of the community, especially when the government's approach endangers the lives of innocent people.

Accountability is another measure of scholarship for the FIP. First and foremost, the FIP is accountable to those it professes to serve – grassroots women, LGBTs and other marginalized sectors. At the same time, it is accountable for the safety, security and well-being of the students in the field. Ultimately, accountability is best operationalized in how the FIP practices its feminist values, ethics and standards in the field: women's organizations and partner agencies are well-informed of all FIP undertakings; the safety, security and well-being of all – grassroots women, students, partners and faculty – are strictly guarded; and all knowledge products and outputs are validated by the grassroots women and the benefits are given back to them. Experiencing and adhering to such rigorous processes of accountability is scholarship in itself.

Moreover, the FIP as a scholarship observes rigor and excellence. Before its knowledge products – researches, policy papers and resource manuals – are released for dissemination and popularization, these undergo a process of scrutiny involving validation and critiques by the grassroots women, the partner-agencies, the students, and colleagues at the DWDS. The students, in particular, have generated knowledge

products, research papers and other outcomes at par with those of other students and faculty, as evidenced by a number of these researches being presented in women's fora and conferences, appearing as articles in journals and other publications, and receiving awards for best fieldwork papers. Similarly, the researches of the faculty are not only disseminated in conferences and journals but, more importantly, have been utilized by the Department as references for WD courses as a means of indigenizing references. Further, training manuals, policy papers and other outputs from the FIP are used by women's groups for advocacy and for advancing the goals of the women's and other social movements.

A Concluding Note

The DWDS FIP is a community-engaged feminist scholarship because it embodies all the parameters of scholarship as defined by the CSWCD in general and the DWDS in particular – transformative, feminist and excellence-oriented. First, it is a scholarship that is transformative in intent – empowerment of marginalized sectors for societal transformation. It is a transformative scholarship that benefits poor women, the LGBTs and other marginalized sectors, while it advances the mandates of the University and the CSWCD as institutions of public service. Second, it is a scholarship that is feminist in practice and processes: applies feminist principles, values and ethics to practice in community settings; works with grassroots women, the LGBTs and other marginalized sectors as equals; builds non-hierarchical community structures that practice lateral leadership; and challenges hierarchies and dichotomies in whatever forms and disguises. And third, its outputs and knowledge products produced by both faculty and students mirror a scholarship of excellence that passed through the rigor and scrutiny of the grassroots women, the partner-agencies and colleagues in the academe, while its analytical lens is grounded on theories and from the experiences of the faculty and students in their involvements in women's and other social movements.

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Interrogating Poverty: Rhetoric, narratives and concepts

Venarica B. Papa

In an era where inclusive growth, participatory and sustainable development take prominence, the task of understanding poverty must go beyond academic debates and intellectual inquiries. Its meanings are often reflected and measured in terms of statistics and development metrics, with corresponding indices and graphs. But the analytical frameworks used to define poverty must also be subjected to re-examination.

This paper tackles reflections on poverty from both academic and practice-based experiences. It presents various definitions of poverty and the dominant narratives that prevail in society which influence the relationship of the poor with the state, with the society and with and among themselves. The reflections also tackle observed and experienced realities of how development workers and CD practitioners engage the poor in their development agenda based on the experiences from the Field Instruction Program of the Department of Community Development, UP-CSWCD. Community integration and organizing process are viewed as part of the enabling mechanisms for enhancing pro-poor and people-centered approaches in engaging and mobilizing the poor towards their own agenda of development.

Key concepts: poverty, development, community organizing, community integration

Introduction

Recently, I visited an Ayta community in Porac, Pampanga for a culmination activity of the two graduate classes I teach in the Department of Community Development (DCD), College of Social Work and Community Development (CSWCD), University of the Philippines, Diliman. With me were Masters in Community Development (MCD) students, aboard two hired jeepneys that usually ply the UP-Katipunan Route.[1]

I must admit that I began to feel some discomfort and sensed the same from my company somewhere halfway through the travel -- perspiration wiped, faces covered against smoke and dust, occasional shifts in sitting position, but everyone was polite enough not to complain.

We arrived at the town proper of Porac at 11:00 a.m. where our community contacts met and led us to, as they forewarned, another hour's ride on a (very) rough, uphill road. Barely five minutes into the remaining travel, they signaled us to stop and politely asked if two more passengers could ride with us. We, of course, conceded. They were Ayta girls. Both in skirts, plain shirts and slippers, carrying school bags that resembled the eco-bags we buy from groceries and supermarkets. And indeed, it was an hour long ride! The jeepney under-chassis parts squeaked and screeched all throughout, as we held tight to the bars for safety inside.

I was waiting for the two girls to tell us that they had reached their drop off point, but they rode with us all the way to the end of the rough road and the "gates" of the community they, the Ayta, called home. We learned later that there was no public transport available along the rough ride. Had we not passed by, the two students would have walked to their homes, in the heat of the noontime sun, through the volcanic dust that has remained from the Mt. Pinatubo eruption of 1991.

It was then that I realized it was poverty that rode with us through that long, rough and weary ride. And I suddenly felt ashamed that I gave thought to the discomforts I felt when riding along the smooth roads of a national highway. If my students had come to the

1 These jeepneys are granted a franchise for mass transport to offer service to the community of UP-Diliman.

same realization and felt the same way I did, I wouldn't know. Perhaps, excited about the community engagement that awaited them and eager to dive into the experience, none expressed feeling so.

As our college vision says, the CSWCD, "In pursuit of academic excellence, upholds integration of theory and practice and infuses its programs with passionate scholarship, critical thinking, innovativeness and creativity, anchored on people's participation and empowerment, personal and social transformation, solidarity with marginalized groups, and gender-responsiveness" (CSWCD manual).

A graduate of MCD myself and currently a professor in the DCD, I am aware of how the program inculcates among its students basic community development principles which include, among others, bias for the poor and the marginalized. There is no doubt in my mind that both the graduate and undergraduate programs of the department have exhaustive curricula that provide for the learning and interrogation of development-related concepts such as power, participation and empowerment, change and transformation, social justice and wellbeing, and poverty, foremost.

There are, however, observations that prompt me to reflect on how I – both as practitioner and a professor in the college – am effective in influencing the students to take a standpoint and viewpoint that consistently uphold bias for the poor; in how they understand the narratives of poverty; and in how these narratives explain the relations among the poor and the state, the poor and the development workers that my students are assumed to become, and the poor with themselves in the context of their communities.

This paper was written in reflection of said observations and personal experiences in classroom and field settings, both as a student of the past and a professor at present. I hope to highlight what I deem to be apparent gaps in the cognitive (theoretical and conceptual) understanding of poverty (and the poor) vis-à-vis contextual and pragmatic appreciation of realities by students and development workers alike. It is also my intention to highlight deemed rhetoric, specifically those propagated by the state, in these reflections. And lastly, it is with admission that I come from a standpoint that takes a strong bias for the poor that urges the re-examination of our

perspectives of them vis-à-vis their attitudes, behaviors and, in general, their ways of life, and to introspect on our actions for and towards the poor vis-à-vis theoretical and conceptual moorings.

Poverty: Concepts and Narratives

Probably one of the most poignant descriptions of what poverty is was said by a poor woman in Latvia, published in a study of the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) that goes:

> Poverty is humiliation, the sense of being dependent and of being forced to accept rudeness, insults, and indifference when we seek help (IMF 2000).

There had been several attempts by various thinkers, institutions and development practitioners to define poverty. IMF, in the study cited above, documented definitions and perceptions of poverty by poor people and it established:

> First, that poverty is multidimensional and has important non-economic dimensions; second, that poverty is always specific to a location and a social group, and awareness of these specifics is essential to the design of policies and programs intended to attack poverty; and third, that despite differences in the way poverty is experienced by different groups and in different places, there are striking commonalities in the experience of poverty in very different countries… Poor people's lives are characterized by powerlessness and voicelessness, which limit their choices and define the quality of their interactions with employers, markets, the state, and even non-government organizations (NGOs). Institutions both formal and informal mediate and limit poor people's access to opportunities (IMF 2000).

The Asian Development Bank (2013) describes (urban) poverty as "…defined by lack of essential goods, services and assets and opportunities." These definitions and descriptions are generally upheld in the development arena and are made bases of intervention programs and projects directed at alleviation of the poor's living conditions.

Burkey (1993) and Sachs (2005) both defined poverty by identifying

levels and providing for the general characteristics of each of these categories.

According to them poverty may be categorized into:

1. Absolute poverty - characterized by a failure to meet basic needs for survival which include food, access to health care, amenities of safe drinking water and sanitation, basic education, decent abodes and basic clothing; it is also characterized by lack of physical, emotional and mental security and rest;

   Burkey (1993) further posits that "survival of the human race depends not on the survival of a single individual, but on the survival of communities. It is thus necessary to expand the list of basic individual needs to include those of a community".

2. Moderate poverty - a state where basic needs are met, but only hardly. In contemporary terminology, this may be equated to the "almost poor" or "near poor" category; and

3. Relative poverty - a condition where basic needs are met but does not provide for opportunities to address perceived needs and desires, such as higher quality of life, higher education, endeavors towards cultural enrichment and recreation; it may also refer to a condition where a household income falls below (relative to) an average national income.

In an era where inclusive growth and participatory and sustainable development take prominence, cognizance of poverty has gone up the plane of academic debates and intellectual inquiries. Its reality is reflected and measured in statistics and development metrics and indices, graphs, figures and frameworks. We, as development practitioners, take part in and contribute to these endeavors because they inform our practice, provide us knowledge on which we build and formulate responsive action plans, frame our perspectives and operationalize our visions.

But how are we when we come face to face with poverty? How are we when the poor actually try to reach for our hands, or sit beside us, or ask for a piece of the food that we eat? How are we when we share the same air they breathe, when we are drawn into their daily routine, when we get to see their biases, when we are compelled to

move around with them in their small, limiting and inhibiting worlds? To understand poverty is to go beyond definitions or finding out the extent and severity of the condition. We must also have a sound analysis of its causes. And in so doing, be definite that we are looking at the real root causes and not merely the symptoms and/or manifestations. Differentiating between root causes and symptoms may prove to be difficult, though, as we will find out in many cases of the "vicious circle of poverty"[2] (Burkey, 1993). The challenge must be faced, though, and we, as community development practitioners, must avoid the temptation of taking the short cuts and cheat on the process because, as Burkey says, "Trying to alleviate the symptoms without first identifying the real underlying causes will not lead to sustainable results."

This brings to mind an anecdote from a Basic Community Organizing Workshop[3] among NGO community workers that I, along with other UP CSWCD faculty, had a chance to facilitate and be a resource speaker in. When asked for their views on the main causes of poverty, some of the participants answered, with certainty and confidence (!): laziness – uncooperative attitudes, lack of ambition, idleness, and apathy. Yes, even students, "freshies" to the CD program of the college, sometimes provide the same responses, too!

Karina C. David, a former faculty member of the CSWCD, in her article "Community Organization and People Participation: The Philippine Experience" laid down bases of the poor people's seemingly unproductive, un-driven and uncooperative attitudes and behaviors, and these include: the colonial legacy, the poor people's context and realities, and the organizing and participation fatigue among them (David, 1985).

The colonial legacy (David, 1985) explains that, since the colonial period in the Philippines, we, the colonized, were told and taught that what we had and how we were, were not good enough.

2 The vicious circle of poverty, as illustrated by Burkey, show how "from a root cause, we find symptoms becoming causes in themselves which bring forth more symptoms to a series of several linkages until we find ourselves right back where we started" (Burkey 1993).

3 KCOC Basic Orientation on Participatory Development and Community Organizing held in September 2017, Quezon City, Philippines

We were seen and treated as third class citizens[4] and were given prescriptions on how to improve ourselves in various aspects of our lives, including the way we dressed, how we were to act and behave (especially women) in public gatherings, the better language to use, and even what faith to believe in!

And so we were told, taught and given of what would be good for us, the what and how to be a "better us". This mindset of colonialism has been retained to this day by the country's ruling elite. And some independent, private and non-government organizations, which bring and implement development programs and projects to communities, are no less guilty.

It is a known and common practice for development workers – from government and NGOs alike, and with the purest intentions for the poor at heart – to define concepts, formulate objectives, make plans, implement programs and projects, and then evaluate impacts of the same on the lives of the people, all on the organization's own initiative.

Hence, several such organizations would come to pre-identified depressed communities assessed to be lacking in health and sanitation facilities, for example, with their pre-identified packages that would, more often than not, include toilet bowls. Quoting Dr. Lito Manalili (in his many lectures on CO-CD) on the travesty of such a top-down development intervention and the usual community reaction:

> "*Ay, bibigyan mo kami ng paglalabasan. Nasaan naman ang aming ipapasok para kami ay may ilabas*?" (You give us something to which we can deposit human waste, but what of the food that we need in order to have this waste?)

As Kabeer (1995) puts it, it is important to scrutinize the methodological and conceptual lenses that planners use to see and understand the poor and their needs. "Do they share or have empathy with the experience of those whose needs they are defining? Who has the last words in determining the legitimacy of a particular need within the 'decisionable' agenda?" In other words, who has the power

4 First were the colonizers, second were the "hybrids" – products of intermarriage among the colonizers and the colonized

to give meaning to and operationalize concepts of, and to, ultimately decide on what should and should not be for the poor.

The poor people's context and realities are factors often subsumed under statistical data and traditional social analysis of poor communities. Mainstream practice of data gathering and analysis is often blind, if not numb, to the nuances of the poor's day-to-day struggles. Hence, assessment of needs and the means to address them are reduced to tangible inputs, measurable outputs and outcomes. For instance, the "need for education" translates to construction of school buildings, rehabilitation of classrooms and school facilities, children of school age being instantly expected to avail of the "free education" program, notwithstanding other circumstances in their lives such as being an income earner of their household, or having a dysfunctional family (abandoned or worse abused by parents or any other member of the family). In many cases, "lack of skills" translates to provision of skills building activities such as sewing, rug-salted egg-slippers-bags making, activities deemed to capture the interest of mothers and women household members who desire to augment incomes. It is often overlooked that these mothers are part-time informal service providers (laundrywomen, househelp, nannies, etc.) who would not wish to lose their source of income, albeit meager and part time, over learning new skills the use and benefits of which they have no clear notion of, much less of their sustainability in the context of their lives.

And finally, *fatigue from participation in endeavors of organizing and development intervention programs and projects* emanates from a series of failed interventions and resulting failed promises towards fulfillment of dreams and aspirations.

In 2012, as an academic requirement, I, with my teammate, frequented a community in order to document the organizing experiences of Kabalikat, an urban poor people's organization (PO) based in Baseco, Tondo. In informal interviews that were initially undertaken, the people in the community appeared reluctant to share their stories, tentative in their commitments to participate in the whole study and cynical of its (and our) overall objectives. As it turned out, they had just barely recovered from a recent experience with students from four universities, whose students came to fulfill the requirements of the National Service Training Program (NSTP) in their community. The success story of "Rags to Riches" was still

fresh then, and the community did not hesitate to take part in the rug-making activities proposed by the students, hoping that these would bring about change in their lives as "Rags to Riches" had been able to do for its own workers. Two semesters passed and the students completed their requirements. The community participants had produced thousands of rugs, of different shapes, designs and sizes; the students left Baseco with gratitude; while the people and their thousands of rugs were left hanging, wondering where they would find the "riches" that were supposedly packaged with the "rags." One of the community members expressed, although in jest, that they would never again entertain anyone trying to convince them to venture into rug making and speaking of its promises.

The issue is that poverty had been so embedded in the social, economic, and political lives of the people that its symptoms manifests in their latent attitudes and behavior. Understanding these attitudes and behavior would take more than gathering statistical data of the poor's living conditions. Our understanding of these must take root in grasping their experientially-and historically-evolved attitudes and behaviors that ultimately bring forth an altered culture.

Below is an illustration drawn from Burkey's (1993) discussion of the "vicious circles of poverty." This is an attempt to show how the effects of poverty become causes in themselves that lead to effects and symptoms which become causes of another and then another and that eventually brings us back to poverty itself. The purpose of this illustration is to highlight how certain effects-turned-causes, instill, influence or alter the behaviors of the poor, resulting in a cycle which then makes poverty an even more complex condition.

While we know that poverty and its causes and effects have several and complex dimensions, this figure illustrates simplified interconnections and interrelations of the causes and effects of poverty. The figure simply tells us that one of poverty's main causes (and effects) is having low (household or individual) *income*; low income translates to *low access to or limited opportunities* in terms of education (among many other aspects); having low educational attainment instills in one *inferiority and low self-confidence* that could then lead to *passivity and acceptance* of one's condition – some even call it fate – which then tightens the bonds of poverty even more.

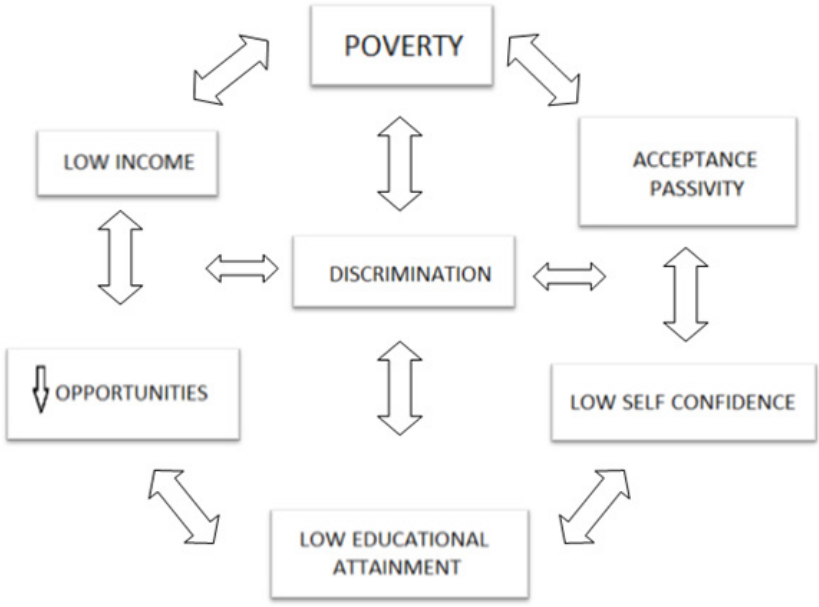

Figure 1 - Poverty and Culture

Acceptance and passivity inhibit initiatives towards pro-active measures that could change one's circumstances. These limit the choices that the poor could even imagine they could have access to and "curtail their ability to know other ways of being" (Kabeer, 1995). Pronouncements like "we were born poor and will die the same," neither are mere rhetoric nor mindless rants. Rather, they are an expression of the poor's mindset, of their frustration perhaps, and definitely of their acceptance.

Such acceptance manifests in mothers bearing long queues in health centers, in poorly ventilated rooms, to avail of free vaccine for their children; in men and women (including grandmothers!) submitting to random drug tests being conducted by different government agencies in local communities, and most recently, in the bus terminals. Acceptance also manifests among patients being turned down by private hospitals because they cannot provide the "down payments," or patients "getting used" to the unspeakable conditions in public hospitals – lacking in basic facilities such as oxygen tanks

and bed sharing. The same can be said of children walking almost a mile from their rural homes to their schools in barrios or town centers only to end up in "back-to-back" classrooms[5]; of vendors availing of credit facilities from the informal sector where they are compelled to pay higher interest rates; and, most sadly, in how these people have gotten accustomed, even resigned, to the treatment they get as they try to avail of services to which they are, unknowingly, entitled to.

Acceptance is about people living their lives in routine, uncaring for, if not refusing, diversion because this routine provides for their survival. It is about the community people we engage in livelihood projects who find it difficult to attend meetings, trainings and discussions we have planned and set for them. These are the same people who we think have no interest in improving their lives, simply because they "refuse" to cooperate with our initiatives of development interventions.

Passivity, meanwhile, is when people somehow feel that something is wrong but refuse to go beyond the feeling. They end up allowing fate to determine what happens next, keeping faith that things would turn for the better, if not soon, maybe later. It manifests in long queues at job openings even when the pay is below the minimum wage; in people living in flood prone areas, refusing to buy new home appliances because the floods "will just keep destroying them, again and again"[6]. This is the case of the women of Brgy. Batia, Bocaue Bulacan, laboring on laundry-clip-making for a whole day which earns them Php 60 at most; or the residents of Parola, Tondo peeling a sack of garlic that pays them Php 120 for one and a half days of work.[7]

Passivity is when they are maltreated, mocked, insulted or humiliated by those in authority and are able to shrug it off; when they let hurting words, looks and treatments pass, without so much as a word, much less a fight, to defend themselves. It is when their own president speaks of them, the poor, with disgust, and curses them to death and gets away with it.

5 Back to back classrooms are known conditions in rural schools where two sets of classes share one room with their backs against each other

6 This was a statement from a resident of Brgy. Banaba, San Mateo, Rizal, when asked why he hardly has anything inside his house. According to him, he lost almost everything after Typhoon Ondoy. All he was able to save were a few pieces of plastic plates, plastic chairs, a mosquito net, and what's left of his sofa made of bamboo.

7 These based on interviews among respective communities during various field visits and exposures

Passivity and acceptance are about a failure to fight for and uphold their rights and to exact accountability from those in authority, the duty bearers, not out of conscious choice but from growing accustomed to what they consider normal – as a way of life, a life that has been subject to deprivation, marginalization and discrimination over a long period of time.

Discrimination among the poor is a reality so palpable that they feel this under their skins. Discrimination manifests in how they are displaced indiscriminately in cities, moved to relocation areas lacking in the most basic services, resources and access to their "former worlds"; in how the vendors of Baclaran are harassed and their goods confiscated if not destroyed whenever there is a clean-up drive; in how the trikes[8] in Quezon City are bulldozed and pulverized because they violate the parking rules of the city; and many other actions taken against them, without regard for their (well) being and much less accountability of those carrying out these actions.

Is it because they are poor that they are not feared? That they are not expected to fight back? They would not, after all, have access to legal recourse due to wanting resources. Their representations, albeit efforts by some organized sectors, are brushed off and drowned by arguments on law implementation, keeping peace and order and upholding the welfare of "all."

Without a sustained organizing effort, their limited means of survival and limited knowledge of and access to mechanisms to uphold their rights, the poor fear for their lives, give up on protecting their interests and simply accept tragedies like these. And the cycle goes on. When generations, one after the other, are subjected to such discrimination, it becomes an accepted normal, one that is not challenged, and is rather lived with, in resignation and acceptance.

Again, this brings to mind a grandmother of a casualty of the war on drugs of the Duterte Administration. Speaking in a forum[9], she narrated how her grandson was unarmed and was not, in any way, fighting back when arrested by the police. She heard the cries of the boy for help and for mercy. Then, she heard the gun shots! Soon after, she saw her grandson bleeding and lifeless. In the days

8 Three-wheel mode of transport made of a motorbike and a side carriage
9 Forum on Extra Judicial Killings (EJK) held in CSWCD in August 2017

that followed, her grandson was one of those reported to have been armed and attempting to fight back, hence his death was justified. This grandmother ended her narration saying:

> "*Kahit naman gusto kong mag reklamo, may makikinig ba sa akin? Meron ba akong magagawa*?" (Even if I wanted to file a complaint, would anyone listen to me? Is there anything I can do about it?)

What resounds in this statement are the words that were not said – words about being poor and thus voiceless and powerless; that what they have to say, what they have in their hearts and minds do not matter.

This is the culture that poverty instils: *passivity and acceptance*.

Have you ever observed how the attending staff of certain establishments such as malls, groceries or supermarkets, are extra wary when "poor looking" people roam their stores? Yes, we ask, how do they know these people are poor? Is it because they are in old clothes, out of fashion or too much (tasteless) fashion? Is it because they are in slippers and dirt shows on their feet? Is it those old and tattered shoes they wear? Is it their sun-burnt dark, wrinkled and shriveled skin that tells us they do not work in air-conditioned rooms, much less sleep in one? Or is it simply that they have that "distinct" smell and "distinct" look that tell us they are poor even when we do not even know their names or where they come from.

Do we think the poor do not feel this? Of course they do! So they would act awkward while being followed and observed, making the attending staff even more wary of their presence. As a result, going to street markets such as Divisoria, Quiapo and Baclaran becomes a better alternative for them. Apart from the availability of less costly items, in such places they would not have to contend with and bear the judgment of the suspecting eyes that follow them.

Ultimately, passivity and acceptance bring forth the more prominently known and discussed "culture of silence." Silence is an alternative means to live life and survive a poor man's struggle. Silence will not earn the ire of the people in power. It will not draw attention to them that would further tell them of their insignificance -- because

silence is where the voices of the poor belong, unimportant and unheard.

The Rhetoric

As a practitioner, it pains me to hear poverty being sung, as if in chorus, all over the world in different tunes and hymns, with various notes and verses, with strong and indignant – while the poor remain the least heard.

Kabeer (1995) observed that "despite the rhetoric of participatory development, the power to identify and determine the priorities has remained where it has always been, in the hands of the minority at the top." And, to add my thoughts, the poor are left to cooperate, accept or even simply watch, as their lives are defined for them and their futures drawn in blueprints, otherwise known as the development agenda.

Very recently, these lines were delivered in a speech by no less than President Rodrigo Roa Duterte (October, 2017) addressing the jeepney drivers and operators who protested the program of modernization for public transport (Romero, 2017):

> *Mahirap kayo? P**** i**! Magtiis kayo sa hirap at gutom. Wala akong pakialam* (You are poor? Son of a b****! Endure hunger and poverty. I don't care). It's the majority of Filipinos. *Huwag ninyong ipasubo ang tao* (Do not defy the people)."
>
> I'll give you until the end of the month or until the end of the year. Comply because come January 1, if I see an unregistered jeepney, old ones, I will have it towed in front of you. If you want disarray, I have lots of policemen, … I am the president. Either you kill me or you follow me. If the law is not followed, son of a b****, we have to kill each other.

His indignation emanates from a firm resolve to implement the said program despite protests from the affected sectors, because it is (the program) *for the people*.

I must admit that this speech brought shivers to my spine, momentarily arrested my breath and as anger loomed, I had the urge

to abandon all hope and turn my back on my ideals.

For what could be worse than to hear the person holding the highest position in the land speak to and of the poor with such abhorrence, mocking poverty in their face, in utter disrespect of their dignity and their rights? My thoughts groped for rationality, trying to make sense of these lines in the context of state accountability and responsive (good) governance. I failed. And while others merely shrug these off, with the President's many other outbursts and mindless utterances in past speeches, I cannot, for the life of me, let this pass, for chastisement of the poor is no matter to shrug about.

To my mind, the manner by which power was flaunted is a reaffirmation of the hollow rhetoric that translates to narratives and how these further reinforce the helpless conditions of the poor.

Pondering on how poverty is addressed

Most poverty reduction programs are designed to address the basic needs of the poor through direct provision of basic services and enhancing the capacities to gain access to more resources (Kabeer, 1995). Provision of basic services include health and education in the form of medical and dental missions, free vaccines for children 0-2 years, free iron and other vitamin supplements for pregnant and lactating mothers, free access to day care centers for children 2 -7 years (depending on the local government policy) and free primary and secondary education, among others.

Efforts to increase capacities to have better access to resources tend to center on skills-building endeavors. These include various training on skills that may contribute to finding additional sources of income or finding better paying jobs. As was discussed in the preceding pages, skills training in rug making; *bangus* (milkfish) deboning; formulation of laundry soap, fabric conditioner, dishwashing liquid, bath soap, shampoo, cologne, among so many others abound in depressed communities. Some programs even include starter kits that are expected to set off home-based income-generation.

Development has always been directly correlated with economic growth, premised on it being a natural process nourished by application of correct and timely inputs (Burkey, 1993). In fact, the basic needs approach was adopted by the International Labor

Organization (ILO) in 1976 as an alternative development strategy (Burkey 1993) that inspired many development intervention models in the Philippines and everywhere else.

The Field Instruction Program (FIP)[10] of DCD in the CSWCD, while equipped with knowledge of other development models and frameworks and (assumed to have) a good grasp of the framework and principles of People Centered Development -- still employs this approach given the context of limited and time-bound community engagements. Being both an academic and practical endeavor, measureable outputs are (deemed to be) expected in the FIP.

As results, students in the FIP lay down their work plans for the semester filled with training and educational activities for the community in the name of empowerment. These would include: seminars on various topics such as human rights, rights to housing and relocation, rights to education, cooperative development and institutionalization, organizational formation and strengthening, leadership development. The skills training, usually through mobilized resource speakers and knowledge providers, may include abaca weaving, soap making, financial literacy and management, organizing, and a whole range of topics imaginable that are relevant to the joint and mutual objectives of the program and the partner organization.

These are deemed empowering endeavors that increase people's capacities: *to learn* by way of providing knowledge about their basic rights and awareness of processes and mechanisms. They can access these despite limitations of their material ownership and control of resources. There are varying ways how it can be done: *to do*, indulge in activities where they would gain competence and skills that enable them to engage in and carry out productive activities; and *to be*, the ability to define their being -- who and what they are and who and what they envision themselves to be.

Lest we fall into the trap of reinforcing hallow rhetoric, I believe that there is a need to review the framing and appreciation of these activities. While they may, indeed, foster community involvement and participation, provide spaces for interaction with the

10 FIP, also known as the Fieldwork Program is an integral part of both the undergraduate and graduate degree programs of the DCD. Among its requirements is community integration and engagement of students through partner agencies.

community members, possibly initiate a process of learning with and from the people by engaging them in discussions and analysis of their social realities, there must be a realization that short term, sporadic or fragmented engagements do not easily nor necessarily translate to individual and collective transformation.

The documentation of an FIP experience in Brgy. Banaba, San Mateo, Rizal, revealed from the reports of the community members themselves that projects initiated by FIP students come to an end and are forgotten when the students leave the community. These included initiatives on waste segregation, leadership training and organizational strengthening (Papa & Quijano, 2013).

I believe that there is a need to re-focus and reinforce the processes of integration. This has to do with – the students' learning of and empathizing with the people's ways of life – not just from literature but from experiencing the life that they intend to understand, from understanding the language (spoken and unspoken) of the poor, from having an appreciation of their dreams and aspirations and the capacities they (the people) already have to achieve these.

To begin with, there must be a constant and conscious effort towards conscientization, throughout the whole course of integration. *Conscientization* is a dialogical learning process of developing critical awareness of one's social realities through collective reflection and action (Freire Institute, 2013). It may start with, but cannot end at knowledge provision and enhancement. It must create among the people a burning desire to take action, not for a short-term objective of project implementation but for a strategic vision of creating positive changes in their lives.

While time limitation is a practical concern in FIP, the challenge is to come up with a work plan and community integration design that would address academic learning and production of outputs without sacrificing the principles and goals of the program.

Upholding the belief that the people would find a way towards an envisioned change themselves, and that our presence is to simply catalyze the process, might help in framing a work plan that would yield sustained outcomes, despite time limitations. The challenge is to start off genuine participation – that is, the community taking genuine interest in what we have to offer them. Perhaps the mentality that we

have something to offer, something to give, must be changed first. Again, while it is understandable for students to desire immediate measurable outputs, sustained outcomes, such as transformative change, would always lag, if not fail, unless the people themselves truly give value to their participation and engagement.

Transformative change is attained when there is shared learning (Soedjatmoko, 1986) – the discovery of common experiences, common frustrations, common dreams and, most importantly, the common resolve and identification of collective capacities to act on things the people would want changed.This resolve is a change in mindset -- a break-away from passivity and acceptance. The setting-in of empowerment that takes root in their belief that something can be done and that they have the capacity to do it. Only with this change in mindset could transformative changes be attained, and these changes we shall see in sustained outcomes and positive impacts on the people's lives.

So we begin, *not* by telling people that we have something to offer, or that we are bringing them solutions to their problems, or formulae to improve their living conditions. We start by encouraging them to talk, by allowing them to listen to themselves (before we ask that they listen to us) and by letting them know that what they have to say truly matters. Let us help them break away from the culture of acceptance by letting them dream of an alternative vision of life and being. Let us help in their realization that they have rights that they can claim, that they should claim, and that they are, themselves, the actors in effecting the change that they want.

Then, we can expect a build-up of their desire for that change While in the past, they had experienced how to set aside their individual dreams, to live a life of passivity and acceptance, as a recluse from others, alone and "safe" in their silence, with this change comes their own realization of the importance of coming together, to take collective actions in pursuit of their collective dreams, and that collectively, they have more power. This condition sets a time ripe for organizing.

Organizing is not just about organizational formation. It is not simply about getting together a group of people to hold elections, identify their officers, formulate the organizational vision, mission and goals, and come up with an organizational constitution and by-

laws. While these may be steps in the process towards institutional formation that are necessary for legal representation and engagement with the state and its institutions, these must be borne out of a ripened condition and the people's readiness, and not of predetermined, time-bound objectives with measurable outputs of community engagement and mobilization.

Organizing is a process (and a strategy) that comes spontaneously with conscientization. Through organizing people begin to give shape and body to their dreams. They also identify their roles as active agents in pursuit of these dreams; and they make concrete, doable plans of actions towards making their aspirations happen. Organizing is about the mothers in the community day care who take turn in watching over their children so that each one of them would have the chance to work and contribute to their respective household income; about the men[11] of Brgy. Banaba, San Mateo, Rizal who take turns in monitoring their local flood monitoring system; about the members of Kabalikat who keep a livelihood project active through their community leaders and members as managers and workers, respectively, in anticipation of their dream to finally own the land promised to them.[12] There are more examples of local people's initiatives that show how communities work together to turn their dreams into realities, their visions into actions.

A successful integration is that which takes on the challenge of employing these processes, of conscientization and organizing, albeit within time limitations. It is that which yields results where the people become planners and identifiers of the activities that are only facilitated by the students. And this, too, is what leaves sustained outcomes and impacts that would ultimately lead to transformative changes. This is what leaves a legacy of the FIP to the communities we have engaged, learned from and worked with.

11 The people of this Barangay came up with their own flood monitoring system, mobilized resources on their own and began a volunteer system for tasking and monitoring after they drew lessons from their "Ondoy" experience. (Papa & Quijano 2013)

12 KABALIKAT was formed to act on the land tenure issue of the community. Realizing that the housing and land tenure struggle is a long and continuing process, the devised a way to make its members continuously work together and hold them intact as the process unfolded. Baseco is a 56-hectare land proclaimed by former President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo as a socialized housing site for the actual occupants in 2002 (Land Proclamation No. 145). (Quijano, S., et al., 2012)

To end, I leave the following for us to ponder on….

Poverty is real. Poverty is wrong. Poverty must be ended.

And poverty is more than an issue of "lackness". It is both a material and a subjective condition of deprivation that defines people's inferior status in a society and thus influences the quality of their social relations. These consequently construct a frame for their behaviors, attitudes and perceptions of themselves and of their roles and (in)significance in a community. It also influences their perception of their rights and entitlements (or lack thereof), and their capacities (or absence of such) to define their being and to change the quality of their lives. Living in poverty for a long period of time shapes a culture, a way of living, a means to survive ---that of acceptance, passivity and silence.

What we have before us, as future CD practitioners, is both a great challenge and an opportunity to contribute to these goals in our field practice. And we can contribute significantly to development efforts by upholding principles based on our understanding of the poor, of poverty and of the processes that put people at the center and make them the main actors of their development objectives.

To address poverty is to do more than provide for their basic needs and services; more than providing spaces for their participation and access to opportunities; and more than enhancing their skills and capabilities through trainings and the like.

It is about changing the poor people's self-limiting mindset – of powerlessness and voicelessness. It is to re-kindle in them the courage to learn and re-learn from their shared experiences; the courage that tells them that they can change their lives through a conscientized, collective action. It is about providing them enabling mechanisms that would allow them self-expression and self-determination to pursue their dreams and collective aspirations. And most importantly, it is about a tilting of the power relations in their favor, a process that entails systemic changes that would result in substantive social transformation. And this could only be started when the poor begin to believe, and act on that belief, that they too, collectively, have the power to challenge these power structures, to reclaim their rights and to assert their beings.

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Lessons from the Field Instruction Program: Learning Together, Theorizing Change, Fostering Discussions of Power

Devralin T. Lagos

Recognizing community development (CD) practice as a 'learning journey', I embark on this endeavor to step back, see my work and its background, and to reflect on my CD journey, both as a practitioner and a teacher.

In these times of resurgent populist politics, autocratic governance and compromised democratic processes, social transformation workers are caught in a 'moment of truth': to unmask and grapple with elusive natures of power and inequalities. It is our duty to persist in our conversations about the ways to nurture CD workers to assist and enable, as well as to live, work, and fight alongside marginalized communities.

By examining my experiences of facilitating the Field Instruction Program (FIP) of the Department of Community Development, UP-CSWCD, I contribute to the conversation of three processes I found useful in teaching CD. First is the process of learning together through dialogue. This encompasses the challenging task of listening to and learning from one another; albeit critical of perspectives that need to be unlearned. I also talk about the facilitation of theory of change thinking, referring to the examination of the dynamic realities surrounding CD work as basis for potential Community Organizing-Community Development (CO-CD) strategies. Finally, I propose fostering discussions on power, cognizant that the changes we want to see in relationships, individuals, processes, systems and conditions need the understanding and reconfiguration of power.

Key words: fieldwork, dialogue, teaching CD, CO-CD perspectives

Reflecting on Community Development (CD) pedagogy and practice

"We are, always, poets, exploring possibilities of meaning in a world which is also all the time exploring possibilities."
– Margaret Wheatley

There is no denying that community development practice is a 'learning journey'. CD workers and communities need to accept that the contexts of social transformation work post new challenges. And this dares us to face these hardships, make meanings out of our experiences, live by the principles and values that continually guide our work, as well as examine emerging knowledge and propositions for new practice.

I embark on this endeavor to step back, see my work and its background, and to reflect on my journey in the community development discipline, both as a practitioner and a teacher. My motivation is to seek clarity and gather evidences of critical community development processes that 'restores people's self-worth and dignity' (Manalili, class discussions, September 2017), rejecting processes that have the propensity to persuade people to think little of themselves. I also draw inspiration in redefining CD as the process and goal of affirming the life and capacities of communities to perform, create and relate (Ferrer, 2017). At the same time, I am interested in the 'doing' and 'thinking' of community development and community organizing work for power, advocacy, and for equal and just relationships (Pagaduan, personal communication, September 2017).

As an educator, resolutely I yearn to ask, "*What pedagogy can enable this critical practice of CD?*" I want to seek processes and content that can help facilitate learning of CD of present-day learners.

In these times of resurgent populist politics, autocratic governance and compromised democratic processes, social transformation workers are caught in a 'moment of truth': to unmask and grapple with elusive natures of power and inequalities. It is our duty to persist in our conversations about the ways to train CD workers to assist and enable, as well as to live, work, and fight alongside marginalized communities.

My assumption is that, in cultivating CD learning, it is crucial to sort out the elements in the present context where CD learning is taking place. We traverse challenges—socio-political drivers that continually test CD principles and values; differences in experiences and resources of both teachers and students; and complex expectations and needs of communities. In these contexts, we continually refine CD pedagogy to enable CD learners and communities to pursue the visions and outcomes of community development. In the same way, I aspire to contribute to multiplying practitioners who will continue to put passion, commitment and enthusiasm into CD work.

In this paper, I turn my attention to the Field Instruction Program (FIP) of the Department of Community Development (DCD), College of Social Work and Community Development (CSWCD), University of the Philippines - Diliman. FIP is a community-based practicum course in the undergraduate and graduate coursework of the Department of Community Development (DCD), which has been running for four decades now.

Key concepts for framing my reflection

I first considered the CD concepts, values and principles as important contents of CD teaching. Then I drew examples of how some academic institutions facilitate CD learning, including the conceptual underpinnings of the CSWCD-DCD's Field Instruction Program. Finally, I articulated the knowledge gaps that my reflection addresses.

What Community Development goals, values, principles need to be taught to CD learners?

CD pedagogy encompasses facilitating access of learners to CD theories, principles and values. With this, I briefly reviewed key perspectives of CD that I have found relevant in our work with Philippine communities.

The International Association for Community Development (IACD) promotes this global definition of community development:

> Community development is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes participative democracy, sustainable development, rights, economic opportunity, equality and social justice, through the organisation, education and empowerment of people within their communities, whether these be of locality, identity or interest, in urban and rural settings.

The possibilities for development work framed through this definition of CD are explored and given meaning in unique and complex social, economic, political and cultural contexts. When several practitioners argue that CD has no single framework and is amorphous (Ife & Tesoriero, 2006; Nickels, 2015), some would potently espouse particular CD agenda. Ledwith for instance argues for CD's radical intent. CD theory revolves around the analyses of power and discrimination (Ledwith, 2011).

Rooted in the rich history of CD practice in the Philippines, including social movements, and decades of working alongside the poor in the context of farms, fishing coasts, factories, and urban settlements, the Department of Community Development (DCD), as academic institution, has crystallized several principles and practices of CD work with Philippine communities.

DCD places community organizing (CO) as a pivotal strategy in undertaking community development; hence the community organizing-community development (CO-CD) concept. CO is a complex process of living and working with the people through *pakikipamuhay* (community immersion), social analysis, consciousness-raising, forging unities through organizational formation, leadership development, and community actions (Manalili, 2012; Pagaduan, 2017). It also consists of other collective efforts that promote people's capacity to assert their rights and power towards self-directed development.

Pagaduan (2017), who proposed a CD theory rooted in practice in Philippine communities, emphasized the relation of community organizing work and power. CO as political work urges practitioners to analyze power as it is expressed and manifested in community life. All kinds of relationships are sites of everyday power—with family, communities, organizations, in relationships within religious and

governance institutions. Power in these relationships is expressed in processes of deciding which things are important or should be neglected; what should be prioritized or less preferred; processes of domination and subordination (Pagaduan, 2017). These expressions of power in relationships need to be understood to advance the political work, of encouraging the process that allows people to believe in their own strengths and capacity for collective action towards transformation for equality (Pagaduan, 2017).

How is teaching CD conceptualized by academic institutions?

I considered the experiences of two academic institutions offering CD training. Here I briefly referred to how they teach CD, and the philosophies underlying their CD pedagogy. Jakubowski and Burman (2004) for instance, shared their community-based CD program as an academic requirement for their students. They discussed the principle of 'critically responsive pedagogy' and flexible learning environments. (Brookfield, 1990:30) articulates the philosophy of the pedagogy:

> As a critically responsive teacher, your practice exhibits a constant interplay between action and analysis. Although you are guided by a clearly defined organizing vision, you change your methods, content and evaluative criteria as you come to know more about the way these are perceived by the students. Which knowledge and skills to explore next and how best to examine these decisions are made in the midst of the teaching activity itself, rather than being planned in detail from the outset. Thus, regular discussions with students concerning how aspects of the educational process might be altered to make them more meaningful are an important aspect of such teaching.

Westoby and Ingamells (2012) also talked about how they facilitated learning of framewoking for CD practice through 'personal practice frameworks' with graduate students of community development. Students are asked to articulate their own personal practice frameworks that can serve as guidelines for their CD practice. This involves collecting data (from experiences, anecdotes, insights), analyses and clustering, finding symbols and trailing, and critiquing (sharing the framework publicly). This learning process allows students to "read widely, engage with others, reflect on one's own

practices, values and orientations, and consider observations and analyses of the world" (Westoby & Ingamells, 2012:386). This process is deemed important because this creates opportunities for learner-practitioners to articulate propositional and procedural proficiency as they work with communities. The process is also helpful in revealing their own worldviews, identifying practice dilemmas and the reading and re-reading of the contexts of their work (Westoby & Ingamells, 2012).

On the other hand, the CSWCD-DCD instituted the Field Instruction Program (FIP) as the culmination of students' CD training, both for the undergraduate and graduate CD programs. DCD conceptualized the FIP as a field-based learning program that allows faculty and students to jointly employ, validate and further theorize on CD concepts, vision, and approaches.

The FIP is a learning process of experiencing life in the midst of the poor. It prefers the method of group work and an iterative and continuous process of planning, assessment, implementation and reflection, done always *with* the people—and not *for* the people. In particular, students are placed in urban and rural settings to work with partner development organizations (usually non-government and government organizations) and communities. Work can be focused on various fields (community-based health, women organizing, resettlement governance, farmer's development, social enterprise, indigenous people's organizing, etc.).

The FIP is not just a learning space but the students' and faculty's pursuit of commitment and service—doing CD practice that recognizes people as capable actors, not mere recipients of service; CD work that lays emphasis on people's lives and needs rather than organizations' and donors' agenda; and CD work that facilitates change from the bottom-up rather than from top-down constructions (Tungpalan, 2008).

I uphold that the FIP is a learning space where student-practitioners become knowledgeable, skillful and committed to CD practice and service. They are expected to:

- understand the contexts (the complex conditions and imbalances in power) of communities through an openness to feel, see, affirm the lives of people and partake in their struggle; and

- work with people, working towards a process where the poor reclaim their voice, their power and capacity for relating and acting.

As a CD educator of the FIP, I ask, "How do I cultivate CO-CD learning mindful of this kind of development work/learning space?" Correspondingly, "How do I help students frame their practice of CD work within complex communities? How can we affirm the political nature of CO-CD work?" I recognize that enhancing my academic practice would entail a continuous reimagining of CD pedagogy. It is not a 'one-size-fits-all' procedure but an adapting process based on the challenges and resources posed by the learning contexts.

What intellectual gaps do I want to explore?

The DCD has created spaces to systematize current practices in the FIP, and regularized discussions on ways to improve and address issues in field instruction. This paper is an extension of these efforts: the continuation of conversations on how to strengthen facilitation of CD learning through the FIP, hoping that this will eventually contribute to enhancing the CO-CD practice.

I wish to elucidate on the dimensions of CD pedagogy, in the context of the FIP, that merits more conversations. In particular, I want to seek more wisdom concerning the mutual learning interactions between educator and student; the process of making explicit the framework for doing CD work together with partner communities; and creating opportunities for a critical approach to CD work through the interrogation of power in various aspects of our practice.

I intend to perform this inquiry by reflecting on the following themes, which shall structure my discussion:

- The surrounding realities shaping our learning
- 'Learning together' through dialogue
- Employing a 'theory of change thinking' rather than linear thinking as frame for our work with communities; and
- The process of fostering discussions of power.

This reflection is largely from my point of view as an educator. Although inevitably, this inquiry also touches upon the stories of students and communities I work with.

I present these reflections as part of my explorations for possibilities. I attempt to propose three processes that can be explored in facilitating CD learning through the FIP. These are of course easier said than done. Conflicts and dilemmas continually emerge as teachers, students, communities and partners traverse the CD process. More conversations are definitely needed.

The surrounding realities shaping our learning

What am I bringing in?

Some experiences that had a profound impact on my life and my work include my solidarity work in the peasant sector in the early 2000s, organizing work with women-led urban poor and peasant organizations as well as youth development in urban communities. These allowed me to witness the passion and courage of women and men in poor communities as they engage powerful entities and lay down their communities' development aspirations.

Reflecting on my experiences, there was a growing recognition of how development organizations dichotomize macro and micro storylines of development, favoring one explanation of poverty and development and neglecting the others. I had a share in the implementation of short-term projects of NGOs and LGUs, projects that may have undermined the poor's self-reliance despite the good intentions of helping organizations. I can also recall being part of projects that do not challenge unequal power relations.

This time was an important episode in my CD praxis. I found myself embarking on the challenging task of handling the Field Instruction Program first in Cavite and at present, in Tarlac, and supervising students in the CD discipline.

Our work with communities (Through the Field Instruction Program)

As a budding practitioner, my growing consciousness tried to recognize and grapple with the elusiveness of the structures of discrimination and unequal power in our partner communities.

We were able to witness the denial of social services to people and contested power in resettlement site in Cavite, as in many relocation areas. Traditional politics as practiced in the local government contributed in the shaping of the political dynamics of a Home Owners' Association (HOA) as a formal governing mechanism inside a resettled community. HOA officers tend to reproduce perspectives on community governance and development based on top-down and bureaucratic management.

In Tarlac, farmers have lived through structural injustices for generations. Legacies of historical exploitation continue to afflict farmers. Tenancy remains. Vast lands are allocated to military reservation, private businesses such as Aboitiz Land and proposed government projects. An NGO assisting farmers towards sustainable agriculture recalled how their work was impacted by the changing administrations, some more repressive than the others. Some former staff of this agriculture-focused NGO even faced imprisonment during the time when working with farmer groups was seen as subversive.

Present learners of the CD discipline

Students of CD come from different backgrounds (family circumstances, socio-economic status, motivations), which influence their work in the community. Undergraduate students are more homogeneous compared to the graduate students in the sense that they completed at least three years of classroom-based learning of CD perspectives and important strategies, such as community organizing, participatory planning, community education and project development.

Resources and experiences of students who pursue a Master in Community Development degree are more varied because many come from prior disciplines as wide-ranging as Business Administration, Development Communication, Sociology, Law, Psychology, Nursing, etc. Many of them are in development practice, while some have little or no development work background.

It is also a reality that universities and students are impeded by the prevailing neoliberal agenda. Motivations of students can also be shaped by market forces, rather than by personal convictions towards social transformation.

Learning together

By reflecting on the context of learning, I recognize that both the students and I bring in different resources. In the same way, the realities of communities are truly multi-faceted. Because of this, we need to gather different interpretations to gain a sense of the complexity of the situation.

I talk of *learning together* in the context of the FIP as a process of dialoguing. This describes the process of conversations and reflection using our theoretical backgrounds and experiences as tools to understand and face real-life problems in the communities.

Here, I use dialogue to signify several things. Aronowitz in Freire (1998) presents Paulo Freire's educational philosophy that both teacher and student participate in learning; that education happens when both learners engage in ongoing dialogue and bring knowledge. This process aspires to allow learners to discover what each already know and what they can share to one another. Dialogue should also cultivate reflection on the self as actor in the world.

Dialogue, for Freire, is also aimed towards social and structural transformation. People engaged in dialogue partake in naming the world and questioning reality, leading them to act and to challenge dehumanizing structures.

In the same way, I turn to the tenets of dialogue education, as conceptualized by Jane Vela (2008). As teachers, facilitating learning demands that we meet learners, learn from them regarding their contexts and shape content that will nourish them (Vela, 2008). We need to organize content that is well-sequenced, with clear learning tasks that are understandable and challenging (Vela, 2008). Dialogue education involves the preparation of a series of steps, fostering a space of safety and respect, and the designing of learning challenges. The teacher facilitates illustrating relationships between the learner's context and the complex content, substantiating the learner's reflections with the teacher's own stories and factual knowledge (Vela, 2008).

What does this imply to our fieldwork practice?

Learning together urges us to embrace the necessity of unlearning, the examination of our own worldviews, negotiation with partners and the questioning of reality. These are briefly discussed in the following points.

1. Meeting of student-learners and supervisor-learners

This necessitates conversations and understanding of what each learner is bringing in. This is not an easy task. As mentioned, learners come from different backgrounds and motivations. The FIP, as a course, is also built on several assumptions about student readiness and certain competencies in CD theories and skills. Conversations become necessary to know the students' contexts and resources to help supervisors structure the learning tasks.

Students doing fieldwork are tasked to reflect on their work, and this is substantiated by the teacher's knowledge and stories from experience. One difficulty in dialogue is in recognizing the students' previous experience and expertise while at the same time challenging them. During fieldwork, students have asked, "Why are the people, despite being poor, still buying things they don't need? (referring to big LCD TVs in poor households)". This becomes an opportunity to direct students to critically assess their understanding of poverty conditions and worldviews concerning the poor.

CD practice brings out the motivations and biases of the practitioners. Learners need to replace cherished beliefs that do not serve the aims of CD, to make way for new beliefs. And this unlearning must be done in a safe learning space.

To reiterate, dialogue does not mean it is an open-ended debate. "Freire … doesn't hesitate to put his own intellectual sources to the table" (Aronowitz in Freire 1998:9). The teacher also brings with him/her several 'contents', such as factual information on the explanation of economic, political and social conditions, as well as perspectives, knowledge and skills to help the learner translate CD concepts and values into practice.

2. Learners-practitioners reflecting on their experiences

Among CD practitioners, dialogue gives the opportunity to expose their own worldviews.

A student once reflected, "People's participation is time-extensive work. Is there a short-cut? An alternative?"

The FIP becomes an opportunity to talk more about the assumptions underlying our CO-CD work. It also involves a process of questioning, testing and validating CD principles and values as they are practiced in actual development contexts.

Dialoguing can also permit us to constantly hold conversations as we recognize the uncertain, unpredictable and ambivalent nature of our work. This is discussed more in the succeeding theme on theory of change.

3. Dialoguing between CD practitioners-students and partner communities and organizations

Dialogue in the context of the FIP allows negotiation of different agendas. CD practitioners undeniably connect with different people. Though they need to keep their partisanship (pro-poor bias), they should hold lightly their own CD agenda while listening intently to the people's perspectives and agenda. This process is a meeting of both of their agendas (Westoby, 2014). This process of engagement demands that CD workers be skillful in analyzing what is said, the possible connotations, and what shape these meaning in order to sustain dialogue and engagement.

Westoby (2014), informed by Buber's idea, describes CD as a dialogue which allows the negotiation of the practitioner's agenda, with the community's agenda to arrive at a shared agenda.

4. Dialogue also means reading reality together, questioning reality

The FIP provides spaces to dialogue, a process characterized by Ledwith (2011) as a process of talking about what's going on, collecting stories of everyday lives, bring in of intellectual resources, questioning reality and articulating how to re-create the world.

CO-CD students, together with partners are engaged in gathering stories of communities in order to understand why things are happening the way they are.

On one occasion, a CO staff from a partner organization asked, "Why do our projects abandon the farm communities that will be displaced by a development project, when these are the communities that need help the most?"

A community leader also asked, "Why don't the local government, and the water and electricity service providers listen to us? Is it because we are only weak people?"

These are important moments in the CD process, when a new consciousness has the opportunity to turn into action. These can become the basis of designing community organizing and development work.

Employing a theory of change thinking

Ang makata ay naghihintay,
Sinasalansan sa isip ang mga hugis at salita,
At kinukulayan ang mga kataga,
Tinatapon sa hangin at sinasalong muli,
Hanggang sa huling sandaling humulagpos ang mga taludtod,
Sa pagwawakas at pagsisimula ng mga kataga.

- Joi Barrios, 1997

(The poet waits,
Arranging in mind the shapes and utterances,
Coloring particles,
Tosses them into the wind and racks them again,
Until the very last, the verses come
For the end and beginning of every chapter.)

- Joi Barrios, translation by Mark Pangilinan

In starting fieldwork, how do we conceive the work to be done? From the DCD's experience, students usually orient themselves on the realities of the communities by reading past FIP papers and relevant literature, and by listening to stories from previous fieldwork students. They also conduct orientation/leveling-off activities with partner organizations regarding the latter's development visions,

strategies and relationships with communities. The students also attend workshops to look back on knowledge, skills and perspectives that will be useful in doing CO-CD with communities. Getting-to-know-you and team-building activities among the students comprising the fieldwork team are also found to be very useful in understanding each team member's worldviews, capacities, limitations and motivations. The FIP supervisor also gives guidance on setting the broad direction of CD work with the communities.

Ultimately, however, it is through the process of living and working with the people that the FIP team can gain more clarity on the possibilities for specific CD practices in the context of fieldwork. To underscore this, *pakikipamuhay* (living with the people) is what instills a bias towards the voice of the poor and marginalized. Through listening, sharing stories and learning to work with the community, the CO practitioner engages in reflective analysis of the situation, raising his/her knowledge and consciousness alongside that of the community.

It is admittedly challenging to discern which activities can be premeditated before fieldwork begins (based on the accomplishments of previous FIP teams in the community, and the CD program of the partner organization); and how flexible the CO-CD fieldwork plan can be, to adapt to the complex and present context of the community.

Most of the time, the students feel inadequately prepared before going on fieldwork, knowing only the direction and not the deliberate activities to be done. Within the first or second day of living in the community, they would complain, "Our work is not clear to us" or even "We don't know what we are going to do."

I explored tackling this dilemma by turning to the reflective process offered by the theory of change thinking. Here, I am inspired by Margaret Wheatley, "Thinking is the place where intelligent actions begin. We pause long enough to look more carefully at a situation, to see more of its character, to think about why it's happening, to notice how it's affecting us and others" (2001).

Theory of change is a growing area of practice where critical thinking is employed in devising, implementing, and evaluating development endeavors for social change. It is usually presented as a tool or methodology but was argued to be more of a reflective process

(Vogel, 2012). As Patricia Rogers (in Vogel, 2012) expressed:

> Every programme is packed with beliefs, assumptions, hypothesis about how change happens—about the way humans work, or organizations or political systems or ecosystems. Theory of change is about articulating these many underlying assumptions about how change will happen. (p.4)

Vogel (2012:3) also stated that theory of change thinking is a "deeper reflective process and dialogue amongst colleagues and stakeholders reflecting on the values, worldviews and philosophies of change…" It usually consists of making explicit the practitioners' understanding of the context of the work, long-term change hoped for, strategies and/or sequence of change, as well as the underlying assumptions. These statements are usually shown in diagrams and accompanying narratives. It supports practitioners to articulate and situate their work through a logical path, while incorporating critical reflection on the complex process of change (Vogel, 2012).

What are its implications to our fieldwork practice?

The reflective process of theory of change enables learners for critical thinking to sort out intelligent actions. It also allows the recognition of complexity, flexibility of learning tasks, identification of practice dilemmas and the appreciation of multi-level change, as discussed below.

1. Facilitating theory of change reflection workshops to frame our CO-CD work with communities

The poet waits; pausing long enough to look more carefully at a situation

CO-CD workers need to carefully reflect on the things necessary to make a difference. Theory of Change workshops allow us to arrange our thoughts about conditions, relationships with our partners as well as proposed tactics into flows and pathways. These would also bare the relationships and assumptions beneath our work.

In particular, the fieldwork team, facilitated by the supervisor, deliberates on the questions:

- What is the context?
- What could be our work?
- Who are the people we work with?
- How do we work with them?
- Why do we do the things we do?
- How do we do them?
- What challenges emerge, or what recurring dilemmas are posed by the contexts of our work? How do we adapt to them?

Theory of change thinking opens spaces to be explicit on the basis of our work and locate it in a broader development process. In particular, this exercise allows us to locate community organizing and other CD strategies in our work (e.g., participatory research, advocacy and mobilization, community education/consciousness-raising, etc.) as well as specific activities (e.g. social analysis, core group formation, spotting of leaders, conflict management, leadership development, etc.).

Exercises on theory of change also demands that we draft theory of change diagrams as evolving frameworks. It could entail performing several workshops to accommodate new reflections about the context and about the result and evidences of success/failure from implemented activities.

Most importantly, CO-CD workers should be expected to do theory of change reflections with communities. And that this could be incorporated into participatory planning, implementation and evaluation of initiatives.

2. Recognizing changes beyond the control of fieldwork

One student requested, “Is there a way not to deal with too much uncertainties in our work?”

Most of the time, we draw confidence from knowing that our work can somehow be controlled; that to some extent, we can manage the behavior of our partners, community members, and even

the outcomes of our activities. Theory of change thinking, however, does not invite us for deeper reflection about the context to be able to control it. Rather, it leads us to appreciate the complexity and to accept the challenge of continuous innovative adaptations. Ultimately, this needs CO-CD workers who do not fear confusion and constant discovery.

3. Encouraging flexibility of learning tasks

Principles of both theory of change thinking and dialoguing demand for flexibility of learning tasks.

Many development practitioners assume that carefully planned initiatives are automatically good initiatives. This cherished idea in many development organizations contributes to shaping CD learners and development practitioners. This, in turn, leads to a distaste for changes in plans and learning activities. It is not uncommon that some teachers of field-based community development programs had students exhibiting hesitancy, resistance and skepticism in reaction to flexible context-responsive teaching and learning (Jakubowski & Burman, 2004). This flexibility, however, is imperative in both responsive CD practice and CD teaching.

Changing contexts also necessitate adaptability of learning activities. Shifting commitments of partners, new discoveries of community issues or possibilities, and an unpredictable political climate can alter learning needs and tasks. Students must learn to initially identify possible fieldwork activities, and then rethink them, as needed, based on changing context: to "toss them into the wind and rack them again."

4. Exposing contradictions and dilemmas in our work

CO-CD workers need to be reflective, honest and critical. Theory of change thinking exposes uncertainties in social transformation work, to help CD workers examine their practice.

In one fieldwork experience, a partner organization changed the priority in its community organizing program. They had initially planned to work with a poor farming community for their agricultural

development thrust. Later, the organization decided to look for another partner community since the first community was to be displaced from their farms because of a land conversion project of the government.

Theory of change provokes us to continually expose, check and debate on our assumptions about our social transformation agenda. In this particular situation, we dealt with the dilemma of whether to proceed with development work with communities that would be displaced from their lands or to simply comply with the development program of our partner organization. We needed to re-evaluate the CD principle of 'bias for the poor'.

5. Looking at different levels of change

Theory of change posits that change can happen at different levels.

In one community meeting regarding a social enterprise, a woman who wanted to join the enterprise organization brought her small children along. The chairperson of the organization scolded the woman, saying that small children should not be brought to any meetings because they can distract their parents from the proceedings.

That meeting had initially been planned to facilitate social enterprise training, but we saw the need to shift to a discussion on the reality of gender-based obstacles and the inequities in relationships between community members. It then became essential to critically re-think our standpoint: how do we facilitate changes in individuals, structures and processes? Drawing from feminist thinking, transformation comprises "many small revolutions…many small changes in relationships, behaviors, attitudes and experiences" (Kenway in Ledwith, 2009:59).

Fostering Discussions of Power

It would be a disservice to depoliticize our practice of social transformation work. The changes we want to see in relationships, individuals, processes, systems and conditions need the understanding and reconfiguration of power.

As mentioned, central to CD work is the political work of community organizing. It is the obligation to find evidences of people's agency and capacity for action; to understand relationships as sites of power and work with people as they transform relationships to be more equal (Pagaduan, 2017).

In addition to Pagaduan's assertion, I am also laying down prominent conceptualizations of power relevant to development work, from VeneKlasen and Miller (2002):

- Power is not unchanging. It can have both positive and negative forms.

- Expressions and forms of power can be domination, resistance, reworking, transforming.

- Power over is seen as a dominating kind of relationship. Power with is based on 'mutual support, solidarity and collaboration' (p.39). Power to is the potential of a person to direct his/her life and conditions. Power within relates to a person's sense of self-worth and self-knowledge and the capacity to imagine and to hope.

- Power can be denied to people through hurdles in processes, practices, and access to ideas. Examples can be discriminatory rules, authorities, institutions, rejection of people's participation, propagation of a 'culture of silence' and exclusion.

- People can reclaim their power through participation, education, confidence-building, political analysis, organizational strengthening, movement-building, advocacy, demonstrations, and collaboration.

- From gender theory, reclaiming power involves initiating relational and structural transformations in the public (jobs, public life), private (relationships and roles in families, among friends, marriage and partnerships, etc.) and the intimate realm (sense of self, relationship to body and health).

The FIP, as a commitment to critical community development work, avows that transformative work involves uncovering the

different expressions of power, encouraging the poor's recovery of their power. The FIP can also enable reworking of conditions to become more just.

What does this imply to our fieldwork practice?

CD learners need to analyze power, continue to journey with the poor, facilitate the strengthening of voice and agency and help communities as they prepare for collective action.

1. Understanding power

Through the FIP, CD learners are tasked to analyze power in everyday dynamics. In the same way, they uncover the manifestations of power in structures of oppression and discrimination, with a keen eye on the multi-dimensional features of these structures—across different levels (local, national, global); across different identities (class, gender, ethnicity, race, disability, etc.) and contexts (economic, cultural, intellectual, historical, etc.) (Ledwith, 2009).

Fostering the discourse of power does not end in knowing. Freire's critical pedagogy tells us that learning about the world leads us to the role of engaging in the relations of the world (Freire, 1998). Understanding power demands us to affirm our covenant of journeying with the people (*pakikipamuhay*), reclaiming power in everyday CO work and problematizing power in partnerships and programs.

2. *Pakikipamuhay*: being humbled by the truths of people in the community

The FIP creates opportunities where learners immerse themselves in the lives of the people they serve, to be humbled by the stories of people in the community.

Discussing power leads us to continually recognize and affirm how women and men express how they get by amidst systematic denial of rights and wellbeing; how they resist disempowering structures; and how they collaborate with different people and groups to rework their conditions. For Pagaduan (2017), the most important theme of life is the voice and agency of people—that the power of individuals in their own lives is a manifestation of the potential of collective action.

We in the FIP are constantly inspired by many alternative stories of freedom – one, for instance, being that of a peasant woman who asserts her voice against a government project that will displace farmers without fair resettlement conditions.

3. Dissecting and reclaiming power in everyday community organizing work

Everyday organizing work in communities confronts us with hierarchical relationships based on class, gender, ethnicity and age. All these provide opportunities during fieldwork to engage such contradictions.

On one occasion, a woman leader in a community organization approached the organization head and the FIP students who were helping in their organizing. The woman leader announced that she could no longer attend the activities of the organization because her husband had forbidden her to join and instead said she needed to focus on taking care of their children. This is undeniably an important concern regarding community leadership that exposes gender issues. This moment became an affirmation of how community leaders courageously face and respond to challenges. CD learners witnessed how the organization head (also a woman) helped the woman leader advocate the importance of the organization to the latter's husband.

As mentioned, the CO process is a site where issues in relationships and power can be contended for. Fieldwork students reevaluate their position in contributing to more equal relationships within the community. In particular, they are called to be keen on challenging hegemonic narratives and practices and replace them with more positive expressions of power, together with the community.

4. Working with people and preparing for collective action

CO-CD learners work with the community, not for the community. Thus, the small victories that people carved out of their efforts became sources of continued hope. For instance, CD learners collaborates and celebrates with a resettlement community that has been able to conduct a dialogue with a water service provider, gained access to training on micro-enterprise, or has received commitment for small financial support for their social enterprise development project.

In the same way, students redefine CO as a solidarity work with oppressed communities. Students listen to one leader saying, "*Nagpapatuloy pa rin ang pang-aapi sa lipunang ito. Nalulungkot ako. Kaya kailangan patuloy tayong kumilos para baguhin ito*" (Oppression in this society persists. This saddens me. That's why we should continue to act to change it).

5. Problematizing power in partnerships and programs

CO-CD students do not only seek and interrogate expressions of power in everyday CO work. They also analyze the power dimension in partnerships and programs.

In particular, they ask the critical questions:

- Who acts?

This allows CD workers to clarify who the main actors in development are. Are the main movers in development the community? Or the development organization? Or the community organizers? In addition, are both community members and community organizations involved in planning activities?

In this process, CD learners are invited to clarify their roles as catalysts and not saviors.

- What kind of development?

CD learners are not passive implementers of planned activities. CD teaching is also about teaching to question. "Are development projects relevant? Are they doing harm to the community members? Do they help transform relationships? Do they ensure equity, empowerment and social justice?"

In this light, students are also encouraged to articulate alternative possibilities.

- How can NGOs, GOs and funders support an empowering process through their projects?

The FIP program can also be a form of advocacy for transformative CD work towards its partner organizations. Aside from challenging the processes that run counter to people-centered development, the FIP can help partner NGOs and government agencies to redefine their work as solidarity efforts to empower the poor.

Conclusions

The three processes (learning together, theory of change thinking and discussing power) for CD learning I presented are not separate from each other. Employing theory of change and interrogating power both require dialogue between and among practitioners, partners and communities. Critical understanding of power is also necessary for theorizing change and democratizing learning.

In summary, the process and content of CD pedagogy explored through my FIP supervision involves:

Learning together through dialogue. This encompasses the challenging task of listening to and learning from one another; recognizing students' experiences while fostering unlearning in a safe space; exposing worldviews; reading and questioning reality together with the people and telling stories of development possibilities.

Theory of change thinking. This refers to the process of carefully discerning possible CO-CD work within respective contexts. It includes reflecting on the dynamic realities surrounding CD work as bases for potential CO-CD strategies, at the same time exposing assumptions about these strategies; continuously discovering, embracing confusion and acknowledging dilemmas in CO-CD work; preparing for flexibility; and appreciating that change needs to be initiated on various levels.

Fostering discussions on power. This involves understanding power in relationships concerning community life and CD work; humbling oneself in recognition of the agency and power emanating from the people; addressing inequities in everyday CO work; supporting collective actions; and challenging unequal power expressed in programs and partnerships along with propositions for alternative possibilities.

From these reflections, I draw several recommendations for both CD pedagogy and CD practice.

- Faculty supervisors of the FIP are also called upon to persist in dialogue and theorizing change. This creates capacity for critical examination of our work. We need to continue to sustain our "community of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991), a space where we as practitioners expose the continuity, discontinuity, the elusiveness and ambiguity in our work, and go through the painful process of critical examination of one's practice in a safe place.

  The FIP supervisors in this community of practice also needs to support each other as they face the challenge of fostering a safe space for reflecting on and critiquing learners' practice. Tough challenges in our work include the lack of eagerness and readiness of students, the tendency of uncritical self-confirmation of students of their previously-held beliefs, as well as students with little or no pro-poor convictions.

- Supervisors will have to face the challenge of situating CD pedagogy informed by what Jakubowski and Burman (2004) refer to as a careful balance of teaching important content and approaches while maintaining adaptability; that teachers constantly observe students' learning, and re-design learning endeavors on the basis of these assessments.

- Mentoring and coaching are necessary when students have little experience and knowledge to draw from, in order to enable them to engage actively.

- Practitioners can strengthen the process of building knowledge from practice by articulating theories of change. Classroom-based learning prior to the FIP can help strengthen students' practicum experience by integrating theory of change exercises. These exercises can allow students to test out the conceptual and theoretical bases of community development in actual practice. They can utilize their early experiences of immersing in communities and engaging with CD practitioners. This is supplemented through reading widely and articulating their own ideas for practice.

- The FIP teams and faculty must continue to advocate to partner organizations a brand of community development work that restores people's dignity, affirms lives, restores people's voice and agency, and transforms relationships and structures.

This paper does not in any way present the abovementioned processes as a formula for facilitating a field instruction program. My aim is to articulate how I draw practical theory in action, based on the unique contexts of our work in the FIP of UP-CSWCD, my interactions with my own students and our partner communities. Clearly, other theories-in-practice abound. Articulation of these practices can hopefully lead to more discussions and examination to collectively evolve our CD pedagogy and CD practice.

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