Exploring the Organizing Mechanism Among 4Ps Beneficiaries

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Pantawid Pamilya Pilipino Program (4Ps) is a conditional cash transfer program. It is a flagship poverty alleviation program of the Aquino Administration implemented by Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). It provides cash transfer to poor household to improve their health, nutrition and educational status, particularly among children aged 0-16. Inherent in the program is an organizing mechanism. This study analyzed this organizing mechanism using data gathered from a review of 4Ps documents, forums and discussions attended, and a survey done in Pasong Tamo, Quezon City. The 4Ps was analyzed using principles presented by Barker, et.al. (1987), Danzger (1970) and participatory development as presented by Mohan (2001). The study argues that 4Ps is not participatory, but this is not to say it has no real and important benefits. The study questions the conceptual basis of an anti-poverty program which receives a significant allocation of budget. Family development sessions (FDS) are recommended as an entry point of 4Ps convergence strategies with other participatory approaches such as the KALAHI-CIDSS.

Keywords: conditional cash transfer, participatory development, organizing.

Introduction

Organizing has become a part of the development process in the Philippines. Participatory development tells us that people cross from poverty (or away from poverty) better in groups. [1] People from different sectors find it necessary to form groups to achieve the development they have defined for themselves (Manalili, 1984 and 1994). The strength of a community organization is one of the primary indicators of the success of a community-based project (Manalili, 1994). Group structure influences the communication network within a group which also affects the performance of the whole group (Barker, 1987).

The 4Ps has an organizing component. A group of 20 to 25 beneficiaries is formed and led by a parent leader (PL). The parent leaders report directly to the Municipal or City Link (ML or CL).[2] The PL is envisioned to be able to help the ML or CL in conducting Family Development Sessions (FDS) and communicating vital information to the beneficiaries and DSWD, such as the schedule of withdrawal of grants and update information of beneficiaries.

Studying the structure of 4Ps beneficiaries adds to the knowledge of organizing and power relations which may in turn help nurture 4Ps organizations. Nurturing these organizations is very important for two reasons: i) it is in line with the 4Ps objective to invest in human capital; and ii) it is consistent with the FDS goal to increase involvement of beneficiaries to community development. As a flagship anti-poverty program of the government, it is imperative that attention is given to how this program can reach its goal and even more.

The 4Ps is a program that aims to address transgenerational poverty by investing in human capital (NEDA, 2011). Lately, it has been criticized as a dole out program which encourages dependency. The 4Ps is not sustainable in terms of funds because, as the deliberations of the Philippine 2011 budget showed, support for the project is not guaranteed (Social Watch Philippines, 2010; Cabacungan, 2010).

Statement of the Research Problem.

This paper seeks to shed light on the following questions:

1) What is the organizing mechanism of 4Ps?
2) What is the performance of this organizing mechanism in the context of participatory development?

Objectives

General Objective:

To analyze the organizing mechanism of 4Ps beneficiaries.

Specific objectives:

1) To describe the 4Ps organizational mechanism based on program design.
2) To assess the 4Ps organizational mechanism in the context of power structure, communication flow, and participatory development.
3) To recommend how organizing as a tool can be utilized better in the context of the program objectives.

Methodology

This paper used mixed method. Documents describing the 4Ps design were reviewed. The researcher observed family development sessions, interviewed some beneficiaries and read documents from several forums about 4Ps attended by official representatives of DSWD. The author also attended round table discussions about the 4Ps. A survey on the attendance to family development sessions was also conducted with the 4Ps beneficiaries from Pasong Tamo, Quezon City.

Limitation of the study

The data collected and its discussion is based on the design of 4Ps as of September 2012. Changes in the design of 4Ps that transpired after data collection are not reflected in the study.

Review of Related Literature

Group Structure and Power Relations

Researches on power structure have been varied and well-debated. The disagreements focus on varied methodologies and lack of conceptual clarity on the word "power" itself (Danzger, 1970). Power may be viewed and defined using different frameworks, some of which are: i) Positional Approach, ii) Reputational approach, and iii) Decision Making approach. Gender theory also offers a framing of power.

Power as observed in natural science may not be seen directly but can be approximated by its effect on tangible things. In life we associate power with how successful a person is. It can also be perceived as the ability to control one's environment. Another definition of power is it is the potential ability of a person or group. Weber (1957) defined it as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance" (Weber, 1957 in Danzger, 1970 p. 289). Bierstedt (1950) defined power as a "latent force" (Bierstedt, 1950 in Danzger, 1970) and Abramson (1958) said power can be measured as the number of available options (lines of action) that can translate the actor's aspirations into realizations at a given time.

For Danzger (1970), social power can be viewed as a continuum which indicates that a given social power forms (though not always clearly defined) a corresponding social structure (Table 1).

Apart from how different structures are formed, there is also reason as to why groups become structured. Barker (1987) believed efficient group performance, abilities and motivations of individuals, environment of the group are main reasons why groups form structures.

Often, the structure of the group can be recognized by examining the communication network present. There are four basic communication networks, namely: Wheel, Circle, All-channel, Chain. (Barker, et al., 1987). Each communication network can approximate the structure of the group, that is, centralized structure is to wheel network and decentralized structure is to all-channel network.

Figure 1: Communication networks (Barker et al., 1987 p.41)
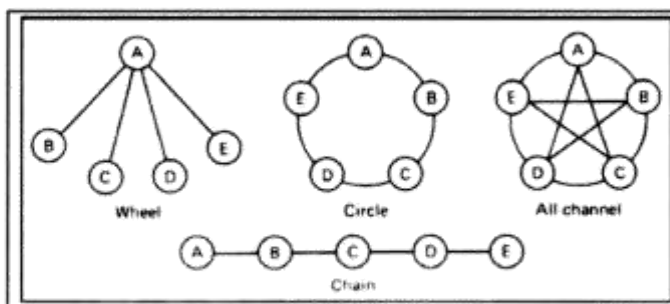
The effect of the structure on individual members of the group and to the overall performance of the group is another topic of great interest. Research shows that centralized networks (such as wheel) tend to be more efficient during the actual performance of the task. On the other hand, decentralized networks such as the all-channel network may be better at developing plans for performing complex tasks (Borgatti, 1997). Erickson (1978) also indicated among the members of a group those found at a more central position in a group's communication structure show a higher degree of satisfaction.

Participatory Development and Power

Mohan (2001) proposed that ultimately the process of participatory development is about power. He said,

> *Participation involves political struggle whereby the powerful fight to retain their privileges. Even many supposedly pro-participation Development Agencies are incredibly powerful and show a marked reluctance to release control. Participation is a conflictual and, sometimes, violent process whereby the less powerful must struggle for increased control over their lives* (Mohan, 2001 p. 4).

Participatory development also involves a process where people, especially the marginalized and disadvantaged, influence the decisions that affect their lives. In this process, the marginalized, vulnerable and disadvantaged are freed from the "habit of submission" or perceived helplessness (Dearden & Rizvi, 2008; Freire, 1978).

People's active participation is also link to project success by several proponents (Oakley, 1991 as cited in Dearden & Rizvi, 2008; Manalili, 1994; SIBAT, n.d.). Equally important points are the reasons for participation and the value of participation in development that are felt beyond the success of a project. Participation in a project (from design to evaluation) can be an empowering process

as people acquire new knowledge and capabilities (Dearden & Rizvi, 2008). Severo (2002, as cited in Dearden and Rizvi, 2008) mentioned several links of participation and empowerment. One of which is, participation empowers by

> *Building social capital, facilitating better management of risks*
> *by households through reciprocal self-help, sharing information*
> *and **strengthening local associations*** (emphasis mine).

Similar to Barker (Barker, et. al., 1987), the researches of Flap & Volker (2001) and Krackhardt (1999) studied the efficiency of different relationship structures. A highlight in their analysis is that different network structures create different forms of participation and/or roles (Flap & Volker, 2001; Krackhardt, 1999; Kroon, et al., 2002):

> *For example, when unique information is needed, a network*
> *rich in structural holes is an optimal structure (B in figure 4),*
> ***while goals like trusting each other and cooperation are best***
> ***served by a close network*** (A in figure 4).(Kroon, et al., 2002
> p.25; emphasis mine).

Communication maps, a participatory tool to understand communication patterns and relationships, were used in a study in Nepal (Zaveri, 2009). There, the author learned that there were gender differences on how children communicate about their health. The author mentioned that:

> *Mapping relationships and communication are important for*
> *most development programmes. They teach us about who the*
> *participants are talking to, what they talk about, and how*
> *important it is* (p.1).

A popular tool in participatory development is participatory rural appraisal (PRA). The spirit of this method is "change and reversals of role, behaviour and learning" (Chambers, 1997 in Mohan, 2001) which Chambers expounded as,

> *Outsiders do not dominate and lecture; they facilitate, sit down, listen and learn. Outsiders do not transfer technology; they share methods which local people can use for their own appraisal, analysis, planning, action, monitoring and evaluation. Outsiders do not impose their reality; they encourage and enable local people to express their own* (Chambers, 1997 in Mohan, 2001, p. 6).

Another important dimension of participatory development is that it gives room for differences between people and communities (Mohan, 2001).

Analytical Framework

Combining the lens provided by Barker's communication network, Danzger's social power continuum, and Participatory Development as presented by Mohan (2001), 4Ps organizations can be better understood. Danzger's concept can help identify an organization's centrality and its consequential level of interest and influence used. Baker provides basis for understanding the communication network resulting from organizational structure of information flow. The findings can be summarized using participatory development.

Results and Discussion

The CCT Program[3]

CCT is conditioned on the beneficiary's participation in health, nutrition, and education services. It assumes that increasing demand for social services is necessary to induce major changes in human capital investment.

Since late 90s CCT has been done in Mexico, Brazil, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Honduras. Millions of poor families have been covered by these CCTs. Since then, many countries are expressing interest to implement it in their own countries.

According to Son (2008) while CCTs differ across countries, the following key characteristics remain the same: CCT programs target poor or extremely poor households; CCT has a positive gender bias since cash transfers are usually given to mothers;[4] and, cash transfer is conditioned on participation in health and education services. Variations in CCT implementation exist. In some cases, cash transfer is greater for girls to encourage their school attendance. Since secondary school aged children have higher opportunity cost of attending school for poor families, higher cash transfer is also given to this age group in some countries. CCT assumes the following exists in the implementing country: strong statistical capacity to implement an accurate targeting model; recognized and countrywide banking system; and, sufficient supply of health and education services (Son, 2008).

4Ps was first implemented in the Arroyo administration, and the country's CCT program created to respond to one of the Millenium Development Goals – eradicating extreme poverty and hunger (World Bank, 2009).

Households who fail to meet any of the following conditions three times would cease to be beneficiaries (Pantawid Pamilya Operations Manual, n.d.):

1) Children 0-5 years of age get regular preventive health checkups and vaccines;
2) Children 3-5 years of age attend day care/preschool at least 85% of the time;
3) Children 6-16 years of age attend elementary or high school at least 85% of the time;
4) Pregnant women must get pre-natal care, must be delivered by skilled birth attendant and must get post-natal care; and
5) Parents must attend Family Development Sessions (FDS).

The benefits of 4Ps are: for health and nutrition, Php 500.00 per month per household and for education, Php 300.00 per month per child for 10 months a year for a maximum of three children per household. Overall, beneficiaries get Php 1,400.00 per month for a family with three children in school.

Organizing mechanism of 4Ps

The 4Ps beneficiaries are organized into parent groups. A parent group is composed of 20 to 30 members. The following are the steps in organizing a parent group (Pantawid Pamilya Operations Manual, n.d.):

Step 1: Identify members of small groups. Beneficiaries living near each other form a parent group.

Step 2: Identify Parent Leader (PL). The roles of a parent leader are explained. The parent group will choose among themselves who they think is the suitable parent leader.

Step 3: Set-up peer support/conflict resolution mechanism. Mini assemblies of 3 to 8 households may also be formed. This is done to encourage peer support in complying with the conditionalities. It is also here where conflict resolution begins. Conflicts that are not resolved in the small groups will be elevated to higher levels.

The formal organizational structure is generalized in Figure 2. Two important elements of 4Ps organizing mechanism are Municipal or City Link and Family Development Sessions.

The Municipal or City Link

The Municipal or City link (ML or CL) is hired by DSWD to assist in the implementation of 4Ps in a municipality (Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Operations Manual, n.d.). The CL serves as the representative of the beneficiaries. Among the tasks of a CL are: i) Be the main focal person for 4Ps; ii) Administrative work for 4Ps; iii) Coordination between LGU and DSWD; iv) Conduct Family Development Sessions; v) Distribute and Collect Compliance of Verification Forms; vi) Work with mothers or parent leaders; vii) Encourage parents to meet conditionalities; viii) Coordinate with Land Bank on payments; ix) Report complaints or grievances;

x) Trouble shooting or solving problems in 4Ps; xi) Supervise the LGU link; and xii) Process and validate updates. Ideally the CL is assisted by the LGU link and the parent leaders.

Family Development Sessions (FDS)

The FDS is designed to be a venue for parent groups discussions. This is expected to help families comply with 4Ps conditionalities, to become a venue for sharing good practices, to strengthen families, and to increase the beneficiaries' involvement in community development efforts (Pantawid Pamilya Operations Manual, n.d.). This is facilitated by the CL with the help of parent leaders and if available, LGU link. In this session beneficiaries also learn about:

- Rules and regulations of 4Ps
- Nutrition
- Child care
- Education
- Good parenting practices
- How to use the cash grants
- How to fill in forms for 4Ps (grievance form, Update form)
- How to use the ATM card and the machine

A brief description of some pieces of information crucial to the amount of grant received is given below. These are the usual concerns and point of discussion and decision of the beneficiaries.

Schedule of withdrawal

The schedule of withdrawal of grant per barangay is determined at the DSWD head office (Pantawid Pamilya Operations Manual, n.d.). The ML can suggest a schedule that works best considering local situations. The coordination of the schedule is very crucial at the community level. Land Bank, the bank

assigned to distribute the money is most of the time far from where the poor are. If the schedule of withdrawal is not coordinated with the bank and beneficiaries, the beneficiaries are left travelling for hours with money enough for one way transportation and end up with no money available for them to even go back home.

Updates

Cash grant may increase or decrease depending on the family profile (Pantawid Pamilya Operations Manual, undated). "Updates" is the terminology among the 4Ps community which means updates on their family profile.

Grievance and Redress

The 4Ps has a grievance and redress system. Complaints about perceived leakage, abuse, or any form of maltreatment related to being a beneficiary can be reported to DSWD through this system. The ML facilitates this process as well. Grievances and complaints can also be sent online or via text as mentioned in the DSWD website (http://pantawid.dswd.gov.ph/).

Appeal

Decisions decreasing the grant of a beneficiary, or being removed from the beneficiary list can be appealed. This is another type of feedback mechanism. The ML facilitates this process but the final decision is made by the National Grievance Committee (Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Operations Manual, n.d.).

Compliance

To monitor compliance to conditionalities, compliance verification forms are filled up and validated by the ML with the assistance of parent leaders and, if available, LGU link. The compliance verification forms are sent to DSWD (Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Operations Manual, n.d.).

The 4Ps program structure and its effects on the 4Ps group structures

In this section, the author applied Baker's communication network and Danzger's social power continuum in understanding of organization and power structure to 4Ps organizations.

Social structure using Danzger's social power continuum

In discussing 4Ps using of Danzger's power continuum, the use of the word "elite" should be clarified. If key decisions affecting a relatively larger group are done by a few, then this few are the "elite". Although the word "elite" has a negative connotation in the context of participatory development, there are circumstances when decisions have to be made by a few. These circumstances usually are those that need highly technical decisions and/or speedy decision making. Thus, in the context of 4Ps, "elite" would refer to the few people who decide for a larger group – meaning the DSWD. It is not used to imply that decisions are insensitive to the needs of the large group as the word "elite" may sound. In the next section, elite and government are interchangeable.

Using Danzger's theory (Table 1) the author found that 4Ps groups have low integration. This is so since i) there is less emphasis on coercion, while more on advising, recommending, plus bargaining, persuasion, coalition formation; and ii) issues of interest at lower levels (beneficiaries) are sometimes solved at the lower levels covertly. Interest may be raised to the government (elite) but not all are considered. Government (elite) interest is required for success.

The 4Ps groups are within a fairly centralized and balanced social structure. The level of integration is low since a parent group is not always aware of the decisions in another parent group. The Pantawid Pamilya Operations Manual states:

> *Issues and problems should first be resolved among members (of a parent group). Only then shall they be raised to the level of the parent leader who will bring them to the attention of the CL/ML and or LGU link and to the City/Municipal Social Welfare Officer if appropriate* (Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Operations Manual, n.d., p. 47, parenthesis mine).

Within a parent group, there is little activity to judge whether all members are bound together functionally and normatively so as to function as a unified whole[5]. Members attend FDS not for the group but more for themselves (See Table 2). On the influence used, it should be noted that CCT is by nature a contract. In 4Ps, influence by persuasion is usually exercised by the ML to ensure compliance and to resolve conflicts amongst beneficiaries. This was observed in one FDS when the CL persuades the beneficiaries to attend and be on time during FDS. This indicates a leader-centered structure. This depicts the ML as having the most "lines of actions" which is basis of power (Abramson, 1958).

The implementation of 4Ps is not perfect. There are times when cash grant is lower than expected. This error naturally affects the beneficiary greatly but procedures do not allow for quick action by the government. The validation of this error takes time given that computerized compliance verification system is not yet in place and that a complaint takes five (5) to seven (7) steps (with appeal) before a response from the government is given (Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program, undated). In the meantime, the decrease in cash grant is assumed correct if due to non-compliance. Here we see that the government's decision and interest stand while the interests of beneficiaries are under consideration even as the situation may be of some urgency for the beneficiary. This is a characteristic of a balanced structure. There are community level issues (personal or otherwise) that happen in the course of the program implementation. Parent groups are encouraged to resolve these at their levels before it becomes complicated. That issues are being solved covertly[6] (i.e. without involving the elite) is characteristic of fairly centralized groups.

Decision-making is also too program-centered. The decision points are mostly those that are in the program design (i.e., compliance).

Baker's Communication Network

From the structure and the tasks of an ML, it can be surmised that the ML is the only strong link of the community to the executive body (DSWD). Information that affect the amount received by beneficiaries include such as who is compliant (or not), who was wrongly targeted, schedule of withdrawal of grants, decisions on beneficiary's appeals and updates, etc. go through the ML. This structure is similar to the "wheel" in Figure 1. An imperfect wheel structure is also illustrated in Figure 4. Here is a hypothetical case where beneficiaries (1-9) give and get information from the ML. Beneficiary 10 gets and gives information from others. An example of this is the grievance and redress component of 4Ps structure. This links the beneficiaries to the executive body without going through the ML. However, response to complaint are usually sent through the ML. Still, relevant and accurate information can be acquired (usually only) from the ML.

CCT as a participatory development approach

To summarize, the author have found that 4Ps groups tend to have: i) fairly centralized to balanced power structure, and ii) wheel communication structure which may imply the organizing is not designed for or would not encourage participation in complex tasks.

Participatory development as discussed above have the following characteristics: i) reversal of roles where the marginalized influence decisions that affect their lives; ii) addresses diversity between people and communities; iii) stakeholders have an all-network channel network where everyone interacts with everyone. Using these characteristics of participatory development the author summarized the findings.

The intention of DSWD is to continue improving 4Ps, such that

> *. . . it becomes an important weapon in empowering the poor and a step forward in the effort to create a base for a movement for "transformative social protection," one that sees the right to be free of poverty as a basic social right, the fulfilment of which must be the basic goal of economic and social policy* (Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program Operational Manual, n.d.).

Incorporating participatory development principles is the way to achieve this intention. To be free from poverty is to be able to influence crucial decisions that affect one's lives. Thus, incorporating participatory development is crucial to enhancing 4Ps. However, as Mohan argued, some supposedly pro-participation development agencies struggle to keep control of these crucial decisions (Mohan, 2001).

As designed 4Ps beneficiaries are not seen as decision makers, rather as recipients who need guidance. And this justifies why conditions have to be imposed before benefits are received. But considering alone that administrative cost increases as conditions increase, it may be worthwhile to contemplate on a cash transfer without conditions from the national government. A participatory approach would be to let the communities set standards (not conditions) for success in a participatory manner.

The design is also homogeneous across different communities, not deliberately addressing diverse individual and community needs. Evident in the design is that the organizational structure of 4Ps is more central than an all-channel network (Figure 1). This is not to say that real benefits are not enjoyed. But as designed, 4Ps leaves much to be desired in terms of providing an environment that is empowering in the context of participatory development especially that 4Ps is a flagship poverty alleviation program with a big budget allocation.

A survey was conducted among beneficiaries in Pasong Tamo, Quezon City. Asked about their reason for attending FDS, majority of the answers was "to comply with conditions" (Table 2). This is not a reason that indicates affinity to others or to an organization. This is also not a reply which point to one's need to participate in decision making or one that indicates being "free from the habit of submission". This reply hints on how beneficiaries see themselves in the 4Ps structure, a recipient who needs to comply in exchange for cash.

Table 2: Reasons given by beneficiaries from Pasong Tamo, Q.C.

Reasons for Attending FDS		
	Frequency	Percent
To meet conditions/ensure cash grant	31	40.8
To learn/ be informed	24	31.6
To meet others	8	10.5
To resolve/talk about problems	2	2.6
Others	7	9.2
sub-total	72	94.7
No response	4	5.3
Total	76	100.0

Nikkhah and Redzuan (2009) defined two types of participation, participation as a means and participation as an end. Participation as a means to get the predetermined objectives is essentially static and passive. It is also a participation limited or controlled by an outsider. Participation as an end is a process where solidarity and confidence are built up. Here participation is the goal and the definition of participation and empowerment coincide. They argued that empowerment can be achieved more likely with participation as an end.

Recommendations

Strong grassroots organizations are partners in achieving social development. The need to strengthen and capacitate individual members of an organization is essential. However, strengthening individuals does not always translate to strong and sustainable organizations. Since 4Ps is still a donor-intensive program, fund sustainability still leaves much to be desired. While funds and support are available, investing into strengthening 4Ps organizations may be considered as well. However this must be done without significant cost to the program. To do this, one can utilize and improve FDS to facilitate an empowering atmosphere among 4Ps beneficiaries.

Kalahi-CIDSS (KC), another poverty alleviation program of the government has been recognized for its participatory and empowerment approach. The program is strategically designed to capacitate the beneficiaries to conceptualize, plan, bid for, monitor, and evaluate their own community development projects. It is demand-driven. Community projects are based on an "open menu". This provides opportunities for interaction and prioritization of community members instead of a homogeneous benefits package as in 4Ps.

In an effort to have a convergence of poverty alleviation projects, it would be interesting to know how the KC process can be plugged into the FDS. Although long and tedious, the KC process is expected from formal and informal governance structure and the link between the two. The KC process demands a lot of time from the beneficiaries. This may entail opportunity cost, decreasing participation from the community. The cash transfer from 4Ps can be designed to mend this. The KC process initiates a venue for participants to contribute in many ways. Thus more potential may be tapped and a more dynamic communication structure will emerge. One of the promising results of Kalahi-CIDSS is enhanced participation. As World Bank stated:

> *The community members are provided with structured*
> *opportunities for accessing information, making their voice*
> *heard, and influencing local governance.*[7]

Integrating the KC process to the FDS would eventually shift the approach of cash transfer, from consumption to productive uses. Farrington, Harvey and Slater (2005) reminded us the distinction between consumption and productive uses of cash transfer are not always clear. Consumption use of cash transfer has a multiplier effect and may be translated to productive use.[8]

Encouraging community projects may provide a situation for the 4Ps groups to function as a group. In this situation, they will meet not for individual compliance but for a group function. If the KC process is applied, 4Ps groups may move from balanced power structure to decentralized; wheel network to all-channel network; and placation to partnership if not citizen control.

Tables and Figures:
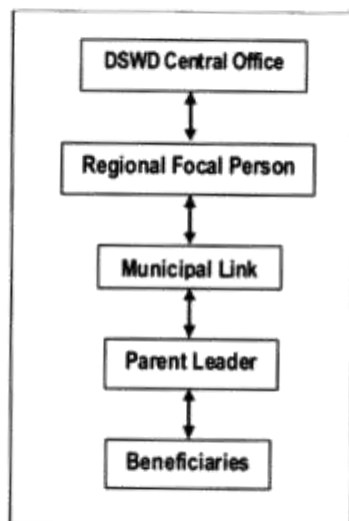
Figure 2: Communication flow of 4Ps

Figure 3: Types of networks (Figure is taken from Hanneman & Riddle, 2005)[9]
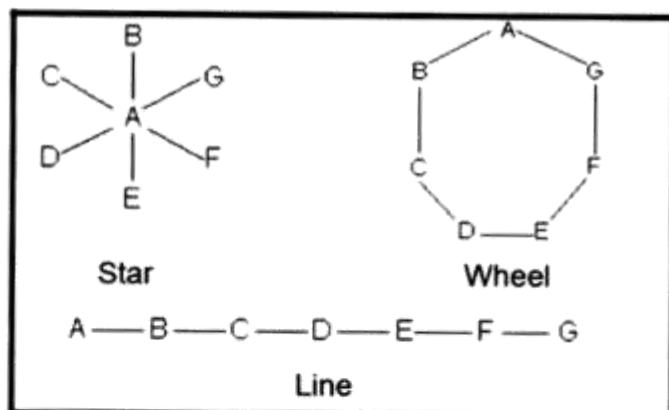
Figure 4:[10] Social capital in different network structures: cohesive network (A), structural holes (B) and network with separated cliques (C)
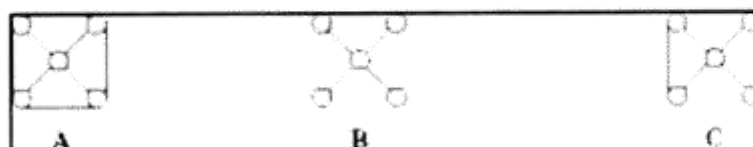

A   B   C

Teble 1: Danzger's social power continuum

Configuration of access to power (Social Structure)	Integration[11]	Major types of influence used	Issue involvement
Centralized	High	Coercive, orders given, value indoctrination, suppression, requested information sent upward	Influence extends to all issues perceived. Suppressive influence used on some; those that interest the elite are considered
	Low	Same as above	Same
Fairly centralized	High	Same as above, although less emphasis on coercion, more on advising, recommending	Primarily issues of interest to the elite, others are sent up for consideration however
	Low	Same as above, plus bargaining, persuasion, coalition formation	Elite issues, issues of interest at lower levels sometimes solved at the lower levels covertly
Balanced	High	Bargaining, coalition, programmatic problem-solving	All issues of interest to any subgroup are raised and considered
	Low	Bargaining, coalition	Interest may be raised but not all are considered. Elite interest required for success
Fairly decentralized	High	Bargaining, coalition	Issue spectrum equals the interest spectrum of interest groups
	Low	Bargaining, coalition, intransigence	Groups are activated only by those issues that they perceive as affecting them
Decentralized	High	Rational consensus	Any issue that relates to the group goals is of interest to all members
	Low	Intransigence, bargaining	Only a few issues can muster enough support to make the effort of raising them worthwhile

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Endnotes

[1] Pantawid is a Filipino word which can mean "to cross".

[2] A municipal or city link is a personnel hired by the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD).

[3] Discussion in this section is from Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program operations manual (n.d.).

[4] Although some have contested this promotes multiple burden to women as highlighted in several forums and round tables discussions.

5 Definition of integration (Danzger, 1970). Note that the type of integration (whether high or low) does not imply which is better or worse. Certain context require high integration while some require low integration.

[6] Not necessarily secretly.

[7] World Bank. (2005). Empowering the Poor taken from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTCDD/Resources/KalahiToolkit.pdf

[8] Farrington, J., Harvey, P., & Slater, R. 2005. Cash Transfer in the context of pro-poor growth from http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/33/58/36570713.pdf

[9] Comparing Hanneman & Riddle and Baker, et.al. notice that "star" (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005) and "wheel" (Baker, et.al., 1987) are the same. Notice also that "wheel" (Hanneman, 2005) and "circle" (Baker, et.al., 1987) are the same. Also, all-channel (Baker, et.al., 1987) need not be confused with star (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). To avoid confusion, focus on the connections not the shape of the figures.

[10] Figure taken from Kroon, et. al., 2002

[11] Social integration is when all parts of an organization are bound together functionally and normatively so as to function as a unified whole (Danzger, 1970).

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