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Foreword

The reasons for publishing a special issue of the Philippine Journal of Social Development, were not immediately evident when I was asked to serve as its editor. Dean Rosalinda Pineda-Ofreneo had to explain to me that "social protection" had become quite relevant, perhaps even urgent. Thus, the issue would not only be timely, there would also be enough original materials worth publishing. I am happy to note that the opinion of the journal's editorial board has proven to be quite accurate.

Anyone taking even a cursory look into the literature will realize that "social protection" has many definitions. Furthermore, there are related terms such as "social insurance" and "social security". Different documents define terms differently, sometimes interchangeably. This, however, is not an indication of the lack of conceptual and programmatic clarity, as the article by Pineda-Ofreneo, et al. will show. The paper is enlightening because it makes definitions and program elements clear in the context of Philippine realities.

Social protection mechanisms are meant to address, among other things, the problem of poverty. Maria Victoria R. Raquiza's paper on poverty measurement calls our attention to the necessity of properly setting the baseline and the indicators of the problem. Her paper shows how academic researches can contribute to large scale programs. Poverty measurements are basic not just because we need correct measurements in order to conceptualize, plan or implement programs. They are also crucial to proper assessment and future planning. This may seem rather obvious, but as Raquiza's paper shows, political considerations are already at play when people measure. We may doom ourselves to failure at the outset, if we do not pay enough attention to these processes.

John Erwin Bañez and Rowena Ayque Laguilles discuss the government's conditional cash transfer (CCT) program, known as the, "Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program" or the "4P"s. Part of the reason that this volume is so relevant is that this program has been ramped up during the administration of Pres.

Benigno Aquino. It has become its main poverty alleviation program. CCT programs are in vogue in the development community and are being implemented in a number of countries in the developing world. These are endorsed and funded by major institutions like the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. A critical look at the Philippine experience adds to the growing literature on CCTs. Given that a fair amount of development aid is going into CCTs worldwide, a global assessment will be inevitable. The Philippine experience must be taken into consideration in such an assessment.

The two papers in this volume take different approaches to examining the 4Ps program. On the one hand, Laguilles looks at the gendered terrain upon which the 4Ps are implemented. Such a view is necessary given, as she notes, that it is mothers who receive the cash transfer and who must fulfill the conditionalities of the program. Bañez on the other hand, looks at lost opportunities for participation and organizing of the beneficiaries. Both studies underscore the need to increase people's capacities and participation as the more effective means of poverty alleviation. Given that the government plans to end the 4P program eventually, their recommendations must be taken into consideration in order to achieve long term goals.

Leticia S. Tojos makes a similar call for strengthening community participation as a means of institutionalization and sustainability in an evolving and dynamic area of social protection, namely, disaster management. The Philippines is prone to natural disasters because of its geologic and geographic characteristics. This risk has increased because of the effects of global climate change. Added to this is the risk of human-made disasters, such as fires, in (especially poor) communities. Tojos combines both quantitative and qualitative analysis in order to make concrete recommendations to local government units that are specific to individual, household, block and community levels of intervention.

Teresita V. Barrameda also discusses how women can be helped during times of disaster by looking into how poor rural women survive on

their own. Her article is a reaffirmation of women's agency even in situations of great constraint. She goes on to show that disaster risk reduction and management must be built on what women already do and know about situations of crisis.

The final article of this journal rounds off the area of social protection nicely. Social protection measures and elements are not always about recent developments or new concepts. The protection of the rights of workers, a democratic and human rights struggle and achievement of centuries past, is still a main pillar of social protection programs. Leah Emily Miñoza looks at the difficult lives of contractual workers in the dormitories of the University of the Philippines in Diliman. Her findings remind us that social protection begins in our own institutions. Miñoza's paper proves yet again that using a gender lens improves the quality of the data gathered, sharpens the analysis of that data and makes recommendations more achievable even as these are better oriented towards the goals of equity.

As a member of an academe in the global South, I attempted to achieve a delicate balance in editing this issue. I am convinced that what is often given international recognition remains skewed towards the knowledges and methods of privileged populations. This is neither a wholesale condemnation of the international system of rating publications nor is it an excuse for the shoddy scholarship that comes from the academes of the South (as much as it does from the North). Rather, it is a balance I needed to find as I considered articles for publication that are relevant primarily to the Philippines. My judgment is informed by my own implication in the context that is relevant to the text. What I deemed scholarly spoke not just to my mind, but also to my heart. That heart has been shaped by a lifelong passion to see my own reality, the ground on which I walk, transformed towards social protection, social equity and social justice. I have used this standard as the bar by which I decided that which was scholarly. I doubt whether the contribution of these articles is relevant only to the Philippines. But even if it were so, I argue that the articles in this volume are still important works.

It is my hope that this issue adds to the argument that Philippine community developers and social workers make for shifting the parameters of knowledge valuation. If the quest for that which is universal is not to become a futile search for final meaning, then there is a need to increase our appreciation of that which is grounded and local.

Sylvia Estrada Claudio, MD, PhD
Editor

SOCIAL PROTECTION STRATEGIES IN RESPONSE TO CRISES: THE PHILIPPINE EXPERIENCE

**Rainier V. Almazan
Mylene D. Hega
Rosalinda Pineda Ofreneo**

This article explains how the Philippine financial, economic, and environmental crises provided the impetus for the development and refinement of an operational framework on social protection for the country. It defines and identifies risks as well as the corresponding social protection responses to these risks. After discussing the official Philippine definition of social protection as well as its key components, it traces the evolution of the enhanced social protection operational framework, together with its main elements and implementing strategies. It focuses on the National Household Targeting System for Poverty Reduction (NHTS-PR) as a new and major element, and on convergence and building adaptive capacity as innovative and potentially transformative strategies in the era of climate change. It critiques the inadequate and disproportionate financing of social protection programs, as well as the conventional criteria for assessing them. Taking off from the human rights-based social protection floor advocated by the ILO and other UN agencies, it argues for transparent and participatory processes of monitoring and evaluation and recommends the broad perspective of sustainable human development to inform not only social protection but also broader poverty reduction strategies.

1. Philippine Crises as Context

The Philippines in recent years has experienced a compendium of crises: financial, economic, and environmental. These crises have wreaked havoc on the lives of many people, especially the poor and vulnerable who are most in need of

social security and protection. They aggravated a pre-existing employment crisis that is at the root of widespread poverty.

The poverty picture has not changed substantially over the years. Although official statistics show that poverty incidence declined from 21.1 percent to 20.9 percent from 2006-2009, the magnitude of poor population increased by 4.4 percent from 22.2 million to 23.1 million in the same period. The incidence of hunger also increased from 14 percent in 2005 to 19.2 percent in 2009,¹ due to the combined impact of the financial crisis and the disastrous floods which hit the country. Highlights of the 2009 poverty statistics showed that the number of poor families increased to 3.86 million, and the number of poor people to 23.1 million (a difference of 970,000 families) with the disaster-stricken areas showing higher incidence (NSCB). Self-rated poverty hovered at around 50 percent in the same period (Mangahas, 2011).

The financial crisis which hit the country in late 2008 quickly resulted in a downward trend in overall economic growth, especially in the export industries, which plunged by 21.9 percent from 2008 to 2009 (Aldaba & Hermoso, 2010, p.20). This worsened the employment crisis, manifested by a downward trend in labor force participation rate (69 percent in 2001 to 64 percent in 2010), high unemployment (hovering at around 7 to 8 percent in recent years), and underemployment (ranging from 15.6 percent to 26.1 percent in 2001 till 2009, and estimated at 19.1 percent in 2010). This employment crisis is the result of decades of industrial and agricultural stagnation, which in turn can be linked to the devastating effects of trends associated with unbridled globalization.

The lingering employment crisis was dramatized by the fact that there were around 2.8 million unemployed, 3.97 million unpaid family workers, 7.1 million underemployed who were working but still looking for work, and 12.65 million working at less than 40 hours a week in 2010. Reports from the Department of Labor and Employment estimate that 45 per cent of the total employed belong to the "informal economy". By the assessment of most unions, the percentages are also on the high side because many of the jobs in the so-called "formal sector"

are actually short-term, casual, insecure, unprotected, “informalized” ones. Per computation by the Employers Confederation of the Philippines (Philippine Employer, 2008), the number of informal workers in the Philippines comprised 25 million or 77 percent of the total employed population. In contrast, the ranks of formal workers, are progressively decreasing. (Pineda Ofreneo et al., 2010, pp. 3-4). Many informal workers are not covered by social security and have irregular health insurance, if at all. Social safety nets such as the conditional cash transfer; i.e., the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program or 4Ps, although fast expanding, cover mostly the chronic poor. They do not necessarily benefit the working, economically active or entrepreneurial poor and the transient poor, most of whom belong to the informal economy.²

Thus, many Filipinos today still do not enjoy any form of social security or protection outside of the traditional but shrinking extended family support. And for those who are enrolled in some social insurance schemes (mostly those in formal employment) the benefits are often not enough and do not cover difficult economic situations such as job displacement or serious ailment. This trend is likely to continue given the generally poor agro-industrial performance of the economy under globalization, and the disastrous impact of weather disturbances such as Typhoons Ondoy and Pepeng in 2009 (Pineda Ofreneo et al., 2010, p. 2) and Typhoon Pedring and Quiel in 2011, that the Philippines is experiencing with increasing frequency due to climate change. In 2011 alone, there were at least 33 weather-related and other natural disasters in the country. This underscores the need for social protection to address environmental and related risks. In 2012, the wide swath of destruction left by the southwest monsoon rains was reminiscent of Typhoon Ondoy, and is considered portentous of more calamities to come.

II. Defining and Identifying Risks as well as Corresponding Responses

Risks have always been part of the human condition. Households in poverty and vulnerable groups are exposed to a range of risks on a day to day basis. Some of the most common risks faced by these households range from the more predictable “life cycle needs” to the more unpredictable risks such as illness

or injury, death of a family member, natural and man-made calamities and theft. Life cycle needs are the common expenditure requirements associated with events in a person's lifetime such as pregnancy, birth, education, marriage, livelihood, food, housing, retirement or old age, and the like.

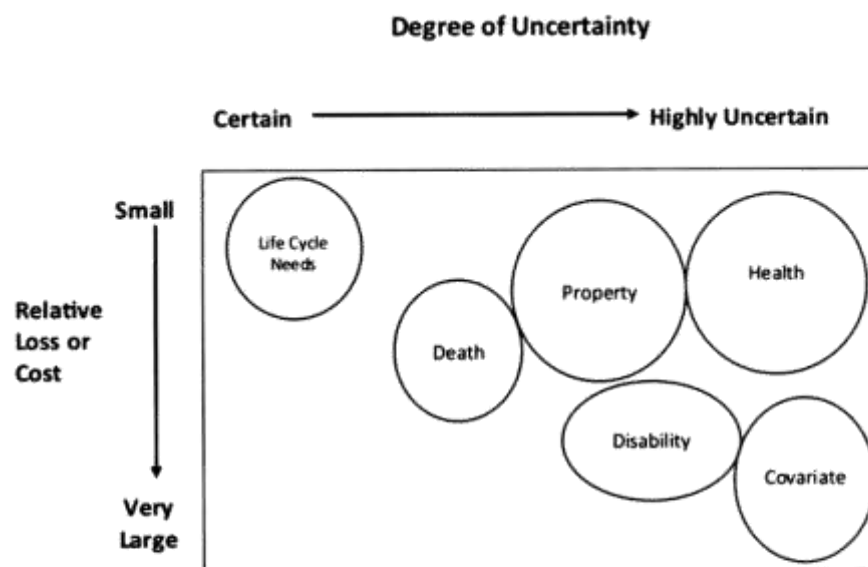
When these risks occur, the households incur corresponding financial losses for necessities such as rebuilding a shanty when fire occurs in slum area. These risks vary in degree or magnitude depending on the type of work engaged in, the location and setting of the household's residence or place of work, and the level of hazard attached to the work or the location of the household's residence.

The more unpredictable the risk is, the more potentially damaging the outcome will be for the poor household. Several studies have demonstrated that households exposed to greater risk-uncertainty are less likely to take advantage of growth opportunities, such as investing in new technologies or additional working capital, that would likely lead to increased wealth and reduced poverty. As a result, households exposed to a great deal of uncertainty, which tend to be the poorer households, are often unable or unwilling to use the traditional growth-focused products provided by most microfinance institutions (Brown & Churchill, 1999).

Brown and Churchill (1999) have defined "risk" as something that relates to the possible occurrence of a future event, usually an undesirable one, against which one must be protected. Sources of risk are diverse, and all populations are susceptible to adverse shocks resulting from natural, health, social, economic, political and environmental risks. Depending on the number of individuals or households that are simultaneously affected, risks are either idiosyncratic (individual) or covariate (aggregate). As the phrase implies, idiosyncratic risks are those that occur when only one or a few individuals or households in a community suffer losses, whereas covariate shocks affect a large number of households, entire communities, regions within a country or countries. Some of these risks may result from acts of nature, whereas others are caused by human activity. These risks are not evenly distributed among men and women, hence people are unequally exposed.

Brown and Churchill (1999) have developed a bubble diagram (Figure 1) to illustrate the degree of uncertainty and loss resulting from each major risk faced by low-income households and communities.

Figure 1: Bubble Diagram of Risks vis-à-vis Attendant Cost and Certainty



Source: Brown and Churchill (1999)

Examples of risks occurring at the individual or household levels include those associated with life cycle events, such as maternity, illness, disability, old age, or death. These risks are gender-specific, given the fact that only women give birth and they live longer than men. There are also social shocks such as crime, domestic violence, dropping out from school, etc. Aggregate risks affecting large populations can include environmental risks such as natural disasters (e.g. typhoon and tsunami), health epidemics (e.g. SARS and bird flu), environmental calamities (e.g. oil spill, nuclear meltdown), political (e.g. civil war) or economic (e.g. oil or financial crisis) risks. See also Table 1 (next page).

Certain individuals and groups are more vulnerable to risks than others because of socio-demographic characteristics, economic status, nature of work, physical or mental condition, gender, age, lifestyle and so forth. For example, a policeman is more exposed to risk of death compared to a food server; a 60-year old man is more prone to accident and illness compared to a 20-year old young man; a cigarette smoker is more prone to cancer than a non-smoker. Vulnerability is a state of high exposure to certain risks, combined with a reduced ability to protect or defend oneself against those risks and cope with their negative consequences.

Table 1: Types of Risks

Life cycle	Economic	Social	Environment
Illness	Economic crises & transition	Exclusion & marginalization	Natural disasters
Accidents & Injury	Loss of livelihood, unemployment & underemployment	School drop-out, lack of social investments	
Disability	High prices of basic goods	Large family size, lack of family care	
Old age		Land tenure & housing insecurity; homelessness	
Death		Man-made disasters, armed conflict, political instability, crime	
Hunger & malnutrition		Lack of participation in decision-making	

Source: Ortiz, 2007 as cited in Neri, 2009

A more comprehensive and evidence-based manner of classifying risks to which social protection interventions must respond to is that proposed in the enhanced social protection operational framework and strategy in the Philippines (Aldaba & Ang, 2012). Risks are categorized as individual life cycle,³ economic, environmental and natural, and social/governance. Also important is the classification of responses which are not limited to those undertaken by government but also include those provided by households and other informal mechanisms as well as by the private sector and civil society organizations.

Table 2: Types of Risks/Vulnerability and Responses

Assessment	Responses		
Types of Risks/Vulnerability	Household or Informal Mechanisms	Government	Private and Civil Society Sector
Individual Lifecycle			
Hunger and malnutrition	Support from relatives, subsistence farming	Health and nutrition policy, programs and projects	Provision of nutrition services, soup kitchens, etc.
Illness, Injury, Disease (incl. HIV-AIDS)	Extended family, community support	Social security, health insurance and micro-insurance	Private insurance schemes
Disability	Hygiene, preventive health	Social security, social assistance, employees compensation	Private insurance and micro-insurance
Old Age	Asset/Savings reduction	Pension Plan	Old age annuities, private pension
Death	Debt	Social Security	Private life insurance
Economic			
End of source of livelihood	Diversified sources of livelihood	Sound macro and sector policies for job generation; emergency and guaranteed employment	Private sector investments that are job-generating
Unemployment	Private transfers, child labor	Regional and rural development policies, emergency and guaranteed employment	Private job search institutions
Low and irregular income	Depletion of assets/savings	Labor market policies, social assistance, conditional cash transfers	Banking services to the poor, microfinance
Price instability of basic commodities	Reduced consumption of basic goods	Price control inflation management	Sales discounts
Economic crisis	Migration	Social funds, subsidies, emergency employment	
Environmental and Natural			
Drought	Migration	Environmental policy, programs and projects	Environmental advocacy and prevention of man-made disasters
Rains and floods	Community Action	Infrastructure investments	Disaster mitigation and prevention measures
Earthquakes	Private transfers	Relief and rehabilitation	Relief and Rehabilitation programs
Volcano eruption and landslides	Extended family support Asset/savings depletion	Relocation-temporary and permanent Disaster prevention and mitigation measures Geo-hazard mapping Insurance against disasters	
Social/Governance			
Social exclusion	Community networks	Inclusive growth, good governance, transparency and accountability	Good corporate governance, corporate social responsibility
Corruption	Community pressure	Public information, transparency and accountability campaign; bottoms up budgeting	Strengthening participation of NGOs and CBOs
Crime and domestic violence	Women's groups and watchdogs	Providing security and equal access to justice	Peace and order promotion (e.g. anti-drug campaigns)
Political instability and armed conflict	Migration	Participation of citizens and civil society groups; peace negotiations	Advocacy for democracy and democratic transitions

Adopted mainly from the ADB Social Protection Strategy Paper, 2001 and Aklaba 2008 as cited in Aklaba & Ang, 2012 p. 7.

III. Social Protection in the Philippines: Definition, Components, and Operational Framework

Different government agencies have developed different program instruments that address different risks or crises. These program instruments are generally located within the framework of social protection as defined by the Philippine government.

While there is no common or standard definition of social protection in the literature, there is however general agreement that it specifically seeks to:

- a. Reduce the vulnerability of low-income households with regard to basic consumption and services;
- b. Allow households to shift income efficiently over the life-cycle, thus financing consumption when needed; and,
- c. Enhance equity particularly with regard to exposure to and the effects of adverse shocks.

In the Philippines, social protection is defined as “policies and programs that seek to reduce poverty and vulnerability to risks and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalized by promoting and protecting livelihood and employment, protecting against hazards and sudden loss of income, and improving people’s capacities to manage risks” (NEDA-SDC Resolution No.1, S. 2007).⁴ This definition was the result of discussions initiated by the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) to rationalize social protection interventions in the Philippines through the Subgroup on Social Protection of the Working Group on the MDGs and Social Progress. The recommendations of the Subgroup were elevated to the Technical Committee of the Social Development Committee (SDC) and then to the SDC at cabinet level.

In response to the global financial crisis of 2008, Administrative Orders 232 and 232-A mandated the grouping of social welfare programs into a National Social Welfare Program Cluster. In 2009, a study of the Development Academy of

the Philippines (DAP) commissioned by the Cluster recommended the harmonization of national social protection and welfare programs to prevent duplication and improve identification of beneficiaries. An initial operational framework for harmonization was crafted and a Subcommittee on Social Protection⁵ was created under the NEDA Social Development Committee in October 2009. The Subcommittee conducted several workshops in late 2011 and early 2012 to further clarify and refine the social protection definition and operational framework. Significant inputs from these workshops as well as from a separate roundtable discussion with the faculty of the College of Social Work and Community Development of the University of the Philippines contributed to the finalization of the framework (DSWD SP Framework Briefer).

Based on the enhanced social protection framework paper, the specific objectives of social protection programs are to:

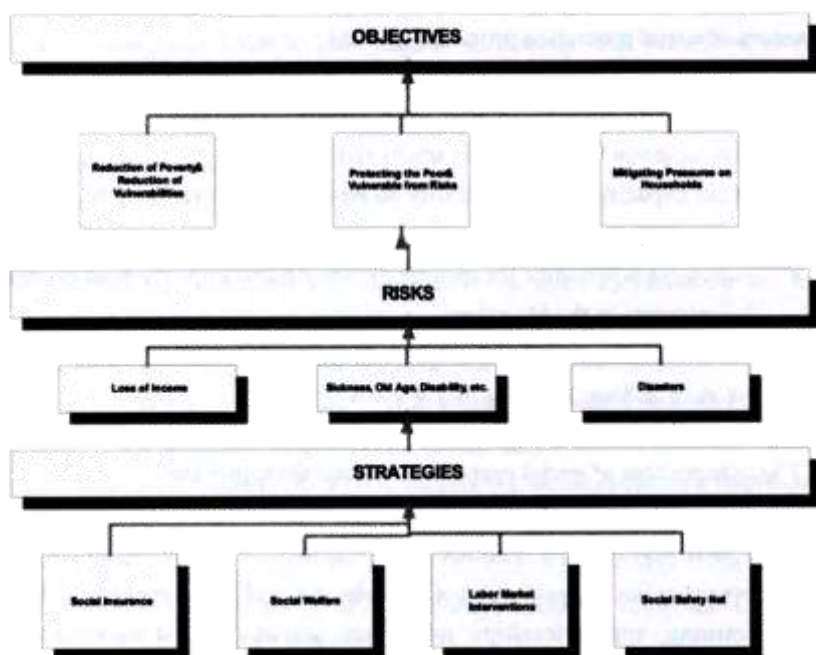
- protect and prevent people from falling from their current income/consumption levels due to various risk factors,
- build capacity and adaptability to ensure that better quality of life is maintained and sustained,
- expand opportunities for income expansion and improve human capital investments in the long term,
- sustain standard of living in spite of exposure to risks of different types. (Aldaba & Ang, 2012, pp. 6-7.)

The components of social protection include the following;

- a. **Labor market interventions**– Measures aimed at enhancing employment opportunities and protection of the rights and welfare of workers, including training, apprenticeships, job search assistance, and subsidized job placements.
- b. **Social insurance** – Contributory programs that seek to mitigate income risks by pooling of resources and spreading risks across time and workers, including those against sickness, disability, maternity, old age, death of the main provider, etc.

- c. **Social welfare** – Preventive and developmental interventions, usually in the form of direct assistance (cash or in-kind transfers) as well as social services that seek to support the minimum basic requirements of the poor, particularly the poorest of the poor, and reduce risks associated with unemployment, resettlement, marginalization, illness, disability, old age and loss of family care.
- d. **Social safety nets** – stop-gap measures or urgent responses that address effects of economic shocks, disasters and calamities on specific vulnerable groups.

Figure 2: Philippine Social Protection Framework



NEDA-SDC Social Protection Framework

The four components of social protection are used as multi-pronged strategies by the state to address the different risks facing the population as shown in the initial framework of the government in Figure 2.

The former chief of the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA), Romulo Neri (2009), however, noted that the social protection and poverty alleviation programs of the government are numerous but many have limited reach and are uncoordinated. They are inadequately funded and are short-lived. Social protection in the country also has a narrow base of beneficiaries. The poor and vulnerable sectors have limited access, bargaining power and influence on local officials and service providers.

In response to this critique, an enhanced social protection operational framework was developed in a participatory manner with the following elements and implementation strategies:

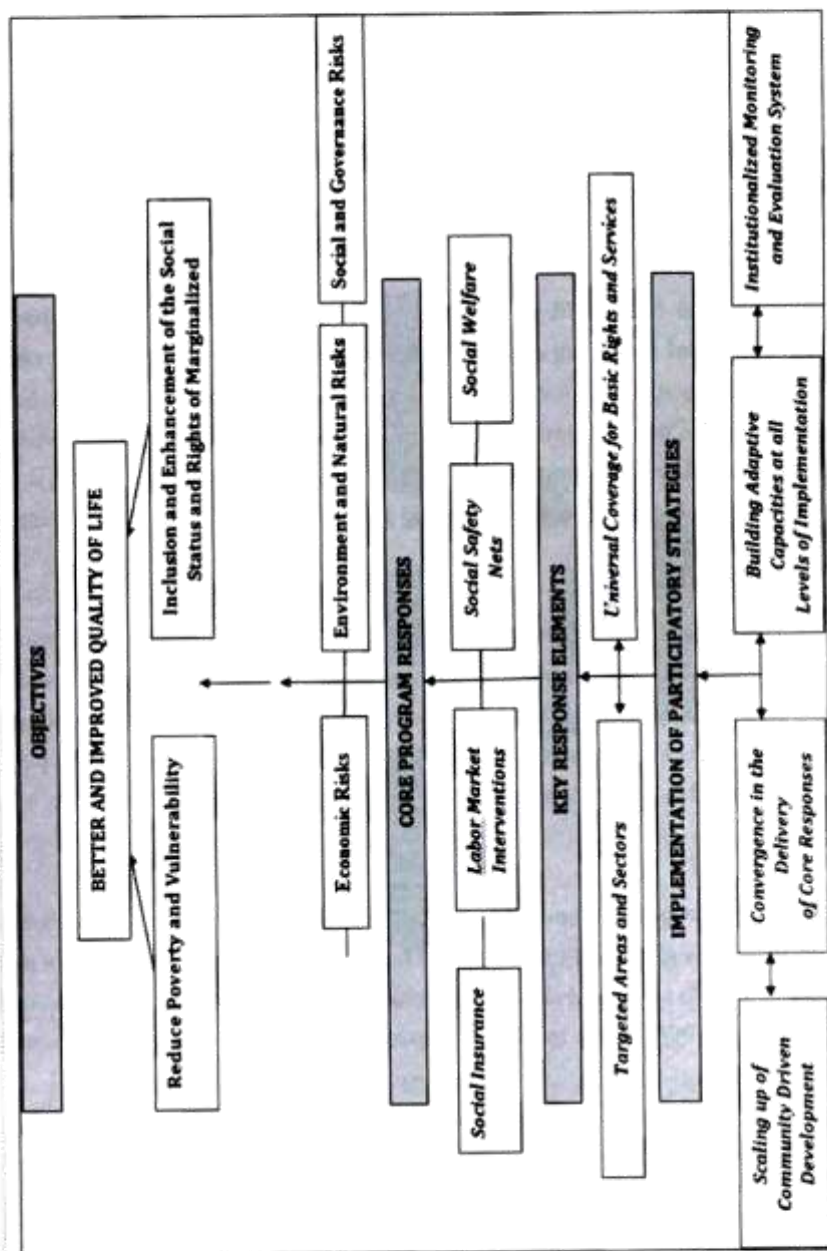
A. ELEMENTS OF THE SP OPERATIONAL FRAMEWORK

1. Identifying and Responding to Major Risks and Vulnerabilities -
The responses can emanate from the households themselves, from government or from the private and civil society sectors. The Social Protection program responses to the different type of risks and vulnerabilities are clustered in accordance to the SP components.
2. Identifying and Responding to Priority Targets and Sectors -. In terms of targeting, the government has mandated all agencies to utilize the Department of Social Welfare and Development's (DSWD) National Household Targeting System for Poverty Reduction.
3. Universal Coverage for Basic Rights and Services -. This entails the country-wide provision of the full requirements of basic education, health and nutrition, shelter, water and sanitation.

B. IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES

1. **Convergence in the Delivery of Social Protection** – DSWD internally started to orchestrate its social protection programs by initially harmonizing the implementation of KALAHÍ-CIDSS, Pantawid Pamilya and SEA-K in 57 municipalities. Also, the localization of convergence of poverty and SP programs by the Human Development and Poverty Reduction Cluster (HDPRC) thru the bottom-up budgeting in 609 municipalities.
2. **Scaling Up Community Driven Development (CDD)** - The leading CDD program is the Kapit Bisig Laban sa Kahirapan – Comprehensive and Integrated Delivery of Social Services (KALAHÍ-CIDSS) and the Makamasang Tugon.
3. **Building Adaptive Capacity** - Social protection can build adaptive capacity through protective and preventive strategies for coping, as well as through promotive and transformative measures.
4. **Institutionalized Monitoring and Evaluation System** - This will facilitate the rationalization of various social protection programs according to the various key components. A regular monitoring and evaluation system is also important to be able to adjust, refine or even terminate programs so that appropriate responses to the various risks are implemented and sustained. (Executive Brief on the Social Protection Operational Framework and Strategy, 2012, p. 2).

Figure 3. Social Protection Operational Framework



IV. The National Household Targeting System for Poverty Reduction (NHTS-PR)

The NHTS-PR is an information management system that identifies who are the poor households and where they are located (See Figure 3). It is considered to be a key element of the social protection operational framework, with all government agencies mandated to use it.

The NHTS-PR is a two-step targeting mechanism consisting of **geographical targeting** and **proxy means testing**. The geographical targeting involves the use of poverty statistics generated by the government's National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB) to identify the poorest provinces, municipalities, and barangays or villages while the proxy means testing is largely based on statistical evidence regarding a household's inability to purchase goods and services.

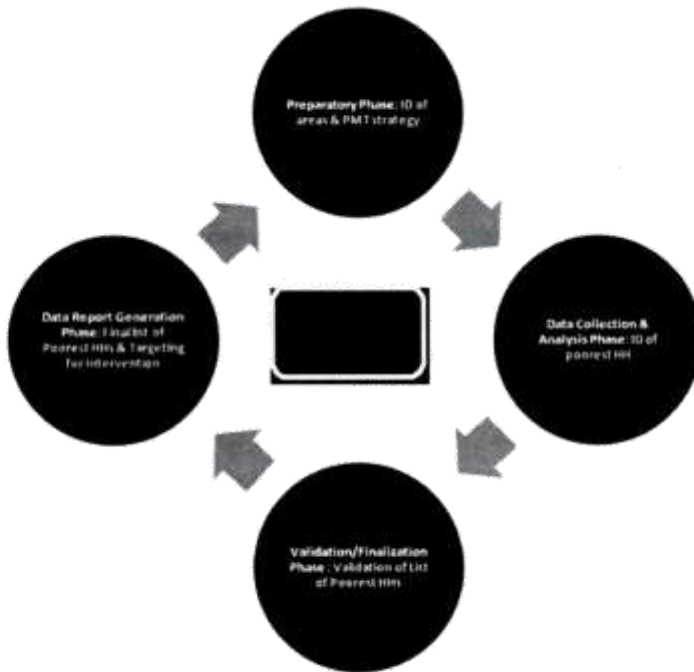
The poorest barangays are identified as follows: if the poverty incidence (PI) in a municipality is higher than 50 percent, all barangays are assessed; if the PI is lower than 50 percent, the poorest households are selected based on a set of socioeconomic indicators to identify the magnitude of "pockets of poverty" (POP) in these barangays. The POP basically refers to clusters of poor households.

The poorest households, on the other hand, are identified using the proxy means test (PMT) using a two-page questionnaire. The PMT is a poverty index used to score and rank all households in a poor barangay or in the pockets of poverty (POP) areas to classify households as either "poor or non-poor."

With this two-tracked system, a comprehensive list of the poorest households is generated per barangay nationwide. Before finalizing the list, this preliminary list is subjected to a validation process using what the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) calls the ODA—On Demand Application and Public Posting of the List (PPL).

The ODA is a process that gives opportunity to households who were not assessed but think they should qualify for the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) benefits while the PPL is part of a process whereby a local verification committee verifies the validity of the list.

Figure 4: The National Household Targeting System for Poverty Reduction Cycle



Source: DSWD Powerpoint 2011

In evaluating the success of the NHTS, the World Bank (2005) laid down the following criteria:

- 1) Maximizing coverage of the poor or, alternatively, minimizing errors of exclusion
- 2) Minimizing leakages to the non-poor

- 3) Cost efficiency and integrity of intake interviews: In the Philippine experience, the NHTS costs around USD2 per household.
- 4) Transparency in all aspects of operation to enhance credibility

Despite the NHTS-PR, reports regarding the implementation of the CCTs show a lot of inclusion and exclusion errors, as well as unwarranted intervention of local politicians in the selection process. The DSWD has periodically excluded thousands of beneficiaries from its list (the latest figure was 165,000 in January 2012) because of incorrect inclusion and/or compliance failure after a period of monitoring. In fact the Philippine Social Protection Note issued by the World Bank and Australian Aid in June 2012 had this to say:

A major challenge of the targeting system is to keep it free from manipulation and/or misuse. Breaking the tradition of selecting beneficiaries on the basis of patronage and other subjective considerations is never an easy process and there will be constant pressure on the NHTS-PR. The NHTS-PR has presented an alternative and objective manner of identifying the poor. While it helps reduce the politicization of development programs and manipulation of the electoral base, it understandably triggered a strong political interest especially when applied to major programs, as in the case of the CCT beneficiaries. Keeping it objective and transparent is a continuous task. (World Bank and Australian Aid, 2012, p. 14).

V. Implementation Strategies: Convergence and Building Adaptive Capacity

The enhanced operational framework as presented on page 13 outlined the following implementing strategies: convergence in the delivery of social protection; scaling up Community-Driven Development (CDD); building adaptive capacity; and institutionalized monitoring and evaluation system.

In the Manual of Convergence on the DSWD Core Social Protection Programs, “convergence” is defined as “the act of directing complementary and/or synergetic intervention programs to specified targets such as poor households, families, individuals, and/or communities based on needs.” It “calls for the synchronization and coordination of all interventions of the government (national and local) and the private sector in one geographical area to ensure that reforms in terms of poverty alleviation and social protection, among others, are achieved.” What is noteworthy is that aside from considerations of efficiency, targeting, unity in goals, confluence of action, and complementation in the enumeration of guiding principles of convergence, there is equal emphasis on empowerment and the human-rights based approach. Empowerment is understood as the active involvement of people at every stage, and believing in their strengths and capacities to “analyze their situation and identify steps towards improving their well-being.” This is considered to be an indispensable element of the human rights-based approach which recognizes that “development is not only the economic, social, cultural, and political process of achieving the universal realization of human rights and freedoms, by expanding people’s choices and capabilities to live the lives they value, but above all as the empowerment of people to decide what this process of expansion should look like.” (Manual of Convergence of the DSWD Core Social Protection Programs, pp. 16-17).

Building adaptive capacity is important in the era of climate change. It is important to move beyond protective and preventive coping strategies and work towards promotive and transformative measures that build adaptive capacity.

There are important differences between coping strategies (and strategies which build adaptive capacity. While the former are short-term responses that relieve the burden of risk once it has occurred, the latter refers to “the actual ability of a system to adjust (or adapt) to climate change variability and extremes, moderating potential damage, taking advantage of opportunities, coping with consequences, as well as expanding its coping range under existing climate variability or future climate conditions.” Adaptive strategies also refers to “communities’ capacity to take advantage of the benefits and opportunities associated with a changing climate” (Jones, et al., 2010, p. 5, as cited in Pineda Ofreneo, 2011, p.23).

Adaptive strategies cover measures that protect and prevent an adverse event, as well as measures that promote wellbeing of people and transform structures to sustain positive changes:

1. Protective measures “provide relief from deprivation” and include “social assistance for the chronically poor” (or those with the least adaptive capacity) such as social services, food and cash transfers, pensions, fee waivers and public works.
2. Preventive measures are meant “to avert deprivation,” and include “social insurance for economically vulnerable groups,” unemployment benefits, social transfers and the like. They also include livelihood diversification and weather-indexed insurance which prevent “damaging coping strategies as a result of risks to weather-dependent livelihoods.”
3. “Promotive measures aim to enhance real incomes and capabilities of the poorest and most vulnerable populations,” thereby enhancing resilience through livelihood diversification and security to withstand climate-related shocks”. These include “social and asset transfers, microfinance, drought- and flood-resistant starter packs, access to common property resources, and public works.”
4. Transformative measures, which are more rights-based, “seek to address vulnerabilities arising from social inequity and exclusion of the poorest and most marginalized groups,” and could include “collective action for workers’ rights, protecting minority ethnic groups against discrimination or HIV and AIDS sensitisation campaigns” (Jones et al., 2010, 12-13, as cited in Pineda Ofreneo, 2012, p. 12.).

Protective, preventive, promotive, and transformative measures are not mutually exclusive but are actually mutually reinforcing, constituting various dimensions of an iterative process. The transformative potential of all social protection measures exists from the start of implementation and needs to be progressively realized across time and space (Pineda Ofreneo, 2012, p 13).

VI. Financing of Social Protection Programs

Financing of social protection programs in the Philippine context is hounded by problems of inadequacy, inappropriateness, and wastage of resources. These problems are foregrounded in the light of the compounded crises besetting the country, which require a commensurate level of resources to address .

The Arroyo government's key response to the 2008 global financial crisis was the formulation of the Economic Resiliency Plan or ERP, with a total budget of Php330 billion (USD 7 billion) aimed to stimulate the economy through a mix of increased government spending, tax cuts and public-private sector investments in infrastructure projects that can prepare the country for the eventual global upturn. This budget earmarked Php160 billion for government budget interventions. Included here were quick-disbursing, labor-intensive, community level infrastructure, the expansion of some social protection programs like conditional cash transfers (the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program or 4Ps), the PhilHealth Sponsored Program, the scholarship program for technical vocational training, the rice price subsidy program under the National Food Authority (NFA), and the comprehensive livelihood and emergency employment program (CLEEP).⁶ The remaining amount was divided into the following: Php 40 billion of tax cuts;Php 100 billion of off-budget interventions consisting mainly of large infrastructure projects to be funded by the Government Owned and Controlled Corporations (GOCC), Government Financial Institutions (GFIs), and the private sector; and Php 30 billion temporary additional benefits to members of the Government Service Insurance System (GSIS), Social Security System (SSS), and Philhealth.⁷

Financing of social protection programs has always been problematic in the Philippine case. Philippine social protection expenditure as percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was just about 2 percent in 2008 (Philippine Report on the Implementation of IESCR). This is a dismal figure when one considers the average social security expenditure in other regions: in Europe, social security expenditure was nearly 25 percent of GDP; in North America, 16.6 percent, and Africa, 4.3 percent. (ILO website, Facts on Social Security).

In a 2008 Asian Development Bank study, the Philippines came out with a Social Protection Index (SPI) of 0.28, which was below the Asian average of 0.36. It was ranked 22nd out of 31 countries studied, and fared poorly because of low expenditures on social protection (80 percent went to social insurance compared to 0.1 percent which went to labor market programs), and low coverage of the poor (ADB, 2008).

As a well known social protection expert observed, "Although national government spending on social protection has increased in response to the global financial crisis, national government's spending on social welfare programs, social safety nets and active labor market programs compares unfavorably with that of other countries" (Manasan, 2009, iii). The spending on the latter was P17 billion or 0.3 percent of GDP in 2007, and P62 billion or 0.8 percent of GDP in 2008. These figures represent less than half of the mean spending and lower than the median spending on social safety nets by a group of 87 countries from 1996 to 2006 (1.9 percent and 1.4 percent of GDP respectively) (Weigand & Grosh, 2008 as cited in Manasan, 2009 p. 72).

Government spending (allotment) on social protection covers programs that respond to the following types of shocks and situations: price and income shocks (includes NFA rice price subsidy, Food for School Program, school-based feeding, 4Ps, Pantawid Kuryente, KALAHI-CIDSS, Tindahan Natin, SEA-K and livelihood assistance); natural disasters (disaster relief and rehabilitation), crisis situations (assistance to individuals and households); disability, old age and special vulnerabilities (assistance to disabled persons, senior citizens, and children in conflict with law, center-based community-based assistance, Tulong para kay Lolo at Lola); health shocks (PhilHealth – national and local government share); and labor market shocks (TESDA scholarship, DOLE programs on capability building, emergency employment, local employment facilitation, protection and reintegration of OFWs) (Manasan, in ADB proceedings, Table 14, p. 126).

Data obtained on government spending on social protection showed that almost 70 percent of total allotments went to rice price subsidy in 2008 which

was higher than the 29 percent in 2007. This went down to Php 4 billion 2009, then up to Php8 billion in 2010, and then trimmed down to Php2.5 billion in 2011. Leakage rate was estimated at 71 percent, at best covering only 16 percent of the rice requirements of food-poor/poor-households. (Senate Economic Planning Office Policy Brief, 2011, p. 13). The rice price subsidy program administered by the National Food Authority (NFA) was adjudged inefficient, and the government funds previously allotted to it were reallocated to make possible the expansion of the 4Ps.

Under the Aquino administration, the government adopted the zero-based budgeting (ZBB) approach, which would enable it to prioritize its key projects and ensure that every peso to be spent is justified and defended by the agencies concerned. As explained by President Aquino in his 2012 budget message, “We used the ZBB approach to make government spending more focused on what really matters to our people. ZBB has led us to further expanding the *Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program* (4Ps)—our anchor-point in our poverty reduction agenda—to benefit 3 million households by January next year given the inroads accomplished this year in serving 2.3 million households.”

The relatively huge amount of resources being poured on the 4Ps or CCT Program has been heavily criticized, because there are other government programs which need financial support that are just as important in the context of social protection. The CCT expansion was deemed too soon and too fast. Starting with a Php50 million budget to cover 6,000 households in 2007, it has increased to Php298.5 million covering 20,000 households in 2008; Php5 billion covering 321,000 households in 2009; Php 10 billion covering one million households in 2010; and Php 21.2 billion covering 2.3 million households in 2011. Yet, leakages have been reported and the data on outcomes and impacts have not been comprehensive enough to show a clear and reliable picture. For example, a spot check on compliance rates conducted by the Social Weather Stations for the World Bank in 2010 already revealed problems which casted doubts on the 4Ps’ ability to achieve its targets in terms of nutrition, infant mortality, maternal mortality, and school completion rate (Senate Economic Planning Office Policy Brief, 2011, p. 10). Rapid appraisal done

by the National College of Public Administration and Governance of the University of the Philippines which focused on access to education, maternal and child health care, as well as participation in family development sessions showed no clear achievement of expected outcomes and impact in these areas. Furthermore, 45.2 percent of the cost of the CCT Program for 2011 to 2014 is being financed by a USD400 million loan from the Asian Development Bank, which the Filipino people will have to repay (Senate Economic Planning Office Policy Brief, 2011, pp. 8-11).

This highlights the problem of limited government resources. As explained by DSWD Undersecretary Alice Bala, "While the adverse impact of social risks on society is far-reaching, the resources to fund implementation of much needed social protection programs are limited. Limited resources underscores the need for better poverty targeting; better resource mobilization and coordination among government agencies, LGUs, NGOs, and other stakeholders; and enhanced capacities of LGUs to deliver social protection programs" (Bala, 2010).

VII. Capacity for Evaluating Effectiveness of Policy Action

Aldaba's review of policies, programs, implementing structures, capacities, and resources showed three major weaknesses that need to be addressed: (1) the fragmented approach of social welfare and development (SWD) programs promoted by various government agencies; (2) lack of legislation that will facilitate synergy among government interventions, and of responsive policies; and (3) the need to allocate for SWD programs more resources that can be used for capability training of local government units (LGUs) in delivering social services (Aldaba, 2008 cited in Bala, 2009)

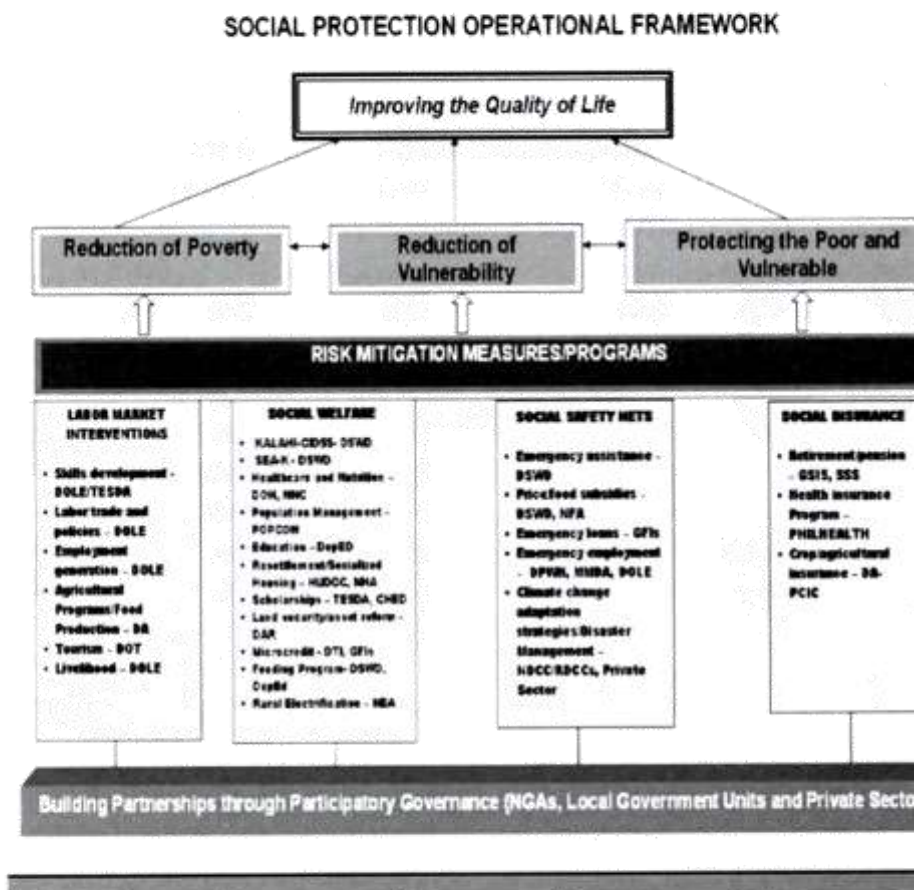
Low coverage and inadequate benefits as well as poor targeting and operational constraints due to lack of coordination among program implementers hindered the implementation of many of the social protection programs of the

government. Furthermore, because programs implementers have differing mandates, there are overlaps and redundancies in sectoral and geographical beneficiaries which cause additional strain on scarce resources (Manasan, 2009).

As earlier discussed in this paper, it was in the context of these realities that Administrative Order (AO) 232 and 232-A issued in July 2009 focused on clustering the social welfare and development programs of government to “rationalize, group and strengthen existing programs and services of government agencies dealing with social welfare and protection” (Aldaba & Hermoso, 2010 p. 46). In October 2009, the Social Protection Operational Framework and Strategy (please see next page), which shows particular agencies of government responsible for responding to particular risks, was adopted by the NEDA-Social Development Committee.⁸ Thereafter, the NEDA-SDC Sub-Committee on Social Protection an inter-agency body to consolidate programs of various government agencies into a single national social welfare strategy, was created. The DSWD chairs this Sub-committee and thereby plays the lead role in this convergence strategy.

Based on the intent of the AO mentioned above, the National Social Welfare Cluster commissioned a study on the existing social protection programs which was conducted by the Development Academy of the Philippines. This study entitled *Review and Strengthening of the National Social Protection and Welfare Program* identified the most fundamental problems of the government’s social protection and welfare programs as follows: (1) social protection has a narrow base of beneficiaries; (2) poor and informal sectors have limited access to, bargaining power with, and influence on local officials and service providers; and (3) programs are numerous but have limited reach, are uncoordinated, are inadequately funded, and are short-lived (Bala, 2009). In terms of coverage, since there are interventions addressing the same risks or objectives that are implemented in the same geographical areas (i.e., 20 poorest or food poor provinces), there is high possibility of overlapping and double counting of beneficiaries (DAP, 2009).

Figure 4: Social Protection Operational Framework as of 2009



(DSWD, 2009)

Criteria and Standards for Evaluation

Some of the criteria used by experts in evaluating social protection programs and policies are appropriateness, adequacy of coverage, and efficiency or cost-effectiveness (Manasan, ADB Proceedings, 2010, p. 107). A policy or program is considered appropriate if it responds to a particular need. To be considered adequate, programs “should provide full coverage and meaningful

benefits to whichever subset of the population they are meant to assist” (Grosh et al. cited in Manasan, ADB, 2010, p. 107). A cost-effective program is able to channel resources to the target beneficiaries, maximize as well as economize on administrative costs.

Beyond these conventional criteria which focus on state interests should be those that highlight the concerns for justice, equity, inclusiveness, and participation that are inherent in a human rights-based approach to social protection. The concern for enhancing the human rights of the marginalized is included in the official definition and has been highlighted in the enhanced social protection operational framework and strategy. This concern was articulated in the 2010 People’s Social Protection Agenda (PSPA) by home-based and other informal workers’ associations, in cooperation with other civil society organizations and academic institutions:

The notion of realizing rights and entitlements, in social protection literature, is very related to various concepts of justice – economic justice which used to be understood within the broader context of social justice; gender justice and reproductive justice; and even environmental and climate justice. Each of these concepts is important because in human rights discourse, the claim holders (or the citizenry) can always assert various compendiums of rights to the duty bearers (mainly the state) within the ethical ambit of seeking justice, long denied, in any of its current forms.

These interweaving notions of justice are what distinguish this People’s Social Protection Agenda from similar efforts. Economic and social justice lie beneath the major concern for majority of the working people who are often invisible, vulnerable, and marginalized – the workers in the informal economy. Gender and reproductive justice impel the agenda which focus on the specific issues of women given their disadvantaged position vis-

à-vis men. Environmental and inter-generational justice are behind the overarching framework of green economy and development. Without these combined ethical directions, social protection will not come into full fruition. (PSPA, p.10)

The PSPA calls for jobs, social security, health care, basic services, education, justice, and voice for all as part of the basic demand originally issued by the ILO on social protection for all. This demand has its ethical and legal basis in various human rights instruments, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. The human rights-based approach is anchored on participation of all the stakeholders, which is a prerequisite to their empowerment.

A human rights-based approach to social security and protection presupposes the setting of minimum standards or a “social floor” below which no human being should fall. This minima should be the subject of global discussion and consultations, especially in Asia where economic and social conditions are so diverse. However, it should be noted that the issue of resources cannot be cited as an argument against setting such a minima, since there have been many studies showing that even poor countries in Africa can provide the key elements of a “social floor” with just four percent of their GDP. Nation states can generate resources through taxes, debt restructuring, and donor assistance, with the calculation that eventually, investing in social security and protection can redound to increased productivity and more rapid economic development (Pineda Ofreneo, 2011).

Such a minima can be flexible, allowing countries to progressively meet standards and increase coverage through time, but at the same time firm in the intent to show improvement and prevent backsliding.

Drafting the minima should consciously integrate the realities of women and informal workers, and address barriers to their participation, particularly because they comprise majority of the labor force and most of them are poor. In

this endeavor, there is no substitute for social mobilization and awareness raising starting with groups who feel their exclusion most, so that governments can truly take their interests to heart and provide the legal foundations without which achieving any kind of minima is impossible.

It is good to note that the current social protection operational framework and strategy declares “Universal Coverage for Basic Rights and Services” as one of three major elements, the first being identifying and responding to risks and vulnerabilities, and the second being identifying and responding to priority targets and sectors. Accordingly, such universal coverage “entails the country-wide provision of the full requirements of basic education, health and nutrition, shelter, water and sanitation.” Can targeting be reconciled with universal coverage? Perhaps, if targeted programs can somehow be gradually expanded and transformed into universal ones in a planned and systematic way.

The Human Rights-Based Social Protection Floor as a Starting Point

The global economic, financial, and environmental crises generated a lively debate in the global development community regarding what should be the appropriate response. ILO’s comprehensive response to the crisis is contained in the following elements of a Global Jobs Pact which it urges all countries to undertake:

- introducing cash transfer schemes for the poor to meet their immediate needs and to alleviate poverty;
- building adequate social protection for all, drawing on a basic social protection floor including: access to health care, income security for the elderly and persons with disabilities, child benefits and income security combined with public employment guarantee schemes for the unemployed and working poor;
- extending the duration and coverage of unemployment benefits (alongside relevant measures to create adequate work incentives recognizing the current realities of national labour markets);

- ensuring that the long-term unemployed stay connected to the labour market through, for example, skills development for employability;
- providing minimum benefit guarantees in countries where pension or health funds may no longer be adequately funded to ensure workers are adequately protected and considering how to better protect workers' savings in future scheme design; and
- providing adequate coverage for temporary and non-regular workers (ILO, 2009 p. 4).

The ILO, together with the rest of the UN family through its Chief Executives Board (CEB), is part of a campaign for a Global Social Protection Floor, which would make possible the realization of basic human rights enshrined in existing treaties. The Global Social Protection Floor has two main elements:

1. **Essential Services:** ensuring the availability, continuity, and geographical and financial access to essential services, (such as water and sanitation, food and adequate nutrition, health, education, and family-focused social work support).
2. **Social Transfers:** a basic set of essential social transfers, in cash and in kind, paid to the poor and vulnerable to enhance food security and nutrition, provide a minimum income security and access to essential services, including education and health care (ILO and WHO, 2009 p. 2).

The concept of a "social floor" is considered to be an urgent response to the "dramatic effects" of the crisis on employment, health, and education. It provides for transfer of incomes, social assistance, and social security benefits especially to the unemployed and most vulnerable groups. These measures are meant to arrest the spread of poverty by preventing the vulnerable from falling below the poverty line. They are also meant to maintain adequate demand for goods and services and thereby blunt the threat of further recession. Investing in these measures is considered to be

an investment in both social justice and economic development. The investment can be very modest as in the case of Brazil and Mexico which allotted only 0.5 percent of the GDP to their expansive and highly successful conditional cash transfer programs. Another estimate puts the expected cost of a cash benefit for children and a small pension at only 4 percent of the GDP to have an impact of reducing the poverty headcount by 40 percent (ILO and WHO, 2009, p.5).

Does increased investment in social protection have a negative impact on economic growth? The answer is no. "On the contrary, well-designed unemployment schemes, social assistance and public works programmes effectively prevent long-term unemployment and help shorten economic recessions" (World Social Security Report 2010-2011, p. 3).

The concept of a "social floor" is a useful starting point in any discussion on the design and delivery of social protection systems, given the rather stark reminder that "still 75-80% of the global population do not enjoy a set of social guarantees that allow them to deal with life's risks". (ILO Global Extension of Social Security website). Yet, there is recognition that there is no 'one size fits all' solution for all countries. Each country has to elaborate its priorities according to its needs. In any case, "... social protection policies in times of crisis and beyond need to be part and parcel of a comprehensive set of labour market, economic, education policies and need to be an explicit part of wider social risk management strategies that are stabilizing households and communities" (ILO Global Extension of Social Security website). The concept of a "social floor" can also serve as a global standard for assessing the adequacy of national responses to crises, as exemplified by the Philippine case.

In June 2012, the International Labour Conference issued the Recommendation Concerning National Floors on Social Protection which provides guidance to Members to "(a) establish and maintain, as applicable, social protection floors as a fundamental element of their national social security systems; and (b) implement social protection floors within strategies for the extension of social security that progressively ensure higher levels of social security to as many

people as possible, guided by ILO social security standards” (International Labour Conference Provisional Records, 2012).

The Recommendation further elaborates on the basic social security guarantees that should comprise social protection floors:

- (a) access to a nationally defined set of goods and services, constituting essential health care, including maternity care, that meets the criteria of availability, accessibility, acceptability and quality;
- (b) basic income security for children, at least at a nationally defined minimum level, providing access to nutrition, education, care and any other necessary goods and services;
- (c) basic income security, at least at a nationally defined minimum level, for persons in active age who are unable to earn sufficient income, in particular in cases of sickness, unemployment, maternity and disability; and,
- (d) basic income security, at least at a nationally defined minimum level, for older persons.

Summary and Conclusions

The magnitude of the crises besetting the Filipino people requires an integrated and comprehensive response that should be spearheaded by the State. The State is the only force that can mobilize the required structures and resources to address and mitigate risks that the poor and vulnerable suffer on a chronic basis. These risks multiply and intensify during periods of shock – such as the financial crisis of 2008, the severe typhoons of 2009 and 2011, as well as the torrential southwest monsoon rains of 2012.

Based on the evidence, the State is not yet fully capable of meeting this challenge because of the following reasons:

- 1) Low coverage of the population, especially of the working poor

- 2) Inadequate funding
- 3) Poor coordination and multiple overlaps
- 4) Imperfect targeting systems still vulnerable to political manipulation
- 5) Lack of information, monitoring and evaluation systems based on set criteria which should ideally adhere to a human rights based approach.

In the light of worsening poverty and environmental conditions, the challenge of climate change, and the continuing employment crises, State should display more political will in allocating the resources to protect the poorest and most vulnerable groups. As it were, capacity building programs are yet to be put in place even in the agencies mandated to be at the forefront of ensuring social protection. Establishing safety nets and building resilient and economically sustainable communities should also be on the agenda.

Coordination and convergence of stakeholders to address social protection issues should be actualized to avoid overlaps, and maximize resources and impact of actions. This will require not only technical expertise but more importantly the involvement of various stakeholders including the intended beneficiaries, concerned national and local government agencies, the private sector and civil society organizations. There should be regular assessments and updating of the Social Protection Operational Framework and Strategy and the corresponding five-year Social Protection Plan. Participation of stakeholders is likewise critical not only to ensure smooth program or project implementation but also ensure transparency and accountability in the process. Finally, convergence as a strategy should go beyond addressing social protection but should also inform broader strategies for poverty reduction, disaster risk reduction and management, and climate change adaptation. It should be anchored on the principles of human rights, people's participation, gender-sensitivity, and sustainable human development.

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Endnotes

¹Hunger was at a record high of 23.8 percent or 4.8 million families in March, 2012, but this fell to 18.4 percent or 3.8 million families in late May, based on the report of the Social Weather Stations (SWS). According to the SWS, this was due to "improvements" in moderate hunger ("a situation where one experiences having nothing to eat 'only one' or 'a few times' in the last three months") as well as in severe hunger ("a condition where one experiences hunger 'often' or 'always'") ("SWS: Number of hungry Pinoy families now lower by 1M". GMA network.com, July 3, 2012).

² According to the Manual on Convergence of the DSWD Core Social Protection Programs, "**Poor**" refers to individuals and families whose incomes fall below the poverty threshold as defined by the government and/or those that cannot afford in a sustained manner to provide their basic needs of food, health, education, housing and other amenities of life. This definition is based on RA 8425 or the Social Reform and Poverty Alleviation Act, 11 December 1997. "**Chronic Poor**" refers to the section of the population which faces significant risks and vulnerabilities, has fewer buffers to protect their standards of living, and is commonly forced to adopt behavioral responses that keep them in poverty. "**Economically Active/Entrepreneurial Poor**" refers to the segment of the population categorized as poor but who are nonetheless able to participate in informal economic activities for purposes of generating either main or supplemental income for the household. "**Transient Poor**" refers to households who are poor in one year but have consumption levels above the poverty line in "normal" years (meaning non-poor before but poor now). Transient poor can move out of poverty once the exogenous shock has passed. Transient poverty might be related to seasonality, or to losing a job, or death of bread winner. These definitions of various kinds of poor were drawn from "Major Social Risks and Vulnerability in the Philippines: A Survey," by F. T. Aldaba, *Social Welfare and Development Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2.

³ A critique of the risks listed under individual/ life cycle is that they do not include gender-specific risks such as pregnancy and maternity, and they also do not consider risks associated with infancy, childhood, and adolescence.

⁴ The NEDA Subcommittee on Social Protection defined “vulnerable” as referring to “households confronted by *ex-ante* risk that if currently non-poor, will fall below the poverty line, or if currently poor, will remain in poverty. It is also defined in terms of exposure to adverse shocks to welfare and not just in terms of exposure to poverty.” The Subcommittee defined “marginalized” as referring to “groups in society who, for reasons of poverty, geographical inaccessibility, culture, language, religion, age, gender, migrant status or other disadvantage, have not benefited from health, education, employment and other opportunities, and who are relegated to the sidelines of political persuasion, social negotiation, and economic bargaining”.

⁵ This is an inter-agency body composed mostly of government agencies, with the addition of Social Watch representing NGOs and PATAMABA (the National Network of Informal Workers) representing people’s organizations.

⁶ Government offices were directed to allocate at least 1.5 percent of their operating budgets for emergency job creation under CLEP. As of 8 May 2009, 99,967 person days were created, and 700,000 person-days were targeted for creation by the end of the year. Total cost was estimated at Php 1.374 billion. (Bonnet, Florence, Catherine Saget and Axel Weber, “Social protection and minimum wages responses to the 2008 financial and economic crisis: Findings from the ILO/World Bank Inventory. ILO Employment Working Paper No. 113, 2012).

⁷ For details on the nature, objectives, accomplishments, and shortcomings of these programs, see “Impact of the Global Financial and Economic Crisis on the Philippines,” by J. T. Yap, C. M. Reyes, and J. S. Cuenca. PIDS Discussion Paper Series No. 2009-30, pp. 21-29.

⁸ This was later developed and refined into the enhanced social protection operational framework, the diagram of which may be found on page 10.

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The Philippine Poverty Line: Does it Really Tell Us Who is Poor?

Maria Victoria R. Raquiza

There is a need to challenge official poverty discourse. For one, official poverty estimation in the Philippines is based on arbitrary assumptions that keep the poverty threshold low, thereby reducing poverty incidence. In a country of high inequality and where the differences in incomes of a large swathe of the population are generally small, the placement of a poverty line underscores its conceptual and methodological weaknesses. The arbitrariness of this measure also has implications on how anti-poverty interventions and targets are conceptualized.

This paper outlines a number of possible options in dealing with the limitations of the poverty line approach which includes introducing the notion of a poverty zone to make targeting more inclusive. Furthermore, it points that greater efforts should be placed towards developing universal delivery of social services, including social protection programs.

Introduction

This paper will focus on measuring poverty in the Philippines which has been an overriding developmental objective of every post-Marcos administration.¹ While the focus of this study is the poverty estimation methodology utilized in the 2006 Family Income and Expenditure Survey (FIES) and interviews conducted in 2008, the study is still relevant, given that little has changed from national poverty measures since then.

The goal of poverty reduction has proven to be elusive. Not only is Philippine poverty higher compared to its Southeast Asian neighbors, but reducing it occurs at a very slow pace especially compared to Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam

and China. Thus, the Philippines is now considered the basket case in the region (Balisacan, 2008, p. 1).

Despite rapid urbanization, poverty remains largely a rural phenomenon. Two out of every three Filipinos are engaged in agricultural employment (Balisacan, 2008, p. 1). A majority (51 percent) of the Philippine labor force, composed of 12.1 million farmers and fisherfolk, and about 10 million laborers and unskilled workers combined, are earning poverty-level wages (GCAP-Philippines, 2007, p. 4). This excludes those in the informal sector, such as street vendors, tricycle² drivers and domestic helpers (GCAP-Philippines, 2007, p. 4).

It is widely known that economic growth is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for poverty reduction. Unfortunately, the country's economic growth has generally been below par in the recent past, barely exceeding the annual population growth rate of 2.3 percent (Balisacan, 2008, p. 3). From 2004 to 2007, the country's average per capita GDP growth of 4 percent was still below growth rates of progressive neighboring countries (Balisacan, 2008, p. 3). In 2010, growth rates soared to 7 percent, but this was largely a function of election spending. The following year, in 2011, growth rate dipped to 4.3 percent.

Balisacan (2008, p. 4) identifies a number of obstacles to poverty reduction in the Philippines: first is the 'high inequality in incomes and productive assets, including agricultural lands'; second, the 'inability to create productive employment opportunities for its fast-growing labor force.' This includes the fact that those who are able to find productive employment opportunities are the rich, who oftentimes are the educated and skilled (Balisacan, 2008, p. 4).

This underscores the significance of developing human capabilities. As Balisacan notes, economic growth has mostly benefited the educated and highly skilled (Balisacan, 2008, p. 4), which partly explains why from 2003 to 2006, the Philippines experienced the paradoxical situation of a respectable growth rate of 5.4 percent, simultaneous with a rise in official poverty incidence by 3 percent.

The third reason is anemic social spending. The relatively low allocations for basic health, education, and other social services in the national budget mean that there are basic needs that remain unmet. Furthermore, the un-competitiveness of the Philippines as a site for doing business and trade, both nationally and internationally, is a result of the 'failure of domestic governance to secure policy and institutional reforms needed to enhance the efficiency of domestic markets, and ensure more inclusive access to technology, infrastructure and human development' (Balisacan, 2008, p. 5).

Inequality is a stark developmental feature. In 2006, the country's Gini co-efficient of 0.4580 was the 3rd highest in Asia, next only to Nepal and the People's Republic of China (ADB, 2007, p. 31). In 2009, the Gini co-efficient fell very slightly to 0.4484. It is noteworthy that the country's inequitous income and asset structure has generally remained unaltered since 1985, which means development, in the main, has not been pro-poor.

This situation serves as the backdrop to continuing palpable social and political unrest in Philippine society, marked by the presence of a broad swathe of oppositional forces across the political spectrum. Socially excluded populations, like indigenous peoples and Muslims, are among the poorest. A number of Muslim organizations in the southern Philippines, in particular, have been waging armed rebellion against the government. There is also a communist movement that has been at war with the Philippine government for the last 40 years. It is in this context that peace negotiations with the different armed rebel groups have taken place, but with little success so far.

The 1986 People Power Revolution that precipitated the fall of the Marcos dictatorship paved the return of the country to "formal democracy". The second People Power uprising in 2001 (referred to as Edsa 2), which led to the ouster of Joseph Estrada on plunder charges and to the installation of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (GMA) as Philippine president, was marked by constitutional ambiguities (La Liga 2001, p. 6). It also polarized Philippine society largely between those who were for, or against Edsa 2. It is interesting to note that there is a class dimension

to this: the elite and the middle classes were mostly for Edsa 2; the urban and rural poor, who voted for Estrada and gave him the biggest constitutional mandate enjoyed by any Philippine president at that time, were against it. Seven years after Edsa 2, many protagonists for and against Edsa 2 came together and formed a broad alliance against then President Arroyo, whom they charged with electoral fraud in 2004. To this they added charges of corruption, and serious human rights violations including almost a thousand extra-judicial cases of executions of activists, religious, and journalists since 2001. Thus, many have observed that politics and weak governance are the main economic problems that beset the country today (ADB, 2005, p. 100) and constitute the major stumbling block to poverty reduction.

The incumbent Aquino Administration ascended to power on a social change platform. But over two years into his presidency and in the context of rising prices of fuel and other basic commodities, substantial reduction of poverty remains unachieved.

The monetary approach

Undoubtedly the dominant poverty measurement paradigm is the monetary approach. This approach employs a notion of poverty associated with a shortfall in income and/or consumption from a poverty line (Laderchi et al., 2003, p. 243). The value assigned to the different items under income or consumption is based on market prices, depending on the market identified, and by imputing monetary costs to those items not valued in a market, such as subsistence production (Laderchi et al., 2003, p. 247). The monetary approach assumes that a uniform monetary value can be applied across all individuals and their contexts, in all their heterogeneity (Laderchi et al., 2003, p. 248).

The monetary approach is consistent with the economists' assumption of utility-maximizing behavior underlying micro-economics; i.e., that consumers want to maximize utility and that 'expenditures reflect the marginal value or utility people place on commodities' (Laderchi et al., 2003, p. 248). Total consumption therefore serves as an indicator of welfare wherein income or consumption data

stand as proxy indicators and poverty is the shortfall set against an arbitrarily defined minimum level of resources which epitomizes the poverty line (Laderchi et al., 2003, p. 248).

Epistemologically speaking, the monetary approach flows from positivist assumptions. First of all, it stems from a belief that the conduct of a poverty assessment is an objective; that is, "that an objective condition termed poverty" exists and is measurable (Laderchi et al., 2003, p. 249). Second, the assessment is external, one that is conducted by economists and social scientists, rather than by the poor themselves (Laderchi et al., 2003, p. 249).

The popularity of the use of the monetary approach is oftentimes justified by the premise that monetary resources are a relatively adequate proxy for welfare and other facets of poverty. Proponents of this view argue that 'while lack of resources does not exhaust the definition of poverty, monetary data represent a convenient short-cut method, based on data that are widely available, to identify those who are poor in many fundamental dimensions, not only lack of resources, but also nutrition, health, etc.' (Laderchi et al., 2003, p. 248). Challenging this view constitutes much of the debate on poverty measurements.

The debate for and against the monetary approach is wide-ranging (Glewwe & Der Gaag, 1990; Greely, 1994; Laderchi et al., 2003; Ravallion, 1992; Reddy & Pogge, 2003). Ashwani Saith, in his papers *Poverty Lines versus the Poor: Method versus Meaning* (2005) and *Downsizing and Distortion of Poverty in India: The Perverse Power of Official Definitions* (2007), argues that poverty lines do not meaningfully measure vulnerability and socio-economic insecurity. Saith (2007, p. 254) outlines a number of methodological and ethical infirmities of the poverty line, such as: the inadequate recognition of energy and dietary needs; the severe suppression of the non-food items of basic needs; the overlooking of intra-household inequalities and the importance of the asset profile of the household; ignoring social exclusion dimensions of poverty; the inadequate handling of public provisioning of basic needs; and the low valuation of the self-perception of the poor.

Saith also identifies important conceptual weaknesses of the poverty line approach, which will be discussed towards the latter part of this paper.

The monetary approach in the Philippines: Official poverty estimation methodology

The poverty measurement debate among statisticians, policy makers, researchers, and those from social movements and civil society is alive and well in the Philippines. Key players in the poverty debate coming from the government side are the producers of official poverty estimates themselves: the National Statistics Office (NSO) and the National Statistics and Coordination Board (NSCB). Among the many tasks of the NSO is the implementation of the Family Income and Expenditure Survey (FIES), a national household survey undertaken every three years.³

The FIES is the main source of data on family income and expenditure and includes, among others, data on levels of consumption by item of expenditure, and data on sources of income in cash and in kind. The results of FIES provide information on the levels of living and disparities in income of Filipino families, as well as their spending patterns.⁴ These data are important in the computation of official poverty levels. The FIES was last conducted in 2009.⁵

The National Statistics Coordination Board (NSCB) generates official poverty estimates based on an approved methodology. Within the NSCB is the Technical Committee on Poverty Statistics (TCPS), which was created in October 2003 to study and to recommend methodological improvements in poverty estimation.

Official poverty estimation methodology

The general methodology used in computing the official poverty figures for the FIES consists of the following steps (David & Maligalig, 2001 p. 1-2):

1. For each region, a rural and urban one-day menu is customized to provide a basis for the computation of the monthly per capita food

threshold of an average-sized Filipino family. Local food consumption patterns inform the one-day menus. These menus, which were formulated by the Food Nutrition and Research Institute (FNRI), have been designed to satisfy 100 percent of the recommended dietary allowances (RDA) for energy and protein, as well as 80 percent of the RDAs for other nutrients and vitamins.

2. The RDAs for energy and protein are, on the average, 2000 kilocalories and 50 grams per person. RDAs may vary, however, based on age, sex, and body weight. The cost of the one-day menus is derived from the price surveys of the NSO and the Bureau of Agriculture Statistics (BAS). In order to get the food threshold (also known as the food poverty line - FPL or the subsistence threshold): the per capita per day food cost (derived from the FNRI menus) is multiplied by 30.4 (the approximate number of days per month) to get the monthly food threshold; or by 365 days to get the annual food threshold.
3. Measurement of the subsistence incidence is based on the number of families with per capita annual income below the food threshold. Afterwards the per capita annual income of the sample households in the FIES is compared to the food threshold.
4. The poverty threshold or poverty line is based on the costs of minimum food and non-food⁶ components. In order to derive the poverty threshold, 'the food threshold is divided by the proportion of the food expenditures (FE) to total basic expenditures (TBE) which is taken from the latest FIES using the FE/TBE of families within the +/- 10 percentile of the food threshold.' (Erica, 2003, p. 2). Thus, the poverty line may be viewed as the minimum income required to buy the basic food and non-food needs. Philippine poverty incidence is derived by getting the proportion of families (or population) below the poverty threshold at the national level across regions (urban and rural), and comparing it to the total number of families (or population).

There are advantages associated with official poverty statistics. Sotera de Guzman, Officer-in-Charge of the Incomes and Employment Division of the National Statistics Office (NSO), said that she likes the huge sample size and 'representativeness' of all the provinces, and that the process generates substantial data on both the income and expenditure patterns of Filipino households (interview, 29 July 2008). Erlinda Capones, Director of the Social Development Staff of the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA), adds that these national poverty statistics are useful for development planners because they can be disaggregated at regional and provincial levels (interview, 25 July 2008).

Tomas Africa, former Administrator of the NSO, also adds that the data are generally reliable. He explains, "If you have a systematic method that you practice over the years, even the lies become systematic and the changes in growth become correct. For example, in the respondents' minds they think whether they will increase or decrease their answers, their responses don't usually vary outside a range of, say, 10 percent." Africa further shares that the rigorous editing procedures in FIES allows the NSO to 'catch the inconsistencies.' Africa argues that "as data sets, it is consistent and you can get so much information from a consistent set" (interview, 11 July 2008).

Africa argues that the money-metric approach is not necessarily one-dimensional. He states that based on incomes, people can also see how households cope, where their earnings come from, etc. Furthermore, he believes that the expenditure data touches 'the whole of welfare economics' as it captures 'elasticity' and provides information on marketing patterns, and about households' composition of spending, among other things (interview, 11 July 2008).

Anti-poverty campaigners have a different take on the strength of official poverty statistics. Professor Leonor Briones, Lead Convenor of Social Watch-Philippines, a civil society network monitoring government's performance in fulfilling its international commitments to reduce poverty and to promote social development, observes that official poverty figures set 'benchmarks' (interview, 17 July 2008). And as Isagani Serrano, Social Watch Convenor, adds, "It provides

reference numbers which deal with the characteristics of a huge population size" (interview, 15 July 2008). Anti-poverty campaigners generally see the official poverty figures as good starting points for policy engagement and debate.

Some issues related to the FIES

There are numerous studies that have critically engaged official poverty estimation in the Philippines: ADB 2005; Balisacan 1999; David and Maligalig 2001; Intal and Bantillan 1994; NSCB 2006, to name a few. Furthermore, part of what fuels the national debate on poverty in the country today is derived from the credibility of data, as perceived by the public. This paper will add to the debate by raising critical concerns on official poverty estimation, particularly in its suppression of basic needs, the meaningfulness of a poverty line - issues highlighted by Saith (2005, 2007) - and other issues that emerged during the research. Below is an analysis of these concerns.

a. The underestimation of the poverty incidence. There is a power dimension in the use of social indicators: the decision regarding what indicators are to be used is oftentimes based on arbitrary assumptions. This is underscored by the definition of the poverty threshold by the NSCB. The latter's logic runs as follows: the poor are perfectly rational consumers who have the capacity to avail of nutritious, low-cost meals. As such, the food threshold is therefore based on imaginary menus of what the poor should be eating, rather than on what they are actually eating. Citing the use of imaginary menus sends this implicit message to the poor: "You have no excuse to be malnourished since these food items are supposed be locally available (depending on the region) and affordable."

To begin with, the poverty threshold is too low. For one, the nutritious (and even mouth-watering) menus of the NSCB may be theoretically low-cost, but not in reality. As Caplovitz observed, poverty in general might be underestimated because the NSCB does not take into account the fact that oftentimes the poor pay more (ADB 2005: 130). The prices used in computing the food threshold are based on prevailing market prices, per kilogram of commodity.

The reality, though, is that the poor do not buy in bulk, especially as most households have neither resources to buy as much, nor the refrigerators to hold perishable stock. Rather, the poor purchase food and non-food items in amounts smaller than what the manufacturers commercially pack. In the Philippines, these purchases are commonly referred to as *tingi*, the trade of commodities by piece (e.g. selling/buying individual sticks of cigarettes) and *takal*, which refers to selling by a smaller volume (e.g. a cup of oil or vinegar, etc.). Oftentimes, the poor can only buy items through the *tingi* and *takal* methods from sari-sari stores⁷ that sell their commodities at rates higher than those in markets and groceries for the same types of goods.⁸ According to an article in *The Manila Times* (2004), sari-sari stores are preferred by the poor because apart from allowing them to buy at smaller than usual amounts, the stores are normally located in walking distances from where they live. The fact that purchases can be made on credit (ADB, 2005, p. 131) further strengthens the popularity of these sari-sari stores. Obviously, the NSCB does not take these realities into account.

Furthermore, a study conducted by Pedro et al. (as cited in Templo, 2003 p. 35), showed that the actual food expenses of Filipino families are indeed higher, compared with the costs of food baskets artificially constructed by the NSCB.

Indeed, the poverty line is made even lower because it does not include expenditures on 'non-basic' items such as alcoholic beverage, cigarettes, recreation, or durable goods. Once again, the message here is: "If you consume these things, then you cannot be 'poor'." These underscore the elitist attitudes of statisticians and economists, to paraphrase, that the poor are not entitled to dietary preferences, allowed to engage in 'recreation', or avail of certain vices the upper classes are engaged in. This raises serious ethical assumptions about how the poor are to live (Saith, 2005, p. 10-12).

According to Saith, the manner by which the non-food component is derived is a blatant suppression of basic needs. As cited earlier, 'the food threshold is divided by the proportion of the food expenditures (FE) to total basic expenditures (TBE), which is taken from the latest FIES using the FE/TBE' of families within the

+/- 10 percentile of the food threshold.' (Erica, 2003, p. 2). This means that the non-food threshold is more or less 10 percent of the food threshold, which is then compared with those households whose incomes fall within that range. Whether or not these non-food expenditures are sufficient to afford basic education or adequate healthcare, to name a few basic needs, is not taken into consideration.

This is what Saith (2005) describes as a common practice used by statistical agencies around the world in measuring poverty (p. 14):

While dietary requirements are calculated on a 'scientific' basis according to bodily needs, the non-food component of the poverty line is not calculated on a needs basis...a shortcoming that could have the effect of suppressing the visibility of such crucial basic needs as health, education, housing, transport and communications, fuel, information, social and political participation. What such benchmark poor households actually spend on non-food items is assumed to substantively meet the non-food basic needs; but there is no verification to confirm this in any manner—it remains an assumption, and for one which there are overwhelming prima facie grounds for rejection.

Thus, when the government uses these extremely restrictive social conventions in measuring poverty, it has the effect of asking the public to accept certain wretched conditions as 'normal'. In other words, these poverty measurements are directly tied to the 'normalization of poverty' as a basic assumption of life.

Civil society groups, such as Social Watch-Philippines and the Global Call to Action Against Poverty-Philippines (GCAP), have debated with the NSCB over the internet, television and print media on these issues. The GCAP is an alliance of citizens' groups that mounts political action to put pressure on government to fulfil its social development goals. For example, in 2006, GCAP organized an experiment where nine people (three from the urban poor, four

journalists, a middle-class college student, and an NGO worker) were asked to live on Php36⁹ for one day - the official national daily poverty threshold at that time. The meagreness of Php36 to cover basic needs even of urban poor members became obvious, especially after the experiences of the participants in this social experiment were documented and printed in national dailies where the participating journalists worked. This generated media interest on this issue; a TV documentary program soon filmed a similar visualization exercise with the same results. The documentary was aired on national television.

One other reason for the underestimation of poverty is the exclusion of the 'ambulant poor' from the FIES. The "ambulant poor" refers to people who have no official and permanent residences, those who live in urban poor communities, under bridges and along sidewalks. But this weakness is inherent in a household survey like the FIES, which will miss out on those who are homeless (Ravallion, 1992, p. 11).

Africa and de Guzman¹⁰ qualified that the exclusion of the ambulant poor cannot be generalized because some households and individuals who live in urban poor communities, and even under bridges, are sometimes included if there is 'some characteristic of permanence' to their location (e.g. they are covered for eight successive quarters in the quarterly survey of households and the FIES).¹¹

b. Difficulty in comparing poverty data trends. Methodological changes in poverty measurements have occurred thrice since the official poverty line was first constructed. The first methodological change was introduced in 1992, the second set of changes took place in 2002 and the third set of changes was introduced in 2009. It must be noted that in all these instances, the poverty lines were lowered, resulting in reduced poverty incidence figures.¹²

c. Delay in the release of official poverty data. A common concern among poverty data users interviewed, whether from government or non-government, is the lack of timeliness in the release of official poverty incidence. Executive Order 352 stipulates that FIES (which is conducted triennially) results should be released

18 months after the reference period. During instances of delays, the processing period could be extended. It is precisely this slowness in the release of data that has created an ironic situation: government announced that for 2003, poverty had gone down by 3 percent; they made this announcement, however, in 2006, the year poverty rose by 3 percent and would only be known and made public by late 2007.

Capones underscores this problem when she says that as planners, "...[W]e need data that are as current as possible. This will also help us to have a better sense of the people's pulse" (interview, 25 July 2008). Capones also shares the current difficulty of relying on official poverty estimates that are two years old. To illustrate this point: socio-economic indicators were falling because of the food and fuel crisis of 2007 and the global financial crisis of 2008; poverty incidence figures at this time, however, remained pegged to 2006 levels which did not capture the impact of subsequent crises on poverty. One had to wait for 2009 for the next release of official poverty statistics.

But there was a sense of understanding expressed by many interviewees on why the FIES is conducted triennially, and why processing of data is turtle-paced. They point to the expensive nature of the project: it costs about PhP50M to cover 51,000 respondents, at PhP500 per respondent. Furthermore, the labor force required to conduct and process the surveys is huge and the work involved laborious and tedious.

But the formidable financial, logistical and human power requirements are not the only reasons why the FIES can only be conducted every three years. In response to an expressed need from poverty data users for more frequent release of data, the NSCB countered by saying that 'the poverty situation in a poor country like the Philippines does not change fast enough to necessitate an annual monitoring, especially in the light of limited resources' (Virola, 2002, p. 5).

This view was echoed by some government interviewees, including Celia Reyes, the head of the Technical Committee on Poverty Statistics (TCPS) who affirmed in an interview conducted on 19 August 2008 that there was no need to

conduct the FIES more frequently based on the following reasons: one, there are resource constraints; and two, as a basis to guide national development planning and agenda setting, changes in policy formulation at the national level should be more stable and refined only about once every three years. Reyes further argues that she is against providing increased public investment for a more regular conduct of the FIES. In her opinion, it would be much better to channel investments to other types of poverty monitoring, such as the Community-Based Monitoring System (CBMS)¹³ which would be more useful for local planners.

Such views are challenged by Mahar Mangahas, president of the Social Weather Stations (SWS). According to Mangahas, there is no empirical evidence that show poverty levels are not volatile in the Philippines. In fact, he says SWS data shows that poverty levels tend to fluctuate more rapidly than every three years as monitored by the FIES.

Indeed, the growing informalization of labor in the Philippines tends to make incomes more unstable and fluctuate much more (Saith, 2005, p. 18).

Furthermore, even if the poverty incidence does not change, empirical data show that many of the poor in one year may not be the same poor in the next — a finding borne out by the 2004-2005 Report of the Chronic Poverty Research Center (Saith, 2005, p. 19). This finding points to the need to look into the quick-changing composition of the poor from one year to the next.

Nevertheless, interviewees from government appear to agree on the need to expedite the processing and release of FIES data. Cognizant of this, the government, around four years ago, struck a partnership with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in a project entitled 'Model-Based Estimate of Annual Income and Expenditure Based on the First Survey Round of the FIES Project'. The project aimed to facilitate the processing and release of the latest FIES results, while maintaining its conduct on a triennial basis.

The meaninglessness of the poverty line

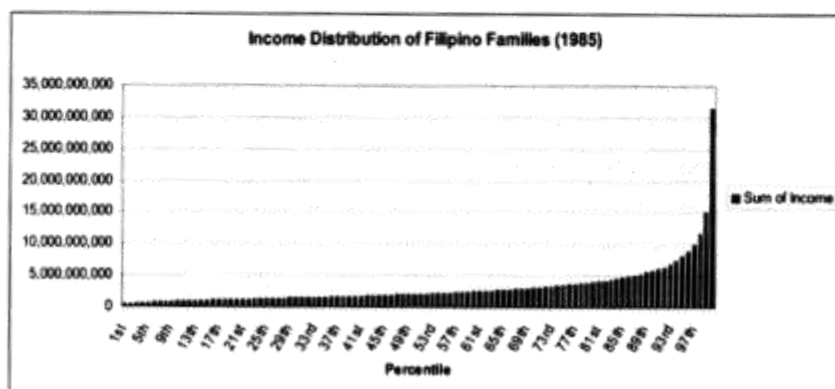
Beyond methodological issues, however, is a more basic conceptual concern: what need is fulfilled by the use of a poverty line? If it is to enhance one's ability to identify the poor and levels of poverty, based on 'private consumption expenditure per adult equivalent within each household', then, as Saith (2005, p. 25) argues, all one needs is to do is to get the distribution of expenditure data of households in a given population. According to Saith, a poverty line only enters the picture if one wants to define a cut-off point in reaching out to the poor. In a later study, Saith (2007, p. 251) points out that the aim of the poverty line 'as an absolute sustenance threshold' is to divide the 'poor' from the 'non-poor' for targeted programs of pro-poor interventions. This comes from a conceptual framework where the state is saddled with resource constraints and therefore, limited public resources are prioritized for the 'deserving poor' who must be properly 'targeted,' while invoking norms of social justice (Saith, 2007, p. 253).

In the meantime, the enormous wealth of a few and the wide disparity in the income distribution of a given population are left out of the poverty line discourse and 'given an untouchable, protected status' (Saith, 2007 p. 253). In other words, the notion of a 'poverty line' is really a bureaucratic classification, rather than one that resonates socially or even politically.

Given the serious conceptual and methodological weaknesses identified in the poverty line approach, in general, the trenchant observation that many are excluded from the ranks of the 'deserving poor' is further magnified in the case of the Philippines.

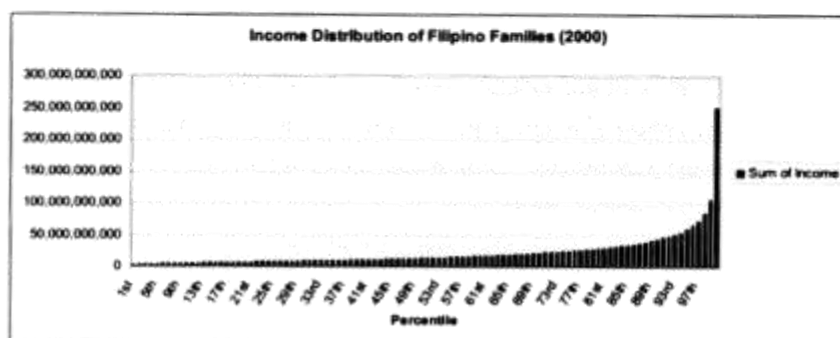
As mentioned earlier, the highly inequitous income distribution of the Philippines from 1985 to 2000, and quite possibly up to the present, has generally remained unaltered, marked by a relatively flat line that slowly rises to the right to form a very steep, high wall (Graphs 1 and 2).

Graph 1. Income distribution of Filipino families (1985)



Source: Data from Tomas Africa, Former Administrator, National Statistics Office

Graph 2. Income distribution of Filipino families (2000)



Source: Data from Tomas Africa, Former Administrator, National Statistics Office

Many of the income groups seem tightly clustered and homogeneous, raising questions about how significant the differences are across many of these income groups (Africa interview, 11 July 2008). Yet, a poverty line is constructed based on the notions of statisticians and economists in government for the purpose

of driving a wedge between the different income groups that seem quite homogeneous. It is a wedge that supposedly divides the 'poor' and 'non-poor.'

A sensitivity analysis was done to look at the effect of movement of the poverty line on poverty incidence levels. With the NSCB-determined poverty line as baseline (based on the household poverty threshold of Php64,745), the line was moved up and down (up to 50 percent more and 50 percent less, at increments of 5 percent) and for each hypothetical location of the poverty line, the corresponding poverty incidence was computed. Table 1 shows the computations.

Table 1. Sensitivity Analysis of Poverty Threshold

Percentage change of threshold	Moved threshold	Poverty incidence	Absolute change of incidence
-50.00%	32237.50	4.73%	-22.17%
-45.00%	35461.25	6.26%	-20.64%
-40.00%	38685.00	8.00%	-18.90%
-35.00%	41908.75	9.97%	-16.93%
-30.00%	45132.50	12.24%	-14.66%
-25.00%	48356.25	14.58%	-12.32%
-20.00%	51580.00	16.98%	-9.92%
-15.00%	54803.75	19.41%	-7.49%
-10.00%	58027.50	21.91%	-4.99%
-5.00%	61251.25	24.43%	-2.47%
0.00%	64475.00	26.90%	0.00%
5.00%	67698.75	29.13%	2.23%
10.00%	70922.50	31.50%	4.60%
15.00%	74146.25	33.90%	7.00%
20.00%	77370.00	36.06%	9.16%
25.00%	80593.75	38.13%	11.23%
30.00%	83817.50	40.06%	13.16%
35.00%	87041.25	41.93%	15.03%
40.00%	90265.00	43.79%	16.89%
45.00%	93488.75	45.41%	18.51%
50.00%	96712.50	47.12%	20.22%

Source: FIES, 2006

The sensitivity of poverty incidence to the location of the poverty line shows that the slightest movement of the poverty line has the effect of excluding, or including a large percentage of households from being classified as "poor." In 2006, the poverty threshold, pegged at Php64,475 translates to a poverty incidence of 26.9 percent of households. If the poverty threshold is increased by 10 percent, the new threshold would be Php70,922.50. This brings poverty incidence up to 31.50 percent. Although more statistical and comparative tests may be required to determine the "sensitivity" of poverty incidence, the table raises questions about the poverty line as a valid and useful tool for effectively determining who is poor and who is not. Indeed, in a situation where income differences across large swathes of the population are very small, it is likely that those above the poverty line are not much different from those below it; in other words, they are still poor (Africa interview, 11 July 2008).

Ernesto Ofracio, a veteran urban poor leader, puts it succinctly: *Ang kahirapan ay isang malaking karagatan at lahat doon sa karagatan ay mahihirap; hindi na dapat pumili ryan kung sino ang mahirap at hindi* (Poverty is a huge ocean and everyone in this ocean is poor; one should not choose who in that ocean is poor and not poor) (interview, 13 August 2008).

Some conceptual and policy suggestions

There are numerous papers addressing the deficiencies in official poverty estimation, and this study is by no means comprehensive. The study only adds to what is in the literature, and forwards suggestions to address some issues highlighted in this paper.

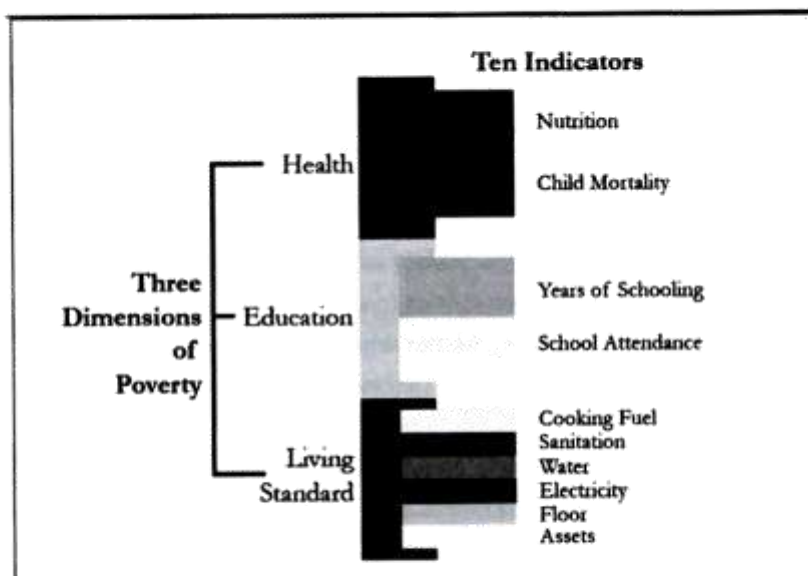
There are a number of ways in dealing with the problematic notion of the poverty line. One is to introduce the idea of a poverty zone to broaden the scope of inquiry and to include those whose incomes are "near" the poverty threshold; in other words, those at risk or vulnerable of sliding into poverty.

Interestingly, in the 2011 US Census, a “Supplementary Poverty Measure” (SPM) was introduced to refer to a category of people with incomes fifty percent above the poverty line. This SPM basically encapsulates the notion of the poverty zone to refer to those whose incomes are just above the poverty line and are therefore considered ‘vulnerable’ or ‘at risk’ of falling into poverty, especially in the context of shocks and/or contingencies. In this respect, the poverty zone can be pegged to include those whose incomes are 50 percent or less above the poverty line. In the 2011 US Census, this category revealed that there are 51 million people who fall within this category. When compared to the official poverty method, the SPM covered more senior citizens (sixty-five years old and older), half of whom lived in households headed by married couples. It also showed that almost half of those near the poverty line were non-Hispanic white, and many were black (18%) and Latinos (26%). The Census further revealed that while many were lifted up from poverty due to benefits, the income levels of more than half were eroded due the following: more than eight million by taxes, six million by medical expenses, and four million by work expenses like transportation and child care (DeParle, et al., 2011).

These findings are rife with policy implications on how to deal with those in this category so as to ease their economic burden. Corollary to this, if a poverty zone or SPM is to be introduced in the Philippine’s official poverty estimation, this would have the effect of making visible to policymakers the needs of the “near poor.” As earlier mentioned, given the underestimation of the poverty incidence and where many income groups seem so tightly clustered and homogeneous, the notion of a poverty zone is a step towards making targeting more inclusive.

Another recent innovation in poverty measurement is the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) constructed by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development initiative for the 2011 UNDP Human Development Report. The MPI is composed of three equally weighed dimensions (health, education and living standard) and 10 indicators (See Figure 1).

Figure 1. Multidimensional Poverty Index



Source: <http://www.ophi.org.uk/policy/multidimensional-poverty-index/>

What is novel about the MPI is that it provides further nuances to different categories of poverty; that is, those who are considered “MPI poor” (deprived in at least 33 percent of the weighted indicators), those identified as “Vulnerable to Poverty” which can be likened to the notion of a Poverty Zone, (deprived in 20 to 33 percent of weighted indicators) and those in “Severe Poverty” (deprived in over 50 percent of weighted indicators).

The concepts of the Poverty Zone and MPI are just some of the enhancements thus far in poverty estimation methodologies that help to make targeting the poor more inclusive. However, the abovementioned innovations to the poverty discourse do not address the more fundamental flaw raised in this paper, namely its lack of meaning especially in a country where there is generalized poverty. As UNRISD (2010) argues, where a significant section of the population

live in poverty, targeted interventions are unlikely to address the causes of poverty or provide adequate coverage. This applies to the Philippines as Graphs 1 and 2 highlight a broad-based deprivation experienced in the country. There are also the usual problems associated with targeting, whether in the Philippines or elsewhere: a lack of cost-efficiency, difficulties in administration, vulnerability to political manipulation and generally creating a segmented, uncoordinated welfare system (UNRISD, 2011).

In terms of policy, this means recognizing the limitations of narrow, targeted interventions and developing greater efforts towards universalizing the delivery of basic social services, including social protection programs.

This paper supports the view that the Philippines may be in a better position to significantly reduce poverty through 'socially driven emancipatory and transformative' strategies that are 'inclusive, universalistic in their imagination, ideology and design', as has been the case in places like China, Cuba, Sri Lanka and Kerala (Saith, 2007, p. 272-273).¹⁴

Furthermore, there is a need to involve the poor in defining poverty and other measures; tap urban and rural poor organizations (e.g., indigenous people's organizations, women's associations, Muslim organizations) as well as other groups to democratize the poverty discourse and helping make the poor not simply objects, but subjects, of study.

The above-mentioned scenario can become the basis for a long-term advocacy addressed to government. In the meantime, the concept of the poverty zone may be adopted to make targeting more inclusive and the needs of those at-risk or vulnerable to falling into poverty more visible. Operationalizing the notion of the poverty zone in a Philippine setting can be the subject of a subsequent paper.

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Endnotes

¹ Ferdinand Marcos was Philippine president from 1965 to 1986 until he was ousted in a popular uprising.

² A motorbike with sidecar used as public transport within local neighbourhoods

³ In between the FIES years, the NSO is supposed to conduct the Annual Poverty Information System (APIS) which generates information on the minimum basic needs to complement income poverty data. Due to budgetary constraints, its conduct has not been sustained regularly.

⁴ <http://www.census.gov.ph>

⁵ For the 2009 FIES, certain methodological changes in poverty estimation were once again introduced. For more on this, please read the 2009 FIES by the NSCB.

⁶ Non-food component of the poverty threshold covers clothing, fuel, light, water, housing, maintenance/rental, medical care, education, transportation, and communication. In 1992 the following were excluded: alcoholic beverages, tobacco, recreation, durable furniture and equipment, and miscellaneous expenditures.

⁷ Small neighborhood retail outlets

⁸ In the last few years, there has been a wide proliferation of manufactured items like coffee and shampoo sold in small packets called sachets.

⁹ PhP: Philippine peso, the national currency. (Oct 2008 conversion: US\$1 = PhP47.96)

¹⁰ Based on email exchanges from 19-21 August 2008

¹¹ Africa shares that many squatter households keep census stickers posted on their doors during the census as proof of domicile, entitling them to benefits should they be evicted and relocated.

¹² For more on this, read *Poverty in the Philippines: Income, assets and access* by ADB, 2005.

¹³ The CBMS is a data collection system aimed to generate household level information at the local level to be used for local government planning and program implementation. For more on this, read *Overview of the community-based monitoring system* by C. Reyes, et al, 1995.

¹⁴ For more on this strategy, read *Downsizing and Distortion of Poverty in India: The Perverse Power of Official Definitions* by A. Saith, 2007.

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Exploring the Organizing Mechanism Among 4Ps Beneficiaries

John Erwin S. Bañez

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), Danziger (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.

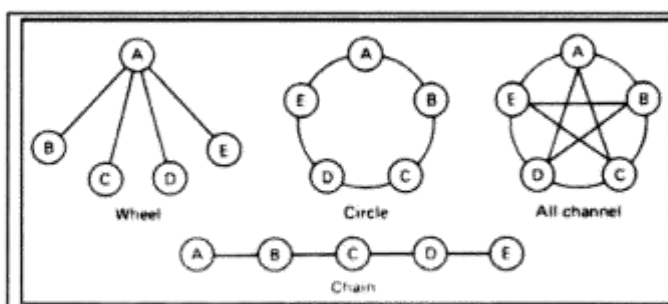
Power as observed in natural science may not be seen directly but can be approximated by its effect on tangible things. In life we associate power with how successful a person is. It can also be perceived as the ability to control one's environment. Another definition of power is it is the potential 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 Program¹

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 whole⁵. 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 covertly⁶ (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 Familyang 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.²

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

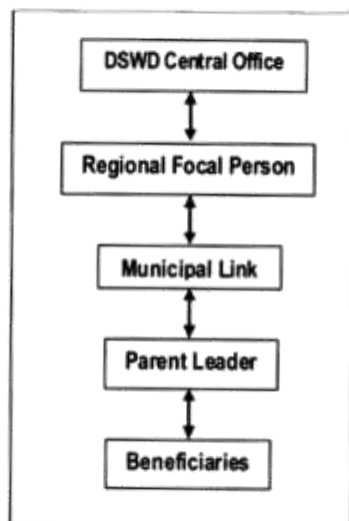


Figure 3: Types of networks (Figure is taken from Hanneman & Riddle, 2005)*

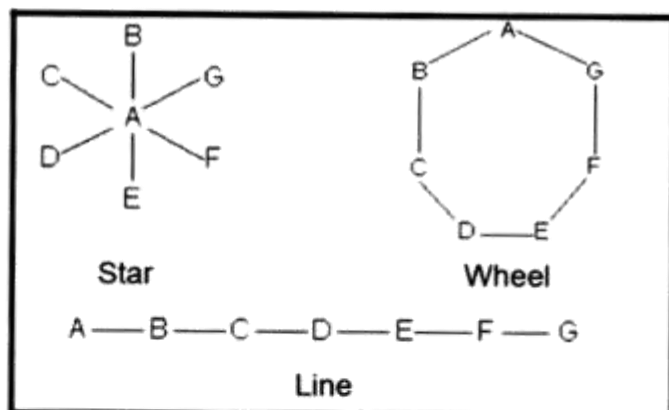


Figure 4:¹⁰ Social capital in different network structures: cohesive network (A), structural holes (B) and network with separated cliques (C)

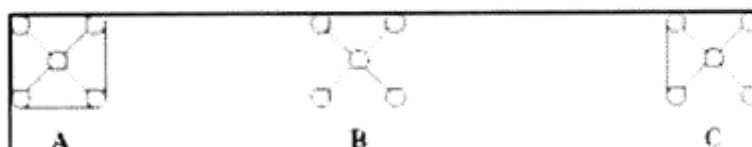


Table 1: Danzger's social power continuum

Configuration of access to power (Social Structure)	Integration ¹⁾	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
Balanced	Low	Same as above, plus bargaining, persuasion, coalition formation	Elite issues, issues of interest at lower levels sometimes solved at the lower levels covertly
	High	Bargaining, coalition, programmatic problem-solving	All issues of interest to any subgroup are raised and considered
Fairly decentralized	Low	Bargaining, coalition	Interest may be raised but not all are considered. Elite interest required for success
	High	Bargaining, coalition	Issue spectrum equals the interest spectrum of interest groups
Decentralized	Low	Bargaining, coalition, intransigence	Groups are activated only by those issues that they perceive as affecting them
	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

Table 2: Reasons for attending FDS

Reasons for Attending FDS		
	Frequency	Percent
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sub-total	72	94.7
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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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The Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program: Towards Women's Empowerment or Further Entrapment? (Voices of Beneficiaries in Legazpi City)

Rowena Ayque Laguilles

This study focuses on the significance of Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program in the lives of mother-beneficiaries in Legazpi City. Data gathering methods included program documents review, interviews with mother-beneficiaries and focus group discussions. It is found that the program keeps mother-beneficiaries in their impoverished situations, hardly addressing, and even capitalizing on, their gender-specific poverty.

Introduction

The Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps) is one of the more recent government programs that took as its starting point the problem of poverty in the Philippines. Its mechanics are simple: provide cash for the poor amounting to as much as Php1,400 every month, and require beneficiaries to comply to certain conditions. These conditions include ensuring regular school attendance and health check up of children, seeking professional health care for pregnant women, and attending family development sessions. With these, it is expected that national indicators for health, education and nutrition will have been increased and the chances of intergenerational poverty will have been reduced significantly by 2014. Patterned after Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programs from other countries, particularly in Latin America where such program have been in operation since the 1990s, the government is confident of the program's success in the Philippine context.

As a feminist, the researcher's personal interest in the program was drawn by the fact that the program relies on mothers of the beneficiary families to make the program work. Mothers are the ones primarily tasked to ensure the household's compliance to the education and health conditions of the program as well as manage the cash grants to be used in fulfilling the said conditions. The program also required pregnant mothers to be attended by professional health workers. These tasks carry an implicit demand that mothers stretch their time and energy to accommodate 4Ps responsibilities on top of their existing reproductive and productive work. On the one hand, the program claims to be anti-poverty yet on the other, it seems to ignore the dimensions of poverty from the context and experience of mothers. As a national anti-poverty program, the 4Ps has the power to affect the lives of many poor Filipinos, including the lives of marginalized women. But what exactly does it do for the women on whom its operation depends? With the program in full implementation, it is all the more imperative that its actual significance in the lives of its mother-beneficiaries be analyzed, through the mothers' own voices.

Related literature surface the problematic nature of the conditional cash transfer programs along the same line. Studies on CCTs in Latin America and Asia describe it as a mere attempt to cover up the roots of poverty resulting from neoliberal policies that deprioritize the interest of the poor, rather than truly address them. It also responds to the realities of poverty - high unemployment rates, low wage rates, inadequate social services, and continuous price hikes - with cash dole outs (DeBritto, 2004; Hutagalung, Arif, & Suharyo, 2009; IBON Foundation, Inc., 2010). In the face of persistent structural causes of poverty, the CCT is unsustainable at best. Because the program is funded by international loans, it can further exacerbate the conditions of the poor as it entails increased national debt. (IBON, 2010; Social Watch Philippines, 2010; Somera, 2010). There is also emphasis on how the program narrows down the solution of poverty to individual acts (Enriquez, 2011). It particularly burdens mothers in beneficiary families who are tasked to ensure compliance with its conditionalities when health and education facilities and services are actually inadequate (Hutagalung, Arif, & Suharyo, 2009).

Maternalism is a consistent feminist critique of the CCTs. These programs place the work involved on the shoulders of mothers who are assumed to be naturally altruistic and will place the interest of their own children above their own. Worse, CCTs also claim that women's empowerment can be achieved through such participation (Bradshaw, 2008; Enriquez, 2011; Hutagalung, Arif, & Suharyo, 2009; Molyneux, 2006; Soares & Silva, 2010). The same is observed of the CCT in the Philippines, where mothers are tasked with the operation of the 4Ps - all in a context of poverty that already places greater burden on them (Center for Women's Resources, 2011; IBON, 2010; Social Watch Philippines, 2010; Somera, 2010).

These studies point to the need to study further CCT program as an anti-poverty measure in the context of the Filipino women, especially addressing the issues of the program 1) placing additional burden on women, 2) reinforcing traditional roles for women, 3) providing one income source for women, 4) providing no exit strategies for women once their eligibility for the program has expired, and 5) affecting women's relationship with her community, husband, and self.

Background of the Study

This study aims to analyze the significance of the 4Ps as a development program in the lives of its mother-beneficiaries who are situated in a gender-specific poverty context through a privileging of the mother-beneficiaries' own voices. This study particularly focuses on mother-beneficiaries from Legazpi City, an area which has targeted by program since 2009. Interestingly, Legazpi City is the capital town of Albay yet it registers as the poorest in the province (National Statistics Coordination Board, 2009). From five barangays in 2009, all of its 70 barangays became beneficiaries to the 4Ps by November 2011, reaching a total of 6,693 beneficiary households, according to the city's Municipal Link Joan M. Ramos.

Two Gender and Development (GAD) tools were employed in this study. First was the identification of women's condition and position. *Condition* here refers to women's "material state" or "immediate sphere of experience," such as

their daily activities and needs while *position* refers to their "social and economic standing relative to that of men" such as differences in the valuation of their occupations (Connelly et al., 2000). The second GAD tool was the identification of women's practical gender needs (PGN) and strategic gender interests (SGI), which correspond to women's condition and position. Just as the identification of women's condition leads to the identification of their practical needs, identification of women's position leads to the identification of gender inequalities that need to be addressed. While PGN can be addressed more immediately, SGI are considered to serve the long-term interests of women as well as men (Connelly et al., 2000). The GAD framework ultimately holds that it is only when women's PGN and SGI are addressed that empowerment is achieved as well (Connelly et al., 2000). These are crucial tools in capturing the context of the mother-beneficiaries as well as in analyzing the program's gendered impact.

The particular indicators used by the study in determining women's condition and position were based on the themes Enriquez (2011) identified to be most relevant in the issue of CCTs. She formulated key questions in response to the lack of focus in existing literature on gender equity and gender equality issues embedded in the CCT. These are: (1) What are the implications of CCTs on women's economic autonomy? (2) What effects and possibilities do CCTs have with regard to the redistribution of paid and unpaid work? (3) How [do] CCTs affect inter-household power relationships, and the decision-making negotiation process? (4) What effects do CCTs have on the social organization of care, and on the intra-household distribution of care responsibilities? (5) Do CCTs have any effect on women's physical autonomy? (6) Do CCTs promote women's political autonomy in any way? (7) What effects do CCTs have on women, children, and men's life opportunities?

To establish women's material conditions, the present study used the following indicators: 1) access to goods and services, 2) income-earning capacities, and 3) income-earning opportunities. Household dynamics and personal autonomy were used as indicators for women's social position. Household dynamics was further divided into 1) roles and responsibilities; 2) control over family resources;

nd 3) decision-making and bargaining power between women and men while personal autonomy is also further divided into physical, economic, and social autonomy of the women vis-à-vis men.

Methodology

An examination of the 4Ps documents from the DSWD and related policy documents formed the first part of the data-gathering methods of the study. The examination focused on the program's views on poverty and its gendered dimensions; the program's assumptions on women's role in development, the gender roles in the 4Ps, and the 4Ps specific approaches to helping women in poverty.

To determine the local context of mother-beneficiaries' lives, 10 mother-beneficiaries were engaged in separate in-depth interviews (IDI). The participants for this research were interviewed either in their homes or at the barangay day care. The interviews were conducted at the time preferred by the mothers as set during the preliminary interview with them. Aside from the preliminary and the in-depth interviews, follow-up interviews were also conducted as necessary. The interviews focused on their material situation, the dynamics in their household and their sense of autonomy.

The FGDs explored the mother-beneficiaries' views on and experiences with the program. As summarized by Sue Wilkinson (1999), FGDs create social spaces that are "relatively naturalistic," "offer context for meaning-making," and shift the balance of power away from the researcher toward the research participants," thus providing an ideal venue for feminist research. Aside from these, it is believed that collective sharing will ease the burden of being a research participant. Two FGDs were conducted, each with six participants. Nine of the 12 FGD participants were part of the IDIs as well.

Two validation sessions were conducted after the IDIs and the FGDs. The researcher presented a summary of the views and experiences they shared in

the IDIs and the FGDs which the participants affirmed, corrected or further clarified. This process not only secured the integrity of the research but provided for the participants a more comprehensive experience out of their participation.

The selection criteria for research participants were: that they are from 4Ps beneficiary families, they are married to and living with their husbands, and they have a child or children living with them. Diversity of participants was also a consideration in the selection, although not strictly a criteria. All the research participants from two of the five barangays where the 4Ps was initially implemented in Leagazpi City in 2009. They were identified through snowball sampling.

The researcher carried out the IDIs, FGDs, and validation sessions in settings that are most convenient for the participants, in the most efficient way and with the minimum number of times necessary, in order to avoid adding to their daily workload. The participants' consent were also secured by fully informing them of the rationale, purpose and process of the study before the actual research. It was emphasized that the mother's participation is voluntary and that they can choose not to join the research if they wished. Their choice of representation as participants was also respected. Finally, to address possible misrepresentation, the researcher made sure to keep herself in check of her purpose and processes and to be explicit about her limitations.

Presentation of Data

The Contextualization of Women Living in Poverty by the 4Ps

The 4Ps primarily looks at poverty as a household phenomenon. While it focuses on global crises as the reasons behind the manifestations of poverty in the Philippines, it considers the household to be the unit directly responsible for its persistence. It roots poverty in children's "lack educational preparation," which in turn causes or results to the family "lack[ing] the opportunity to improve its 'economic well-being'" (Pablo, Sampang, & Solloso, 2009). The 4Ps beneficiaries, who are assumed to be households in need of urgent intervention, are initially

selected based on the 2006 Family Income Survey data and the 2003 Small Area Estimates. For the second stage of the selection process, a survey is conducted on the following: household composition, education, occupation, socio-economic characteristics, housing conditions, access to basic services, assets, tenure status and regional variables (Fernandez, 2009). The gendered experience of poverty is not considered in the process, nor in its overall perspective on poverty.

The 4Ps places the household at the center of interventions to alleviate poverty in the country. It considers households trapped in poverty to be “chronically poor” and sees the provision of financial aid that would “cushion them from economic shocks” and enable them to invest in the education and health of the children more than they presently can to be “the only way they would be able to escape [such] poverty” (Senate Economic Planning Committee, 2010). The program both provides for identified beneficiary households P500 per month for health expenses of the children and the pregnant mother, and P300 per school month for education expenses of the children, subject to certain conditions. Women are direct and visible beneficiaries of the 4Ps, particularly the pregnant women and school-age girl children. This is in line with the United Nations Millennium Development Goals which includes “Eliminat[ing] gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2015, and in all levels of education, no later than 2015”.

In practice, however, the program depends on women for its implementation. Identified as “the most responsible adult person in the household”, they are expected to manage the cash grants, manage membership requirements, regularly update membership information, attend monthly meetings, and oversee the compliance to the basic health and education requirements of the children (Pablo, Sampang, & Solloso, 2009). How these roles and the program in particular affect women, however, are not included in the program’s evaluation tools. Despite this gap, the DSWD lay claims that women are ‘empowered’ by the program. For instance, the DSWD mentions that, “Women, especially the parent/mother leaders felt empowered by the project. The community assemblies, meetings and seminars provided an opportunity to learn together and bond as a community group” (Pablo, Sampang, & Solloso, 2009).

The Everyday Lived Realities of Mother-beneficiaries: Material Situation

Limited Access to Goods and Services. Who to turn to and where to go for services are the most common health-related decisions of mothers. Most of the time families turn to traditional health workers asuch as the town "hilot" and go to public facilities such as barangay health centers and hospitals as these are the cheapest option available to them. However, in emergencies, people are forced to go to the nearest hospital which is a private hospital. For those who have access to PhilHealth insurance or have relatives to help them shoulder expenses, private hospitals and private clinics become first choice. Not only do they feel that patients are better attended to here; but they believe that private hospitals are better equipped with facilities and medicines. Yet even for those with PhilHealth insurance or support from relatives, private health facilities can also be inaccessible at times. They sometimes have to borrow money because private hospitals require immediate deposit.

Health center services are free, including checkup and vaccinations. However people often have to bear with the irregularity of services (due to the unavailability of the health care provider or the supplies) and the long lines and waiting periods. They are also charged for certain services and drugs at the barangay health center.

The mothers have different experiences when it comes to reproductive health services, with some being able to get services for free while the others had to pay for them. This limits their options as a result. Some mothers simply adopt whatever is available and given for free, regardless of what they need or want. For instance, women may "opt" for natural family planning methods because contraceptives are not given out for free. Women who want to use contraceptives have to purchase them from pharmacies.

The town "hilot", or traditional health worker, and herbal medicines are the first choice for the mothers when it comes to simple illnesses like coughs, fevers, and body aches. Not only do they feel comfortable seeking help from one, but the services and the recommended remedies are also more affordable.

For their children's education, public schools are their only choice. This is hardly free, however. Families pay as much as Php1,455 to Php1,905 for a school year in the barangay day care center; around Php2,830 per school year plus a daily Php5 to P30 *baon* for children who go to the elementary school; and Php2,450 per school year plus a weekly minimum of Php50 for projects and Php20 for *baon* for those who go to high school. Mothers with children in college students feel the financial stress more acutely and often have to find remunerated work to pay for their tuition.

Most of the mother-beneficiaries live on lands they do not own or rent. All of them, however, stated that they built or improved their houses with their own labor and/or money. Housing arrangements include living in houses previously owned by their parents, expanding their parents' houses to accommodate the extended household, and constructing their own houses. Most of them do not expect to live permanently where they are right now.

Because of their limited finances, affordability is the main consideration with regard to utilities. Many still get water from wells and springs, although some households also buy their weekly distilled water for Php25 or have piped water from NAWASA which costs at least Php200 per month. All the mothers found using LPG for cooking too expensive at Php750 per tank. Most of them now use charcoal which costs Php5 to Php15 per bag or Php100 to Php200 per sack. Firewood is an even cheaper option, but one that also takes more time and effort to gather from the forest.

All the mother-beneficiaries' households are serviced by the Albay Electric Cooperative. Their bills depend on their consumption. One beneficiary household used electricity very sparingly and pays only Php50 per month, while another's bill could run as much as Php1,000 per month.

Some of the mothers benefit from other public service programs aside from the 4Ps, which also help them with their daily expenses for goods and services. The mothers cite welfare agencies such as the Child Sponsorship for Community Development Program by the Children Institute, an international NGO; the local

government's Sagip Kalusugan program; and the feeding program by the DSWD in day care centers.

Existence of Income-Earning Capacities. The educational attainment of mother-beneficiaries interviewed ranged from elementary to high school. The reasons for not studying further included: financial constraints, they had to work to augment family income, and getting married or pregnant. While the mothers are interested to pursue higher education, they did not think it is necessary nor possible now. It would be better to focus on their children now, they said.

A few of the mother-beneficiaries have worked or are working for wage income as waitresses, shopkeepers, mall salespersons, laundry women or house helpers, making Php50 to Php210 per day. None of them worked fulltime, however, because the expenses related to of working (e.g. transportation fares, food) began to exceed their income or they had to stay at home to take care of their children. Some women were also engaged in small businesses such as keeping sari- sari-stores, cooking and selling food, selling Avon, MSE and Natasha products, buying and selling charcoal, making rags for sale from clothes bought from the *ukay-ukay*, gathering and selling shellfish and firewood, raising and selling one or two pigs. The mother-beneficiaries also have various crafting skills which they acquired from their parents, learned through barangay seminars, or else taught themselves. These include making rags, beads-making, making abaca handicrafts, and cooking rice cakes.

Limited Income-earning Opportunities. The mothers identified a number of possible income-earning opportunities but which they cannot engage in for various reasons. Keeping a sari-sari store is one example. While this is good business in an area with a growing population, there are too many sari-sari stores in their community. Neighbors also usually buy on credit thus income can also be irregular.

Mothers living near the city proper can set up food carts for business, or get work in malls as salepersons, shop baggers or cleaners. However, these jobs

are paid little while demanding much of their time and energy. Working abroad is another option identified by one of the mothers. She believes she can work and earn better as a domestic helper or waitress in other countries. But this is not possible for her now because she has small children to take care of, and her husband is against it. Mother-beneficiaries living in the countryside draw from natural resources to earn extra income such as gathering shellfish and firewood for selling.

Borrowing money to make ends meet is common to all mothers. They borrow from lending institutions or private individuals at varying interest rates. Other ways mothers cope with their financial constraints is through of joining a *paluwagan* or joining raffles and promos in town.

Household Dynamics

Domestic Roles and Responsibilities. All the mothers interviewed do all the work of taking care of the family's needs at home. This includes budgeting the family income, buying and/or cooking food, cleaning, doing the laundry, washing dishes, fetching water, taking care of the baby, getting children ready for school, and taking the children to school. This is true whether the mothers have regular remunerated work outside the home, have regular remunerated work inside the home, have sporadic and various income-earning occupations, help out with a family livelihood, or exclusively do house work for the family. For those who have children of elementary school age, they have someone to run errands for them or take over other simpler housework such as cooking rice, fetching water, washing some dishes, cleaning up a room and looking after the baby for a while. If their husbands have no paid work, some of them help the mothers in buying and cooking food, doing the laundry and minding the children. The husbands' involvement in household work decreases when they have paid work, however some still help in buying or cooking food.

Little to No Control over Resources. Between the mothers and their husbands, it is usually the husband who decides how the family money will be

spent. In some cases, women's opinions were completely disregarded where it concerns the family budget. There are cases of husbands purchasing food himself, or giving the woman only the exact amount needed for specific expenses. Some women do not know how much their husband earns as they are only handed money which the husband thinks is adequate for daily expenses. Still, in some families, the husband talks to the woman and they agree on how much should be spent daily.

How to spend the money earned by the mother through her work is her decision. It was noted that mothers usually use her income on basic family expenses. However many mothers do not have income-earning activities at present because of their husbands' wishes, their obligations at home, or the lack of livelihood opportunities in their area.

Little to No Decision-Making and Bargaining Power. The mothers shared that they do take part in family decision-making, such as on budgeting their family income. It is the husbands, however, who ultimately make decisions regarding large-purchases and long-term expenses. The mothers, on the other hand, usually end up implementing this budget, and tend to make decisions only on the family's immediate needs such as food, school, and household maintenance.

Personal Autonomy. The mother-beneficiaries shared their daily routines to illustrate how "a woman's work is never done." Their day would start as early as 3:00 a.m. and end at 10:00 p.m. Their whole day is filled with household chores from keeping the house to taking care of the children and husband's immediate needs.

With their day always full, the mother-beneficiaries have little time for themselves or for activities of their personal interest. The breaks they take within the day are spent watching television, listening to the radio, resting or grooming. However, looking into this further, it was revealed that women were also working during their "breaks". That is, they were doing light household chores like folding and mending clothes, waiting for rice to cook, or soaking the laundry. Many of the mothers

thought it is not possible for them to engage in paid work outside their homes because of their chores, especially the mothers who have very young children.

The mother-beneficiaries rarely have control over the family resources. This was mainly because with little income, they also have little choice on how to spend it. Their expenses are set: food, the children's needs at school, utilities, and emergency expenses such as medicines and hospitalization.

As their family incomes are barely enough to cover their basic needs, they have no choice but to forego anything they might personally want or desire. The personal things they are able to purchase include necessities such as shampoos and clothes which they also share with or buy for other family members. However some of these personal expenses were also part of the family's coping strategy. For instance, they buy clothes from *ukay-ukay* stores because they use the cloths for making rags to sell. They keep clothes which are still good or needing only minor repair for themselves and their children to wear.

As mothers constantly seek ways to earn money or to make ends meet, they have little time and energy left to participate in wider social concerns. They have a certain degree of awareness of how social changes affect their daily lives. For instance, they frequently cited how the increasing prices of the basic goods and services make life even more difficult for them. However, they have very little idea what they can do to address the problem beyond working harder to care for their family in their given situation.

Their interactions with others in their community were very limited. The only times they participated were in their children's school activities that encouraged or required their attendance, barangay invitations to programs, seminars and workshops, and activities such as community clean ups. They would also participate if there were clear benefits to their families like meetings called by the 4Ps, CSCD and Sagip Kalusugan, meetings in credit institutions they are part of. Most of the women did not want to join organization because they were already very busy with household and livelihood work. But they also indicated interest in joining a livelihood group or program.

Mother-beneficiaries' Views and Experiences in the 4Ps

Lowered Expectations

The mother-beneficiaries knew that the 4Ps was a government program. They knew it was help for selected poor families, but they have no clear idea what kind of help would be given. Some of them also knew that the 4Ps focuses on the health and education of the children because they learned about it from a local radio program.

The mothers did not expect much from the 4Ps as they – and the community in general – were used to receiving relief goods and assistance especially in times of natural disasters. But they were also interested to become beneficiaries and had looked forward to the program being implemented in their area.

Anything for the Family

There was some tension between mothers whose households were selected for the 4Ps and those whose households were not. Non-beneficiaries made sarcastic comments about not being selected because they were already “rich”. Some questioned the selection process. These eventually died down but some doubts remained even among the mother-beneficiaries. They too think that some beneficiaries did not deserve to be in the program, while others who qualified for the 4Ps were not selected: *“Dai man nakaiba su mas pobre pa ngani...halos nagkakuruha pa ngani...may mga kaya man, may mga trabaho...Su iba ngani nailing mo tiusunon talagang dai makaiba talaga* [Those who are even poorer than us didn’t make it ... those who were selected were almost better off and have jobs...you see some who are extremely struggling but they didn’t make it].” Fairly selected or not, the beneficiaries all agreed that the cash grants from the 4Ps is a boost to their finances. The mother beneficiaries have known each other for a long time. They did not perceive any change in their relationship with fellow beneficiaries except maybe they see them in the monthly meetings for 4Ps beneficiaries.

As part of the program, mothers have to take their children to the health center for regular checkups, enroll their children as young as three years old in school, and see to it that their children achieved an attendance rate of 85 percent in their classes. They also attended monthly meetings with the rest of the mothers they were grouped with.

Mother-beneficiaries have different experiences regarding the monthly meetings. Some saw the meetings as dragging and irrelevant to their realities. They would much rather talk about topics that would help them in dealing with their everyday needs, like livelihood. Others however expressed appreciation of the modules particularly on how to manage the family better, as well as certain laws that concerned them such as the Anti-Violence Against Women and Children Act and the Anti-Child Labor Act.

The cash grant they received may only be spent on their children's health and education expenses, and indeed they would usually spend it on school fees, milk, vitamins, and groceries. "*Kahit sa Mama wara na* [It does not matter if there is none for the mother]," one mother said. The cash grant also enabled them to buy food they otherwise would not have bought or spent money for. Most of the group kept notebooks where they recorded how the cash grant they received was spent in case they would be questioned on it.

The mothers did not mind doing these conditionalities at all. Taking their children to the health center and keeping them in school were important to mothers in any case. They did not feel the 4Ps conditions were particularly burdensome since these were necessary and relatively simple to do, took very little of their time, or were the same things they did even before the program like keeping a meticulous budget.

Instead, it is in dealing with the program systems and procedure where the mothers felt stressed the most. First, they find it difficult to work with health workers and teachers who sometimes did not properly record their compliance to activities. This could lead to deductions from their cash grants as the program

would assume they had not complied with the 4Ps conditionalities for the month. Second, cash grant releases do not follow the schedule set by the program. For instance, they only received in February 2012 what they should have received in December 2011. This ruins their budget, and makes the cash grant too late to help them with the expenses they need it for, which are the children's school expenses. Third, there are sometimes discrepancies in the amount of cash grants the beneficiaries receive. Even households which have complied fully to the conditionalities sometimes have deductions in from their cash grants. There were also instances when the beneficiaries' names do not appear in the payroll at all. Finally, technical difficulties in getting the cash grant are also common, particularly withdrawing money from the ATM.

There were also some policies mothers felt were unfair. For instance, they did not understand why deductions were made on the two months' worth of cash grants even when they failed to comply with conditionalities in only one of those months. It also felt unfair for them that the cash grant for health, which was Php500, was affected even if they missed only one of the many health conditionalities e.g. the monthly check up for the child aged 0 to 2, the bi-monthly check-up for the child 3 to 5 years old, and the deworming for the child aged 6 to 14 twice a year.

They had already raised these concerns to the Parent Leader (PL) or Municipal Link (ML), but neither were able to do anything about it, nor at least explained why these happened. The mothers usually let these go, as they did not feel they were in any position to ask or demand explanations. They felt that they were after all already receiving cash for free and it would be greedy to ask for more. Aside from that, they were not very surprised about these problems. "*Dai mo man 'yan maali sa gobyerno* [You cannot eliminate that from the government]," one mother commented on the inefficiency of the 4Ps system.

Better than Nothing

The mother-beneficiaries were grateful to be part of the program because it provided an additional source of income. As previously mentioned, meeting the

conditionalities was not particularly burdensome to them. They understood that it was their counterpart in the program and that they had to do these in order to get the benefits. They felt, however, that the teachers and health workers are the ones who are having a hard time with the additional work they had to do.

Regarding the Family Development Sessions (FDS), mothers in groups where there were more varied topics discussed, expressed that the meetings were interesting and helpful. They even shared their lessons with their husbands. However they observed the sessions as all on children, saying, "*Puros sa aki...ta pampamilya бага* [It is all about the child because it is for the family]." In contrast, mothers in groups which lagged behind discussions were unmotivated to participate, sharing that they could not connect the discussion or see its relevance to their everyday lives. However common to all mothers is their interest on topics relating to livelihood and income generation, and family planning. They would like to have these discussed in the FDS.

Despite the clear benefits of the program to the beneficiaries, the mothers interviewed felt that there is little room for them to control or influence the program. It seemed all about luck, passivity or both. For instance, their selection to the program had been more because of luck than anything else, especially when they consider that there are people in their community who also deserved (if not deserved more) to be included in the 4Ps. They also have little control over the 4Ps implementation and how to address its issues like delays in the release of cash grants and unexplained deductions. Some mothers shared that they were told computer lapses are to blame for the discrepancies in cash grants, and that they will not be get the remaining balance of their grants (for those who experienced unfair deductions from their cash grants) or compensation for the inconvenience caused by delayed payments. One also could not expect that the health worker or teacher monitoring their compliance to conditionalities to be objective or considerate – this too was a matter of luck.

Mothers stated that they are now resigned to accepting the situation. Their lack of influence over the process also hinders them from complaining or

demanding explanations for inconsistencies in program implementation. They fear being de-listed or taken out of the list of beneficiaries. During the validation, the mother-beneficiaries added that they never saw the cash grant as something they earned or deserved, much less as their own money. Instead, it is DSWD money which was given to them to manage the way the program required it to be. They would much rather have jobs and small businesses which they could proudly say is theirs and that they worked hard for.

The Family Needs the Extra Money

When asked what changes in their everyday lives occurred because of the 4Ps, the mothers replied that their lives were generally the same as before. With or without the 4Ps, the mothers will still continue to send their children to school and to health centers for checkups, struggle to make ends meet and look for opportunities to increase family income. They will still attend community meetings and join barangay activities and programs. Without the 4Ps there will still be free health services in the barangay health center, as well as the public health programs channeled through schools (e.g. nutrition and weight evaluations). Access to health care without the 4Ps could be supplemented by the medical missions that come to their area.

This is not to say that the mothers were not appreciative of the 4Ps. The cash grants helped alleviate some the financial pressures particularly with regard children's education. This includes being able to give a child enough *baon* so she would not have to walk to school, as well as being able to pay for school expenses. Some mothers, also appreciated the things they learned from the FDS, saying they otherwise would not have learned or have time to learn them had it not been for the 4Ps.

The mothers wished though that the program would be more accurate and consistent with the release of the cash grants. Although they are now able to buy more food with the cash grant, the irregular release of cash grants (and discrepancies in computations) also meant that they cannot fully depend on this

to meet their expenses. At times they had to borrow from moneylenders to pay for school fees, then used the 4Ps cash grant to pay the loan. The grant does not even last a month in their hands but just a few days. "*Garò uminagi sana* [It is as if it just passed through]," one mother said. There were also other program conditionalities like sending 3-year old children to day care which increased the workload of parents and teachers.

Looking for Sustainability, Comprehensiveness and Accomplishment

Nothing much has changed for them since they became part of the 4Ps; and when the program ends in 2014, they would still be concerned about their husband's finding a job and getting a decent salary and making do with a meager amount for all their household needs. As one mother said, "*May 4Ps o wara, nagtitios man giraray* [With or without the 4Ps, we are still struggling]." The mothers commented laughingly that the government cannot be depended on anyway. They believed that government assistance was all a matter of luck more than anything else. However, they also stated that they do not wish the program to end. The cash grant represented a significant amount in their family budget. Losing it might mean that some families will no longer be able to keep their children to school. Asked how the 4Ps can be improved, the mothers suggested that it should follow the schedule of payments and keep their records updated so that the mothers receive what they should. Moreover increasing the cash grant and releasing it monthly rather than every other month would also help them better financially. They also suggested that the government could also provide them jobs as an alternative to the cash grants. A daily salary of Php100 would be adequate for their needs.

The mothers consistently expressed the need for a regular source of income – something they could depend on — whether this income be through the 4Ps or not. Second, the mothers wanted help that was sustainable. Finally, they wanted something they can consider 'theirs,' or the fruit of their own labor. Employment or livelihood, they said, is still more important than hand outs: "*Dawa*

dai mo na agadan. Sa trabaho na sana talaga [Never mind asking them for help; employment's more important]." The mothers said that if they had jobs, then they could afford to pay for their health, education and housing needs. Moreover the mothers who have skills and experiences in livelihood, should be given a chance for them to compete in the market is what they need.

Analysis of Findings

The 4Ps neglects the realities of the women's gender-specific poverty, reinforces existing gender relations within the home and adds to their lack of personal autonomy. It thus acts only as a palliative response to women's gender needs, while capitalizing on women's subordinate gender position. The following discussion is anchored on these two points.

A Palliative Response to Women's Practical Gender Needs

Analysis of 4Ps documents revealed that the 4Ps looks at poverty as something that simply exists and takes what are actually its defining features as merely aggravating factors, including the increase in prices of goods and services and worsening unemployment rates. Consequently, the 4Ps poses a solution that neglects or downplays these factors by focusing on poverty as a household phenomenon whose greatest problem are the "shocks" and "risks" brought about by global economic crises. With such limited view on poverty, the 4Ps indeed does not only distract people from the real problem of poverty but shifts the burden of solving poverty to the people. By treating children's health and education as the only indicators of poverty, people are forced to turn to themselves as the cause of and the solution to their own poverty. The "cycle of poverty," as the 4Ps defines it, is pinned on the household's inability to prepare children for economic productivity that would save the household from poverty.

But the in-depth interviews with the mother-beneficiaries from Legazpi City showed that the poverty they experience is rooted in the systematic inaccessibility to goods and services. On the one hand, the 4Ps households rarely

have the means (e.g. income) to afford basic goods and services; on the other, these goods and services continuously move out of their reach. Their family's food, utilities, health, education and housing needs are thus a burden in themselves.

This does not mean however that mother-beneficiaries take these situations sitting down. In fact, they have a variety of survival strategies including stretching the family budget, saving on expenses, finding employment and coming up with some livelihood activity. There are barriers though: limited employment and livelihood opportunities in their communities and in the rural areas in general; and the social constraints on them because they are mothers.

The focus group discussions with the mother-beneficiaries further revealed that the 4Ps barely made an impact on their material condition since it fails to capture its dynamics. The cash grants is a palliative remedy to the financial constraints of households, and even then it is not sufficient (Php300 and Php500 for education and health expenses respectively) or reliable (due to deductions and delays in payment).

The mother-beneficiaries were clear on what they need: help that is sustainable, comprehensive, and over which they have ownership or can claim to have achieved for themselves. The women specified that more than cash grants over a period of time, they need access to more affordable goods and services, and stable income-earning opportunities in the form of small businesses or jobs.

Capitalizing on Women's Subordinate Position

The 4Ps focuses on the household by treating it as a homogenous unit where gender-specific poverty is invisible. In this scheme, the government's "investment" in the children of the household is equated to investment in the household as a unit. However, it is the women who are singled out to ensure program conditionalities are fulfilled because they are the "most responsible member of the family" (Pablo et al., 2009). In contrast, the 4Ps did not specify a role for fathers, although it mentioned that a "parent" (a gender neutral term) should

attend monthly meeting. Apart from this, all the 4Ps documents referred to women and mothers in relation to program-related activities, from attending meetings to managing the cash grants. Clearly, the roles that the 4Ps specifies for mother-beneficiaries in the program are the same roles they struggle with inside their households. First, traditional motherhood poses restrictive roles and responsibilities for the women that keep them from looking for and taking advantage of development opportunities. Mothers are compelled to give up their paid work outside the house in favor of childcare, regardless of their financial contributions to the household. Second, they have very little control, if any, over household resources. Women's needs – whether for personal things or capital to establish their own businesses – take second place to the needs of other household members. In contrast, husbands can easily justify setting aside a portion of his wages for income generating activities. Third, mothers have little or no decision-making and bargaining power at home, especially when they do not have their own income-earning occupation. For instance, those who have absolutely no income-earning occupation hardly take charge of deciding how the family income will be spent. Finally, people also assume that women “do nothing” or have more “free time” than men and impose on their time. Similarly the 4Ps also assume that it is the women's natural role to take care of the children thus targets them as implementers of the program.

Traditional ideas of women's role in the household and motherhood are reinforced by the 4Ps. It is not surprising that mother-beneficiaries did not find the 4Ps as extra work because it capitalizes on existing gender roles and relationships which unfortunately keep women at the margins of economic and social development.

There are issues however in the compliance to conditionalities vis-à-vis problems relating to cash grant availability and sufficiency which stressed mother-beneficiaries. First, the cash grant is not sufficient to cover all the expenses which the compliance to conditionalities entails. For instance, the 4Ps only allots Php300 for monthly educational expenses of one child whereas the monthly transportation cost to the nearest high school from Barangay A alone is around Php400 per child.

School fees are also higher in high school than in elementary school yet the 4Ps seemed to be more focused on supporting elementary school children. A second issue raised was dealing with difficult health workers and teachers who are responsible for keeping the records of compliance. A wrong entry could result to a deduction to the cash grant, or in some cases because the records were not updated, some mother-beneficiaries found their names missing from the list of beneficiaries. Third, women were also stressed when the release of cash grants was delayed since their ability to fulfill the 4Ps conditionalities depended on the timely availability of the grants. In this case, some mother-beneficiaries resorted to borrowing money with interest.

Ironically, the 4Ps assumed that the cash grants will convince and motivate families to keep their children in school and bring them to health centers for checkups. In reality the cash grants only *enables* families rather than motivates them. Mothers-beneficiaries stated that they want and do strive to send their children to school and keep them healthy – and they will continue to do so with or without the 4Ps. What they lack is the means – and this is what the cash grant is for.

Women are also particularly placed in the 4Ps as workers but not as direct beneficiaries of the health and education goals. The one health goal for women, which is regular checkups before, during and after pregnancy, is still attached to her role as a mother. Beyond their role as child-bearer, women's health needs are largely neglected by the program. As with other CCTs, there are no mechanisms in the program that actually looked into how the mother-beneficiaries are affected by the program.

Another thing which mothers stated as a need was for adequate reproductive health services. Many do not have access to information and services or else do not see the local services as reliable ones. As a result, they would pay for such services with their own money, or altogether push it at the back of their concerns. While the mothers did not express resentment over having more children than they can handle, some were very vocal about how child bearing and rearing

had prevented them from looking for income-earning opportunities. They also said that having a lot of children makes it harder for a mother to manage the household and that pregnancy and child-bearing are very hard for them to go through.

The cash grants managed by the women had little impact on their economic or personal autonomy. They did not consider the cash grants their own money, or money they can decide over because it is such a small amount and is intended for specific expenses predetermined by the program. As cash from the 4Ps is meant only for the children's immediate needs, it actually fits right into women's traditional role in the economics of the household. Rather than truly change their role in the household, the 4Ps served only to latch onto and thus strengthen existing ones. Instead the women identified the following factors which affect their household status and personal autonomy: access to income-earning occupations, number of children, especially young children, and the division of work in the household. All these factors are not addressed by the program.

Another singled out experience was the monthly meetings, family development sessions or mothers' classes that "parents" are supposed to attend. While Pablo et al., (2009) say that these make the women feel empowered and allow them to bond and build a sense of community, such did not surface from the mother-beneficiaries interviewed. First, while the contents of FDS modules may indeed be very promising in terms of the additional learning for the women, it does not include or only have limited discussions on topics which matter to women the most; i.e., livelihood and reproductive health. Second, there is no clear monitoring system to check if the FDS is achieving its objectives and contributing to the program goals. There are reports that the monthly FDS, far from increasing the knowledge mother-beneficiaries and strengthening relationships among them, are venues to talk about 4Ps updates. This is again a one-sided arrangement where the needs of the program are prioritized over the needs of the women. The mother-beneficiaries also noted that the 4Ps also had a negative impact on the relationship between beneficiary and non-beneficiary members of the community, especially during the early stages of 4Ps implementation.

The relationship between the conditionality of the cash grant and the mothers also takes away whatever limited autonomy they have over their resources. For instance, the 4Ps also requires the mothers to justify a child's absence from class. This means that they have to secure medical certificates, for instance, every time their child is absent from school. This actually takes away the mothers' sense of authority over their children's welfare as they now have to answer to the program. In fact, it is not only health problems that keep the children from going the school. For example, the mothers also cite delinquent teachers who do not show up in class. But when that happens, the children are automatically marked absent as well. That mothers keep a record book of all the financial transactions they have under the 4Ps is also another indication of their sense of lack of autonomy over the money they receive. The money was granted to them, but it is not theirs to spend really as they felt that they will have to answer to the program authorities about whether they spent it 'properly' or not. Not only are these once again additional burdens to the mothers, but it also takes away what autonomy they have over their already limited resources.

On top of these experiences, the mother-beneficiaries are overwhelmed with problems within the program itself. Specifically cited were the delays in the release of cash grants, cases of disappearing names from the beneficiaries list, unexplained deductions from cash grants, problematic grievances and redress systems, and the irregular and ineffective FDS . These experiences do not only demonstrate the reinforcement of disempowering situations for women, but also recreate disempowering feelings in the mothers. For one, they developed a further sense of desperation over their material conditions, so that they feel grateful for whatever amount they receive. They also felt helpless about achieving decent standards of living, saying for instance, "*Dai ka naman kaiyan maginibo... kung anong mag-abot, iyo na* [There is nothing you can do about it...whatever comes, then that is it]." They became afraid that the consequences of standing up for themselves will ruin the smallest chance at survival they have, "*Marureklamo ka...matangkas ka na sana* [You go and complain...and you will just get delisted]." Finally, the non-validation of themselves as individuals instead of only as mothers is strengthened. One mother makes this most apparent by equating the family's

survival to motherly sacrifice, "*Puros sa aki...ta pampamilya бага...Kahit sa Mama wara na* [It is all about the child because it is for the family...it does not matter if there is none for the mother]."

Conclusions and Recommendations

This study found out that the 4Ps keeps mother-beneficiaries in their impoverished situations as it treats them only as women defined by their traditional role as mothers. It does nothing to improve their material condition or their social position and in fact reinforces and adds to their disempowerment.

First, the 4Ps fails to capture the gender-specific poverty of its mother-beneficiaries. It focuses on poverty as a household phenomenon thus the solution lies in how households are able to invest in their children's ability to be economically productive in the future. Similar to CCTs in other countries, the 4Ps is also a maternalist program where the experience of poverty by mother-beneficiaries is assumed to be the same as that of other household members. Moreover, the CCT programs direct benefits to children but the work is shoulder solely by the mothers. It identifies mothers to be the "most responsible adult" (Pablo et al., 2009) in the household and makes them responsible for managing the cash grant and seeing to the compliance with the conditionalities of the program.

Second, mother-beneficiaries continuously struggle to survive as they are trapped by their material conditions and social positions. Between them and their husbands, they are the ones even more likely to be without employment or livelihood because they are forced to give up any activity that would require the same resources they could be spending at home as the mother. This further keeps them in roles and responsibilities bound to the home, diminishes their contribution to family resources, limits their decision-making and bargaining power, and compromises their personal autonomy.

Third, views and experiences of mother-beneficiaries indicate that the 4Ps is just another relief program for them. The mother-beneficiaries mostly

appreciate the cash grant as a relief, temporary as it may be, from the financial insecurity. The cash grant per se does not determine the mother-beneficiaries' willingness to comply with the conditionalities. It is what helps the mother-beneficiaries pay for some of the health and education expenses of their children; it is money the family lacks. It is for this reason that mothers-beneficiaries interviewed endure the technical problems they encounter in the program, as well as keep them from actively challenging the shortcomings of the program. Hence, while the program offered some relief from the mother-beneficiaries' expenses for the household, it does nothing to improve their impoverished material condition as it neglects the factors that make this possible. These factors include the inaccessibility of goods and services and the absence of stable income-earning occupations. The mothers' experiences concurred with this when they identified sustainability, comprehensiveness and achievement in their income sources as what they need to escape poverty but unfortunately were not covered by the 4Ps.

The relief provided by the 4Ps also comes at a price, as it reinforces women's subordinate position within the household. It recreates the dynamics of their social position as it tasks women to receive, budget, and spend the family resources while neglecting their own needs; obliges women to stretch their own resources in order to do all that is required of them for the sake of their family's daily survival; and further pushes them to restricting themselves and their involvements to the household. On top of these, the technical problems women experience within the 4Ps create in them feelings of helplessness, fear, and resignation to neglect, which further disempower them.

This study surfaced a number of problems with the 4Ps that puts into question its effectiveness and value as an anti-poverty program. The gaps identified by the mother-beneficiaries challenges the administrative capabilities of the DSWD in implementing such a large-scale and high-budgeted program. Second, there is the disconnection between where the beneficiaries are and where the program supposes they will go because of it. The program aims at poverty reduction and social development, yet it fails to capture the full realities of poverty as the people experience it, especially the women. This has significant implications on the

effectiveness and value of many of the program's components including the conditional nature of the cash grant, the amount of the cash grant, the eligibility requirements of beneficiaries, and the exclusive nature of the program. Finally, some problem areas of the 4Ps that are beyond the scope of the present research but were manifested in the data gathering process are also worth considering. These include the question of the cash grant being conditional; the particular focus of the program on children's education and health so as to neglect other dimensions of poverty such as age or women's reproductive health needs outside of pre- and post-natal care; and the views and experiences of other women involved in the program, the teachers and health workers, who are similarly burdened with their additional responsibilities because of the program.

In place of the 4Ps, the views and experiences of mother-beneficiaries surfaced a demand for a more comprehensive approach to addressing poverty and ensuring development. One, access to goods and services must be secured. This demands that the prices of basic commodities be affordable and that adequate social and utility services must be in place. Two, there must be opportunities for them to improve and make full use of their capabilities. This would include jobs, financial assistance and technical support for small entrepreneurs, and education and training services for women as well as men. Three, there needs to be active sensitization of men in the community regarding gender issues, which could be achieved through barangay-level gender sensitivity trainings. Four, there needs to be support, financial and otherwise, for the women to organize themselves that will enable them to further identify, analyze, and seek solutions to the gender needs and interests that they have. A genuine women's organization will also make consultations with policy makers possible and effective. Finally, a comprehensive national policy that would enable women living in poverty to experience motherhood as a choice rather than a forced occupation, such as the pending Reproductive Health Bill, must be implemented.

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Stories Women Tell: Five Rural Women's Lived Experiences of Survival and Typhoons

Teresita Villamor Barrameda

This paper is an initial exploration of five rural women's interpretations of their lived experiences of daily survival and typhoons. Using feminist standpoint epistemology that builds knowledge from women's experiences, the paper privileges the concrete experiences of the five rural women and their perspectives in viewing rural poverty, women's vulnerabilities in times of typhoons, their difficulties in surmounting the after-effects of typhoons, and their strategies in rebuilding their lives.

Prologue

As an asthmatic and sickly child with limited mobility, rainy days and typhoons fascinated me to no end. Rainy days meant playing in pools of water and shaping mud patties. Typhoons were synonymous with never-ending play and fun. Being one of the few well-to-do families in our community, my grandfather taught us the value of caring for community members and sharing our resources with those who are in need. One translation of such generosity and caring for others is opening our ancestral house to people needing temporary shelter during typhoons. There were no evacuation centers then and the idea of one is unheard of in a closely-knit community. The people stayed in our house for days, sometimes weeks. I happily welcomed mothers bringing with them my potential playmates, their children. I loved helping adults distribute blankets and clothes while my grandmother baked bread and made chicken-flavored porridge for our neighbors. But the best part for me was having lots of children around to play with. I secretly wished that they could stay permanently with us.

Those were the good times of my childhood...

Introduction

The Philippines lies along the typhoon belt of the Pacific Ocean and experiences an average of 20 typhoons every year. According to Jerry Velasquez, senior regional coordinator of the UN International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR), the Philippines ranked 12th among the 200 countries at risk from typhoons, floods and other natural hazards. It also has a high incidence of casualties from typhoons. Citing a UNISDR global assessment report, Velasquez compared the Philippines to Japan, another typhoon-prone country. While Japan has 22.5 million people exposed to typhoons annually, as compared to the country's 16 million people, the estimated annual death toll in the latter is almost 17 times higher. Moreover, the World Bank and the National Disaster Coordinating Committee (NDCC) (2003) estimated a loss of four billion pesos and an average of 500 deaths per year due to typhoons. For instance, recent typhoons, particularly Ondoy and Peping in 2009, caused great losses both in terms of property and lives.

The Bicol region, which is located at the southern-most part of Luzon island, is one of the most typhoon-prone areas in the country. It is also one of the poorest. Specifically in Irosin, one of the farming communities in Sorsogon in the Bicol region, typhoons can result in heavy damages to the livelihood of people, even threaten the survival of families. It is also at risk of volcanic eruption and lahar flooding during typhoons and flash floods because of its location along Mt. Bulusan.

This paper centers on the narratives of five rural women from Brgy. Monbon in the municipality of Irosin. Women in Irosin play a critical role in families, and are often the ones especially burdened with coping with the aftermath of typhoons. The narratives provide glimpses of rural poverty conditions and the after-effects of typhoons on poor women and their households. Drawing from the stories of these women, this paper describes women's strategies in coping with daily survival, dealing with the after-effects of typhoons, and rebuilding their lives, as well as their interpretations of these experiences. The paper addresses the following questions:

- How do rural women interpret their lived experiences of everyday survival and typhoons?
- What are the strategies they developed/employ to cope with daily survival and deal with the after-effects of typhoons and rebuild their lives?

This paper has five sections. The first section discusses the objectives, methodology and sampling of the study. The second section describes the poverty situation of rural households from the perspectives of five rural women and their coping strategies against poverty. The third section describes the women's vulnerabilities in times of typhoons, how they cope with the aftermath of the natural disaster and the challenges they face in the rebuilding their lives. The fourth section explores women's interpretations of the above experience. The fifth section poses some reflections and concluding notes.

I. Methodology

This paper takes the feminist standpoint epistemology, an approach to knowledge building and research that enables one to "see and understand the world through the eyes and experiences of [marginalized and] oppressed women and apply the vision and knowledge of oppressed women to social activism and social change" (Brooks, 2007, p. 55). Feminist standpoint epistemology as applied to research gives value to building new knowledge from women's experiences and to understanding the larger social context from the perspectives of women's experiences while using women's experiences as standpoint in mapping agenda for social change (Brooks, 2007). As a methodology in research, it places "women at the center of the research process: *women's concrete experiences* provide the starting point from which to build knowledge." (p. 56), particularly starting with "*women's lives, as they themselves experience them,*" (Brooks, 2007), in order to gain an accurate understanding of women's lives in a particular context.

Using the feminist standpoint epistemology, this paper opts to study the lives of five rural women to gain insight and understanding on how they live and survive rural poverty and recurring typhoons.

Research Method and Sampling

This paper used feminist in-depth interviewing (Hesse-Biber, 2007) as research method with five women as participants. The five women are residents of Brgy. Monbon,² a rural barangay in Irosin. An average of 19 typhoons hit the barangay annually, between September and January (<http://irosin.gov.ph>, n.d.). Brgy. Monbon was hardest hit by Typhoons *Milenyo* and *Reming* in September and November, 2006, respectively.

The five women were selected based on their experiences of flooding and Typhoons *Reming* and *Milenyo* as well as their willingness to share their experiences.

The research conducted employed unstructured interviewing wherein the women were provided with some themes that they could focus on while telling their personal stories. Through this feminist process, the women “storytellers” have more control of the direction of the interviews. The interviews ran like conversations between two women, with the women participants as “storytellers” and the researcher as the “listener.” These roles were also reversed at times when the women asked questions of the researcher about her experience of Typhoon Ondoy and of living in Manila. Aware of the power and authority of the researcher in research, the author integrated many direct quotations from the women to ensure that their voices and thoughts were authentically captured. The paper also distinguishes between the women’s voices and that of the researcher.

II. Rural Poverty and Women's Stories of Everyday Survival

Engaging in Multiple Livelihoods as Strategy for Survival

Betty, 54, an elementary graduate, is a mother to seven children. Her family lives in a bamboo and *nipa* house on their own small lot. She works as a laundry woman for a nearby resort. She does laundry six times in a month and earns Php 2,000.00. In between her work at the resort, she engages in various income activities which include farm work, doing occasional laundry for neighbors and selling vegetables. Moreover, she raises a pig that she sells after six months and earns Php800 to Php900 from it. Out of her earnings from hog raising she buys a new young pig and saves the remaining money for the education needs of her two sons. Another income generating activity is her engagement in the *pagamit* system.² She earns six sacks of *palay* every harvest time from the two hundred pesos revolving capital in her *pagamit* "business." The *palay* earned from the *pagamit* is used for household consumption usually good for only two to three months.

Betty's multiple livelihood activities are complemented by her husband and eldest son's wages from irregular farm work, each earning one hundred fifty pesos a day with one free snack. They usually work four times a week but rarely have work during rainy reasons and bad weather conditions. Since her husband and eldest son's incomes are irregular, the family relied primarily on her earnings. She tries to save at least Php 50 a week from her multiple livelihood activities to augment her capital for her *pagamit* "business." However, whatever is saved is often used up for unforeseen expenses.

The aggregated earnings of the family can only cover the daily modest consumption of rice and vegetables and the education expenses of the children. Due to the tight budget, Betty's family eats fish only on her paydays while meat is a rare fare reserved only for fiestas. Despite her multiple livelihoods, her family has no extra money for emergencies. In case of sickness or calamities, her household relies on loans from relatives and cash advances from the resort employer.

Food is always limited in Betty's household and the situation worsens during rainy seasons and typhoons. When rice is limited, she adds *sabag* or extenders such as camote or cassava when cooking rice to increase its volume. Her family often eats porridge during meals; she would enhance the flavor by adding sautéed ginger. But when rice is not available, her family buys root crops as substitute to rice and in worst cases, her family reduces food intake, either skipping breakfast or supper.

Cutting Down Expenses and Food Pooling in Times of Food Shortage

Irma, 38, single, is a home-based, piece-rate worker. She had completed one year of college but quit schooling when her widower father suffered a stroke and was paralyzed. As a piece-rate worker, she earns an average of Php750 a week making abaca ropes. Home-based work fits with her caregiving responsibility to her father. Since a major part of her earnings is spent on her father's medicines, she makes do with what is left to buy food and pay for electric bills.

Money is always scarce so Irma tries to make ends meet by cutting down on food expenses. For instance, instead of buying vegetables, she gathers taro leaves, *kangkong* (swamp cabbage), wild ferns and fallen coconuts. She also uses food substitutes such as toasted rice for coffee and root crops for rice. When short of rice supply, she asks for rice from her siblings in exchange for her viand. Porridge is Irma's and her father's regular meal. During rainy seasons or when piece-rate work is limited (in her words "*tiempo sin kapigaduhan*"), she and her siblings pool together what they have for their meals. Through this, everyone is able to eat, no matter how limited the food is.

Irma has no savings. In cases of emergencies, she relies on her siblings' help and informal loans obtained at usurious interests. There is not even money to repair the leaks in their roof caused by Typhoon *Reming* in 2006. To avoid getting wet when it rains, she uses cans and old basins to catch the dripping water from the leaks while she and her father sleep under a long table. Although this situation is difficult for Irma and her father, she will not spare money for house repair expenses as the medication of her father remains her priority.

Expense Reduction as Survival Strategy

Lorna, 49, a high school graduate, is a mother to eight children. She works as a home-based worker making abaca ropes at per piece rates. She earns Php500 to Php700 a week. Aside from the piece-rate work, she also gives pedicure, manicure and haircutting services. She also raises pigs (one or two pigs a year) and some chickens. The income from hog-raising is saved for the children's school needs. The chickens and fresh eggs are either for consumption or for quick cash.

Her multiple livelihood activities are complemented by her husband's earnings from his small farm and tricycle driving. Yield from the farm is used for household consumption but the supply is never enough until the next harvest season. When this happens, the family has to buy commercial rice. The daily earnings from tricycle driving enable the family to eat fish or meat and buy some groceries but it is still not sufficient. To reduce household expenses, the whole family engages in farm work instead of hiring workers. Even the school-aged children help in the farm on weekends. Likewise, the children have packed lunches and are transported to and from school by their father before he plies his tricycle route in the town.

In Lorna's household, the lean periods are the months before harvest time and during rainy seasons when tricycle driving is not earning much. During these periods, she makes ends meet by buying cheaper rice and fewer groceries. When rice supply is limited, she also uses extenders such as root crops and adds shrimp paste or vegetables as extenders to fried eggs.

The family lives in a government-funded social housing project located near a creek that swells during typhoons and continuous heavy rains. In the 2006 flood caused by Typhoon *Reming*, the family's house and tricycle were submerged in lahar and silt. Without money for house repairs, they made do with the hardened *lahar* as flooring and took a loan from a relative working abroad to purchase a new tricycle.

A Single Regular Income Supplemented by Credit for Survival

Amelia, 50, a high school graduate, is a single parent with five children. She is also the caregiver of a paralytic uncle. Amelia earns two thousand pesos a month. This income is supplemented by her eldest son's wages from farm work. Since her son's work is irregular, her household relies primarily on her income. This however can barely tide the family over until the next payday. Her family lives in a two-room government-funded social housing project near a creek. The house was submerged in flood in 2006, which destroyed all their belongings and valuables such as family and wedding pictures, and appliances acquired through the *pahulugan* (installment) system such as the television set and electric fan.

Food availability is a problem in Amelia's household during rainy seasons and bad weather conditions. Whenever they ran short of food and money before Amelia's next pay day, they buy food on credit from the nearby *sari-sari* store. Porridge is the usual family breakfast. Porridge also becomes the regular meal in the household when they have reached their credit limit at the *sari-sari* store. If this is not enough to make ends meet, skipping meals is the next cost-cutting measure. The younger ones are given priority during meals; i.e., the children eat first while the remaining food is shared among the adults. Amelia's family has no savings except what is needed to pay the monthly electric bill.

Relying on a Network of Relatives and Neighbors in Hard Times

Cherry, 31, is a mother of two children, ages six and one. She works from two to six months as substitute to teachers who take leaves either due to pregnancy or sickness. However, because their children are still young, her husband requested her to stay home to take care of the children. Her husband is a security guard earning three thousand pesos a month. They live in their own half-finished semi-concrete house in a lot given by her mother.

The bulk of her husband's income goes to the payment of a "5/6" loan which was used for her caesarian operation. She gave birth to a pre-mature baby in

2006, at the height of the Typhoon *Reming* flash flood. To help out with the daily expenses, she takes on home-based piece-rate work that earns her two to three hundred pesos a week. In some occasions, she earns extra cash from tutoring the children of her relatives and for preparing lesson plans or correcting examination papers of regular teachers.

When there is no food in the house, she relies on her mother who is generous enough to help out. She also eats at her mother's house when her husband is off to work. She substitutes the liquid of boiling rice when she runs out of powdered milk for her younger child. During emergencies, she relies on the contributions of relatives. Another source of credit is an informal moneylender, popularly called "lo(a)ndon bridge" in the community. To get a loan, they use her husband's ATM card (where the salary of her husband is deposited by the security agency) as collateral.

III. Women's Interpretations of their Lived Experiences of Typhoons

Women's Experiences of Vulnerability in Times of Typhoons

A community system or asset is considered vulnerable when its characteristics or circumstances make it susceptible to the ill effects of a hazard (Oxfam, 2010). Similarly, people are vulnerable to typhoons when their internal capacity (attributes and resources) is susceptible to or cannot cope with the adverse effects of the typhoons. Though natural hazards like typhoons affect both men and women, societal factors make them respond and adapt differently. UNIFEM (2008) stated that due to gender norms and biological factors, women are 14 times more likely to die in times of natural disasters as compared to men. Further, the survey conducted by the Asia-Pacific Women Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD) in 2006 revealed that women are more at risk than men because of their "lower socio-economic status, barriers to choice and lack of access to resources."⁴

These studies about the gender-differentiated effects of disasters and calamities resonate in the stories of the five women about the hardships and

vulnerabilities they experienced during the flooding caused by Typhoons *Reming* and *Milenyo*:

Cherry, pregnant at that time, recalled her ordeal:

Sa kagustuhan kung makatawid dahil malalim na ang tubig, inakyat ko ang pader kahit hirap ako dahil kabuwanan ko na at nag-spotting ako dahil sa nerbiyos (In my determination to save myself from the flood, I even climbed a wall despite my difficulty because I was already nine months pregnant, and I experienced "blood spotting" because of tension).

Irma had a similar experience:

Iba ang pakiramdam ko habang nakalubog sa baha. Naghahalo ang lamig ng ulan at mainit na tubig na may putik mula sa bulkan. Alam ko delikado ang mababad sa tubig pag meron ka (I had a strange feeling while immersed in the flood. It was from the combination of cold rain water and warm muddy lahar water. I know it is not good to be in drenched when having your monthly period).

Of the five women, Betty and Amelia experienced living in an evacuation center. Betty and her family stayed in the evacuation center for a month during which her younger children got sick because of the congestion, lack of facilities and basic hygiene. Likewise, Amelia, whose house was submerged in mud, stayed in the evacuation center for almost two months. As women, they experienced difficulties related to their gender-specific, personal hygiene needs. They recalled the difficulty in finding privacy in the evacuation center to change clothes and bathe, among others. Betty said:

Ako nga tinitiiis ko na lang ang di masyadong pag-ihing dahil iisa nga ang CR may pila pa at wala pang tubig (I just endured not being able to urinate much because there

was only one CR ["comfort room" or toilet], and there was a long queue, and no water to use inside).

Amelia also shared her experience:

Mahirap din maligo. Di ka makahilod dahil nakadamit ka, dahil ang gripong igiban ng inumin ay yon din ang paliguan (Taking a bath was difficult. You cannot scrub yourself because you have your clothes on, and the faucet in the bathing area is also where people get their drinking water).

On the other hand, Irma, Lorna and Cherry complained that only those in the evacuation centers were given emergency relief assistance. People like them who chose not to go to evacuate centers were excluded despite the fact that they suffered the same losses as those in evacuation centers: they also lost their livelihoods, they had no food and money, and their house were just as badly damaged. They said the limited space and congestion in the evacuation center discouraged them, so they chose to stay in their relatives' houses.

The women's role as caregivers of their families and relatives constrained them during disasters. At the height of the typhoon, Amelia, being the caregiver of her paralytic uncle, was caught in a dilemma whether to stay with him or abandon him to save herself. She was relieved when a *barangay tanod* (local official) rescued them:

Paano ko siya bubuhatin? Mabigat pag lalaki... naisip ko na magpaiwan na lang kami. Ayoko namang ako lang ang makaligtas. Magi-guilty naman ako at habang buhay akong kukunsensiyahin ng aking mga kamag-anak (How can I carry him? Men are heavier... I decided we both stay behind. I don't want to save only myself. I would feel guilty and besides my relatives would condemn me for life).

With regard to whose welfare should be secured first, Lorna opined:

Siyempre, kung sino ang mas mahina at walang kakayahang iligtas ang sarili, sila dapat unahing iligtas.

Magsasakripisyo ka talaga. Dahil limitado ang madadala ng pang-rescue na bangka sa pagtawid, di mo uunahin ang sarili kundi ang mga bata muna. Kaya nagpaiwan na lang kami ng asawa ko. Pareho kami may lubid na nakatali sa baywang. Kung sakaling di na kami mabalikan ng bangka, itatali na lang namin ang aming sarili sa malaking puno para di kami maanod (People who are weaker and have no capacity to save themselves should be secured first. You really have to make sacrifices. Because the rescue boat can only carry a limited number of persons, you can't put yourself first before the children. That's why my husband and I stayed behind. We tied ourselves together at the waist because in case the rescue boat would not be able to come back for us, we would tie ourselves to a big tree so we wouldn't be swept away by the flood).

Similarly, Irma and her siblings decided to evacuate their sick father and younger children first.

Women's Strategies in Coping with the After-effects of Typhoons

A common observation among the women was that the worst part of the experience was dealing with the aftermath of the typhoon. They lost their livelihoods, they had only very little food and no money. Relief assistance was no longer available, even from the barangay council.

According to the five women, typhoons meant hardships and food scarcity to their households. Right after the Typhoons *Milenyo* and *Reming*, the women made use of their "well-tested strategies" for daily survival: food adjustment (eating once or twice a day instead of three meals a day); meal modification (eating porridge or mixing rice with extenders); food substitution (buying the cheapest rice and use of additives instead of meat or fish); eliminating fish and meat in the diet (meat reserved only for special occasions); communal eating (pooling of food with parents or

relatives), as well as eating less and in succession (food is apportioned to family members, the younger ones and working adults eat first).

Betty and Amelia resorted to food reduction: limiting meals to one or two meals a day, either skipping breakfast or supper (or both), and sleeping off hunger when food is not available. For Irma and Lorna, food substitution worked well for them: substituting root crops for rice, food flavor cubes for fish or meat and using vegetables as extenders to instant noodles. In Cherry's case, she regularly brought her children to eat at her mother's house while her husband was off to work.

Several members of Betty's household out-migrated in search for work: her husband and eldest son had gone to nearby towns to work as farm workers and abaca strippers while her two older daughters migrated to Manila and to a nearby town to work as housemaids for a year or two. The earnings of the children from domestic work were sent to her to support the family's daily needs. With the out-migration of her husband and older children, she and the smaller children were left to clean up, repair the house and fend for their daily needs while support from her husband and children was not yet available. To cope, Betty relied on cash advances from the resort employer or informal money lenders and some "belt-tightening" strategies.

Lorna requested the children to wake up early to walk the three-kilometer distance to school to save transportation money.

The women were at the helm of their households after the typhoons, even directing their husbands and children to contribute in rebuilding their lives.

From Betty:

Ang asawa ko mas hilo pa kesa sa kin. Tanong ng tanong kung anong gagawin kaya ako na talaga ang nag dedesisyon. "Sige maghanap kayo ng trabaho maski saan dahil wala yan dito. Hoy, huwag kang tumunganga dyan — komo walang trabaho dito di ka na kikilos. Maghanap

ka ng makakain kahit ano. Punta ka sa bundok, pag kinakain ng ibon, pwede rin yan sa tao." Buti sumusunod naman ang asawa ko (My husband is more stressed than I am. He kept asking me what we should do, so I was the one who took over. "Go out and find any kind of work because there is no work here. Don't just sit there – not having a job doesn't mean you can be idle. Find food. Go to the mountain, anything eaten by birds is edible to humans too." I'm glad he did what I asked of him)

Lorna:

Nagmiting kaming pamilya kung anong pwede gawin ng bawat isa: "Ikaw para di ka huminto sa pag-aaral, gising ka maaga, maglakad ka papuntang school." "Ikaw maghanap ka sa mga kamag-anak mo ng mauutangan." Madalas nag-iiyakan kaming mag-asawa. Pero di namin pinapakita sa mga bata. Ang tagal kasi naming inipon and pambili sa tricycle... Pero pag nagkakaisa kayo sa pamilya, lalong lalakas ang loob nyo na magsimulang muli. Unti-unti, nababawasan ang panghihinayang (We had a family meeting to discuss what each one can do: "If you don't want to stop schooling, you have to wake up early to walk to school." "See if you can borrow money from your relatives." My husband and I cried a lot of times. But we did not let our children know this. It took us a long time to save for a tricycle.... But when there is unity in the family, you gain strength to start over again. Slowly, frustrations lessen.)

Amelia:

Minsan nakaka-depress. Wala ka na nga, lalo ka pang nawalan. Pero pag nakita mo ang mga bata na umaasa sayo, lalakas loob mo. Pang-alihw ko nga sa sarili ko, di

ako dapat malungkot dahil nasira ang bahay namin habang ang iba okey lang kasi matibay bahay nila. Pero sabi ko baka may iba rin silang problema. Si Uncle matibay nga ang bahay at maganda pero di naman sya makalakad nang bumaha (I felt depressed. I have only a little and even those, I lost now. But when I look at my children who depend on me, I become strong. I console myself by thinking I shouldn't be sad because our house was damaged while others' houses are still okay. Maybe those other people have their own problems. My uncle has a good house but he was disadvantaged during the floods because he's paralytic.

Irma summarized her experience as: "*Ang bagyo ay bahagi na talaga ng buhay namin dito. Pakiramdam ko pahirap nang pahirap ang buhay pero kanyang diskarte lang. Nasa sarili na yan at tiwala sa Diyos. Nakakaraos din*" (Typhoons are part of our lives here. I feel our life situation is getting more difficult though. Survival depends on one's resourcefulness and faith in God).

Although the five women have common experiences of the after-effects of the typhoons – loss of jobs and incomes, loss of livestock, damages to houses and things, food insecurity – each of them has different capacities and strategies for coping.

Betty lost her capital for the *pagamit* and vegetable businesses. Until now, she has not been able to raise the capital to re-start her small business as well as repair her house which was partially damaged by the typhoon. Amelia is still in the process of replacing her damaged appliances by joining a *pahuwagan* (rotating savings). The much-valued family album which was also damaged in floods, however, can no longer be restored.

On the other hand, Lorna's house flooring was covered with lahar after the typhoon. She and her husband also lost their livelihoods as their farm and tricycle were buried in mud and their livestock drowned. One of her children had

to stop schooling. At this point, the family's only source of income is the home-based piece-rate work of making twine. However, with the help of a relative working abroad, her family was able to secure a loan to buy a new tricycle and recondition their farm. Her child was also able to go back to school.

Cherry and Irma continue to struggle with the after-effects of the typhoons: Cherry's family is still paying the loan for her hospitalization while Irma's father developed a respiratory ailment that required regular medication and additional medication expenses.

The women stated that they had relied the least on the government and external assistance during those times. For one, they were not sure if relief assistance would come. It was also limited to food rations mostly, whereas they were also in dire need of cash to buy kerosene, salt, cooking oil, and kitchen utensils. Despite the assistance of various agencies doing relief work in the area, the packs they distributed were usually the same – rice, noodles and sardines. Similarly, due to politics, not all households were able to avail of assistance from the barangay and municipal officials, especially if they did not vote for the incumbent officials. For those who stayed in evacuation centers like Amelia and Betty, it was the municipal social worker who decided on the duration of stay in the evacuation center. Amelia was caught unprepared when the social worker told her to return to their house within a very short time.

The government housing assistance to flood victims was not very accessible as well. As flood survivors, Lorna and Amelia were awarded free houses through the municipal housing project. However, due to the small size and limited land space for planting vegetables and hog raising activities, they do not see themselves residing there permanently. At present, the houses were only used as their family "evacuation centers" during typhoons.

Women's Strategies in Rebuilding their Lives and Adaptations to Typhoons

Poverty, aggravated by the regular – and sometimes devastating — typhoons in their community, is part of women's lives in Ironsin, yet they are still

tenacious in their struggle to recover from every disaster. Their optimism and strong faith in God lift their spirits. Though Betty has not yet raised the needed capital to re-start her *pagamit* and vegetable business, she is looking forward to recover her capital and resume her “businesses” by saving 20 pesos every payday. When her businesses resume, she plans to repair their house and to enroll in PhilHealth as a self-employed person. Betty said:

Wala namang mawawala kung mangarap at magplano ng buhay. Wala namang bayad ang mangarap. At saka mabuti na ang mangarap at may gusto kang abutin (Dreaming and making plans for your life are free and nothing is wrong with these. These even provide you with a sense of direction).

Lorna is currently engaged in multiple livelihood activities, including chicken and pig raising, gardening, and taking piece-rate work. Cherry and her family stay with her mother so she can work fulltime to help pay their loan and to save. Amelia joined a *paluwagan* (rotating savings group) to have extra money to replace her lost things and to save.

The women’s life strategies are honed by a long history of poverty and deprivations: repairing what was damaged, securing loans and material support to regain their livelihoods, diversifying livelihoods as a form of informal insurance mechanism, and saving in cash or in kind (livestock and poultry) as protection against any exigencies. In their own ways, the women employ innovative strategies in rebuilding their lives. Likewise, the support of social networks plays a significant role in their recovery. The women mobilize their families, relatives and friends as primary sources of cash, material and emotional support. Only when these social networks have been exhausted do the women turn to money lenders or pawn whatever they have – heirloom jewelries, labor, farm and farm equipment and tools, to name a few.

Furthermore, with their traumatic experiences of Typhoons *Milenyo* and *Reming*, the women have developed mitigation and adaptation strategies in preparation for typhoons and rainy seasons. During summer, usually between April and May, Betty and Irma weave coconut leaves to cover roof leaks while Amelia and Lorna, who live

beside a creek, encircle their houses with sandbags to secure them against flooding. Amelia's son made an improvised ruler to measure the depth of water in the creek to determine when to evacuate. Cherry keeps an "emergency bag" containing valuable documents like her college diploma and transcript, her husband's employment-related documents, marriage and birth certificates, and their wedding mementoes.

The women learned to appreciate and apply local knowledge of their grandmothers and mothers about weather prediction which they had taken for granted in the past. For Betty, fireflies and ants coming out signal the onset of rainy season – thus, she has to start saving some matches, candles and salt. Irma watches out for dark clouds with strong winds and for ducks flying and roosting on roofs as signs of an incoming typhoon. At this point, she makes sure her father has his medication supplies, and checks if there is boiled water for drinking and extra water in the containers. During the rainy seasons, Amelia continuously monitors the weather report through the TV set in her uncle's house while assigning her children to continuously monitor the water level using their improvised water meter. Lorna sees to it that the tricycle is available for emergency evacuation while Cherry makes sure that her cellphone has enough power and credit for a phone call, in case there is an emergency. These adaptation and mitigation strategies developed by the five women form part of their emerging notion of a "culture of safety."

IV. Women's Interpretations of their Lived Experiences of Survival and Typhoons

The five women consider Typhoons *Reming* and *Milenyo* as the worst typhoons they have ever experienced. *Delubyo* (end of the world) is the metaphor that they associate with their experiences with the two typhoons. On the other hand, they note that poverty and typhoons have similar effects on their lives – both mean more hardships and grave food insecurity for their households.

As described by Betty, "*Ang bagyo, malakas man o hindi pareho lang and epekto sa amin – walang trabaho at gutom minsan ilang araw, lingo o buwan*" (Typhoons, whether strong or not, have the same meaning and effect to

us -- no work and hunger for days, weeks or months). However, they note that their experiences of poverty serve them in surviving typhoons, though typhoons worsen their poverty situation.

There are particular difficulties they experience as women during typhoons: living in evacuation centers, being left at home to care for children and infirm relatives. They believe that their vulnerability is a result of their poverty condition: not having a sturdy house, no reserve food supply, irregular incomes, and no savings for emergencies.

For all the women, the recovery period is the most difficult and stressful because of the following reasons: (1) they are the ones responsible for the family's daily food; (2) external support, if there is any, is only during emergency relief period; and (3) assistance to create livelihoods and income is limited to male-oriented food and/or cash-for-work types such as cleaning roads and repairing public infrastructures like roads, bridges and public structures. The women noted that support should not be confined only to emergency situations. They believe that strengthening their economic situation is a key for them to recover immediately.

They also realized the importance of having multiple livelihood sources so when the main livelihood (e.g. farming or tricycle business) is affected, they still have alternatives. The women highlighted the importance of savings and the support of their relatives and friends in helping them recover. Resourcefulness, faith in God and support from relatives and friends are the elements that enabled them to recover from the after-effects of typhoons and to rebuild their lives.

V. Some Concluding Notes

For the women, a life of poverty and their recurring experiences of typhoons have common effects on them – non-availability of work and income and food insecurity. Despite the hardships of daily living coupled with the pains, stress and grief they experienced during typhoons, the women manage to rebuild their lives, albeit slowly and with difficulty. The women's optimism and

resourcefulness, fostered by experiences of poverty since childhood, comprise an internal resource for them in their way to recovery.

They all know well the relationship of poverty and typhoons in their lives: their constant experiences of typhoons further aggravated their poverty situation yet their poverty experiences strengthened their capacity to cope and survive the adverse effects of typhoons on their lives. They are caregivers and food providers in their households; a typhoon means greater hardships for these rural women. Such a situation is made even worse by the fact that their community experiences an average of 19 typhoons a year.

On the other hand, women played key roles in recovery and in rebuilding their lives. Women's resourcefulness enabled them to develop coping and adaptation strategies to withstand recurring typhoons. They are often at the helm of their households in crisis situations: uniting family members in coping against difficulties, making major livelihood decisions, and developing a "culture of safety" in their households.

As gleaned from the experiences of these women, what can social development practitioners as well as disaster relief workers learn from them?

First, the women are active agents in their households in times of economic hardships and natural calamities like typhoons. They can be tapped as resources in community programs, especially in disaster interventions as decision-makers, sources of knowledge and information about strategies and needs of households, and as initiators of strategies in mitigation and recovery activities.

Second, while women are innovative and resourceful, they still need assistance especially during the recovery period. Government and other humanitarian organizations can reorient their assistance not only during emergency but also and especially during the recovery phase. Likewise, NGOs can advocate to donors to fund pre-disaster programs as well as economic projects at the recovery stage.

Third, women and men are biologically and socially differentiated and in times of natural calamities and disasters, women have gender-specific concerns

which are often overlooked. Although there are some humanitarian organizations that have started to address this issue, majority of these organizations are still oriented to the gender-blind programs that assume women and men have universal as well as common needs and circumstances.

And lastly, the image of women as agents of their own household survival has to be recognized and valued to replace the stereotyped images of women as "victims of disasters" and as "being poor and helpless" as currently portrayed in media. However, to facilitate and sustain women's participation in community endeavors, the issue of the traditional gender division of labor has to be addressed. For instance, tapping women's time and efforts during disaster programs should also consider the issue of gender division of labor in the household so that women's engagement in such community initiatives would not add to their existing productive and reproductive tasks. Education work for both women and men is a critical strategy in this regard.

Epilogue

Betty, Amelia, Lorna, Irma, and Cherry – five courageous women in my community. Despite poverty and typhoons, their stories are narratives of courage, optimism and hope. In conducting this research, the women were the storytellers while I actively listened to them. They told their stories interspersed by sighs, pauses, silences and restrained weeping. In a way, the research has changed me – by challenging my pre-conceived notion about rural poverty and ways of thinking about rural women's capacity to survive poverty and typhoons. As the five women tell their stories, the mothers with children entering our iron gate of my childhood memory became more vivid. Perhaps the stories of those mothers were similar to theirs. Upon seeing the devastation brought about by the past typhoons in our community and my personal experience of Typhoon Ondoy, I knew typhoons are never fun for adults, especially for poor mothers. The fun of it was just a mere fantasy of a child who lived in a sturdy house longing for playmates. Yet, the fun brought about by typhoons and rainy days that I experienced in my childhood will be etched in my memory ... forever.

As for the five women, they continue to struggle to remain afloat whether in bad times or in good times...

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Endnotes

¹The names of the respondents were changed to foster anonymity.

²"*Pagamit*" refers to the system of lending money to farmers paid with palay at harvest time: 3 cavans of palay for every Php 1,000 loan.

³Brgy. Monbon, the area of study is located in Irosin, one of the municipalities that comprised the province of Sorsogon. It is the third most populated barangay in Irosin with a population of 3,629 as of 2009. It is also one of the catchment areas proximate to agricultural production sites of Irosin. Its wet season is from August to February but due to the recent climatic variability, rainy season is almost experienced throughout the year. (<http://irosin.gov.ph>, n.d.).

⁴Survey of Women's Human Rights Violations in the Aftermath of the Tsunami in India, Indonesia, Thailand and Sri Lanka and the October 8, 2005 Earthquake in Pakistan, a project coordinated by APWLD, a women's human rights network composed of over 140 members in 23 countries in Asia and the Pacific.

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Prevailing Perceptions about People's Participation in Disaster Management in Two Barangays in Metro Manila

Leticia S. Tojos

This study was an attempt to look into how barangay officials continuously engaged the residents in DRRM activities in Santolan, Pasig and Tumana, Marikina. Using various data gathering methodologies, one area explored was the perceived notions of the local government department heads, members of the local disaster coordinating council, non- government and people's organization representatives (key informants) and those of the residents vis-à-vis the perspective about community participation promoted by the research team.

The data generated from the nineteen key informants and one hundred purposively chosen dwellers would provide valuable learnings not only to local officials but also to development planners and practitioners. It would enhance their understanding about the many facets of eliciting and sustaining the residents' active involvement in disaster risk reduction and management at the barangay level. As was earlier mentioned, the results might impact in reducing disaster risks and minimizing the costs of destruction in the localities.

Introduction

Climate change and the more frequent occurrence of natural disasters are results of human excesses in the utilization of the environment. The effect on the ecosystem and the lives of people is serious and has been felt worldwide. Thus, there is an urgent need to address this problem in a systematic and holistic manner which involves people in ensuring their safety and well being.

A number of documents showed that as early as 2000, the Philippine government, civil societies and social scientists have been engaged in mitigating the impact of natural disasters on the country. Even so, the intensity and the magnitude of natural disasters which occurred in the recent years caught everyone unprepared. The situation brought to light the inadequacy of current disaster responses due to lack of timely information, rescue equipment and evacuation site facilities. At the household level, the lack of disaster awareness and preparedness also contributed to the extensive physical damage and lives lost. Damage to property, infrastructure and loss of livelihood, among others, also amounted to millions of pesos.

In communities where the barangay-level disaster coordinating councils had been unable to address the crisis, it is the people themselves who struggled to respond to the needs of their families and neighbors. Impromptu communication and tracking systems were set up, as well as rescue operations. These efforts were spontaneous and voluntary, however not always sustained. Specifically, follow through actions involving disaster mitigation activities did not receive the same level of support from residents as disaster response. This was pointed out in the post-disaster documentation of Oxfam assisted projects. People were lukewarm to the setting up of early warning systems, and in utilizing and maintaining disaster mitigation technologies and equipment in their locale. One factor identified was the different valuation of community participation in disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM) by the local Government executives and stakeholders.

Thus, there is a need to determine the reasons for the waning enthusiasm in carrying out disaster response — especially disaster mitigation — activities on a long-term basis. How local government units are strengthening and sustaining community involvement in disaster risk reduction and management was the area explored by this study.

The Value of Engaging the Community

A Study on the Institutionalization of People's Involvement in Disaster Management by Local Government Units in Two Barangays in Metro Manila was an attempt to look into how barangay officials continuously engaged the residents in disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM) activities in Santolan, Pasig and Tumana, Marikina. The data gathering methods used were:

- a. 19 key informants interviews with local government department heads, members of the local disaster coordinating council, non-government and people's organization representatives;
- b. survey conducted with 100 residents purposively chosen from the two barangays;
- c. focus group discussions with willing survey respondents

The study compared the perspectives of the local stakeholders (local government department heads, members of the local disaster coordinating council, non-government and people's organization representatives and residents) on community participation with that which is promoted by the research team.

The research team also explored the perspectives and attitudes of the local stakeholders on participation in DRRM programs, projects and activities.

It is expected that the data generated from the 19 key informants and 100 residents will provide valuable lessons not only for the local officials but also to development planners and practitioners. Furthermore, the study can contribute to the understanding of the factors in eliciting and sustaining people's active involvement in DRRM at the barangay level. This in turn may lead to improvements in developing local DRRM guidelines and actions

Inclusive DRRM: Empowering the Community

The emphasis on community participation as an integral component of disaster risk reduction and management is found in both international and Philippine literature. For instance, in the report of the Partnerships for Disaster Reduction-Southeast Asia (2008), it was pointed out that there should be a sharing of leadership and responsibility by government officials with the people, which in turn necessitates the presence of clear structures and processes for participation.

Similarly, Pandey and Okazaki (n.d.) observed that there were community-based programs and projects that could not take off not only because there was lack of participation but also capacity building of the people to deal with disasters was missing. In this situation, decisions were mostly imposed on people who were regarded as "victims" and "receivers" of aid. This was not effective in the long run (p. 2). The recent experiences in the Philippines also indicated that during disasters, communities which were caught unprepared suffered the most in terms of lost lives and damages to property, infrastructure, and livelihood, among others. Poor communities also had a harder time recovering from the impact of calamities.

One important element in organizing work is people's participation. Researches show that a development effort where people take responsibility for community action creates greater impact on the well-being of residents as well as the neighborhood. There is also a large chance that an initiative will be sustained if this is owned by the people (CSWCD, 2010). Pandey and Okazaki (n.d.) also pointed out the other elements of community involvement in addition to participation: partnership, empowerment, and ownership by local people (p. 2). This will entail, among others, putting the at-risk population at the center of identification, treatment, monitoring and evaluation of risks (Puzon-Diopenes & Murshed p. 15) and their having access and control of resources and basic social services to prepare themselves against disaster (Pandey & Okazaki n.d., p. 4). The participation of the scientific community is also important.

In 2010, the Philippine Congress enacted Republic Act 10121 or the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010. The law clearly recognizes the importance of people's inclusion in the management of disaster programs and projects. It also expanded the use of the 5% fund allocation from the estimated revenue from regular sources to include, among others, capability building activities for communities (Section 21, Local DRRM Fund).

Community Participation in Disaster Management

The results of the data gathering support the findings of earlier studies on community participation in DRRM.

A. Response to Disasters

Both the local officials and the residents were aware that Barangays Marikina and Santolan are located in disaster-prone areas. These communities experience flooding and fires every year. The local governments also have systems and procedures in managing hazards, as well as an established Disaster Coordinating Council and a Rescue Center.

Despite this, the local governments were inadequately prepared for the fury of Typhoon Ondoy in 2009. The effects on both communities were devastating. Water levels rose even in areas which had been previously unaffected by floods. As the flood receded, one saw the chaos everywhere: people moving about not really knowing where to go and destroyed houses, structures and other debris scattered all over these places. Community life was disrupted as well. There were no business transactions going on. Schools and offices were closed.

The residents united to provide various support to their more needy neighbors. They helped evacuate families, prioritizing the more vulnerable groups such as the elderly, sick pregnant women and children. Using whatever materials they have on hand, they constructed bridges so people in already submerged communities can move from roof to roof to safer areas. They also shared whatever

food and other basic necessities with each other. Many noted the *bayanihan* spirit among Filipinos in that time of crisis, as well as the Filipino selflessness and resourcefulness.

The people interviewed forwarded the following lessons from the the Typhoon Ondoy experience: (1) to be prepared for any eventuality meant actively seeking information, taking initiative to build their capabilities and following the ordinances and issuances of the government and (2) it is important that the residents are organized to deal with the disaster in a systematic manner.

B. Community Participation in DRRM from the Perspective of Local Executives and Residents

As earlier stated, the research team analyzed the data from the viewpoint of empowerment. "Empowerment" was defined as a condition whereby residents and the local government officials alike are involved in establishing and managing structures set up to respond to and mitigate the effects of disasters. This entails people's active engagement in decision-making processes and leadership roles. They have access to and control over resources and can initiate actions to realize community development goals and objectives. This perspective of empowerment is in line with Republic Act 10121 which stipulates that all sectors and stakeholders at all levels, especially the local community should be involved in DRRM.

The data gathered showed that most of the key informants and residents value community involvement and were agreeable to people having an active role in dealing with calamities. In fact, in both areas, the general perception of the local officials and some residents was that the residents have been engaged in disaster related activities in their localities from the beginning. The observation that the people's participation had not been widely sought or maximized came mainly from NGOs and people's organizations in the two cities. According to these groups, the participation of residents in DRRM are only sought during calamities (e.g. to keep peace and order in evacuation centers) and in post-calamity community clean up drives.

1. A Closer Look at the Perspectives Presented

There are three divergent perspectives and attitudes on people's participation in DRRM as surfaced in the data gathering i.e. that of local government executives, the of civil societies and the community residents.

Local Chief Executives

The local chief executives (e.g. city and barangay officials) have a more centralized system of governance in mind with regard to DRRM. In this system, local executives and their staff plan and decide on policies, programs, services and activities which are then disseminated to the communities for implementation. The residents have an assistive role i.e., they provide the workforce to implement the program in times of disasters.

This view on community participation has more proponents in Pasig than in Marikina. Majority of those interviewed in Pasig cited the residents' attendance in activities like trainings and community meetings conducted by local government offices or NGOs, as well as their compliance to and observance of legislations and policies, as examples of people's participation in DRRM at present. The trainings and awareness-raising activities were conducted by the local officials for the residents mainly to enable them to deal with disasters. They also mentioned the valuable support of the community during Typhoon Ondoy's disaster and post-disaster operations as volunteers or workers under the "food for work" arrangement. One local government official remarked that the implementation of plans would be smoother if people did their part. For instance, the evacuation and rescue operations would be facilitated if people living in the danger zones voluntarily went to the evacuation centers, and followed procedures in getting their food and relief goods.

In Marikina, a respondent raised the point that involvement of too many people may prove to be inefficient in the long run. From their experience, the active involvement of various sectors in planning of disaster-related programs and policies became difficult because organizations and stakeholder groups have different

views and pushed their agenda on others. Another interviewee said that residents should only serve as volunteers assigned to tasks which they can do best. Another point was raised about looking into the implications of having volunteers in high-risk work such as rescue operations because the local government currently has no provisions such as health or life insurance for them.

Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) and Other Civil Society Groups

Another view that emerged from the interviews was the **active engagement** of residents in disaster risk reduction and management. This view was espoused mainly by NGOs and people's organizations as well as by some residents, particularly in Marikina. They viewed participation as having access to information and being actively involved in planning. This practice would lead to more comprehensive plans since the residents are more knowledgeable about their situation and their needs. Furthermore, this would lead to more efficient disaster response because people's participation will enable the LGU to focus on the more vulnerable groups and pressing issues. It was recommended that there should be an organized system of putting into practice the inclusion of the residents in disaster risk reduction and management.

A key informant from Pasig had the same view, adding that people's participation will lead to a more effective and efficient DRRM. Task assignments will be clearer and the work will be more organized. Transparency will also be facilitated as more people are informed of plans and the use of resources. Another interviewee also said that people are willing and will be enthusiastic to participate in a program which has clear directions and gains for the present and future generations.

Residents

Most of the residents interviewed for the study said that they were not involved in the planning of disaster-related endeavors. In Marikina, residents

cited their preoccupation with their livelihoods and view that DRRM is the responsibility solely of the local government as the reasons for their non-involvement in the DRRM planning process. Pasig residents on the other hand opined that their local officials were not receptive to the idea of them proposing and implementing projects in their own communities. The LGU would be even less enthusiastic to fund their proposals.

Residents in both barangays had been engaged in "assistive tasks" in local DRRM efforts: information campaigns, rescue operations and distribution of relief goods; maintaining cleanliness and order in the evacuation centers; and assisting in the rehabilitation of their communities. As with the NGO and other civil society groups, majority of the residents interviewed believe that much is to be gained in their participation in DRRM, and not only in the assistive role. They believe that local officials should be open and value suggestions from the community and actively engage them in all phases of the planning and implementation process.

2. Enhancing the Concept of Participation

As part of the initiative to contribute further to the institutionalization of people's participation in disaster risk reduction and management, the research team tried to develop a measure for this subject area using statistical procedures. The results as indicated below showed some significant associations.

2.1. Establishing Associations between Pairs of Variables

Using the Pearson chi square test, the results showed no significant association between the ages of respondents and membership in barangay level organizations; the ages of respondents and membership in the Barangay Disaster Coordinating Council (BDCC); the membership in the BDCC and number of years residing in the area; and the reasons for respondents inability to assist and presence of vulnerable members in the family

In the other pairs of variables tested, the outcome revealed the following:

- a. The relationship between the membership in the BDCC and participation in disaster management was statistically significant at .05 level of significance; i.e. membership in the BDCC increases the participation of residents in disaster management.
- b. A statistical significance (0.021) was also found in the association of the participation of respondents in the management of the evacuation site and educational attainment. There was a moderate positive association (0.463 in Pasig and 0.567 in Marikina) using the test of Phi and Cramer's V. This meant that to some extent, residents with higher educational attainment participated more in the management of the evacuation site.
- c. With regard to the participation of respondents in the management of the evacuation site and the number of years residing in the area, the findings revealed no statistically significant association in the overall data set. However, in the data set grouped by location, a significant association was found in Marikina (0.013). Cramer's V statistic also implied a moderate positive association (0.411) meaning that to some extent, those who resided for a longer period of time in Tumana tended to help in the management of the evacuation site.

The results of the cross tabulated data and their possible explanations are below:

A sizable number of women respondents (35) relative to men (7) attended the different trainings conducted by the *barangay*. This can imply women's level of awareness regarding the various aspects of disaster related concerns covered by the subject areas increased. These respondents should be considered a resource to be tapped in the pre- and during disaster activities to enable them to utilize the

knowledge and skills acquired from these activities. Their membership in teams and committees should be sought.

- Out of the 42 respondents who attended the trainings, 31 assessed themselves as prepared to handle eventualities. There were also 40 respondents in the survey who were not aware of and did not attend the trainings conducted but assessed themselves to be ready to deal with disasters. A possible explanation for this finding is that those who attended the trainings had actively disseminated what they learned to the community. It is also possible that these people had received or gathered information from other sources (e.g. mass media).
- Out of the 42 respondents who attended the trainings, 31 respondents assessed their local government officials as prepared to confront the challenges that future hazards may bring. As previously stated, the appreciation of their leaders' readiness by the forty respondents who did not attend the capability activities might be due to their vigilance and concern observed by the residents.
- The respondents acknowledged that their local government acted on disaster-related issues before, during and after the disaster struck. About 41 percent indicated receiving support from the local government prior to the disaster, 40 percent during the disaster, and 76 percent in the post-disaster period.

Some people also acknowledged that while barangay officials may not have disaster-related programs, they were active in other community development projects [insert percentage of responses] (See Tables 1 to 3)

Table 1. Concrete Action of Barangay BEFORE disasters and Respondents' Assessment of the Barangay's Preparedness

Concrete Action of Barangay - Before	Respondents' Assessment of the Barangay's Preparedness			Total
	Not prepared	Somewhat prepared	Prepared	
Make plans/prepare for people's evacuation	5	11	26	42
Capability building	0	0	2	2
Clean drainage/culverts	0	1	3	4
Others	0	0	1	1
None	2	1	19	22
No response	0	4	16	20
Not Applicable	1	2	7	10
Total	8	19	73	100

Table 2. Concrete Action of Barangay DURING disasters and Respondents' Assessment of the Barangay's Preparedness

Concrete Action of Barangay - During	Respondents' Assessment of the Barangay's Preparedness			Total
	Not prepared	Somewhat prepared	Prepared	
Monitored water level and advised residents to evacuate	2	2	10	14
Provided rescue assistance	2	9	22	33
Provided relief goods	0	0	3	3
None	3	3	16	22
Others	0	0	4	4
Don't know	0	1	0	1
No response	1	4	19	24
Total	8	19	73	100

Table 3. Concrete Action of Barangay AFTER disasters and Respondents' Assessment of the Barangay's Preparedness

Concrete Action of Barangay - After	Respondents Assessment of the Barangay's Preparedness			Total
	Not prepared	Somewhat prepared	Prepared	
Initiated the cleaning and maintenance of the surroundings	2	10	28	40
Capability building/awareness raising	1	2	5	8
Provision of relief goods/equipment/social services	3	9	29	41
Others	0	2	9	11
None	0	0	1	1
No response	1	0	4	5
Not Applicable	1	2	7	10
Total	8	19	73	100

- Only four of the 42 who attended the trainings were members of the BDCC, all of them were from Pasig. This implies there are residents who can be potential educators or managers of the community's disaster related programs and services, apart from those already members of local councils.

2.2 Exploring Significant Relationship of Selected Variables to Participation

This section attempts to identify variables significantly affecting people's participation in DRRM using multivariate logistic regression method. The variables studied were: Barangay action; age_of household heads; family size; location; assessment of self preparedness; assessment of barangay preparedness; presence of organization; assessment of relief assistance; respondent's stay in the evacuation site; presence of vulnerable family members; sex and education.

a. Participation of Residents in the Management of an Evacuation Site

Table 4. Participation of Residents in the Management of an Evacuation Site

Variable	Estimate	p-value	Odds
Intercept	3.337	0.000	
Barangay action	1.344	0.000	3.835
Age of household heads	-0.023	0.007	0.978
Family size	-0.086	0.028	0.918
Location	0.510	0.000	1.665
Assessment of self preparedness	-0.012	0.951	0.988
Assessment of barangay preparedness	-0.087	0.606	0.917
Presence of organizations	-0.220	0.025	0.803
Assessment of relief assistance	-0.287	0.004	0.751
Respondent's stay in the evacuation site	0.030	0.012	1.030
Presence of vulnerable family members	0.142	0.182	1.153
Sex	1.543	0.000	4.677
Education	-0.521	0.000	0.594

Below are the significant relationships (p-value <0.05) found in the statistical analysis of the variables in Table 4 using odds = estimates:

- The odds that a household will participate in the management of an evacuation center are three times higher for those who think that the barangay made effort to prepare for impending eventualities.
- The odds that the household head will participate in the management of an evacuation center decreases by 0.918 as family size increases.
- Those residing in Pasig have higher odds for participation (1.665 higher than in Marikina). One possible explanation for this is the relationship between the local government and the residents i.e., the relationship between the LGU and Tumana, Marikina residents are strained over a land ownership issue.

- Those with knowledge about organizations have fewer odds for participation. As relief assistance “increases” (becomes negative), the odds for participation decreases by 0.751.
- As the length of stay in the evacuation site increases odds for participation increases by 1.030 times.
- The odds for participation is higher for females than for males (i.e., 4.677 higher).
- As educational attainment increases, participation decreases by almost half(0.594).

b. Participation of Residents in Relief Operations

Table 5. Participation of Residents in Relief Operations

Variable	Estimate	p-value	Odds
Intercept	-1.147	0.229	
Barangay action	-0.068	0.869	0.935
Age_of household heads	-0.009	0.293	0.991
Family size	-0.066	0.050	0.936
Location	-0.413	0.000	0.662
Assessment of self preparedness	0.927	0.000	2.527
Assessment of barangay preparedness	-1.222	0.000	0.295
Presence of organizations	0.436	0.000	1.546
Assessment of relief assistance	-0.277	0.020	0.758
Respondent's stay in the evacuation site	0.032	0.014	1.032
Presence of vulnerable family members	1.122	0.000	3.070
Sex	-0.248	0.083	0.781
Education	0.115	0.088	1.122

Below are the significant relationships (p-value <0.05) found in the statistical analysis of the variables in Table 5 using odds = estimates:

- Similar to the family participation in evacuation centers, their participation in relief operations becomes less likely as the family size increases.
- The odds for participation in relief operations is lower in Pasig as compared to Marikina by a little more than half (0.665 times).
- As the residents' self-assessment of their being prepared increases, the odds for participation in relief operation also increases by 2.527 times.
- Participation in relief decreases by 70.5 percent as the residents' assessment of barangay preparedness increases. This may be especially true if barangay officials view residents as victims or disaster as suggested by Abarquez and Murshed (2008). As shown in a number of cases studied by Abarquez and Murshed (2008), paternalistic governance, the *top-down approach* in the management of programs and projects, strengthened the dependence of the residents towards the government.
- Those with knowledge of organizations are more likely to participate in relief operations by 50 percent than those who have no knowledge of organizations.
- As the assessment of relief operations becomes negative, the chance for participation in the undertaking decreases by 24.2 percent. Again, residents will be less likely to involve themselves in endeavors which they feel dissatisfied with.
- Participation increases by 3.2 percent as the length of residency in the area or city increases. As previously mentioned, the more rooted a family is to the community, the more the household is willing to invest time and effort for its improvement.

- Presence of vulnerable members in the household increases the odds of household head's participation in relief by three times. Household heads may be more willing to help in the operation because they have individuals who are more in need of goods and services in the relief and recovery phases of disaster.

c. Participation of residents during disasters

Table 6. Participation of residents during disasters

Variable	Estimate	p-value	Odds
Intercept	-0.646	0.413	
Barangay action	0.525	0.067	1.691
Age_of household heads	0.010	0.201	1.010
Family size	0.120	0.000	1.127
Location	0.083	0.349	1.087
Assessment of self preparedness	0.315	0.067	1.371
Assessment of barangay preparedness	-0.512	0.000	0.599
Presence of organizations	-0.457	0.000	0.633
Assessment of relief assistance	-0.110	0.248	0.896
Respondent's stay in the evacuation site	-0.015	0.154	0.985
Presence of vulnerable family members	0.278	0.139	1.320
Sex	0.901	0.000	2.463
Education	0.264	0.000	1.302

Below are the significant relationships ($p\text{-value} < 0.05$) found in the statistical analysis of the variables in Table 6 using odds = estimates:

- The chances of a household head to provide help during disaster increases by 12.7 percent as family size increases. From the accounts of the respondents, they felt that the disaster situation itself compels them to be involved especially in the rescue operations.

- Participation during disasters is likely to decrease by 40 percent as the respondents' assessment of barangay preparedness increases.
- Those with knowledge about the existence of organizations working on disaster related issues have a participation rate 36.7 percent lower than those who have no knowledge.
- Females are more than twice as likely (2.463) to participate in various relief operations during disasters than males. This may be attributed to women's socialization to care for others and volunteer their help when they see the need for it.
- Participation also increases with educational attainment by 30.2 percent

Broadening the Perspective to Sustain Community Participation in DRRM

The LGUs should be at the helm of managing any crisis situation in their locality, including natural disasters. But residents also have a stake in their communities, and they are more than willing to contribute in preventing and dealing with the disasters. This has been the realization of the government which it has since then institutionalized in Republic Act 10121 or the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Law. Moreover, government has enjoined its leadership to mainstream the participation of communities in these initiatives. Funds were also allocated to make this shift in perspective operational.

Many studies have shown that people's participation in community development triggers a multiplier effect on communities and the nation as a whole. Particularly in disaster management, research data show the active participation of an informed citizenry is critical. More harm resulted when communities were caught unprepared. Government initiatives will go to waste if there are no organized and systematic plans to guide the constituents in preparing for disasters, as well as in rescue, relief, recovery and rehabilitation operations.

The findings of this study support these previous researches. The data revealed that people willingly helped at varying levels and to the extent that their capacity and time allowed as long as they clearly understood what the activity was all about, why it was being conducted and what it would bring to the community. However, local officials tend to be more centralized in their system of governance i.e., according to them, they should be the ones to decide on and initiate DRR programs, projects, services and activities, with the residents only taking part as the workforce for these. Although this perspective is being changed to be in line with the provisions of the DRRM Law, the study findings from Tumana, Marikina and Santolan, Pasig show that much is still to be done in terms of eliciting and institutionalizing residents' participation in disaster management.

From the data generated, the following could be concluded:

1. The prevailing view on DRRM is hierarchical. Local officials conceptualize legislations, programs and projects which were then disseminated to barangay officials, then to residents for implementation.
2. Participation of the residents was elicited mainly during disasters periods which shows its reactive, one shot and assistive nature.

To strengthen and institutionalize the involvement of residents in DRRM, the following recommendations are presented:

A. Addressing Disaster Concerns from a Holistic Perspective

Disaster risk reduction and management should be addressed from a holistic perspective. This means that local officials should view and address disaster management, including the concern of increasing people's participation, vis-à-vis other community issues. For instance, in Tumana, residents will be more likely to invest their time and effort in barangay activities if the land ownership issue will be settled as soon as possible. Thus, this is one area of concern that the local officials should focus their efforts on as they prepare the households for natural disasters. Local officials should also be united

in their leadership to get the cooperation of the different political and cultural groups. It is important that they are seen to be working for the interest of the whole community and not for their personal or political party's agenda.

In Pasig, one of the challenges for the local officials is the strict enforcement of environmental compliance laws especially as regards the booming real estate development in their city.

B. Changing the paradigm of local officials and residents regarding community participation

1. Barangay:

The barangay is central in implementing the disaster-related directives of the city government. However, it does not preclude its officials from supporting or developing innovative programs or projects to protect its constituents, improve their quality of life, and enhance their adaptation to climate change. There are benefits that may accrue to the community if barangay officials will take action on these concerns.

- a. The local officials should encourage more community participation. There are already Filipino values which facilitate people's active involvement in times of crisis such as *damayan*, *bayanihan* spirit, and cooperation. The challenge lies in increasing the awareness and capabilities (particularly of the residents) on disaster management, and the importance of being proactive in dealing with these events. This might be done by:
 - Putting in place and strengthening the barangay level DRRM structure, with the representatives of the various existing organizations in the community as officers, committee heads or members. Policies on representation need to be developed and institutionalized in practice.

- Developing with the residents a comprehensive disaster management plan . The advantages of involving people in the drafting of a disaster management plan are: (a) the barangay will have an updated disaster-related database; (b) the residents will be more aware of the environmental risks in their community and their own capacities, and the resources that they have to address these; and (c) people will identify and own actions to mitigate the effects of disasters.
 - Regularly and systematically conducting trainings, information dissemination and other activities to sustain the interest of the community residents in disaster-related concerns. Trainings and information dissemination should not only be done to enable them to act when faced by catastrophes but also to actively engage them in the planning and implementation of programs and projects. To encourage residents to attend, their time availability has to be considered.
 - Disaster activities may be opportunities for job generation especially for residents in need. Funds for this purpose may be explored by the leaders. This move is in appreciation of the valuation of work principle. Some residents may be tapped for DRRM tasks and be paid for their work. Clear job descriptions and qualification and selection criteria are important.
- b. They should have the political will to pursue the active engagement of residents in preparing for and managing disasters.
- c. Together with the city officials, barangays should link with social and natural scientists to widen their perspectives and access to information and technologies in addressing disaster-related issues like safety and food security.

- d. With the assistance of the other groups, barangays should advocate that the business sector and other government officials to respect existing agreements, legislations and policies that ensure the safety and wellbeing of their communities.
- e. The barangay officials should strengthen their monitoring and evaluation systems so that the implementation of programs and projects will redound to the benefit of the community.
- f. There is a need for local officials to provide residents with opportunities to develop their own disaster management programs and projects as well as give fund support for their implementation. This will encourage them to participate and improve their capacities to meet expectations. This move will develop the self-esteem of the people as well as their ability to earn for themselves.

2. Purok/Block Level

The vibrancy of a community can be seen in the unified effort of its constituents to make their place safe and livable. The organization of groups at the smallest unit of governance actively working together for common goals and objectives is something the local officials have been working hard to achieve.

In the two barangays, officials can utilize the existing *purok* or block systems not just in disseminating information about local programs and activities but also in encouraging and supporting people's participation. In this community-based approach in disaster management, continuous organizing should be done with the help of the disaster teams and other volunteer groups.

- a. A list of residents indicating their particular skills as well as their intention to volunteer is an important material that the *purok* leader should have for reference.

- b. Under the leadership of the *purok*/block leader, the residents can be engaged on a continuing basis in data collection and knowledge generation which are important in coming up with relevant programs that will enable their communities to prevent or lessen the possible effects of hazards and help in creating adaptive strategies to cope with the changing situation. Some important documents that a community can prepare:
 - Hazard Assessment / Hazard Mapping
 - Vulnerability Assessment and
 - Capacity Assessment
- c. A pool of trainers has to be organized at the *purok* level and equipped with the required knowledge and skills to determine the capacity requirements of the residents and ably and continuously teach them.
- d. The Information Dissemination Committee which will see to it that the households are regularly informed about disaster-related matters should be set up.

3. Household Level

Households should be informed about disasters and its effects on their families and communities. Some of the practical information that households should know in times of natural disasters are how to monitor water gauges, what to do and where to go in case of a disaster. They should have survival kits containing necessary goods and supplies. They should also comply with LGU advisories regarding emergency measures, including evacuation of their houses if necessary.

C. Further Research Undertakings

Similar researches may be undertaken in the future to test out the models using the multivariate logistic regression analysis with a bigger, randomly selected sample size. The results may be generalized to include a bigger population. The results can contribute greatly to inform officials, development planners and workers at the local level on factors to consider to encourage more participation from the residents in community activities.

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Kabuhayang Bini-bid, Kinabukasang Tagilid: Isang Pananaliksik Tungkol sa Kontraktwalisasyon at Kasarian sa Office of Student Housing ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas - Diliman

Leah Emily C. Miñoza

Ang artikulong ito ay nagsisiyasat sa kalagayan ng mga manggagawang kontraktwal sa Office of Student Housing ng UP Diliman at ang pangkasariang salik sa iskemang kontraktwalisasyon. Binibigyang diin dito ang kawalan ng hustisya hindi lamang sa materyal na kalagayan ngunit pati na rin sa sikolohikal at sosyal na lagay ng manggagawang kontraktwal at ang umiiral na di-pantay na paghahati ng gawain sa loob ng tahanan.

This article explores the situation of contractual workers of the Office of Student Housing in UP Diliman and surfaces how gender figures in this work arrangement. The paper emphasizes that the injustice of contractualization is manifested not only in the material conditions but also on the psychological and social conditions of workers and its impacts on the gender division of labour.

I. PANIMULA

Malawakan ang paggamit ng kontraktwalisasyon ngayon bilang isang kaayusan sa paggawa sa pribado at pampublikong sektor. Pito sa sampung pribadong kumpanya ngayong ay kasalukuyang nagtataguyod ng kontraktwalisasyon (Reyes, 2011). Sa pampublikong sektor naman, halos 90 porsyento ay non-regular, non-career na empleyado at sinasahuran bilang casual,

contractual, job order (JO), project-based o memorandum of agreement (MOA)-based (Civil Service Commission, 2011).

Tanyag ang isyu ng kontraktwalisasyon sa kabila ng malawakang retrenchment na sinapit ng halos 2,600 manggagawa ng Philippine Airlines (PAL) nang ibunyag nito ang planong *outsourcing* ng mga trabaho (Orosa-Ople, 2011). Kamakailan lamang, halos 100 janitors ng Polytechnic University of the Philippines (PUP) ang tinanggal sa trabaho bunsod ng pagpapalit ng private contractor matapos ang naganap na *bidding process* (Gamil, 2012). Sa UP Diliman, maraming *security guard* ang natanggal sa trabaho noong Nobyembre 2012 nang matalo ang Bolinao sa prosesong bidding at pinalitan ng Glocke Security (Marquina, 2012, personal interview).

Ang marhinalisasyon ng manggagawang kontraktwal ay bunga sa pagtrato sa kanila bilang di-permanente, sekundaryo, at impormal na manggagawa. Ang pagpapalit-anyo sa trabaho mula permanente at may kaakibat na panlipunang proteksyon (*social protection*) tungo sa kaswal o kontraktwal ay tinataguriang “peminisasyon” dahil kababaihan ang nakatalaga sa mga trabahong di-permanente at mas mababa ang sahod (Beneria & Floro, 2005). Ang taguring sekundaryong pwersa ng paggawa ay kadalasang ginagamit laban sa manggagawang kontraktwal upang bigyang-katwiran ang kawalan ng akses sa panlipunan, pampulitika, at institusyunal na mga proteksyon.

Tuon ng papel ang iskemang kontraktwalisasyon sa isang opisina sa loob ng pamantasan at matukoy ang pangkasariang salik nito. Marami nang pag-aaral ang nagawa ukol sa iba’t ibang porma ng pleksibilisasyon sa paggawa ngunit kakaunti lamang ang mga pag-aaral tungkol sa kontraktwalisasyon sa konteksto ng pampublikong sektor. Napapanahon ang pag-aaral sa iskemang kontraktwalisasyon sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas bilang tuntungan ng gawaing adbokasya o batayan ng polisiya upang maitaguyod ang karapatan at dignidad ng manggagawang kontraktwal.

Ang pag-aaral na ito ay isang *exploratory case study* na may mga layuning:

1. Makabuo ng propayl ng mga manggagawang kontraktwal sa OSH ng UP Diliman;
2. Maunawaan ang kalagayan sa paggawa ng mga manggagawang kontraktwal at sa partikular, matukoy ang pangkasariang salik at dynamics sa paggawa;
3. Maunaawaan ang epekto ng kontraktwalisasyon sa relasyong pangkasarian sa loob ng tahanan.

2. PAG-AARAL NG MGALITERATURANG NAISULAT NA

2.1 Mga Depinisyon

Nagsimula ang kontraktwalisasyon sa panahon ng mga Amerikano. Sa kasalukuyang panahon sa ilalim ng neoliberal na kaayusan sa yugto ng globalisasyon, pinapatindi ang pagkaltas at pag-*externalize* ng gastos ng mga kumpanya o opisina sa pamamagitan ng pleksibilisasyon sa paggawa. Ang pleksibilisasyon sa paggawa ay:

Pamamaraan ng pagpapaliit ng gastos sa produksyon sa pamamagitan ng pagmantina ng mas maliit na bilang ng regular na manggagawa at pana-panahong paggamit ng mga kontraktwal na manggagawa na ang bilang ay maaari nilang paliitin o palakihin, depende sa demand o dami ng produktong hinihingi sa kanila ng pamilihan (Center for Women's Resources [CWR], 1998 p. 1).

Maraming porma ang pleksibisasyon sa paggawa at marami ang taguri sa mga ito: kaswalisasyon, impormalisasyon, at kontraktwalisasyon. Ang kontraktwalisasyon ay isang "pandaigdigang iskema ng dambuhalang kapitalista

kung saan temporaryong manggagawa ang kanilang ipinapalit sa mga regular na manggagawa para sa mga gawaing kailangang-kailangan sa pagpapatakbo ng kompanya" (CWR, 2002 p. 5).

2.2 Kontraktwalisasyon sa Pampublikong Opisina

Sa Pilipinas, ang kontraktwalisasyon sa mga pampublikong opisina ay bahagi ng malawakang reporma sa gobyerno na binansagang rasyunalisasyon. Ito ay naging adyenda ng mga administrasyon mula pa sa taong 1940. Ang programang rasyunalisasyon ay kilala sa maraming katawagan – *streamlining*, *reengineering* at *reorganization* - ngunit ang pangunahing layunin ng repormang ito ay upang mabawasan ang *wage bill* na tinuring na dahilan kung bakit lumiliit ang natitirang pondo para sa batayang serbisyong panlipunan. Layunin din ng rasyunalisasyon ang pagsulong ng mas maayos, de-kalidad at epektibong paghahatid ng serbisyo sa gobyerno na hindi umano posible sa isang *bloated* na burukrasya. Sa napakatagal na panahon, maraming *political appointees*, mga kawaning *redundant* o may duplikasyon sa gawain at mga ahensiyang hindi na kinakailangan. Hindi rin umano maayos ang distribusyon ng *human resources* ng pamahalaan sa aktwal na pangangailangan ng populasyon. Kung kaya, rasyunalisasyon ang tinitingnan na solusyon upang makapagbawas ng badyet para sa sahod ng personnel at maging mas epektibo ang pagseserbisyo ng gobyerno sa mamamayan (Schiavo-Campo et al., 1997).

Sa pampublikong sektor, ang naglapag ng iskemang pleksibilisasyon sa paggawa ay ang mga polisiya ng pribatisasyon at deregulasyon – na nagbigay-daan sa pagtanggal ng mga kawani sa regular na empleyo at pagdami ng mga kawani na palipat-lipat ng estado bilang kaswal, kontraktwal, o temporaryong manggagawa (Gray, 2004). Dahil sa pribatisasyon, ang kapalaran ng mga kawani sa gobyerno ay iniwan sa galaw ng merkado at tinanggal ang *security of tenure*. Ang mga tungkulin at posisyon na binansagang "*non-essential*" ay tinanggal o pinalitan ng mga trabahong kaswal at kontraktwal. Ang *contracting* at *subcontracting* ay ang pangunahing anyo ng pagpapatupad ng ideya ng merkado sa pampublikong sektor (Gray, 2004).

Umigting ang kontraktwalisasyon sa gobyerno sa panahon ni Fidel Ramos nang ipatupad ang Republic Act 7430 o ang Attrition Law na nagbawas ng bilang ng kawani ng gobyerno sa pamamagitan ng *freeze hiring* at pagtigil ng pagpuno sa mga nabakanteng posisyon gawa ng pagreretiro o pagkamatay (Tillah, 2005). Sa panahon ni Estrada, ipinasa ang Executive Order 165 o *streamlining*. Pinatupad ni Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo ang *Rationalization Program* (EO 366) na nagtanggag ng mga posisyon at ahensiyang pinagpasyahang “redundant” o “overlapping”; paglagay ng ban sa pagtanggap ng regular na *plantilla* (Brillantes & Fernandez, 2008); at ang laganap na pag-*hire* ng mga kontraktwal, kaswal, job orders (JOs), at pagtanggag ng mga kawani. Isang epekto rin ng rasyonalisasyon ay ang *subcontracting* ng mga piling serbisyo gaya ng *maintenance*, *clerical*, at *janitorial*. Sa iskemang ito, ang mga ahensya ng gobyerno ay nagsasabkon o nag-a-outsource ng non-essential services sa mga pribadong ahensiya. Sa kasalukuyang administrasyon ni Noynoy Aquino, tuloy pa rin ang pagpapatupad ng EO 366. Sa UP at iba pang SUCs (State Universities and Colleges) sa bansa, nananatiling *in force* ang AO-103 na ipinatupad sa panahon ni Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo.

2.3 Pangkasariang Salik ng Kontraktwalisasyon

Ang paglobo ng bilang ng mga kontraktwal ay tiyak na magbubunga ng mga bagong relasyong panlipunan at porma ng pagkilos (Fincher, 2004). Habang nag-iiba ang anyo, tipo, at kalakaran ng paggawa para sa babae at lalaki, ang kanilang ugnayan ay nagbabago rin (Perrons et al., 2006). Batay sa mga pagsusuri, ang peminisasyon sa paggawa ay nakatulong sa isang banda at nakasama rin, sa kabila (Beneria, 2003). Bagaman ang partisipasyon ng kababaihan sa produktibong paggawa ay nagdulot sa kanila ng pagsasakapangyarihan at otonomiya, hindi naman ito totoo para sa lahat, lalo na sa kababaihang kontraktwal. Sa isang pag-aaral sa mga babaeng kontraktwal sa agrikultura sa India, nakasalalay pa rin ang kabuhayan ng kababaihan sa ibang tao at institusyon. Totoong nagkakaroon sila ng kapasidad na umupa ng bahay at bumili ng batayang pangangailangan, pero kapag natapos ang kanilang kontrata ay kailangan nilang umasa sa mga “protektor” na kadalasan ay ang mismong kontraktor (Khattak, 2002). Hindi rin ibig sabihin na dahil kumikita na ang babae ay kapantay niya ang kanyang asawa sa pagdedesisyon

sa usaping pangtahanan; bagkus mas nahihirapan pa siya dahil nararanasan niya ang “double burden” ng produktibo at reproduktibong paggawa (Ofreneo, 2005). Lalo lamang tumitindi ang pasanin ng ilang kababaihan dahil na rin sa hindi pagbuwag ng dominanteng patriyarkal na mga ideya. Ang karanasan naman ng kababaihan sa Latin America ay mas mababa pa rin ang kanilang sahod kung ihahambing sa lalaking manggagawa dahil sa mga *gender norms* na umiiral pa rin sa mga pangekonomiya at panlipunang mga institusyon; kung kaya madalas din na ang kababaihang kaswal, kontraktwal, o part-time ang trabaho ay mas malala ang kalagayan at walang pulitikal na boses dahil hindi miyembro ng unyon. Ito ay nagreresulta ng pagkakaiba pa rin ng kalidad ng buhay kahit sa mga babae at lalaking kontraktwal (Beneria & Floro, 2005). Batay rin sa pananaliksik ng CWR (2002) sa epekto ng kontraktwalisasyon sa kababaihang manggagawa sa iba’t ibang industriya sa manupaktura, matindi ang paglaganap ng kontraktwalisasyon at ang mga kaakibat na problemang kinakaharap ng mga manggagawang babae dahil dito. Ilang sa mga negatibong epekto ng kontraktwalisasyon ay ang pag-alis ng karapatan ng mga manggagawa, panlilinlang, pagpaparupok at pagpapahina ng mga unyon, paglaganap ng kulturang kimi at sunud-sunuran, diskriminasyon, pambabastos at pagsasawalang-bahala sa mga ispesyal na pangangailangan ng kababaihan. Tinitingnan din na may partikular na katangian ang iskema ng pleksibilisasyon sa relasyong pantao at panlipunan dahil mula sa kolektib na paggawa sa pormal na trabaho, nagiging indibidwal ang kalikasan sa kontraktwal na paggawa. Ito ang tinataguriang tesis ng indibidwalisasyon (*individualization thesis*) kung saan kumpetisyon at kaisipang kanya-kanya ang umiiral (Perrons et al., 2006).

3. METODOLOHIYA

Case study ang ginamit na pamamaraan sa pag-aaral na ito. Tatlong paraan ng pagkalap ng datos ang ginamit: *survey*, *focus group discussion (FGD)*, at *key informant interview (KII)*. Para sa isinagawang survey, 43 katao ang nagsilbing sample. May 14 katao ang lumahok sa FGD. Para sa KII, dalawang mag-asawang kontraktwal, pinuno ng Office of Student Housing, isang tagapangasiwa ng dormitoryo, at lider ng unyon ang nakapanayam. Sinunod ng mananaliksik ang

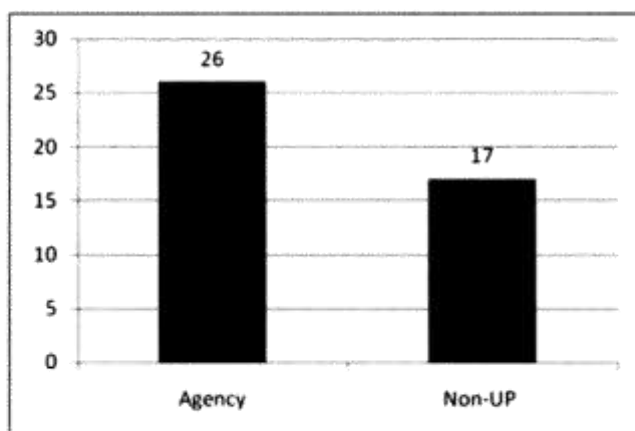
mga prinsipyo sa etiks gaya ng paghingi ng pahintulot na mairekord ang FGD at interbyu at paggamit ng koda upang matago ang identidad ng mga kalahok.

4. ANG KINALABASAN NG PANANALIKSIK

4.1 Ang Manggagawang Kontraktwal ng Office of Student Housing

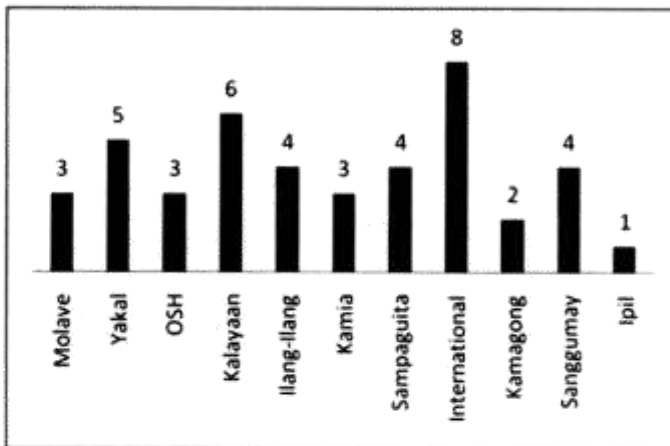
Ang Office of Student Housing ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas-Diliman ay opisina ng nangangasiwa ng serbisyong pangtahanan para sa mga mag-aaral ng UP Diliman. Sa kasalukuyan, ang opisina ito ay pinamumunuan ni Dr. Gerardo Lanuza. Sa pagkakasulat ng papel, 43 ang manggagawang kontraktwal sa opisina: 26 ay non-UP contractual at 17 naman ay agency hires.

Tsart 1. Dami ng agency at Non-UP contractual sa OSH



Sampung dormitoryo o *residence hall* ang pumapailalim sa OSH: Kalayaan; Molave; Yakal; Ipil; Sanggumay; Kamia; Sampaguita; Ilang-Ilang; International Centre, at Kamagong.

Tsart 2. Distribusyon ng manggagawang kontraktwal kada dormitoryo/ opisina



Ang Katawagan o Taguri sa Kontraktwal ng OSH

Sa OSH, dalawang katawagan sa kontraktwal ang umiiral: ang (1) *agency* at (2) *non-UP* kontraktwal. Labas pa dito ang mga *reliever* na humahalili sa manggagawang lumiliban sa trabaho o naka-leave.

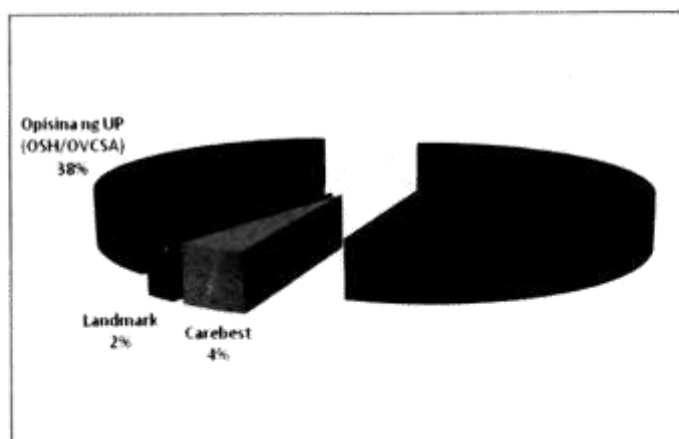
Agency. Uri ng kontraktwal na hina-hire mismo ng mga pribadong ahensiya o kontraktor upang magsagawa ng trabaho o serbisyo. sa *sanitation at housekeeping services*. Isang taon ang haba ng kanilang kontrata na pwedeng ma-renew kada taon. Nakadepende naman ang kanilang empleyo sa isinasagawang bidding ng pamunuan ng UP Diliman taun-taon.

Non-UP contractual. Hina-hire ng mga opisina sa loob ng UP, (sa pag-aaral na ito, OSH o OVCSA) na walang kaakibat na *employer-employee relationship*. Kinukontrata sila upang magsagawa ng partikular na serbisyo na hindi kaya ng *regular staff* ng opisina.

Sa kasalukuyan, kalakhan ng mga kontraktwal ay kinontrata ng Philcare Manpower Services (56%), sinundan ng mga opisina gaya ng OSH at Office of the

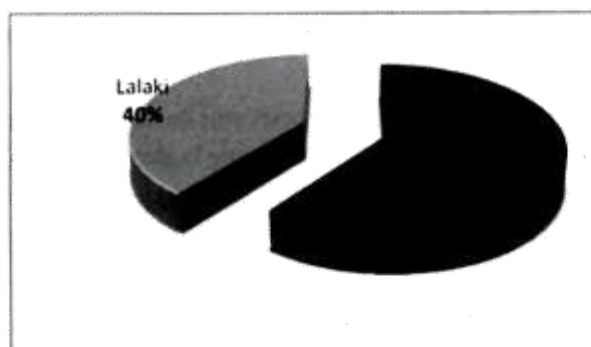
Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs (OVCSA) (37%), Carebest International (4%), at Landmark (2%).

Tsart 3. Mga private agency/opisinang kumontra

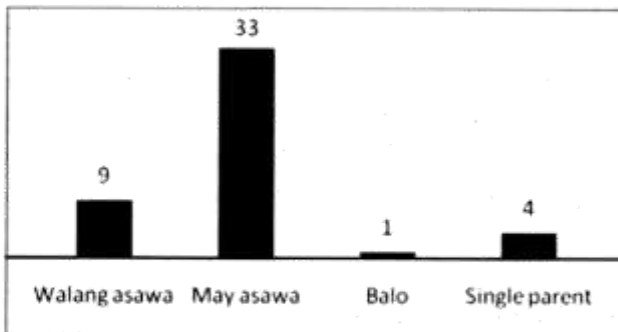


Batay naman sa kasarian, mas maraming babaeng kontraktwal kesa sa lalaking kontraktwal. Kung pagbabasehan ang imbentaryo ng personnel ng OSH, tinatayang 60 porsyento ng mga manggagawang kontraktwal sa OSH ay babae samantalang 40 porsyento ay lalaki. Karamihan sa mga kontraktwal ay may asawa (77%). May iilan na walang asawa (21%), bala (2%) at nag-iisang magulang (9.3%)

Tsart 4. Distribusyon ng manggagawa batay sa kasarian



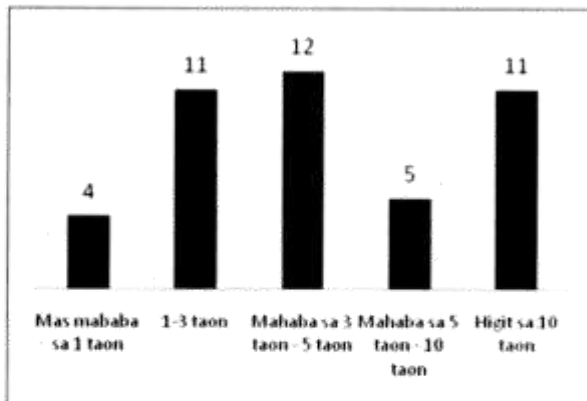
Tsart 5. Estado sibil ng manggagawang kontraktwal sa OSH



Kontraktwal “for life”

Isang matingkad na katangian sa mga kontraktwal na manggagawa ng OSH ay ang tagal na ng kanilang paninilbihan sa mga dormitory ngunit nanatili pa rin silang kontraktwal. Halos lahat ng mga kontraktwal ay nagsilbi na sa mga dormitoryo ng higit 3 taon.

Tsart 6. Tagal sa serbisyo



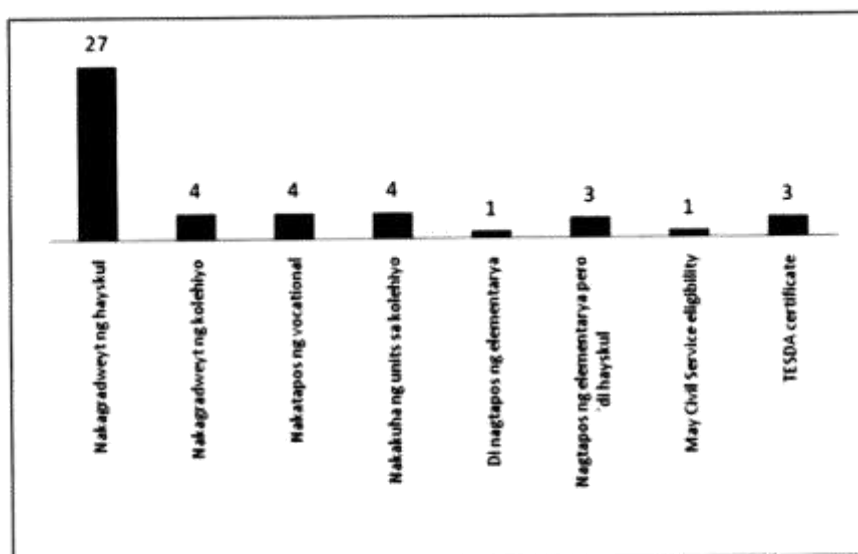
Ayon kay Bacungan at Ofreneo (1999), nakasaad sa Labor Code na karapatan ng lahat ng manggagawa, maging kontraktwal man o kaswal, ang

maging regular na empleyado kung ito ay nakapaghandog ng hindi kukulangin ng isang taong pagseserbisyo, kahit ito ay may patlang-patlang pa. Sa OSH, may mga kontraktwal na mahigit 21 taon nang naninilbihan sa dormitoryo ngunit kontraktwal pa rin hanggang ngayon. Ang kabuuang abereyds ng tagal ng serbisyo ng manggagawang kontraktwal sa OSH ay 6.54 taon. Mas matagal na naninilbihan ang mga *agency* (8.54 taon abereyds) sa mga dormitoryo kung ikukumpara sa mga *non-UP contractual* na umaabot ng abereyds na serbisyo ng 3.26 taon.

Dehado sa edukasyon at kwalipikasyon

Kung titingnan ang kwalipikasyon ng manggagawa, 63 porsyento sa kanila ay high school graduate, 9 porsyento lamang ang college graduate, 9 porsyento ay nagtapos ng vocational course, 9 porsyento ay undergraduate, 2 porsyento ay di natapos ng elementarya, at 7 porsyento natapos ng elementarya pero hindi hayskul. Sa 43 na manggagawa, isa lamang ang may Civil Service Eligibility at tatlo ang may TESDA Certification.

Tsart 7. Antas ng edukasyon/credentials na nakuha



Mga Rekisito sa Pag-aplay sa Agency

Batay sa survey na ipinaikot sa mga manggagawang kontraktwal, malaking halaga ang kinakailangan sa proseso ng aplikasyon at pagre-renew. Aabot ng humigit kumulang Php2,055 hanggang Php2,840 ang gagastusin ng mga aplikanteng nagbabaka-sakaling makapasok sa ahensiya.

Talahanayan 1. Mga Rekisito sa Pag-aplay sa Agency

Rekisito	Halaga (Php)
NBI	150-185
Police clearance	130-180
SSS ID	100
Court clearance	75
Medical certificate	700-1000
Notary public	100
TIN	150
Barangay clearance	80
ID picture	120
Uni form (upper)	300
Uni form (upper and lower)	700
Birth certificate	155
Total	2055-2840

Paghahambing ng Agency at Non-UP contractual

Bagama't kontraktwal pareho ang porma ng empleyo ng agency at non-UP contractual, may mga pagkakaiba sila base sa sahod, mga kaltas sa sahod, at mga benepisyong natatanggap. Ayon sa survey, ang *agency hire* ay maaring kumita ng Php426 hanggang Php444 kada araw. Nagtatrabaho sila ng anim na araw sa isang linggo, may isang araw na *day off*, at sa loob ng isang araw, ay mula 8 am hanggang 5 pm ang pasok. Ang maksimum na natatanggap ng isang *agency* kung ipagpanggap natin ang kumpletong 26 araw kada buwan ay Php11,544. Sa pag-abereyds naman ng sweldo ng agency mula sa opisyal na tala ng OSH ay tumatanggap ang isang agency ng humigit kumulang Php10,351 kada buwan. Ang *non-UP contractual* naman ay mas mataas ang basic pay sa Php638-792 kada araw

kaya ang maksimum na natatanggap kada buwan ay Php17,244 at ang average monthly income ay Php12,027. Ngunit maliban sa ilan sa kanilang nakakatanggap ng bonus tuwing Disyembre, wala silang kaltas dahil wala ring benepisyong natatanggap, liban na lang kung hinuhulugan nila nang boluntaryo ang SSS, Philhealth, atbp.

4.2 Kalagayan ng Manggagawang Kontraktwal

Apat na aspeto ng kalagayan ang tiningnan ng mananaliksik: ang materyal o ekonomik na aspeto, sosyal o panlipunang aspeto, ang ligal o representasyon, at ang sikolohikal na aspeto.

4.2.1 Materyal o Ekonomik

Kulang ang sahod, baon sa utang

Minimum wage ang tinatanggap ng mga *agency* sa lahat ng opisina ng UP. Dahil karamihan sa kanila ay may asawa't anak na kailangang buhayin, alala sila sa nananatiling mababang pasahod bilang kontraktwal. Sa mga *non-UP contractual* naman, ang kawalan ng benepisyo at ang pangambang masisante sa laging naka-ambang budget cut ang malaking isyu para sa kanila. Sa *agency*, bukod sa *automatic deductions* buwan-buwan, marami sa kanila ang may dagdag kaltas mula *loans* na kinukuha ng manggagawa para sa tuition ng mga anak na nasa kolehiyo o paggastos sa kalusugan. Halos lahat sa kanila ay "nagtatrabaho sa wala" at ang ilan ay nakasangla na ang ATM sa *agency* o sa lending.

Wala na 'yang sweldo namin. Nagtatrabaho kami wala na kaming sinusweldo kasi tapos na eh. Ganyan ang buhay naming mga agency.... Pagdating ng sweldo, pirma na lang. Maghihintay na lang kami ng bale. – Ron, FGD2

Taun-taong nangangamba

Kaakibat na ng pagiging kontraktwal ang mabuhay ng laging may pangamba. Ito ang pagsasalarawan ng mga manggagawa tungkol sa kanilang

estado. Ang *agency* ay taun-taon ang pagre-renew at nakasalalay pa ang kanilang kabuhayan sa magiging takbo ng proseso ng bidding para sa pagkontrata ng serbisyo. Kung nagkataon na ang kanilang *agency* pa rin ang nanalo sa bidding ay madali para sa kanila ang ma-absorb sa susunod na taon. Ngunit kapag natalo ang kanilang *agency* ay panibagong proseso ng aplikasyon na naman.

Kapag natatalo ang kanilang *agency* sa bidding, ang patakaran umano ng bagong *agency* na panalo sa bidding ay “50-50”.

Kasi ang ginagawa ng agency din minsan – 50-50. Kunyari 10 kayo, aalisin ang 5. Pagdating ng agency papalitan nila ng tao nila yung 5. –Gelay, FGD3

Ayon sa mga kontraktwal, ang matagal na nilang pagserbisyo at pagiging malapit ang loob sa manedyer ng dormitoryo o pinuno ng opisina ay nakakatulong upang ma-absorb sila kahit pa natatalo sa bidding ang kanilang *agency*. Pero sa karanasan naman ng iba, lalo na ng mga baguhan, sila ang mas nanganganib na matanggal dahil tagal sa trabaho ang pangunahing batayan ng pagre-retain.

Kalbaryong “Back to reliever”

Ang katagang “back to reliever” ay kalbaryo para sa manggagawang kontraktwal. Ang mga hindi pinalad na ma-absorb o ma-retain sa trabaho ay bumabagsak sa pagiging “reliever.” Ang “reliever” ang *last resort* ng mga kontraktwal upang buhayin ang kanilang pamilya sa mga pagkakataong nawawalan sila ng trabaho tuwing nagpapalit ng *agency*. May ilan sa kanilang halos dalawang taong nawalan ng trabaho, may ilan na apat hanggang anim na buwan na tuloy-tuloy ang pagiging reliever. Sila ang humahalili sa mga kontraktwal – kumbaga sila ang sinasabkon kapag wala ang kontraktwal. Nagkakaroon lamang sila ng kita kung may nag-a-absent, nagkakasakit, nag-*file* ng leave, o nanganganak na kontraktwal.

Dalawang tipo ang reliever: ang *regular reliever* ang siyang pinagkakatiwalaan ng opisina na humalili kapag hindi nakakagampan ng trabaho ang isang kontraktwal o regular na manggagawa. Ang *standby reliever* naman ay dumadaan sa prosesong *first come first served*. Kailangan nilang pumila, kasama ang halos 20 *standby reliever* para makapasok sa mga araw na may hindi pumapasok sa trabaho.

F: *Pag nag-reliever paano po ang sahod?*

Gelay: *Parehas lang ang sahod sa araw — pag reliever ka, hindi kasing dami ang araw... minsan sa isang kinsenas, tatlo lang na araw, dalawa. Pero kelangan pumunta ka sa barracks araw-araw para maghintay ng balita kung me absent.*

F: *Gaano karami ba yung pumipila para maging reliever?*

Ging: *Mga 20, mga ganun. Minsan dumarating 3 o'clock — ng umaga. Pag merong absent, yung unang darating yun ang ipapasok. Naranasan ko yan. 2 years akong reliever — sa North (sector) — pumipila kami sa barracks namin sa agency.*

Gelay: *Kung walang absent, uwian — mga 9 am uuwi na kami. Eh di sayang din yung pamasaha namin. (FGD 3)*

Kahit pa tanggap ng mga kontraktwal ang hrap at indignidad ng pagiging reliever ay kailangan nilang magbaka-sakali. Ito ang dahilan kung bakit si Gelay ay umabot ng 2 taon sa pagiging reliever. Para sa kanila, kahit anong liit ng posibilidad na makapagtrabaho sa isang araw ay sasalang sila — para buhayin ang kanilang pamilya.

Kung kaya, sa bahagdan ng porma ng paggawa sa loob ng UP Diliman, lumalabas na ang *standby reliever* ang nasa pinakamababa. Sila ang nagsisilbing “*reserve army of labour*” ng mga opisina ng unibersidad tuwing may mga pagkakataong kinakailangan sila upang gumanap ng partikular na serbisyo. Sa

tuktok ay ang mga regular o permanenteng manggagawa ng UP na sinundan ng UP contractual, non-UP contractual, agency hire, regular reliever, at panghuli, ang standby reliever.

Pigura 1. Bahagdan ng uri ng manggagawa sa loob ng UP Diliman



4.2.2 Kalagayang ligal/ Representasyon

Kontraktwal mula noon hanggang ngayon

Sa OSH, may mga manggagawang higit sa 15 taon na ang pagseserbisyo, ang pinakamatagal sa kanila ay 21 taon nang naglilingkod sa mga dormitoryo ng UP. May mga pagkakataon umanong gawing permanente ang mga manggagawang may SG (salary grade) 4 to SG 8 noon, ngunit ginamit naman ang bakanteng item para bumuo ng faculty items sa pamamagitan ng conversion (Marquina, 2012, personal na panayam).

Diskriminasyon base sa Edad

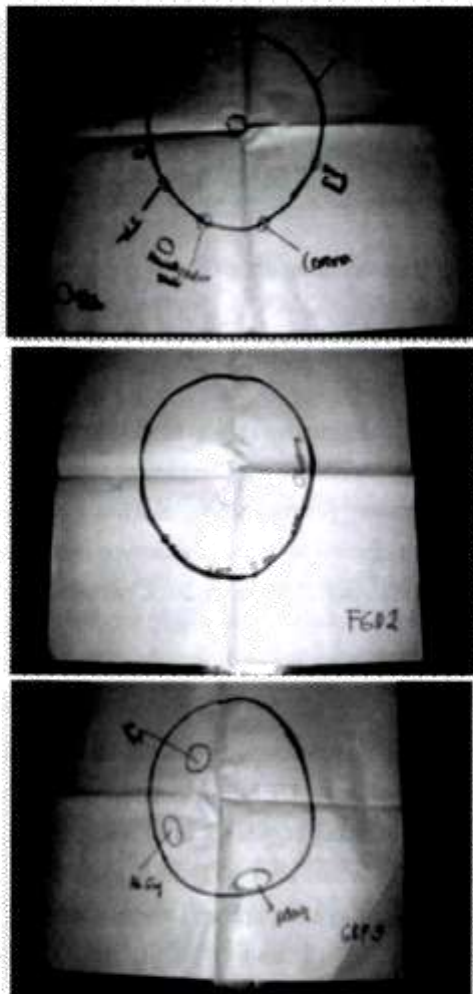
Lantad na porma ng diskriminasyon base sa edad na nakasaad sa terms of reference na basehan ng kontrata ng UP Diliman at mga private agency kung saan hindi na tatanggapin ang sinumang lagpas na sa 45 taong gulang. May relatibong seguridad ang mga agency noon kasi bagama't may TOR ay hindi naman pinapatupad ito. Samakatwid, may kasiguruhan kahit papaano ang mga kontraktwal dahil na-a-absorb naman sila – kaya umaabot ng higit dalawang dekada ang pagiging

kontraktwal ng iilan. Ngunit ngayong naghigpit na ang unibersidad sa *security guards* (tinanggal ang mga may edad 46 pataas), nangangamba ang mga *agency* sa dormitoryo na baka higpitan na rin ang *age requirement* sa susunod na taon.

4.2.3 Kalagayang Sosyal

Marhinalisasyon, alyenasyon – pagiging “kapit tuko”

Pigura 2. Mga Manggagawang nasa Gilid ng Bilog



Isa sa matingkad na tema mula sa naganap na FGD ay ang artikulasyon ng kanilang sariling marhinalisasyon. Sa loob ng komunidad ng UP na kanila nang pinagsilbihan ng maraming taon, nilagay nila ang kanilang sarili sa gilid ng bilog – simbolismo ng hindi pagiging buong miyembro ng komunidad. Ang kalikasan ng kanilang trabaho bilang kontraktwal na mababa ang sahod, walang kaseguruhan, at walang “social protection,” ang siyang nagbibigay sa kanila ng estado bilang “invisible” na manggagawa sa unibersidad.

F: Bakit po kayo nasa gilid ng bilog?

Corona: Kasi ako — kami, sabi no work no pay... Pangalawa, pag wala na daw budget, pwede kami matanggal – kaya diyan ako.

Dong: Ako naman, kaya ko nilagay sa gilid kasi wala pong kasiguraduhan ang trabaho namin sa UP. Kung mapapalitan ang agency, mangangamba po kami.

JR: Kung minsan, napapaisip ka din ng kung anu-ano kaya d'yan ako napunta... Kumbaga, parang kapit tuko.

Cathy: Ang mga nasa gitna ng bilog ang permanente. Kami nasa gilid, nangangamba o kumakapit.

Ang pagiging bahagi ng grupo ng mga taong nasa gitna ng bilog ang pinapangarap ng mga manggagawang kontraktwal.

Kailangan kasiguraduhan ng trabaho... Anytime pwede kang mawalan ng trabaho. Kasi nakakontra ka eh. – Gwaping, FGD2

Malinaw na regularisasyon ang panawagan ng mga manggagawa ng OSH. Mayroon naming mas mababa ang inaasahan para sa hinaharap. Ang ilan nga sa kanila ay sasang-ayon nang manatiling kontraktwal sa kundisyong hindi sila matatanggal sa agency hanggang sa umabot ng 60 o 65.

Ging: Basta dire-diretso, basta may trabaho – hanggang 60 o 65 kaya naman yun eh. Basta tuloy-tuloy lang... (FGD3)

Pagmamaliit sa sarili at ng kapwa

Dama ng karamihan at sa ilan naman ay internalisado mismo ng mga kontraktwal ang pagiging maliit na manggagawa.

Bahagi nga kami ng UP – nasa loob na kaya lang tayo yung pinakamababang uri ng manggagawa. – Ging, FGD3

Kaya nandito lang kami sa pinakagilid. Kami yung pinakamaliit na manggagawa ang nandito. Walang katiyakan ang buhay namin. Walang kasiguraduhan ang trabaho namin. Kaya dito kami. – Ron, FGD2

May kalakip na pangungutya at kawalan ng respeto ng ibang tao para sa kanilang trabaho ang naranasan ng mga manggagawa pero ito ay kanila na lamang tinatanggap.

Ako naranasan ko yan... Sa lugar namin, papasok ako sa araw-araw... Magtatanong sa akin – san ka ba nagtatrabaho? Siempre sabi ko “Sa UP.” Siempre proud ako kasi UP. Pero may nakakapagsabi – “ay janitress lang naman yan... kaya ko nasabi yun. Pero nasa UP naman ako! – Gelay, FGD3

Natalakay din ang hindi makataong pagtrato ng mga regular o permanenteng manggagawa doon sa mga kontraktwal. Kalimitan, idinadaan ito sa pagsisigaw, pangungutya, at labis-labis na pag-uutos.

May ibang permanente, pag nagsasalita sila, “Eh! Non-up contractual ka lang naman eh!” Meron din namang, “Eh! Agency ka lang.” Meron talaga akong na-encounter na empleyado kahit sa pag-uutos. Porke’t sila ay permanente. Pag mag-ano sila sa kapwa nila, naninigaw. – Cathy, FGD1

4.2.4 Kalagayang Sikolohikal

Sinasabing dinisenyo ang kontraktwalisasyon ng mga kapitalista upang hubugin ang isang kimi, lupig, at sunud-sunurang lakas paggawa (CWR, 2002). Kakambal ng pagiging kontraktwal ang kulturang pagpapaliban ng sariling mga karapatan at dignidad upang hindi matanggal sa trabaho.

Kulturang Kimi

Ang pagiging kimi ay naipapakita sa internalisasyon ng pagiging lupig. Ayon sa mga kontraktwal na manggagawa, limitado naman ang kanilang pagkilos o pag-isip dahil wala sa kanilang kontrol ang kanilang buhay. Kung kaya, imbes na igiit ang kanilang mga inaasam na karapatan ay natututo na lamang maging masaya sa kung ano ang natatamasa sa ngayon. Dahil sa kanilang kawalan ng sapat na edukasyon, walang kalinangan, at edad, nagsasalita sila mula sa isang posisyong walang kapangyarihan.

Kasi wala na po eh.. ngayon may edad na ako. Parang buti na rin at me trabaho. Ang importante lang naman eh – may trabaho. –Ging, FGD3

Kumpetisyon at kanya-kanya

Natalakay sa FGD ang matinding kumpetisyon o palakasan na nagaganap sa mga manggagawang kontraktwal. Hindi ito kataka-taka dahil na rin sa nagaganap na bidding taun-taon at ang posibilidad na ma-*retrench*. Ang hindi maiwasang pagnanais nang masama sa kapwa manggagawa upang mabigyan ng pagkakataong kumita bilang *reliever* ay maaring tingnan na isang manipestasyon ng matinding indibidwalisasyon sa panahon ng pleksibilisasyon. Ayon sa mga kalahok, kahit ayaw nilang mag-isip nang masama ay inaalala rin nila ang kanilang pamilyang nagugutom – kaya sa panahon na naging *reliever* ay tila nawawala ang kanilang pakikipagkapwa.

Ging: Sabi namin, "sana nga may mag-absent para makapasok kami."

Gina: Pinagdadasal nga namin na sana may mag-absent eh!

Gelay: Ako Muam, ang mga pinapalitan yung mga nag-leave – halimbawa nanganak – dalawang months yun; pag pumunta ng probinsya – limang araw. So pinagdadasal namin na may manganak (tawa) kasi sa iyo ang kita nya! (tawanan) – FGD3

Disiplina at Kontrol

Kakambal din ng paggawang pleksible at bulnerable ang kakayahan nitong magdisiplina o maghubog ng disiplina sa manggagagawa kahit hindi ito pinapataw nang hayagan. Ang kawalan ng kasiguruhan sa trabaho at pangambang matanggal ay nagsisilbing porma ng kontrol na nagdudulot ng kawalan ng kapangyarihan sa manggagawa at nagtatakda ng kaisipan at kilos na lupig. Kadalasan, umuusbong ang pagiging *submissive* ng kawani o manggagawa sa ano mang itatakda gawain ng superyor kahit na ito ay labas sa balangkas ng takdang gawain sa takot na mawalan ng trabaho (Parinas, personal na panayam, 2012).

4.3 Pangkasariang salik ng kontraktwalisasyon

Isang batayang palagay sa peminismo ang pagsasakapangyarihan nang babae sa gawaing may bayad. Ngunit lumalabas sa FGD na ang pagsasakapangyarihan ng babaeng kumikita sa trabaho ay naka-angkla pa rin sa usapin ng kasarian – ang mga tradisyunal na paniniwala ukol sa produktibo at reproduktibong paggawa (Khattak, 2002), ang laki ng kita ng babae o ang mga rekurso nito kumpara sa lalaki (Sevilla-Sanz, Gimenez-Nadal, & Fernandez, 2010), ang ideyolohiyang nagsasaad na “ang babae ay para sa bahay” (CWR, 1998), at ang kawalan ng kalinangan sa pagiging asertibo ng babae sa loob ng pamilya (van Hooff, 2011).

Lumalabas sa pag-aaral na kahit pa may kontribusyon ang babaeng manggagawa sa kabuuang kita, di pa rin siya nakakaiwas sa samu’t saring pasanin. Obserbasyon mismo ng kalalakihan sa FGD na mas maraming ginagawa ang kababaihan – at “ang ginagawa na lang namin ay kumain, magrelaks at matulog.”

Kung tumutulong man sa gawaing bahay, ay namimili sila: isa o dalawa lamang (pagsasaing, pagluluto) ang karaniwang kontribusyon ng lalaki sa gawaing bahay. Bukod pa dito, sa mga lalaking tumutulong sa ibang reprodktibong gawain, ang *childcare* o pag-aalaga ng anak ay nananatiling sa babae nakasalalay.

Ideyolohiya ukol sa kasarian

Malaki ang papel ng ideyolohiya sa pagpapanatili ng tinatawag na *gender division of labor* sa loob ng bahay. Aminado mismo ang kalalakihan na mas maraming ginagawa ang mga babae pero pinapanindigan nila ito lalo kung "housewife" lang naman ang asawa.

Dong: *Sa mga babae, paggising nila, naglalaba pa eh, nagluluto, tapos naghahatid pa ng mga bata. Kaya kakain na lang ang lalaki.*

Tanny: *Paggising ko, nakahanda na ang pagkain ko. Kasi nga... housewife naman sya.*

Binigyang-katwiran ng ilang manggagawang babae ang di-pantay na pagkakahati ng gawain. Halimbawa, ang pag-aalaga ng mga anak ay hindi ipinagkakatiwala sa kanilang asawa dahil sa paniniwalang hindi kaya ng mga lalaki ang mag-alaga, mahina ang loob, at mas kampante sila kapag sila ang nag-aalala sa kapakanan ng mga anak. Ito ay sang-ayon sa pag-aaral na nagsasabing kahit pa mas mataas na ang kita ng babae sa lalaki, ay nagpupumilit pa rin minsan ang babae na mag-alaga ng anak, dahil sa "*internalized sense of self-worth related to childcare*" (Sevilla-Sanz, Gimenez-Nadal, & Fernandez, 2010).

Gina: *Ang reason kasi ng lalaki minsan mahina ang loob nila – yung hindi nila kaya yung sitwasyon ng halimbawa, ng bata, hindi nila maeexplain kung anong nararamdaman.*

Gelay: *Ako din. Kasi 'yun naman ang talaga ang sa Nanay, 'di ba? Masaya ka na rin na naalagaan mo anak mo.*

Makikita sa mga sagot ng mga kalahok sa FGD na responsibilidad pa rin ng babae ang mga gawaing saklaw ng “care economy” (Khattak, 2002). Marahil dahil ang gawain ng mga kontraktwal sa gawaing may bayad ay ekstensyon ng kanilang mga reproduktibong papel sa tahanan ay hindi napapangibabawan ang gender division of labour, kung kaya, nagkakaroon ng *multiple burden* ang kababaihang kontraktwal. Dahil sa ideyolohiyang nakaugat na sa lipunan patungkol sa papel ng babae bilang “ilaw ng tahanan” at ng mismong pagtanggap o pagbalewala rin ng kababaihan sa kaisipang ito, bumabagsak pa rin sa kanila ang patong-patong na responsibilidad sa tahanan.

Inalam sa pamamagitan ng mga interbyu ang mga elementong nagdudulot sa paghahati ng paggawa sa loob ng tahanan. Ang *time availability* ay isang pangunahing konsiderasyon sa kung paano nahahati ang responsibilidad sa gawaing bahay at pag-aalaga ng bata sa ilang mga kontraktwal na manggagawa. Para sa mga mag-asawang matagumpay na napapangibabawan nang bahagya ang *gender division of labour*, pragmatismo ang ginagamit. Ibig sabihin, dahil kailangan at walang ibang aako ng responsibilidad kaya pinaplano kung sino ang dapat nakatuon ang oras sa anong gawaing bahay at kailan. Kawalan ng *day off* at libreng oras naman ang katwiran ng ilang babaeng kontraktwal kung bakit hindi na sila nagde-demand na tumulong ang kanilang mga asawa sa responsibilidad sa tahanan. Sa mga nakapanayam naman na mag-asawa, dumadaan ang paghahati ng gawain sa proseso ng negosasyon. Sa isa pang nakapanayam na mag-asawa ay hindi sila nagkakaproblema sa pasanin ng gawaing bahay at pag-aalaga ng anak dahil may kakayahan silang sumaklolo sa kamag-anak na babae.

4.4 Mga Tugon sa Isyu ng Manggagawang Kontraktwal

May mga hakbang na isinasagawa ang mga administrador at ng unyon sa loob ng UP Diliman upang tugunan ang samu't saring isyung kinahaharap ng mga kontraktwal na manggagawa.

Sa usapin ng regularisasyon, batid ni Mr. Noel Marquina, ang officer-in-charge ng Kalayaan Residence Hall na maraming bakanteng *item* kung kaya para sa kanya, malaki ang posibilidad na ma-absorb ang mga non-UP at agency hired lalo na't nagpalabas ng memo si Pangulong Pascual, ang AO 11-04, noong Abril 2011 na dapat i-absorb ang mga kontraktwal at posibleng agency hired. Nagpalabas din ng Memo Circular ang Department of Budget and Management na hindi nila ibibigay sa mga ahensiya ng gobyerno ang badyet ng mga bakanteng *item*. Kung kaya, nagsusumikap ang mga dormitoryo at ang pamunuan ng Office of Student Housing na makipag-ugnayan sa Direktor ng HRDO at Vice Chancellor for Administration para mapabilis ang *authority to fill* ng mga *item*. Kamakailan ay nagharap din ang pinuno ng OSH na si Dr. Gerardo Lanuza ng *position paper* kay Tsanselor Caesar Saloma. Laman nito ang pagpapaliwanag na kulang ang mga permanenteng kawani sa OSH at mas malaki ang nagagastos ng UP kung mananatiling kontraktwal at agency hired ang mga kawani. Sa hanay naman ng All-UP Worker's Union, matatag ang panawagan laban sa kontraktwalisasyon at suporta para sa regularisasyon ng mga kontraktwal. Bilang tugon sa panawagang regularisasyon, nagbibigay ng libreng review sa Civil Service Exam ang unyon upang matulungan ang mga kontraktwal na abutin ang mga kwalipikasyon sa mga bakanteng *item*. Sa usapin ng mga isyung pangkasarian sa mga kontraktwal, batid ng mga nakapanayam na puspusang gawaing edukasyon ang kailangan upang matugunan ang di-pantay na paghahati ng gawain sa mga babae at lalaking kontraktwal. Isang problemang lumilitaw sa usapin ng VAW (violence against women) ay hindi saklaw ng UP Office of Anti-Sexual Harassment ang mga kaso ng sexual harassment sa hanay ng agency-hired kung kaya hindi ito naseserbisuhan ng opisina. Ganunpaman, nakikipag-ugnayan ang unyon at mga dormitoryo sa UP Diliman Gender Office upang mabigyan ng edukasyon ang mga kontraktwal na babae ukol sa kanilang mga karapatan.

5. Kongklusyon

Lumalabas sa resulta ng pananaliksik ang kawalang hustisya ng kontraktwalisasyon at ang epekto nito di lamang sa materyal na kalagayan ng mga manggagawang kontraktwal kundi sa kanilang sikolohikal na lagay at pakikipag-

ugnayan sa kapwa manggagawa. Sa hanay ng kababaihang manggagawa, muling pinatunayan ng pag-aaral na hindi sapat na lumahok ang kababaihan sa gawaing may bayad para mapagpasyang mabago ang di-pantay na hatian ng gawain sa loob ng tahanan. Pinapatunayan din na ang pagkakaroon ng pantay-pantay na responsibilidad sa gawaing bahay ay hindi binibigay nang kusa kundi isinusulong mismo ng kababaihan. Minumungkahi ng mga sagot ng mga nakapanayam na hindi sapat ang kagustuhan lang na may pagkakapantay-pantay sa gawaing bahay: ang pagbibigay katwiran sa *gender division of labour*, lalaki man o babae, at kung hindi aktibong makikipag-usap ang babae at lalaki ukol dito, patuloy na magiging pasan-pasan ng babae ang gawaing bahay. Ito ay sang-ayon sa pagsusuring ang pagbabago ng relasyon ng kasarian ay isang napakahaba at matagal na proseso at ang mga mag-asawa ay dapat masigasig sa pakikipagnegosasyon tungo dito, at hindi gumagawa ng kung ano-anong palusot (van Hooff, 2011). Maraming implikasyon ito sa pagsasakapangyarihan ng manggagawang kontraktwal. Una, kinakailangan ang gawaing edukasyon upang mabuwag ang mga ideolohiyang dala-dala ng mga manggagawa ukol sa kasarian. Pangalawa, matagumpay lamang na maorganisa at kumilos ang manggagawang kababaihan kung bibigyang pansin ang di-pantay na hatian ng gawain sa loob ng tahanan. Pangatlo, ang kalagayan at kapakanan ng mga kontraktwal ay nakadepende rin sa namamahala ng kanilang opisina. Nakakatulong ang progresibong pinuno ng mga opisina upang makapagsagawa ng inisyatiba upang tugunan ang mga hinaing ng mga kontraktwal na manggagawa.

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