



CSWCD Development Journal

2008 Issue

**MANY
FACES OF
SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT**

**RAGASA NG BUFFALO: Kuwento at Pakikibaka
ng Bukidnon Free Farmers and Agricultural
Laborers Association**

Celeste F. Vallejos & Reginald S. Vallejos

**FORGING SISTERHOOD WITHIN and
WITHOUT the UNION: The Organizing
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DIVISION OF LABOR IN IRAYA MANGYAN
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IN A RURAL POOR COMMUNITY**

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**BUILDING THE ROAD WHILE WALKING:
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**TEACHING-LEARNING METHODS IN
FIELDWORK SUPERVISION: Lessons
from the Field Instruction Program of
the UP CSWCD Department of
Community Development**

Ma. Theresa V. Tungpalan

**COLLEGE OF SOCIAL WORK
AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
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Foreword

Many Faces of Social Development

The 2008 Centennial Year of the University of the Philippines ended on a high note for faculty and staff of the College of Social Work and Community Development. On December 15, 2008, the University Council approved the proposal by the college for the institution of the Doctor on Social Development program effective AY 2009-2010. This marks a historic milestone in the life of the College, the program being one of the goals that was set during the Strategic Planning held in November 2007. The approval is the culmination of almost ten years of work since the program was conceptualized, drafted and proposed to the university.

The proposal¹ presented to the University Council discussed the beginnings and definitions of social development as an area of study and practice starting off with “Dudley Seers who challenged the prevailing view and focus in the 60s on economic growth as the goal of development, and emphasized the equal importance of the social aspect. In the 80s, the United Nations Center for Regional Development defined Social Development as improving access to basic services, achieving progress in the more complex social goals such as equity, social justice, cultural promotion and peace of mind, as well as enhancing the people’s capacity for action so that their creative potential can be released. In 1995, at the World Summit for Social Development, world leaders and heads of state affirmed the need to address social problems in every nation, especially those of poverty and social exclusion. They recognized the significance of social development for human well-being, and the interdependence and interconnection of economic development, social development and environmental protection as components of sustainable development. And in the new millennium, the

World Bank posits that Social Development brings together various strands that in recent years have contributed to development thinking and practice, namely: 1) an understanding of how gender issues influence all aspects of development practice and policy; 2) a realization of the need to give poorer people a voice and encourage their participation; 3) an awareness of the social and cultural factors affecting all efforts to improve people's lives; and, 4) an emphasis on people's rights.

Hence, social development as an area of study provides an analytical understanding of development issues linked to social forces which influence the lives of multitudes of people – men, women, children and minorities – across diverse sectors and social settings. It is concerned with addressing social problems that influence economic progress, human security and well-being. It innovates and analyzes strategies for the enhancement of a people-centered development.

The Doctor in Social Development program puts emphasis on the development of knowledge from the ground, and theorizing from below, as bases for the enrichment of teaching, scholarship, research and practice in social development. It transcends disciplinary boundaries by taking the individual, the family, the community, organizations and the larger society as the focal points for the analysis of development issues, and as the fulcrum for programs and interventions aimed at the attainment of total human development.”

This issue of the CSWCD Journal, aptly entitled “Many Faces of Social Development”, is a compilation of local experiences and materials that can be used for the new program. The articles were written by faculty members from the three academic departments and staff from the research and extension office.

The journal starts off with two articles which affirm the importance of community organizing in social development processes. The articles traced the history of community organizing among farmers and women workers. Celeste and Reginald Vallejos did a case study of the organizing done by the farmers in "Ragasa ng Buffalo: Kwento at Pakikibaka ng Bukidnon Free Farmers and Agricultural Laborers Association". The article highlights the agrarian reform struggle undertaken by the farmers for a period of twenty years and shares important lessons in community organizing, education work, advocacy, networking and their sustainable agriculture program. Teresita V. Barrameda's "Forging Sisterhood Within and Without the Union: the Organizing Experience of MAKALAYA" discusses how MAKALAYA was able to meld feminist perspective with "social movement unionism" in their work among women workers who have been experiencing crisis and changing working conditions brought about by globalization.

Another article which also discusses gender concerns is my paper on "Cultural Reproduction of Gender Division of Labor in Iraya Mangyan Communities: Implications to Community Development Practice". The paper cites that the Iraya Mangyan society does not attach greater value or importance to either men's or women's work whether it be domestic, economic or community activities. Women's work at home is valued and is not inferior to men's work inside or outside the community. The study generated some implications to community development practice among indigenous peoples such as the need to be gender-sensitive and to avoid gender stereotypes.

Very salient in the process of working with communities is establishing trust – in oneself, between officers and members of the people's organization, and generally among the community members themselves. Lilly V. Mangubat explores the various angles to *pagtitiwala* in her article "The Social Construction of *Tiwala* in a Rural Poor Community". She shares

how various levels of *tiwala* in the Philippine context indicate that *tiwala sa sarili*, *tiwala ng kapwa*, *tiwala sa kapwa*, and *tiwala sa samahan* can be the building blocks for empowering processes and structures.

Aside from trust-building, another important aspect in working with communities and organizations is the enhancing of organizational development capacity. Dela Cruz, Vera, Ferrer and Reyes share an experience in OD Capacity Building in their article "Building the road while walking: An Evaluation of an OD Capacity Development Project". Participants in this undertaking learned to balance complex organizational demands and tasks such as between learning and delivering, between strategic and operational management, between empowering and efficiency-oriented approaches, and between enabling processes and achieving results. They reiterated that an effective OD process must be participatory, empowering, gender responsive, sustainable and must generate learning.

And lastly, Ma. Theresa V. Tungpalan's paper on "Teaching-Learning Methods in Fieldwork Supervision: Lessons from the Field Instruction Program of the UP -CSWCD Department of Community Development" talks about the A to Z of fieldwork supervision. The supervisor takes on three characters: supervisor-mentor; supervisor-nurturer; and teacher-activist. This means that fieldwork supervision goes beyond teaching-mentoring; it becomes part of one's advocacy and service commitment to pro-poor development agenda. Her very helpful tips are not just for CSWCD but for other units as well who have fieldwork activities integrated in their curriculum.

The articles are indeed useful for the existing academic programs and for the new doctorate program on social development. While the articles covered a broad range of research topics and engagements by the faculty

and staff – community organizing, gender division of labor, trust building, organizational development and fieldwork supervision – a common thread is the importance of community organizing and empowering communities to ensure that sustainable development starts from where the people are and comes from the collective power of organized communities. There are more experiences, case studies, programs, advocacies and researches on social development waiting to be written for the next journal issue. We hope the readers find these six contributions by the three academic departments and research and extension office of the college interesting and stimulating.

Aleli B. Bawagan, Ph.D.
Issue Editor

¹ Proposal for the Institution of Doctor in Social Development Program presented during the University Council Meeting held on December 15, 2008.

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RAGASA NG BUFFALO: Kuwento at Pakikibaka ng Bukidnon Free Farmers and Agricultural Laborers Association

**Celeste Francisco Vallejos
Reginald S. Vallejos**

This article is a documentation of community organizing written from the point of view of the peasants of BUFFALO in Bukidnon. It shares the struggles of a peasant organization in building and sustaining collective actions in pursuit of genuine agrarian reform. BUFFALO celebrated its 21st founding anniversary on February 2008. Two decades of struggle taught them that through militancy and collective action, they can overcome any challenge that will come their way. This documentation also reflects BUFFALO's own assessment of their organization and the lessons they learned from their two decades of organizing work.

PANIMULA

Sa isang agrikultural na bansa katulad ng Pilipinas, kahirapan ng mga mamamayan ang pangunahing problemang patuloy na hinahanapan ng lunas. Hindi maitatanggi ang katotohanang kalakhan ng mga mamamayan ang naghihirap sa kabila ng mga sinasabi ng pamahalaan na bumubuti ang

kalagayan ng mga Pilipino. Sa isang pag-aaral na isinagawa ng Center for Women Resources (CWR, 2007), tinatayang 9.8 milyong pamilya o 6 mula sa 10 pamilya ang nabubuhay sa matinding kahirapan. Dagdag pa dito, hindi sumasapat ang sahod na natatanggap ng mga manggagawa para sa pang-araw-araw na gastusin. Ang minimum na sahod kasama ang COLA na tinatanggap ng mga manggagawa sa National Capital Region (NCR) ay P362.00, di hamak na maliit sa tinatayang P806.00 na kailangan sa arawang gastos sa NCR (Ibon, 2008).

Kalakhan ng populasyon ng Pilipinas ay mga magsasaka. Ayon sa pagtaya ng Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP) ito ay aabot sa 70 hanggang 80 porsiyento. Sila ay kabilang sa mga ikinukonsiderang mahihirap sa ating bansa. Ngunit iba ang istadistikang ito sa ipinapalabas ng pamahalaan. Katulad na lamang ng sarbey na isinagawa ng National Statistics Office (NSO) noong 2006 kung saan ipinakikita nito na tinatayang mahigit 33 milyong Pilipino ang ikinunsiderang nagtatrabaho. Sa 33 milyong manggagawa, mahigit 12 milyon o 37% ang nagtatrabaho sa sektor ng agrikultura, 5 milyon o 15% ang empleyado sa mga industriya, at mahigit 16 milyong Pilipino o 49% ang bahagi ng sektor ng serbisyo katulad ng transportasyon, komunikasyon, mga manggagawa sa hotel at mga kainan, kabilang na din dito ang mga maliliit na mangangalakal at mga may tindahan.

Sa pagnanais na iangat mula sa kahirapan ang mga magsasaka at itaas ng kaunti ang kanilang antas ng kabuhayan, nagpapatupad ang pamahalaan ng mga programa katulad ng Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) na ang layunin ay ipamahagi ang mga lupain sa mga magsasaka upang mapaunlad ang kanilang kabuhayan. Ayon sa mga datos na galing sa Department of Agrarian Reform, halos malapit na nilang makamit ang kanilang target na pamamahagi ng lupain. Batay sa orihinal na programa noong 1987, sasaklawin ng pamamahagi ng lupain ng CARP ang mahigit kumulang sa 10 milyong ektaryang lupain sa bansa. Ang

pamamahaging ito ay nahahati sa tatlong (3) bahagi. Ang unang bahagi o Phase 1 ay ang pamamahagi ng mga lupaing tinatamnan ng palay at mais (ayon sa PD27), mga lupaing nakatiwangwang o inabandona, mga lupaing narekober galing sa mga krony ni dating Pangulong Marcos, mga lupaing pag-aari ng pamahalaan, at mga lupaing ipinasok sa VOS o Voluntary Offer to Sell. Sa ikalawang bahagi naman o Phase 2, nakatak dang ipamahagi ang mga pampublikong lupain, mga lupaing saklaw ng Integrated Social Forestry (ISF), mga settlement, at mga pribadong lupaing may sukat na 50 ektarya pataas. Sa huling bahagi naman o Phase 3, ipapamahagi ang mga pampribadong lupaing may sukat na 5 hanggang 24 ektarya at 24 hanggang 50 ektarya. Sa Phase 1 aabot sa 1,454,800 ektarya ang maipapamahaging lupain, sa Phase 2 naman ay 7,387,900 ektarya at sa Phase 3 ay 1,352,900 ektarya. Ngunit sa kabila ng dalawampung taon na pagpapatupad ng CARP, nananatili pa ring pangarap para sa mga magsasaka ang magkaroon ng sariling lupang masasaka.

Ang kawalan ng lupain ay siyang pangunahing dahilan ng kahirapan ng mga magsasaka. Ang pagraratipika sa CARP bilang batas sa tulong ng Republic Act No. 6657 noong 1988 sa ilalim ng administrasyon ni Pangulong Corazon Cojuangco Aquino na may pangakong isusulong ang industriyalisasyon ay hindi natupad. Bagkus ang mga magsasaka ay patuloy na nagpoprotesta at nananawagan na ipatupad ang tunay na reporma sa lupa (Vallejos, 2007, p.81).

Para sa eksperto sa pag-aaral sa mga bansa na ang ekonomya ay nakabatay sa agrikultura at sa mga bansang mahihirap katulad ni Paul Harrison (1981), ang kahirapan sa kanayunan ay isang manipestasyon ng hindi pantay na distribusyon ng kita sa mga mamamayan sa kanayunan, na kinakatawan ng mga kaunting mga panginoong maylupa na kumokontrol sa malalawak na lupaing agrikultural at ng mga mahihirap at mas nakararaming magsasaka. Sa kanyang paghahambing sa kahirapang nagaganap sa mga

bansa na mahihirap, ipinakita niya ang ugat nito na nagmumula pa rin sa pagmamay-ari ng lupa ng sakahan. Ang di pantay na hatian ng mga biyaya mula sa lupa at ang tumitinding pagsasamantala ng tao sa kapwa tao ang siyang mga dahilan ng tumitinding kahirapan sa mga bansa, higit lalo sa mga papaunlad at mga naghihirap na bansa sa mundo (p.105). Ang malawak na pagkakaiba at pagkakahiwalay sa hatian ng kita sa kanayunan ay dahil sa kawalan ng lupa ng mas nakararami at konsentrasyon ng mga lupain na siyang pinagkukunan ng yaman ng isang agrikultural na bansa sa kamay ng iilan.

Ang ganitong kalagayan sa Pilipinas ang masasabing malapyudal na sistemang pang-ekonomiya ng bansa. Sa sistemang ito, patuloy na pag-aari at nasa kontrol ng maliit na bilang ng mga panginoong maylupa ang lupain ng bansa na siyang pinagkukunan ng ikabubuhay ng mayorya ng ating populasyon. Mula pa noong nasakop ang Pilipinas ng mga Kastila hanggang sa kasalukuyan tali pa rin ang karamihan ng mga mamamayan sa pagbubungkal ng lupa. Napanatili sa kamay ng iilang pamilya at mga dayuhang korporasyon ang malalaking parsela ng mga lupain, habang ang mga magsasaka ay nananatiling walang pag-aaring lupa. Sa kanayunan ang mga panginoong maylupa ang siyang nagpapasya kung ano ang nararapat na hatian sa produkto ng lupa, kung anong produkto ang dapat itanim, samantalang nanatiling maliitan, hiwa-hiwalay at atrasado ang produksyon ng agrikultura ng bansa. Sa kalagayang ito hindi naging matagumpay ang mga programa ng pamahalaan para sa pamamahagi ng mga lupain.

Patuloy ang tunggalian sa uri ng mga magsasaka at ng panginoong maylupa sa kanayunan, tunggalian na nagreresulta sa matitinding paglabag sa karapatang pantao at pagbubuwis ng buhay ng mga magsasaka. Sa ganitong kalagayan ang tanging solusyon ng mga magsasaka ay magkaisa at magbuklod, mag-organisa ng kanilang hanay upang mas lumakas ang kanilang boses at mapangalagaan ang kanilang mga karapatan, higit lalo sa kanilang karapatan sa lupa.

Makasaysayan ang papel ng mga organisasyon sa pagsusulong ng karapatan ng mga mamamayan at pagsusulong ng kaunlaran sa mga komunidad. Mahalaga ang papel ng pag-oorganisa sa pamayanan upang magdulot ng mga makabuluhang pagbabago sa lipunan. Ayon kay Dr. Angelito Manalili (1984), “Ang pag-oorganisa at pagpapaunlad ng pamayanang Pilipino ay nakatitik sa mga dahon ng kasaysayan ng ating bansa, mula sa mga balangay na malayang namumuhay noong unang yugto ng kasaysayan ng ating Inang Bayan at magpahanggang sa kasalukuyan, ito’y palaging bahagi na ng ating pagkilos para sa kaganapan ng ating pangarap na umunlad” (p. iii).

Ipinapakita ng papel na ito ang kahalagahan ng pag-oorganisa sa hanay ng mga magsasaka, at ang papel ng mga magsasaka sa pagsusulong ng pakikibaka para sa lupa at sa mga demokratikong karapatan ng mga mamamayan. Ang papel ay nahahati sa apat na bahagi. Ang unang bahagi ay nakatuon sa kalagayan ng mga magsasaka at ng repormang agraryo sa bansa, ang ikalawang bahagi ay ang pagbubuo at pagpapatakbo ng organisasyon ng mga magsasaka sa Bukidnon, ang ikatlong bahagi ang kasaysayan ng pakikibaka ng BUFFALO para sa lupa, at ang ikaapat na bahagi ay ang pakikibaka para sa sustenableng agrikultura. Upang maipakita ang kalagayan ng mga magsasaka at iugnay ito sa mga konsepto na bumubuo sa mahusay na pag-oorganisa, ginamit ng may akda ang mga sumusunod na pamamaraan ng pananaliksik at pangangalap ng mga datos: nakipagkonsultahan sa mga magsasaka ng BUFFALO sa tulong ng mga kinatawan at miyembro ng Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas upang linawin ang layunin sa pananaliksik; hiningi din sa kanila ang mga suhestiyon upang higit pang mapatibay ang gagawing pag-aaral at inilatag at pinangalanan ang mga taong maaaring kapanayamin. Nagsagawa rin ng pananaliksik mula sa ibang mga nailimbag na sulatin. Pagkatapos ng mga panayam ay nagkaroon pa ng mga konsultasyon upang higit na pinuhin ang pananaliksik.

UGAT NG PROBLEMA, WALANG LUPANG MASAKA

Ayon sa datos ng Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas, humigit kumulang sa 9,500 panginoong maylupa ang nagmamay-ari sa halos 21% ng kabuuang lupaing agrikultural sa bansa (KMP, 2005). Samantalang mahigit 1 milyong magsasaka na nagmamay-ari ng kulang sa 3 ektarya ang naghahati-hati sa 18.5% ng lupaing agrikultural sa bansa. (Tingnan ang Talahanayan 1)

Talahanayan 1: Hatian ng Pagmamay-ari ng Lupa

Sukat ng sakahan (ektarya)	Bilang ng Nagmamay-ari	Kabuuang Porsiyento (%)	Sukat ng Lupain (ektarya)	Kabuuang Porsiyento (%)
Higit sa 50	9,466	0.46	1,854,179	20.79
24.1 – 50	20,353	0.99	654,828	7.34
15.1 – 24	48,376	2.35	912,790	10.24
12.1 – 15	33,929	1.64	454,953	5.10
7.1 – 12	158,879	7.70	1,451,412	16.28
3.1 – 7	414,209	20.08	1,934,289	21.69
Kulang sa 3	1,377,508	66.78	1,655,550	18.56
Total	2,062,720	100.00	8,918,011	100.00

Praymer sa Pambansang Kalagayan ng mga Magbubukid, KMP 2005

Ang monopolyo sa lupain ay makikita din sa lawak ng mga asyenda sa bansa na pinatatakbo ng mga pamilya at angkan ng mga panginoong maylupa. (Tingnan ang Talahanayan 2)

Talahanayan 2: Listahan ng mga Asyenda sa Pilipinas

Hasyenda / Panginoong Maylupa	Ektarya	Lugar
Danding Cojuangco Jr.	30,000	Negros, Isabela, Cagayan, Davao del Sur, Cotabato, Palawan
Hacienda San Antonio at Hacienda Sta. Isabel (Danding Cojuangco Jr., Faustino Dy, Juan Ponce Enrile)	13,085	Ilagan, Isabela
Nestle Farms	10,000 (sa kasalukuyan) 160,000 ang kanilang plano	Isabela, Cagayan, Compostela Valley, Agusan Sur
Floreindo Family (TADECO)	11,048 (kasama ang Davao Penal Colony)	Davao del Norte
Almagro Family	10,000	Dalaguete, Cebu
Dimaporo Family	10,000	Lanao
Hacienda de Santos	9,700	Nueva Ecija
Hacienda Banilad and Hacienda Palico (Roxas Family)	8,500	Batangas
Canlubang Sugar Estate (Yulo Family)	7,100	Laguna
Luisa vda de Tinio	7,000	Nueva Ecija
Hacienda Luisita (Cojuangco Family)	6,000	Tarlac
Escudero Family	4,000	Southern Tagalog
Andres Guanzon	2,945	Pampanga
Reyes Family	2,257	Southern Tagalog
Sanggalang Family	1,600	Southern Tagalog
Uy Family	1,500	Southern Tagalog
Palmares and Co. Inc	1,027	Iloilo

Praymer sa Pambansang Kalagayan ng mga Magbubukid, KMP 2005

Maliban sa mga lokal na panginoong maylupa, malawak din ang lupang plantasyon na hawak ng mga dayuhang korporasyon na tinatamnan ng mga produktong iniluluwas sa labas ng bansa. (Tingnan ang Talahanayan 3)

Talahanayan 3. Dayuhang Agro-Korporasyon na Kumukontrol ng Lupaing Agrikultural

AGRO-KORPORASYON	EKTARYANG SAKOP
DOLE Philippines	90,000
TADECO	55,000
Phil. Packing Corp.	44,000
Del Monte	20,000

Pinaghalawan: Kilusang Magbubukid Ng Pilipinas, 2005

Ang masaklap pa nito, sa itinutulak na pag-amyenda sa Saligang Batas o *charter change*, ipapasok rito ang probisyon sa pagbibigay ng sandaang porsyentong pagmamay-ari ng mga lupain at lupang sakahan sa mga dayuhan, indibidwal man o korporasyon.

Sa ganitong kalagayan sa kanayunan, reporma sa lupa ang palagiang pangako ng mga nagdaang mga administrasyon. Kinikilala nito ang kahalagahan na payapain ang isyu ng mga magsasaka at iwasan ang matinding kaguluhan bunga ng usapin sa lupa at para hanguin sa kahirapan ang masang Pilipino. Nais din nitong pataasin ang produksiyong agrikultural upang makapag-ambag sa pagpapaunlad ng sektor ng agrikultura at sa bansa.

Dala ng matinding inspirasyon sa Unang Pag-aalsang Edsa noong 1986, ang administrasyon ni Pangulong Corazon Aquino ay nagkaroon ng pahayag na ipapatupad at palalawakin nito ang programa sa reporma sa lupa sa buong bansa na dapat nasasalamín ang tunay na pagpapalaya sa mga magsasaka sa kamay ng mga panginoong maylupa upang sila ay maging tunay na nagsasarili at makabahagi sa mga gawain ng bansa. Ngunit kabaligtaran nito ang nangyari noong nagkaroon ng martsa ang mga magsasaka sa paanan ng Mendiola na nauwi sa madugong masaker na ikinasawi ng 13 katao noong Enero 22, 1987.

Kaagad na ipinanukala ang pagkakaroon ng isang programa na naglalayong basagin ang matagal nang monopolyo ng iilan sa mga lupain sa kanayunan. Naging sentrong programa ng administrasyon ni Pang. Aquino ang CARP. Naging batas ang CARP sa tulong ng Republic Act 6657, o ang Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law noong 1988.

Sa ilalim ng CARP ang mga magsasaka at manggagawang-bukid ay makakatanggap ng pinakamataas na pagsasaalang-alang para sa pagtataguyod ng hustisyang panlipunan at para pakilusin ang bansa tungo sa matatag na pagpapaunlad sa kanayunan at industriyalisasyon at ang pagtatatag ng nagbubungkal na may-ari ng pang-ekonomiyang sukat ng sakahan bilang batayan ng agrikulturang Pilipino. (Salin ng may-akda. *Under the CARP the “farmers and farm workers will receive the highest consideration to promote social justice and to move the nation toward sound rural development and industrialization, and the establishment of owner cultivatorship of economic size farms as the basis of Philippine agriculture”*) (CARP, 1988, p.1)

Isa pang layunin ng CARP ay alisin sa tanikala ng lupa ang mga magsasaka. Nais din nito na magkaroon ng katarungang panlipunan at industriyalisasyon sa kanayunan. Hindi lamang ito mamamahagi ng lupa,

ipagkakaloob din nito ang ilang mga mahahalagang suporta sa mga benipisyaryo ng CARP. (Tingnan ang talahanayan 4 at 5)

Talahanayan 4: Rasyunal ng mga naunang batas sa reporma sa lupa

Mga Batas	Rasyunal
1. RA 3844 – <i>Agricultural Land Reform Code</i>	Batas na nagtakda ng programang ginawang nangungupahang magsasaka ang mga nasa ilalim ng pakikipanakahan
2. PD 27 – <i>Tenant Emancipation Decree</i>	Isinabatas ang pagpapalaya ng mga magsasaka mula sa pagkakatanikala sa lupa.
3. RA 6657 – <i>Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law of 1988</i>	Batas para isulong ang katarungang panlipunan at industriyalisasyon.

Pinaghalawan : Vallejos, 2007

Ang CARP ay may tatlong susing bahagi: (a) pagpapaunlad ng pagmamay-ari ng lupa; (b) serbisyong pansuporta at pagtaas ng produksyon; at (c) paghahatid ng katarungang agraryo.

Sa kabila ng mayor na layunin ng CARP na pamamahagi ng lupain at pagbibigay ng katarungang panlipunan, nananatili pa rin ang kawalan ng lupa sa hanay ng mga magsasaka sa kanayunan. Sa pagsusuri ng KMP, hindi nabigyan ng solusyon ng CARP ang kawalan ng lupa ng mga mahihirap na magsasaka. Naging kasangkapan pa ang CARP upang higit na magkaroon ng mga lupain ang mga panginoong maylupa. Maraming mga butas ang CARP upang malusutan ng mga panginoong maylupa ang programang ito, nariyan ang pagpapalit gamit ng lupa,

Talahanayan 5: Mga Bahagi ng CARP at ang mga Tagapagpatupad na Ahensiya

Mga Bahagi ng Programa	Mga Tagapagpatupad na Ahensiya
<p>A. Mga Aktibidad sa Aktwal na Paglilipat ng Lupa</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pagsusukat ng lupa - Pagbibigay ng halaga sa lupa - Pagtitulo at pag-rehistro ng lupa - Pamamahagi ng lupa <p>B. Mga Aktibidad na Di-Aktwal na Paglilipat ng Lupa</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Leasehold Operation</i> - Hatian sa produksyon at tubo - <i>Stock Distribution Option</i> <p>C. Pagpapaunlad ng mga Benepisyaryo</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Serbisyong Ekstensyon (hal., Pagsasanay, Tulong Teknikal, atbp.) - Pagpapautang - Tulong sa Imprastraktura tulad ng kalsada, tulay, Irigasyon at iba pang mga pasilidad <p>D. Paghahatid ng katarungang pansakahan</p>	<p>DENR, DAR LBP LRA DAR, DENR DAR</p> <p>DAR, DTI, DOLE, NIA LBP, DPWH, NIA, DTI, DAR</p>

Pinaghalawan: Batara, 1996 p.22

StocksDistribution Option, at mga eksempsyon ng mga lupain mula sa CARP. Naging tulay pa ang CARP upang tuluyang mawalan ng lupain ang mga magsasaka sa anyo ng pagpapalit-gamit ng lupa, pagkakaloob ng mga lupain sa malalaking *agro-industrial* na mga korporasyon, at ang patuloy na pagkakansela sa mga *Certificate of Land Ownership Award (CLOA)* at *Emancipation Patents (EP)* ng mga magsasaka.

**Talahanayan 6. Land Distribution Accomplishment and Balance*
(As of June 2007)**

LAND TYPE	SCOPE	ACCOMPLISHMENT	
		TOTAL	BALANCE
DAR	4,972,617	3,669,983	1,302,634
Private Agricultural Lands (Ha.)		2,066,196	
Non-private Agricultural Lands (Ha.)		1,603,787	
Total No. of ARBs		2,176,960	1,078,204
DENR	3,837,999	3,088,109	749,890
Public Alienable & Disposable Lands (Ha.)	2,502,000	1,752,110	749,890
ISF/CBFM Areas (Ha.)	1,335,999	1,335,999	
Total No. of ARBs	2,847,012	1,986,479	860,533
TOTAL CARP (Ha.)	8,810,616	6,758,092	2,052,524
TOTAL CARP (No. of ARBs)	6,102,176	4,163,439	1,938,737

*Pinaghalawan: Department of Agrarian Reform; *under adjusted scope*

Batay sa ipinalabas ng Department of Agrarian Reform na ulat hinggil sa inabot ng pagpapatupad ng CARP sa ating bansa mula sa ginawang adjustment nito, malapit na nilang makamit ang isang daang porsiyento ng pagsasakatuparan ng layunin ng CARP (Tingnan ang Talahanayan 6). Ito din ang naging panawagan ng DAR ng mapaso ang CARP noong nakaraang Hunyo 2008. Kinakailangan pa ng ektensiyon ng CARP dahil sa kapos ito ng 23% sa target na 8,810,616 ektaryang lupang takda niyang ipamahagi.

Sa kabilang banda, patuloy ang pakikibaka ng mga magsasaka para sa kanilang karapatan sa lupa. Ang kanilang ipinaglalaman ay ang pagpapatupad ng tunay na reporma sa lupa - paglaban na madalas nauuwi

sa karahasan, pakikibaka na puno ng sakripisyo at pagbubuwis ng buhay. Tanging sandata ng mga magsasaka ay ang paninindigan nila para sa kanilang karapatang manatili sa kanilang mga lupain at ang pagkakaisa at pagbubuo ng organisasyon na magiging daluyan ng kanilang pinagsamang lakas at pagkakaisa. Ito ang katotohanang sinasalamain ng kuwento at pakikibaka ng BUFFALO (Bukidnon Free Farmers and Agricultural Laborers Association).

ANG CENTRAL MINDANAO UNIVERSITY: Mistulang Panginoong May-lupa sa Bukidnon

Ang Central Mindanao University (CMU), tinatag noong 1958, ay isang pampublikong unibersidad pang-agrikultura sa probinsiya ng Bukidnon, Rehiyon 10. Ayon sa opisyal na *website* ng CMU, binigyan ni dating Pangulong Carlos P. Garcia sa bisa ng Proklamasyon bilang 476 ng 3,401 ektaryang lupain ang CMU. Nagdulot ito ng problema sa mga Lumad, manggagawang bukid at taga-Musuan na matagal nang nakatira sa lupang sinakop ng CMU (Mission, 1999). Noong 1974, inamyendahan ang desisyon ng *Cadastral Court* bilang pagkonsidera sa programang reporma sa agraryo ng pamahalaan. Ibinigay ang 321.9 ektaryang lupain sa mga lehitimong nang-aangkin ng lupa samantalang ang CMU ay nabigyan ng titulo para sa 3,080 ektarya.

Sa maagang bahagi ng dekada sitenta, kumuha ang CMU ng mga manggagawang agrikultural para linangin ang lupa. Noong 1984, inilunsad ng unibersidad ang programang Kilusang Sariling Sikap Program (KSSP) na nagpapahintulot sa mga guro at kawani ng pamantasan na magbungkal ng ilang bahagi ng lupang sakop nito. Kapalit nito ay magbabayad ang mga empleyado ng renta sa lupa at bahagi ng kanilang ani.

PAG-USBONG NG PUNLA: Ang Pagbubuo Ng Organisasyon

Noong 1986, itinigil ang programang KSSP at ipinalit ang *CMU-Income Enhancement Program* (PAN-AP, 2007). Nang magtapos ang kontrata ng mga magsasaka sa CMU noong 1986, inorganisa nila ang kanilang mga sarili at itinatag ang Bukidnon Free Farmers and Agricultural Laborers Association (BUFFALO) noong ika-12 ng Pebrero, 1987 na may 252 kasapi mula sa pitong purok sa loob ng CMU. Ang lahat ng kasapi ay may mga tungkuling ginagampanan para sa maayos na pagkilos ng samahan.

Ang Pangkalahatang Asembliya ang pinakamataas na yunit ng BUFFALO. Ito ay binubuo ng lahat na kasapi ng organisasyon. Ito ang nagbabalangkas at nag-aaprubang mga plano at programa at naghahalal ng pamunuan sa lahat na antas ng istruktura ng organisasyon. Lahat ng mahahalagang desisyon at tunguhin ng organisasyon ay pinagkakaisahan sa regular na buwanang pulong ng GA.

Ang mga halal na opisyal tulad ng Tagapangulo, Pangalawang Pangulo, Pangkalahatang Kalihim at Ingat-Yaman ang mga tagapagpatupad ng programa sa pagkilos at sumusubaybay sa mga komite at sa mga gawain nito. Sila ay may regular na buwanang pulong at nagdaraos ng mga espesyal na pulong kapag kinakailangan o kung may mahalagang mga usapin na kailangang tugunan. Sila rin ang kumakatawan sa BUFFALO sa pakikipag-ugnayan nito sa iba't ibang ahensiya at organisasyon.

Nagtalaga ng pangulo at mga komite sa pitong purok kung saan nagmula ang mga kasapi ng BUFFALO upang mapadali ang pangangasiwa ng mga opisyal sa organisasyon. Ang *Komite sa Kaayusan at Kapayapaan* ay may tungkuling pangalagaan ang katahimikan at kapayapaan sa komunidad. Tinitiyak nito na natutupad ang mga patakaran ng organisasyon sa kaayusan. Ang *Komite sa Pinansiya* naman ang

tagakolekta ng P20.00 butaw mula sa mga kasapi na binabayaran tuwing pagkatapos ng anihan. Tinitiyak din nito na ang lahat ng kasapi ay nakakabayad sa itinakdang renta sa lupa ng CMU. Ang *Komite sa Edukasyon* ang tagapagtiyak na ang lahat ng kasapi ng organisasyon ay nakakakuha ng mga isinasagawang pag-aaral at pagsasanay. Ang *Komite sa Kalusugan* naman ang nangangasiwa sa nakatayong *health desk* sa komunidad. Binubuo ito ng mga kababaihang nagsanay para maging manggagawang pangkalusugan. Bukod sa pagsasanay ng modernong pamamaraan ng paggamot katulad ng pagkuha ng *vital signs*, nagsanay din sila sa alternatibong paraan ng paggamot katulad ng *accupuncture* at paggawa ng halamang gamot. Sa *Komite sa Pangangasiwa sa Sakahan* sumasangguni ang mga miyembro kapag mayroon silang problema hinggil sa mga gawain sa produksyon. Pinakahuli ay ang *Komite ng Sustenableng Pagsasaka* kung saan pinapalaganap ng organisasyon ang tradisyunal na paraan ng pagsasaka sa pamamagitan ng pagbibigay ng pag-aaral at paggamit nila ng mga tradisyunal na binhi ng palay at organikong paraan ng pagsasaka.

Ang mga komiteng nabanggit ay nagtutulong-tulong upang mas maayos na nagagampanan ng organisasyon ang mga iba't ibang gawain tulad ng edukasyon, pag-oorganisa, mobilisasyon, propaganda at adbokasiya, pampinansiya at pakikipag-alyansa.

Sa pamamagitan ng gawain sa edukasyon, napapanatili ang pagiging konsolidado ng organisasyon sa tuloy-tuloy na pagpapataas ng kamulatan at pagpapaunlad ng kasanayan. Ilan sa mga batayang pag-aaral sa komunidad ay ang mga sumusunod:

- a. Oryentasyon ng Organisasyon – ito ay paglililinaw sa kasaysayan, mga paninindigan at layunin ng organisasyon at mga karapatan at tungkulin ng mga kasapi;

- b. Kurso para sa mga Magsasaka – Dito inaaral ang mas malalim na ugat ng kawalan ng lupa ng uring magsasaka at ang pakahulugan ng tunay na repormang agraryo;
- k. Kasaysayan at Pakikibaka ng Lipunang Pilipino – Dito nakapaloob ang mga saligang suliranin ng lipunang Pilipino na binaybay sa pagtalakay ng kasaysayan ng bansa. Inaaral din dito ang ugnayan at tulungan ng iba't ibang pinagsasamantalang uri at sektor para bakahin ang ugat ng kahirapan sa lipunan;
- d. Pag-aaral sa Wastong Aktitud sa Pagkilos at Pamumuno – Tinatalakay sa pag-aaral na ito ang mga mahahalagang katangiang dapat taglay ng bawat isa para mapanatili ang pagkakaisa sa loob ng organisasyon. Binibigyang diin din dito ang prinsipyo ng pagpuna at pagpuna sa sarili;
- e. Kurso sa Pag-oorganisa – Dito natututunan ng mga magsasaka ang mga kasanayan sa pagmumulat, pag-oorganisa at pagmomobilisa ng komunidad;
- g. Pagsasanay sa Paralegal – Dito nila inaaral ang iba't ibang batas lalo na ang tungkol sa lupa para malaman nila ang kanilang mga karapatan at kung paano nila magagamit ang mga ito para sa sarili nilang kapakinabangan;
- h. Talakayan hinggil sa mga isyung panlipunan - Sa mga talakayang tulad nito, naipapakita ang ugnayan ng mga isyung sektoral at pambansa; at
- i. Pagsasanay sa sustenableng pagsasaka – Tinatalakay nito ang paggamit ng mga tradisyunal na binhi sa pagsasaka at pagwaksi sa abono at pestisidyo. Pinapalaganap nito ang natural na paraan ng pagsasaka.

Hindi natitigil sa pagbubuo ng organisasyon ang gawain sa pag-oorganisa. Patuloy itong ginagawa ng mga lider magsasaka ng

BUFFALO upang manatiling buhay at malakas ang organisayon. Hindi rin nila ipinagdadamot ang kanilang lakas at kakayanan. Ang ilan sa kanila ay tumutulong sa pag-oorganisa sa mga magsasaka at manggagawang bukid sa mga plantasyon ng tubo, saging at pinya sa ibang lugar.

Sa gawain sa mobilisasyon, aktibo ang organisasyon sa pagpapakilos hinggil sa iba't ibang isyung sektoral, multi-sektoral at pambansa. Ilan sa mga ito ay komemorasyon ng Masaker sa Mendiola, Anibersaryo ng IRRI (International Rice Research Institute), CARP, PD 27, Araw ng Paggawa, Araw ng Kababaihan at Pandaigdigang Araw ng Karapatang Pantao. Lumalahok din sila sa mga pagkilos sa loob ng CMU kasama ng mga guro at estudyante katulad sa pagpapataalsik sa dating presidente ng unibersidad. Sumali din sila sa mga serye ng pagkilos laban sa *Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA)* at *Balikatan Exercises* sa bansa. Aktibo rin sila sa mga pagkilos laban sa mga korporasyon ng *agro-chemical* na nakakapinsala sa kapaligiran at kalusugan at sa sektoral na kampanya sa pagpapataas ng presyo ng palay at paglaban para sa tunay na repormang agraryo.

Sa gawain sa propaganda at adbokasiya, ang mga lider magsasaka ng BUFFALO ay nakikipagpanayam sa mga tao sa midya, sa radyo at pahayagan at nagbibigay ng mga pananalita sa mga talakayan para maipabatid sa mga mamamayan ang kanilang pakikibaka sa lupa at ang tindig ng samahan sa mga isyung pambansa. Nag-iimbita rin sila ng mga tao sa akademya at taong simbahan, mula sa iba't ibang lugar para dumalaw sa kanilang komunidad at makita ang kanilang kalagayan at ang pinagmamalaki nilang sakahang gumagamit ng sustenableng paraan ng pagsasaka. Mayroon ding mga iniimbitahan ang KMP na galing sa ibang bansa upang makipamuhay sa kanilang lugar, dahil dito dumarami ang nakakaalam at nagpapalaganap ng kanilang isyu at pakikibaka.

Mayroong kooperatiba ng kiskisan ng palay sa komunidad na higit na mababa ang singil kaysa sa komersyal na kiskisan. Ang gawaing ito ay pinamamahalaan ng komite sa pinansiya. Mula sa kita ng kooperatiba kinukuha ang pambayad sa guro ng *Day Care Center* na pinatayo din ng organisasyon.

Kinikilala ng BUFFALO ang kahalagahan ng pakikipag-alyansa sa ibang mga organisasyon at indibidwal na pulitiko. Sa gawaing alyansa, dumadami ang napapaliwanagan at nakakatulong ng samahan hinggil sa iba't ibang isyu na kanilang hinaharap. Tuloy-tuloy ang ugnayan ng samahan sa mga kaalyado nitong organisasyon tulad ng RESIST (Resistance Against Agro-Chemical TNCs), MASIPAG (Magsasaka at Syentipiko para sa Pag-unlad ng Agrikultura) at mga indibidwal na lokal na pulitiko. Miyembro din ang BUFFALO ng BAYAN-Bukidnon, isang multi-sektoral na pederasyon sa probinsiya.

Mahalaga rin sa organisasyon ang gawaing pangkultura. Taunang ipinagdiriwang ng mga magsasaka ang anibersaryo ng pagkakatatag ng organisasyon tuwing buwan ng Pebrero. Nagkakaroon ng kasiyahan, kainan, mga pangkulturang pagtatanghal, mga palaro at pagpapakita ng kanilang mga produkto. Ang lahat ng kanilang mga kaibigan, ka-alyado at mga lokal na pulitiko ay inaanyayahan para dumalo sa pagdiriwang.

ANG PAKIKIBAKA PARA SA LUPA

Ang mga miyembro ng BUFFALO ay mga manggagawang bukid at mga empleyado na nawalan ng trabaho sa pagtatapos ng programang KSSP ng CMU. Ayon kay Florentino "Ka Jun" Macote, Jr., tagapangulo ng BUFFALO, nagsama-sama silang mga magsasaka dahil gusto nilang magkaroon ng lupa na pagkukuhanan ng ikabubuhay ang kanilang pamilya.

Sa pamamagitan ng organisasyon, magkakasama nilang pinag-aralan ang CARP, na ayon kay Pang. Aquino ay siyang tatapos sa problema sa lupa sa buong bansa. Ito ang kanilang mga pinagbatayang probisyon:

- a. Ang repormang agraryo ay ang pamamahagi muli ng lupa, anumang klase ng pananim dito, sa mga magsasaka at regular na manggagawang bukid na hindi nagmamay-ari ng lupa, na walang kinalaman sa kasunduan sa pag-aari ng lupa, na saklaw ang kabuuan ng katangian at serbisyong pansuporta na dinisenyo para i-angat ang kalagayang pang-ekonomiya ng mga benepisyaryo at lahat ng iba pang alternatibong kasunduan sa aktwal na pamamahagi ng lupa, tulad ng hatian sa produksyon at tubo, pamamahala ng paggawa, at pamamahagi ng parte sa hating-puhunan, na magbibigay-daan sa mga benepisyaryo na tumanggap ng karampatang hati sa produkto ng lupang kanilang pinagtatrabahuan. (Salin ng may-akda. *Agrarian reform means the redistribution of lands, regardless of crops or fruits produced, to farmers and regular farmworkers who are landless, irrespective of tenurial arrangement, to include the totality of factors and support services designed to lift the economic status of the beneficiaries and all other arrangements alternative to the physical redistribution of lands, such as production or profit sharing, labor administration, and the distribution of shares of stock, which will allow beneficiaries to receive a just share of the fruits of the lands they work.*)
- b. Ang manggagawang-bukid ay isang tao na nagbibigay ng serbisyo na may karampatang halaga bilang empleyado o manggagawa sa isang pang-agrikulturang negosyo o sakahan, sa kabila ng kung siya man ay binabayaran ng arawan, lingguhan, buwanan o pakyawan. (Salin ng may-akda. *Farmworker is a natural person who renders service for value as an employee or laborer in an agricultural*

enterprise or farm regardless of whether his compensation is paid on a daily, weekly, monthly or "pakyaw" basis.)

Nagharap ng petisyon noong 1988 ang BUFFALO sa *Department of Agrarian Reform Adjudication Board (DARAB)* para isailalim sa CARP ang may 1,200 ektaryang lupaing agrikultural ng CMU. Noong 1989, naglabas ng desisyong umaayon sa mga magsasaka ang DARAB. Sa pamamagitan ng isang *writ of execution*, inutusan ng DARAB ang CMU na maglaan ng 400 ektaryang lupa para ipamahagi sa mga kawa'ipikadong magsasaka. Natuwa ang mga magsasaka sa nilabas na kautusan subalit hindi lubos ang kanilang kasiyahan sapagkat 1,200 ektarya ang kanilang ipinetisyon. Ito ay batay sa orihinal na sakop ng Kilusang Sariling Sikap Program (KSSP) kung saan isinama ng mga magsasaka ang mga lupaing sakop ng CMU na sa pagkakaalam nila ay hindi naman ginagamit ng unibersidad. Apat na daan (400) ektarya lamang ang pinagkaloob sa kanila ng DAR dahil sa pinagbatayan naman nito ang mga orihinal at kinikilala nila na miyembro ng BUFFALO.

Nabalitaan ng mga magsasaka sa ibayong pook na sakop din ng CMU ang pagbibigay ng lupa sa mga kasapi ng BUFFALO. Dahil dito, nagbuo din sila ng organisasyon, ang TAMARAW (Tried Agricultural Movers Association of Rural Active Workers) na may 48 miyembro at LIMUS (Landless Inhabitants of Musuan) na may 105 miyembro. Pinagkalooban naman ng DAR ang TAMARAW at LIMUS ng 600 ektaryang lupain upang kanilang paghatian. Ang naging batayan ng DARAB para sa pamamahagi ng lupa sa TAMARAW at LIMUS ay ang desisyon nito ukol sa BUFFALO. Kinilala ng DARAB na hiwalay na organisasyon ang dalawa, kaya't may hiwalay na lupa na ipinagkaloob sa kanila, ngunit mas maliit dahil higit na kakaunti ang miyembro nila kaysa BUFFALO.

Nag-apela ang CMU sa *Court of Appeals* (CA) batay sa kanilang pagtatanong sa awtoridad ng DAR sa mga lupain ng CMU. Isinama rin sa pagtatanong ng CMU sa BUFFALO bilang tunay na benepisyaryo ng mga lupain. Noong Agosto 20, 1990, sinang-ayunan ng CA ang desisyon ng DARAB sa pagbibigay ng lupa sa mga kwalipikadong magsasaka ng BTL (BUFFALO-TAMARAW-LIMUS). Taong 1991 nang natanggap ng mga magsasaka ang kanilang mga CLOA.

Masigla ang gawaing pag-oorganisa ng mga magsasaka sa panahong ito. Bagama't may iba't ibang dinamismo ang tatlong organisasyon ng magsasaka sa loob ng CMU, sila ay nagsama-sama para sa pagharap sa laban sa lupa. Mahigpit ang ugnayan nila sa isa't isa. Nagpapalitan at nagkokonsultahan sila ng mga opinyon at suhestiyon kung paano tutugunan ang kanilang problema sa lupa. Pumaloob ang BTL sa pamprobinsiyang samahan ng mga magsasaka, ang Kahugpungan sa Mag-uuma sa Bukidnon (KASAMA-Bukidnon). Sa antas pambansa naman ay pumaloob ang KASAMA-Bukidnon sa Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP), ang pambansang pederasyon ng magsasaka at manggagawang-bukid.

TAGTUYOT AT TAGLAGAS

Muling umapila ang CMU at inakyat ang kaso sa Korte Suprema. Katulad ng kanilang apela sa Court of Appeals tinatanong din nila ang awtoridad ng DAR sa lupain ng CMU, pinataas din nila ang kanilang argumento sa pamamagitan ng pagkuwestiyon mismo sa CARP at ang mga saklaw nito, mga lupain sakop at mga benepisyaryo. Dahil dito pinag-aralan mismo ng mataas na kapulungan ang batas at lumabas ang isang butas dito. Ito ang naging desisyon nila sa kasong CMU vs. DARAB et al. Ito ay ang kauna-unahang desisyon ukol sa eksempsyon sa CARP.

Noong ika-21 ng Oktubre taong 1992, naglabas ang Korte Suprema ng desisyon na pumapabor sa CMU at nagbaliktad sa desisyon ng DARAB at CA. Ayon sa Korte Suprema, “ang lupa ay hindi sakop ng CARP dahil ito ay aktuwal, tuwiran at eksklusibong ginamit at napatunayang kailangan para sa lugar ng paaralan at mga kampus kasama ang istasyon ng eksperimental na sakahan na pinatatakbo ng paaralan para sa layuning pang-edukasyon, mga halamang buto at pagsasaliksik ng mga halamang buto at *pilot production centers*” (CMU vs. DARAB, 215 SCRA 86, 1992).

Dagdag pa ng Korte Suprema, ang CA at DARAB ay gumamit ng “*grave abuse of discretion*” sa desisyon nito. Sa desisyon ng Korte, ang CMU ang nasa tamang posisyon ng pag-alam sa paggamit ng lupa at hindi ang DAR (CMU vs. DARAB, 215 SCRA 86, 1992).

Alinsunod sa desisyon na ito, nagsimulang manggipit ang CMU sa mga magsasaka. Binarahan nito ang mga daanan ng patubig na siyang nakaapekto sa gawaing produksyon ng mga magsasaka. Nguni’t sa halip na umalis ang mga magsasaka, lalong tumibay ang paninindigan nilang manatili sa lupa (PAN-AP, 2007).

Sa kabila ng paninindigan ng mga miyembro para manatili sa lupa, may ilan pa ring pinanghinaan ng loob. May ilang mga pamilyang umalis sa lugar sa takot sa nakaambang demolisyon sa kanila ng CMU. Walang alternatibong plano ang CMU sa mga magsasaka dahil sa pinaninindigan nito na iskwat ang mga magsasaka sa kanilang lupain. Ilan din sa mga lider nila ay tumigil sa pagkilos dahil sa demoralisasyon. Sa panayam kay Ka Jun, isang lider ng BUFFALO, isinalarawan niya ang yugtong ito na pinakamatinding pagsubok na pinagdaanan ng kanilang organisasyon. Dagdag pa niya, umalis din ang BUFFALO sa KMP at nakipag-alyansa ito sa mga non-government organization (NGO) at pulitiko sa Bukidnon.

MULING PAGLAKAS NG ORGANISASYON

“Saan kami pupunta kung aalis kami? Naniniwala kami na may karapatan kaming manatili sa lugar dahil may mga hawak kaming CLOA at nanalo kami sa Court of Appeals. Higit sa lahat, kami ang nagpaunlad sa lupa, kami ang nagbungkal nito. Kailangan naming maging matatag.” - Ka Jun

Sa kabila ng demoralisasyon ng mga dating lider dahil sa sinapit ng kanilang kaso sa Korte Suprema, mas maraming mga miyembro ang naging matatag. Desidido silang manatili sa lugar. Muli silang nag-organisa sa kanilang hanay upang mabuhay ang pag-asa ng mga tao. Naghalal muli ang mga miyembro ng mga panibagong lider noong 1996, isa na dito si Ka Jun. Ayon kay Ka Jun, nakita nila ang pangangailangang ikonsolida ang mga miyembro para muling sumigla ang organisasyon. Naging sunod-sunod ang gawaing edukasyon sa loob ng organisasyon.

“Ang importante, may laman ang isip. Mahalaga ang lupa para sa aming mga nagbungkal. Kailangan namin itong protektahan. Kailangang maunawaan ng mga miyembro sa pamamagitan ng edukasyon ang kahalagahan ng organisasyon at pagbubuklod para depensahan ang aming lupa’t kabuhayan.” – Ka Jun

Natutuhan ng mga tao na suriin at aralin ang kanilang kalagayan at naging karanasan. Sa kanilang pagsusuri, nakita nila na sa korte ay wala na silang laban sapagkat mismong Korte Suprema na ang nagbaba ng desisyon. Ang mas mahalaga ay ang kanilang pagkakaisa at pagsasama-sama para

ipaglaban ang karapatan nila sa lupa. Dito nila napagtanto na ang kanilang pakikibaka sa lupa ay hindi lamang usaping pang-ekonomiya kundi isang pakikibakang pulitikal. Nagkaisa rin sila na muling pumaloob sa KMP noong 1996. Sa sanaysay ni Ka Jun, sinabi niyang malaki ang naitulong ng KMP sa pagbibigay ng payo sa kanila at sa pagpapatampok ng kanilang isyu sa loob at labas ng bansa.

Taong 1999, itinayo ng KMP at BUFFALO ang Task Force BTL na kinabibilangan ng Buffalo, Tamaraw, Limus, KMP, KASAMA-Bukidnon, Sentro para sa Tunay na Repormang Agraryo (SENTRA), National Network of Agrarian Reform Advocates (NNARA) at NNARA-Youth. Layunin nitong pangunahan ng KMP ang pagdadala ng kampanya ng BTL sa pambansa at internasyunal na larangan. Ang *Task Force* ay pana-panahong nagpap plano at nagpapatupad ng kampanya at pakikibaka ng BTL. Sa pambansang antas, ginagampan ng mga pambansang organisasyon at institusyon ang pakikipag-usap sa Committee on Higher Education (CHED), mga miyembro ng lehislatura, DAR, mga tao sa simbahan, akademya at iba pang mga propesyunal. Sa pandaigdigang larangan, ang KMP ang nagtitiyak sa adbokasiya para sa laban ng BTL at nangangalap ng suporta sa iba't ibang organisasyong internasyunal. Tinitiyak naman ng BTL at KASAMA-Bukidnon ang kampanya sa lokal at higit pang konsolidasyon ng BTL.

Kinilala ng mga internasyunal na organisasyon katulad ng Pesticide Action Network in Asia and the Pacific (PAN-AP), People's Coalition on Food Sovereignty (PCFS), Action Solidarite Tiers Monde (ASTM) mula sa Luxembourg, at ng Asian Peasant Coalition (APC) ang pakikibaka ng BUFFALO para sa lupa. Madami ding natutunan ang mga lider ng BUFFALO sa pakikipagpalitan ng karanasan sa ibang mga sangay ng KMP. Natuklasan nila na maraming mga kaso ng lupa na kahalintulad ng sa kanila. Wika ni Ka Jun, "*Hindi pala kami nag-iisa, ang aming laban sa lupa ay laban ng buong sambayanan.*"

ANG MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT SA PAGITAN NG CMU AT BTL

Nang maupo bilang presidente ng CMU si Dr. Mardonio M. Lao noong Hulyo 1999, sinubukan niyang paalisin ang mga magsasaka gamit ang *writ of demolition* na inilabas ng DARAB. Dinulog ng tatlong organisasyon ng magsasaka sa loob ng CMU at KASAMA-Bukidnon ang panibagong banta sa kanila sa pambansang opisina ng KMP. Tumulong ang KMP sa pakikipag-usap sa mga kongresista para maglunsad ng imbestigasyon sa nagaganap na labanan sa lupa sa loob ng CMU (PAN-AP, 2007).

Noong ika-26 ng Marso taong 2000, nagsagawa ng imbestigasyon ang *Committee on Agrarian Reform* ng Mababang Kapulungan ng Kongreso. Dito nakita ng mga miyembro ng komite ang maunlad na pagsasaka sa komunidad, at wala silang makitang dahilan para paalisin ang mga magsasaka sa lugar.

Nagkaroon ng serye ng negosasyon mula Hunyo 2000 sa pagitan ng pinagsanib ng samahan ng BTL at CMU para humanap ng katanggap-tanggap na solusyon higgil sa problema sa lupa. Noong ika-19 ng Pebrero ng 2001, pumasok sa isang *Tripartite Memorandum of Agreement* ang CMU, bilang unang partido, at ang BTL, bilang pangalawang partido, kasama ang Opisina ng Kongresista ng Pangatlong Distrito ng Bukidnon na kinatawan ni Cong. Juan Miguel F. Zubiri, bilang pangatlong partido. Nakasaad sa kasunduan na papaloob ang BTL sa limang taong kontrata sa pag-upa sa 400 ektaryang lupa ng CMU. Magbabayad ang miyembro ng organisasyon ng PhP 4,000.00 bawat ektarya sa bawat taon ng pag-upa. Napagkasunduan din ang pagbuo ng *Task Force* na pamumunuan ng Kongresista ng Ikatlong Distrito ng Bukidnon kasama ang presidente ng CMU, Mayor ng Munisipyo ng Maramag, Provincial Agrarian Reform Office (PARO) ng Bukidnon, at

mga tagapangulo ng BUFFALO, TAMARAW at LIMUS. Pangunahing tungkulin ng Task Force ay tiyakin ang pagsunod ng mga kinauukulan sa mga nakasaad sa MOA. Ang pangatlong partido naman ay naatasang maghanap ng maayos na relokasyon na mapaglilipatan ng mga magsasaka ng BTL. Ang implementasyon ng kasunduan ay sinimulan pagkatapos mapirmahan ang *Contract of Lease* noong ika-10 ng Marso, 2002.

Nagtapos ang kontrata sa pagitan ng CMU at BTL noong Marso 10, 2007. Nakatanggap ang mga magsasaka ng sulat na may petsang Marso 9, 2007 mula sa administrasyon ng CMU na nagsasaad na binibigyan ang mga magsasaka ng tatlong buwan para umalis sa lugar. Sa pagtatapos ng kontrata, hindi na pinahintulutan ang mga magsasaka na magbungkal sa kanilang lupa.

Ito ang panibagong hamon na kinakaharap ng mga magsasaka sapagkat walang nahanap na relokasyon ang Task Force para mapaglipatan nila katulad ng nakasaad sa MOA. Sa kabiguang humanap ng relokasyon, inalok ni Kong. Zubiri ang mga magsasaka ng PhP 40,000.00 kapalit ng pag-alis sa lugar. Hindi ito tinanggap ng mga magsasaka. Nanindigan sila na mananatili sa kanilang mga lupain at ipaglalaban ang kanilang karapatan sa lupa.

Ayon kay Ka Jun, nahihirapang maghanap ng relokasyon para sa kanila ang lokal na pamahalaan sapagkat malaking bahagi ng kalupaan ng probinsiya ng Bukidnon ay pag-aari o kundi man ay nakapaloob na sa mga *lease agreement* sa pamahalaan ang mga malalaking korporasyong pang-agrikultura tulad ng Del Monte Philippines Incorporated, Lapanday Diversified Products Corporation, Mt. Kitanglad Agri-Development Corporation, Bukidnon Sugar Milling Company, Agaropyta Philippines, Incorporated, DOLE Philippines, Bukidnon Greens Incorporated at Valencia Rubbertec. Sa bahagi naman ng CMU, may 598.79 ektaryang lupain nito

na pinauupahan para sa negosyong pang-agrikultura, na ang ilan ay pagmamay-ari ng dayuhan. Hindi na bago sa mga magsasaka ang balitang nais silang paalisin ng administrasyon ng CMU sa lugar para paupahan ang lupang sinasaka nila sa mga malalaking korporasyong pang-agrikultura. Sa report ng PAN-AP, nakasaad na noong 1997, nagdesisyon ang Board of Regents na ipaupa ang 400 ektaryang lupa sa RGR Agri-Ventures at 600 ektarya sa Bukidnon Resources Company, Inc., mga korporasyong nakatutok sa produksyon ng mga *high value crops*.

Naglunsad ang Asian Peasant Coalition, isang koalisyon ng mga organisasyon ng mga magsasaka sa Asya na pinangungunahan ng Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas, ng International Fact Finding Mission (IFFM) noong Hulyo 6-7, 2007 sa loob ng CMU. Naglalayon ang IFFM na mangalap ng datos hinggil sa mga ulat ng panggigipit sa mga magsasaka ng BTL at tumugon sa nakaambang pagpapaalis sa kanila. Napatunayan ng IFFM ang paggamit ng dahas ng CMU para paalisin ang mga magsasaka. Ang isang insidente ay noong ika-22 ng Hunyo taong 2007 kung saan pinaputukan ng baril ng mga gwardiya ng CMU ang mga magsasakang lumusong sa bukid para linangin ang tatlong buwan nang nakatiwangwang na lupa. Sa salaysay ng mga biktima, napilitan silang magtrabaho sa kanilang bukirin sapagkat malapit nang maubos ang kanilang na-impok na pagkain. Naniniwala rin sila na hindi dapat sila pinagbabawalan ng CMU na magtrabaho sa bukid kahit nagtapos na ang MOA sapagkat wala pa namang nahahanap na relokasyon para sa kanila.

Bunga ng IFFM, napilitan ang CMU na pulungin ang Task Force noong Hulyo 19, 2007. Dito muling iginiit ng BUFFALO ang nakasaad sa MOA na bigyan sila ng maayos na relokasyon bago sila paalisin sa CMU.

Mula ika-10 hanggang ika-30 ng Setyembre 2007, nagpadala ang BTL ng kinatawan sa Maynila upang magsagawa ng serye ng pakikipag-

usap sa mga mambabatas para sa ekstensyon ng kanilang *contract of lease* sa CMU. Kasama ang KMP at Tanggol Magsasaka, nakuha nila ang pagsang-ayon nina Rep. Teodoro Casiño, Rep. Satur Ocampo, Rep. Luzviminda Ilagan, Rep. Teofisto Guingona III, Rep. Jose F. Zubiri III, at Rep. Cynthia Villar hinggil sa hinihinging ekstensyon ng kanilang kontrata sa CMU. Mula ika-12 ng Nobyembre hanggang ika-1 ng Disyembre taong 2007, muling nagpadala ang Buffalo ng kinatawan sa Maynila para sa ikalawang serye ng pag-uusap. Katuwang ang KMP, nakuha nila ang suporta nila Sen. Miguel Zubiri, Sen. Francis Escudero, Sen. Allan Cayetano at Sen. Jamby Madrigal. Hindi pa tapos ang usaping ito, ngunit patuloy ang paglaban ng mga magsasaka ng BTL.

PAKIKIBAKA PARA SA SUSTENABLENG AGRIKULTURA

Hindi lamang usaping pakikibaka sa lupa ang binibigyang pansin ng BUFFALO. Isa sa pinangangalagaang tagumpay ng organisasyon ay ang kanilang programang pansakahan na higit na mapakikinabangan ng mga magsasaka. Sa tulong ng mga organisasyon katulad ng KMP, ASTM, RESIST, MASIPAG at iba pang mga kaalyado nito, nasimulan at napaunlad ng BUFFALO ang kanilang programang sustenableng agrikultura o “*sustainable agriculture*.” Sa ilalim ng programang ito pinapaunlad nila ang organikong paraan ng pagsasaka at pagtatanim ng mga tradisyunal na binhi. Hindi na sila nagtatanim ng mga binhi ng palay na nangangailangan ng kemikal na abono at pestisidyo. Gumagamit sila ng organikong pataba sa lupa at tradisyunal na binhi. Ito ay malaking kabawasan sa kanilang gastos sa produksyon. Ang resulta nito, bumaba ang gastos sa produksyon at tumaas ang ani ng mga magsasaka. Bukod pa dito, napapangalagaan din nila ang kapaligiran at natural na *ecosystem* sa palayan. Dagdag pang benepisyo ng programang ito ay ang pag-iwas sa sakit ng mga mamamayan na dulot ng mga kemikal at pestisidyo.

Sa kasalukuyan, mayroong mahigit na 300 uri ng tradisyunal na binhi sa *community seed bank* ng BUFFALO. Limang taon na ang programang ito. Sa simula ay nahirapan ang mga magsasaka sa pagtanggap sa programa dahil sa nakasanayan na nila ang pagtatanim ng mga *high yielding varieties* (HYV) at paggamit ng kemikal sa pagsasaka. Para mahikayat ang mga magsasaka na tangkilikin ang bagong programa, gumawa ng *demo farm* kaalinsabay ang paglulunsad ng mga serye ng seminar ukol dito. Nang makita nila ang produkto ng *demo farm*, dito nahikayat ang mga magsasaka na gumamit ng sustenableng paraan ng pagsasaka.

PAGTATAPOS

Kung susuriin, ang naging karanasan ng BUFFALO, bilang organisasyon ng mga magsasaka na ang hangarin ay ang pagkakamit ng lupang masasaka, ay higit na nagpatibay sa kanila. Patuloy ang paglakas ng kanilang hanay, may pagkilala na sa kanilang mga kampanya sa loob at labas ng bansa, at nananatili pa rin sila sa kanilang mga lupain sa kabila ng mga banta ng pagpapaalis sa kanila at maging banta sa kanilang mga buhay.

Nagsimula sila sa pag-asa na makakamit ang kanilang minimithing lupain sa pagpasok sa CARP, ngunit binigo sila ng batas na ito. Sa halip na manatili sa pagkalugmok, pinatalas nila ang kanilang isip sa pamamagitan ng pagsusuri sa kanilang karanasan at kalagayan. Nagdesisyon silang higit pang pataasin ang kanilang pakikibaka mula sa pang-ekonomyang kagalingan hanggang sa antas ng pulitika kung saan hinahamon nila ang pamahalaan na ipagkaloob ang lupang hindi lamang para sa kanila kundi para sa lahat ng mga magsasaka sa buong Pilipinas. Napatibay din ang kanilang paniniwala na ang pakikibaka ng mga magsasaka para sa lupa ay hindi lamang laban ng mga magsasaka kundi laban ng lahat ng mamamayang inaapi at pinasasamantalahan.

Susi sa tagumpay ng BUFFALO ang **mahusay at solidong pag-oorganisa**. Mula ng maitatag ang organisasyon hanggang sa kasalukuyan, naging mahusay na sandata ito sa pananatiling buhay at nagkakaisa ang organisasyon. Komprehensibong inorganisa ng mga magsasaka ang mga kababaihan, kabataan, kapwa nila magsasaka at maging ang mga kawani ng CMU at mga manggagawa na naniniwala sa kanilang ipinaglalaban. Tumagos pa hanggang sa ibang baryo ang kanilang pag-oorganisa nang maging bahagi sila ng pagtatayo ng LIMUS at TAMARAW. Kinilala ng mga kababaryo nila ang pamumuno ng BUFFALO at ng mga opisyal nito. Malaki ang naging papel nila sa mga pagsasagawa ng desisyon maging sa kanilang pamayanan. Maging ang pagtulong sa pag-oorganisa ng mga magsasaka at manggagawang bukid sa ibang lugar ay naisasakatuparan ng BUFFALO dahil sa kanilang husay sa gawaing ito.

Malaki din ang naitulong ng **pagiging bukas** ng BUFFALO sa mga puna at pagbabago sa kanilang organisasyon. Dito nila pinatutunayan na natututo sila sa karanasan ng bawat miyembro ng kanilang samahan. Dahil din sa kanilang pagiging bukas ay napapadali ang paghimok nila sa kanilang mga miyembro at maging sa kanilang pamayanan para makibahagi sa kanilang mga gawain, programa at proyekto. Bukas ang pamunuan ng BUFFALO para sa mga suhestiyon ng kanilang mga miyembro. Kaakibat ng pagiging bukas ay ang pagiging **demokratiko at mapanlahok** ng kanilang organisasyon. Isinasangguni sa mga miyembro ang mga desisyon ng organisasyon at pamunuan nito. Regular ang buwanang pulong ng organisasyon na dinadaluhan naman ng mga miyembro at opisyal. Dito nila nabubuo ang mga desisyon at paninindigan sa mga isyu at usaping kinakaharap ng kanilang samahan. Kalahok sa lahat ng mga usapin ang mga miyembro ng organisasyon. Lahat din ng miyembro ay may ginagampanang tungkulin sa pamamagitan ng mga komite ng organisasyon. Mahalaga ang mga opinyon ng bawat isa sa mga usapin, isyu, problema na hinaharap ng organisasyon.

Hindi rin maitatanggi na malaki ang naitulong ng **masikhay na gawaing edukasyon** sa loob ng kanilang organisasyon. Mulat na hinarap ng mga miyembro ng BUFFALO ang kahalagahan ng kanilang ipinaglalaman. Ang katumpakan ng kanilang paninindigan ay bunga ng kanilang mahusay na kampanya para pataasin ang antas ng kamulatan ng kanilang mga miyembro.

Ang **malawak at mahusay na lambat ng suporta** ay nagbigay daan upang magkaroon ng pambansang saklaw ang laban ng BUFFALO sa lupa. Sa tulong ng Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP) at mga kaalyado nito nakakuha ng malawak na suporta ang mga magsasaka ng BUFFALO. Nakatulong ang KMP sa mga pakikipag-usap sa mga mambabatas sa loob ng kongreso at senado para makakuha ng suporta sa kanilang laban para sa lupa. Kasama ang BUFFALO sa mga malakihang pagkilos na inilulunsad ng KMP sa Kamaynilaan. Nagkaroon ng pagkakataon na makakuha ng suporta ang BUFFALO sa labas ng bansa sa tulong din ng mga kaibigan at kaalyado ng KMP, katulad ng APC, PAN-AP, PCFS, International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) at International Alliance against Agrochem TNCs (IAAATNC). Kasama ang BUFFALO sa mga kampanya ng KMP sa loob at labas ng bansa sa anyo ng mga petisyon, resolusyon at pagkuha ng suporta para sa laban ng mga magsasaka.

Sa huli ang **matibay na paninindigan at katumpakan ng pagsusuri** sa laban ng BUFFALO ang nagpapanatili ng kanilang organisasyon. Makatwiran at tama na manatili ang mga magsasaka sa kanilang lupain. Para sa mga magsasaka ang lupa ang kanilang buhay. Katulad ng mga magsasaka ng BUFFALO mahalaga para sa kanila ang lupa. At patuloy nilang ipinaglalaman ang kanilang karapatan dito. Kaakibat nito ang kanilang **militanteng pagkilos** sa harap ng matitinding bigwas sa kanila ng pamunuan ng CMU, lalong tunitibay ang pagkakabigkis ng mga miyembro ng BUFFALO.

Pinatunayan ng karanasan ng BUFFALO na hindi talaga ipagkakaloob ng pamahalaan ang kanilang kahilingan sa ilalim ng CARP. Maraming butas ang batas na ito na ginagamit ng CMU para mapaalis ang mga magsasaka. Sa kabilang banda ay nangangalap ng mas maraming suporta ang BUFFALO para isabatas ang Genuine Agrarian Reform Bill o House Bill 3059 na isinumite ng mga kinatawan ng mga partylist na Anakpawis, Bayan Muna at Gabriela Women's Party. Naniniwala ang BUFFALO na ang panukalang batas na ito ang magpapatupad ng tunay na reporma sa lupa sakaling maisabatas ito. Layunin din ng panukalang batas na ito na palitan ang CARP. Subalit kinikilala ng BUFFALO ang magiging papel ng Kongreso para pigilan ito dahil 64% ng mga kinatawan sa kongreso ay mga panginoong maylupa. Gayunpaman, umaasa pa rin ang BUFFALO na maipasa ang batas na ito.

Sa kabila ng mga banta, pananakot at pandarahas sa mga miyembro ng BUFFALO nananatili silang nakatayo at lumalaban para sa kanilang karapatan sa lupa. Handa nilang ibuwis ang kanilang buhay makita lamang ang tagumpay ng kanilang laban. Malinaw sa kanila na ang aasahan nila sa labang ito ay ang matibay nilang paninindigan at pagkakaisa at katumpakan ng kanilang panawagan para sa tunay na reporma sa lupa. Handa nilang ipaglaban ang mga tagumpay na nakamit na nila bilang isang organisasyong matibay, matatag at may malawak na suporta sa kanilang pakikibaka.

Nagsama-sama sila dahil sa problema nila sa lupa, sa hangaring mabuhay ng disente at mapakain ang kanilang mga anak at pamilya. Nabuo ang kanilang organisasyon, napalakas at napayabong nito ang binhi ng kanilang pagkakaisa. Napatatag ang kanilang samahan, hanggang sa huli ay ipaglalaban nila ang kanilang mga nasimulan.

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FORGING SISTERHOOD WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE UNION: the Organizing Experience of MAKALAYA

Teresita Villamor Barrameda

This article discusses the experience of the Manggagawang Kababaihang Mithi ang Paglaya or MAKALAYA in organizing women workers amid the worsening crisis brought about by globalization. Against the backdrop of a globalized labor market, the feminization of labor in manufacturing and informal work and the shrinking of trade unions, MAKALAYA came into being to respond to the needs of women workers often ignored by trade unions. In organizing women workers, MAKALAYA attempts to meld feminist perspective with social movement unionism. Veering away from the traditional trade union approach and adopting the social movement unionism concept, it combines trade unionism and community organizing to organize women in both formal and informal work.

“The gender struggle within trade unions is indeed assembling a plane in flight.”- Mye Hega, 2003

The trade union is the ultimate weapon of the working class to improve their condition and quality of life. The strength and power of the labor movement is a result of a history of struggles across nations and across industries. However, with the onslaught of globalization and its

impact on the world of work - the integration of economies, expansion of production, instability of employment and the feminization of labor - the power of the labor movement is slowly being eroded. Given the present reality *vis-à-vis* a new set of working class and new work arrangements, will the conventional trade union strategies and organizing styles still be relevant? Or does it mean trade unionism will be a thing of the past? Against the backdrop of these rapid changes in the world of work, the concept of the “social movement unionism” is emerging as a new approach in organizing workers. As the changing time calls for a new approach to organizing workers, the Manggagawang Kababihang Mithi ay Paglaya or MAKALAYA explores and applies such concept in organizing women workers.

This paper intends to discuss the experience of MAKALAYA in organizing women workers in both the formal and informal economies amid the worsening crisis brought about by globalization. Against the backdrop of a globalized labor market, the feminization of labor in both manufacturing and informal work and the shrinking of trade unions, MAKALAYA came into being to respond to the needs of women workers often ignored by trade unions. In organizing women workers, MAKALAYA veers away from the traditional approach used by trade unions in formal industries. Instead, MAKALAYA attempts to apply the so-called “social movement unionism”¹ utilizing the combined trade unionism-community organizing strategy to establish trade union-community network and coalition and to organize women workers in both formal and informal economies.

This paper consists of four parts. The first part discusses the situation of women workers in the context of globalization by giving focus on the global assembly line, the situation of women workers in formal and informal economies and the impact of globalization on trade unions. The second part discusses the role and participation of women workers in the history of trade unionism in the Philippines. By way of a case study, the

third part discusses the experience of MAKALAYA in organizing women workers. The last part poses some issues and challenges that confront MAKALAYA at present and also posed discourse points to those organizing women workers given the emerging new type of workers as an outcome of globalization.

Women Workers in a Globalized Economy

From an economic perspective, globalization and its three basic pillars – liberalization, deregulation and privatization – are often associated with growth and change. Its basic features are the borderless global market economy and the rapid development in the information communication technology (ICT). The expansion of production, the integration of economies, the rapid mobility of goods, capital and communication among countries have been apparent, but all these have negatively affected the labor movement and the working class especially in developing countries like the Philippines. With these conditions, globalization has ushered in a change in the lives of women workers, either positively or negatively.

The International Division of Labour

With globalization in an upscale swing and coupled with the advancement of the communication technology, capital investment remains in continuous mobility. The desire to reduce production costs and amass greater profits have led multinational corporations to relocate parts of their business operations to developing countries like the Philippines by taking advantage of the latter's cheap labour and raw materials. And because of lower production costs, these multinational corporations have comparative advantage in the global market that enabled them to rake in bigger profits.

The rapid shift of labor-intensive production in developed countries to other parts of the globe is one of the significant effects of a globalized economy. As such, one could read a label of a mass-produced garment or item for sale in Western malls and from there on, one could start the analysis of the journey of this global assembly line. Thus, labels which read “Made in Mexico, China, El Salvador, Sri Lanka, Dominican Republic, the Philippines, Guatemala, Seychelles, Indonesia, Mauritius, Thailand” indicate a “hidden geography of production” (Mills, 1999, p. 7). But another thing unknown to the consumer is the fact that such item is most likely produced and assembled by women and most likely, they were paid very low.

The strategy of labour flexibilization which gave rise to the practice of subcontracting - a form of production that subdivided production phases where the labour-intensive part is relocated to developing countries while maintaining the complex and more technical in developed countries - further aggravates the plight of women as workers. Aldana (in Dungo, 2005), further elaborates that subcontracted work are those “manufactured in a series of stages as well as those which are light and easily transportable, such as semiconductors or cut-up pieces of garments with specified designs...” (p. 43).

Subcontracting work is widely dispersed in various countries around the globe that take advantage of women’s cheap labour. One noted example of subcontracting work is the *maquiladora* plants built along the Mexico-US border that employ mostly Mexican women to produce textile and electronic goods for consumption in the US (Mills, 1999). According to Vickers (1991), women in *maquiladora* factories work 18 hours a day with limited benefits and under unhealthy conditions. Particular in the Philippines, the practice of subcontracting work has given rise to “homework,” a form of work arrangement where quota work is brought home and paid on a piece-rate basis (Dungo, 2005).

While the global economy becomes fully integrated, it relies heavily on Third World women as its foundation and source of cheap labour. In Third World countries, decades of research have documented women's predominant employment in export-oriented manufacturing industries particularly in textile and electronics. Mills (1999) further notes that women's labour is attractive to multinational corporations who assume that young women without families will likely marry and as such, their period of employment is limited and consequently, they are contented with low pay, fewer benefits and job insecurity. In addition, women's skills are assumed to be specifically suitable to very detailed, meticulous and repetitive types of work in the textile and electronics industry.

As the practice of labour flexibilization, outsourcing and contractualization are replicated in various parts of the globe, the employment of women in industrial work seems a growing trend and a global assembly line is eventually taking shape. This pattern of employment has also popularized catch phrases like "the New International Division of Labour", "global feminization" and "global assembly line" (Mills, 1999, p. 9).

Women Workers in the Formal Economy

With the worsening crisis felt by majority of the Filipinos, women's entry into the labour force is on the rise due primarily to opportunities opened up by globalization particularly in the electronics and garment industries, as well as the need to augment income for family survival. Moreover, women from poorer households are further impoverished as government adopted structural adjustment programs that require the country to increase production while lowering social service expenditures. Given the diminishing social services supposed to be provided by the government, many of the poor women bear the brunt of taking care of sick family members while

having to experience postponing their own health and medical needs. Under such condition, more and more women are forced to accept low wage work in factories and in recent years are attracted to informal work. While at the same time, domestic work and childcare remain their exclusive responsibilities.

The National Statistics Office (NSO) stated that in January 2008 about 32.3% of employed people are self-employed, a 1.9% increase from 2007 (Bas, 2008). Ortiz-Ruiz (in Bas, 2008) adds that the formal sector shrunk from 6.3 million in 2003 to 4.7 million in 2007 while the informal sector grew to 27 million from 21 million in the same period. This increase is a result of globalization that demands cheap labor in export-oriented industries, manufacturing and outsourcing services. Moreover, the January 2008 Labor Force Survey has estimated that there is a total of 33.7 million employed Filipinos who are 15 years old and over. On the other hand, the unemployed women are estimated at 6.7% while the men were estimated at 7.8%. The same survey states that Labor Force Participation Rate (LFPR) is at 63.4% (NSO, 2008).

In January of 2008, the service sector is the biggest employer of workers, comprising 50.2 percent of the total workforce (NSO, 2008). Most workers employed in this sector are in wholesale and retail trade. Women in this sector are mostly into vending and operating variety stores with smaller incomes (NSO, 2004 as cited by Philippine NGO Beijing +10Report, 2005). Next to the service sector, the biggest employer is the agriculture sector, at 35 percent and followed by industry at 14.8 percent (NSO, 2008). In terms of overseas employment, the NSO 2006 Survey on Overseas Filipinos registers an estimated total of 1.52 million Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs). Of this population, female OFWs accounted for 50.4 percent while male OFWs were estimated at 49.6 percent (NCRFW, 2008).

Moreover, women account for almost 80% of the 900,000 workers in 62 export processing zones in the country (De Lima, in Philippine NGO Beijing +10 Report, 2005). They are predominantly found in the electronics industry that provides three-fourths of the country's exports. Lack of job security, contractualization and vulnerability to occupational hazards are among the issues confronting women workers in this industry. In similar situation, the women workers in the garment and other industries are experiencing job uncertainty due to the expiration of the Multi-Fiber Agreement and non-resumption of the Philippine quota. With the decline of the garment industry way back in the 90s, employment of women in the said industry took a nosedive from an estimated 400,000 to 320,000 by the end of 2003 (GETB, in Philippine NGO Beijing +10 Report, 2005). Likewise, many garment workers, sewers and embroiderers were displaced by highly mechanized machines and computer-aided embroidery machines and are now part of the ever growing population of informal workers (Ofreneo, 2002).

As women lose jobs due to the mechanization of operations, other workers lose their jobs due to firm closures and retrenchments. Aganon (2002) notes that 48 percent of closures were due to "organizational factors like reorganization, downsizing, redundancy and mergers or change in management" and 22 percent were "lack of markets, slump in demand and competition from imports while two percent account for increases in minimum wages" (p. 126). She further notes that retrenchments were higher in male than female workers.

Consequently, as large numbers of workers lose their jobs, trade unions are plunged into a crisis that eventually weakens their ranks. Aganon (2002) elaborates some manifestations of such crisis besetting trade unions, as follows: decrease in the number of unionized workers due to labor flexibilization and downsizing; mergers, privatization and outright sales of

business affecting formal sector workers; lack of substantial gains in collective bargaining agreements; and closure of firms to evade CBAs through declaration of bankruptcy, albeit operations are restored in other places, one form of union busting strategy.

Likewise, the rampant practices of flexibilization and contractualization among industries have weakened trade unions' bargaining power. Based on 2007 data, Collective Bargaining Agreements (CBAs) covered only 249,000 workers or a matter of 13.2% of the 1,893,000 union members (Aganon, Serrano, Mercado & Certeza, 2008). Aganon (2002), in another study, notes that several company practices tend to weaken the power of unions. With massive retrenchment among companies, trade unions are rendered powerless. They cannot prevent the retrenchment of workers especially when companies justify their actions through the "authorized cause" provision of Art 283-284 of the Labor Code. These authorized causes include automation, retrenchment, redundancy, closures, and mergers. Another management practice is the strategy of "casualization" where a batch of workers is hired for only three months after which the management hires a new batch for the next three months. With casual workers, the union cannot recruit new members. In addition, other companies resort to "brainwashing" the workers. In this case, the management appealed to workers to help out in cost cutting measures as the company is losing money even though the union provides data to counter such claims. In another instance, the management changed the job titles of some union members by promoting them to professional positions, thereby disqualifying them to be part of the bargaining panel during negotiations.

In summary, the trend of women's employment in the formal economy is on the rise. However, they concentrate on labor-intensive occupations, particularly in the global assembly line in the garments, manufacturing and electronics industries of which the work is monotonous,

low paid and does not provide them the opportunities to develop or acquire new skills. However, despite the increased employment opportunities brought about by globalization, current management practices like flexibilization, sub-contracting and casualization have weakened trade unions' strength as well as women's involvement in them. As trade unions experienced difficulty in organizing its ranks as well as in negotiating for better wages and conditions in collective bargaining, will women-friendly provisions forever be left behind in negotiations?

Women Workers in the Informal Economy

The informal sector, a phenomenon of the 70s economy covering those working as micro-entrepreneurs, home-based workers, self-employed, unpaid family workers, sub-contractual workers, vendors, among others, grows unabated. Despite the variety of work and services offered by these workers, their work is commonly characterized as informal, small-scale, marginal, lowly paid, unprotected, unregulated, and unorganized. With the growing unemployment brought about by globalization, more and more people tend to gravitate to informal work. As employment declines in major sectors like agriculture and manufacturing, informal work is the only viable option for many poor women.

Estimates based on the 2003 Labor Force Survey of the National Statistics Office (NSO) show that informal workers account to a total of 20 million, or 65 percent of total employed labor force (in Lao & Inocion, 2008; NCRFW, 2004 as cited in Philippine NGO Beijing+10Report, 2005). Of these, women comprise an estimate of 6.2 million, or 39.7 percent, accounting for almost 53 percent of the entire employed women labor force (NCRFW, 2004 as cited in Philippine NGO Beijing+10Report, 2005). The major reasons for the unprecedented growth of the informal sector include the labor displacement in formal

sector brought about by globalization, gender discrimination in the workplace, and the burden of dual responsibilities of working at home and earning an income.

Ofreneo (2002) summarizes the issues confronting women in the informal sector as follows:

- **Invisibility.** Despite their numbers, women in the informal economy are not accounted in the mainstream economy making them invisible in government statistics as well as excluded from programs and policies;
- **Unorganized.** Because of the nature of their work and location, women in the informal sector are scattered and hard to organize. As such, they are not as cohesive and do not have a representational identity like other sectors; and
- **Vulnerability.** The vulnerable status of women in the informal economy is brought about by a confluence of problems that beset them. These include irregularity and instability of employment, exposure to occupational and environment health hazards, exploitation and abuse, low level of awareness of their rights as women and as workers, and lack of social protection.

Women's Leadership and Participation in Trade Union in the Time of Globalization

The labor force participation statistics show that women are very much involved in both formal and informal work and their numbers keep on increasing in an unprecedented manner. However, in terms of union participation, they constitute a small portion as compared to men. Unlike

men, women face more constraints in terms of political participation, trade union involvement being one of them.

Political participation is gendered (Peterson & Runyan, 1993). Factors such as gender socialization, the differential situation of men and women as well as social institutions and structures interact in discriminating against women towards political involvement. Since gender stereotypes are fully internalized by individuals through socialization, it is more likely that both men and women developed attitudes that affirm men's political involvement while discouraging women's. As such, women who tend to engage in any political pursuit or hold leadership positions are met with resistance.

Moreover, the gender division of labor creates different lived situations of men and women. As reproductive work is relegated to women while productive work is primarily the concern of men, women experience double burden when they work to earn income while being held responsible for reproductive work. Aside from the longer workday that limits women's participation in any political involvement, women's availability tends to be problematic especially when this competes with her domestic and mothering/family obligations. Consequently, the situation of women and the requirements of trade unions as to schedules, locations of meetings and magnitude of trade union work seem incompatible. As trade unionism is often associated with men and traditionally identified as men's work, women's concerns are of no importance to them but rather treated as "side issues." Thus, women's issues remain peripheral in bargaining negotiations. Similarly, Gallin & Horn (2005) note that since the labor movement has long been led by men, it has imbibed the prevailing patriarchal values of society, regardless of its progressive thought and radical opposition to other aspects of the social order. Likewise, Hega (2006) echoes similar sentiment:

With few exceptions, male workers still support the confinement of women to the home and rearing of children as their foremost responsibility. This perception is reflected in the attitudes of majority of union leaders and even members who consider it irrelevant to draw women into trade union work. This partly explains why most unions' work methods and systems are designed not for women in general and more so for working mothers (p. 4).

The workplace as a social institution posed another obstacle to women's political participation and trade union involvement. The horizontal and vertical gender segregation in the workplace also discriminates women. Horizontally, women predominate in jobs that are light, monotonous and reflective of their reproductive work such as in the service sector, manufacturing and informal work while vertically, they are predominantly located at the lowest rung in almost all industries. On the other hand, industries dominated by male had norms, practices and standards that speak of a "man's world" (Peterson & Runyan, 1993, p. 68). Randall (in Peterson, 1993) has this to say about discrimination in the workplace:

Forms of discrimination in the workplace vary, but the presence of gender hierarchy and sexism create a less favorable environment for women, who must then struggle harder than male counterparts to be successful. As long as the workplace and political office are identified as "male terrain," women constantly confront and must deal with resentment of their unwanted presence. Women are most frequently reminded of their outsider status when they are viewed in terms of their gender and sexuality and not as colleagues. Subtle and not-so-subtle references to women must either become "like men" or become invisible (p. 68).

Despite the many barriers that restrict women's involvement in trade unions, historically, their role in trade unionism had been significant. Berenice Carrol (in Peterson, 1993) reiterates that women have initiated the earliest labour strikes in the first half of the 19th century. Another strike launched by women was the first of rebellious actions that led to the Russian Revolution. Other mobilizations like the 1912 Lawrence, Massachusetts textile workers strike inspired the formation of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Last, but not least, in the Philippines in the 1980s, despite the no union policy in export processing zones, women workers launched a series of strikes to protest labor conditions that gave birth to the Women Workers Movement in 1984. These examples suggest that women, whether in male-dominated or women-only industries, usually organized their ranks and established their own trade unions to respond to their particular needs and interests as women workers, promote their rights and advance their struggles as women and as workers.

Moreover, since many of the women workers are found in almost all low-paid jobs in both the formal and informal labor markets, women workers' organizing takes various forms. Unlike the conventional work-based trade union organizing in formal work and male-dominated industries, women deconstructed the notion of trade union organizing. In particular, it went beyond the confines of an employer-employee relationship. More so, women workers' organizing approach tries to meld the struggle for better working conditions with women's strategic gender interests.²

One significant example is the case of the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India which was formed to represent the self employed poor workers who were ignored by trade unions in formal sectors. SEWA argued that the role of trade unions is to protect workers' rights regardless of the absence or presence of an employer-employee relationship. Recognizing the problems confronting self-

employed women such as exploitation from moneylenders and contractors, police harassment and discriminatory laws, SEWA's services and programs are broader than conventional trade unions to include legal assistance, representation for workers' rights, day care provision, insurance and health scheme provision, and the formation of cooperatives. To fully serve its constituents, SEWA fuses development work with trade union functions on the argument that it services non-formal workers. And by linking unionism and cooperatives formation, SEWA has delivered workers from exploitation and unemployment (Kabeer, 1995).

In like manner, in other communities, women workers are exploring alternative ways of organizing women while others are strengthening worker-based women networks by expanding membership to women in fishing, farming and informal sectors. In essence, such actions are efforts at transforming the traditional trade union structure which usually confines itself to organizing formal economy workers to a social movement unionism (SMU) that organizes all forms of employed workers (Aganon, 2002).

Aganon et al.'s (2008) discussion of SMU could be summarized as follows:

The concept of social movement unionism was first introduced by Peter Waterman in the late 1980s but then evolved into different articulations by various authors like Kim Moody, Ismet Akca and Robert Lambert. Despite varying articulations and understanding of the concept of SMU, a common thread emphasized the need for trade unions to bring their struggles beyond the confines of the workplace and beyond national boundaries, in alliance with other social movements. Of the various articulations, the "class/popular-community" articulation of SMU by Kim Moody is the most popular.

However, Moody's "class/popular-community" articulation was criticized by Waterman because of its vanguardist stance. He then re-conceptualized SMU as "class/new social movement unionism." For Waterman, the new social movement unionism goes beyond the economic and political unionism as it focuses on all forms of work, utilizing socio-cultural forms, forging alliances with civil society, and being international in scope. Among its features are the following:

- It consists of struggles within and around wage work not simply for better pay and working conditions but for increased worker and union control over the labor process, investments, new technology, relocation, subcontracting and training and education processes;
- It struggles against hierarchical, authoritarian and technocratic working methods and relations for socially-useful and environment-friendly products, for a reduction in the hours of work, for the distribution of which is available and necessary, for the sharing of domestic work, and for an increase in free time for cultural self-development and self-realization;
- It is intimately related to the movements of other unionized or non-unionizable working classes or categories and to other potential allies as an autonomous, equal and democratic partner, neither claiming to be, nor subordinating itself to, a "vanguard" or "sovereign" organization or power;
- It is [also] related to other non- or multi-class democratic movements in their efforts to create a powerful and diverse civil society;

- It is related but perhaps less intimately to political forces... with similar orientations (i.e. which demonstrate their recognition of the value of plurality of autonomous social forces in an emancipatory and transformatory direction);
- It works for the continuing transformation of all social relationships and structures... in a democratic, pluralistic and cooperative direction;
- It takes up the new social issues within the society at large, as they arise for workers specifically and as they express themselves within the union itself...;
- It favors shopfloor democracy and encouraging direct horizontal relations both between workers and between workers and other popular/democratic social forces, grassroots and community contacts and solidarity internationally, in the struggle to create a kind of global civil society and global solidarity culture;
- It is open to networking both within and between organizations, understanding the value of informal, horizontal, flexible coalitions, alliances and interest groups to stimulate organizational democracy, pluralism and innovation; and,
- Being active on the terrain of education, culture and communication, stimulating worker, popular and alternative culture..., supporting initiatives for democracy and pluralism both inside and outside the dominant institutions or media, locally, nationally and globally (pp. 26-27).

Meanwhile, given the changes in the labor market and employment relations and arrangements, the traditional trade union structure is no longer enough to respond to the varying needs of different types of workers. Instead, the trade union movement has to reflect on and rethink its position and location amid these changes. Trade unions must rethink its strategies beyond collective bargaining and organizing approach other than trade union formation within the confines of formal work settings. The experience of women workers in terms of organizing their ranks has a lot to offer in which the trade unions can learn from.

Women Workers in the History of Trade Unionism in the Philippines

Throughout the course of Philippine history there is a strong indication of women's participation in the world of work as well as in the trade union movement. Although women workers were considered invisible in many historic documents, there are accounts however that proved their significant participation in trade union struggles.

The trade union movement in the Philippines has its roots in the working class struggle against the Spanish colonial rule in general and the printing press workers in particular. As early as 1816, the *cigarreras* (tobacco workers) held strikes on issues like unfair wages and sexual harassment. Had it been written, such action could be the first mass mobilization and the first workers' organization in the country. But it was only in 1901 when women trade unionists were recorded in history. Thus, the names of Celerina de la Cruz, Fausta Bernardo, Margarita Pasamola and Antonia Zamora were then considered as trade unionists because of their involvement in organizing unions in the Carmelo and Bauerman Printing Press in Manila (Hega, 2006).

During the 19th century, women workers were employed as *cigarreras*, *bordaderas* (embroiderers) and *sinamayeras* (abaca weavers). Their products were among the country's exports. At this time, sex discrimination, sexual harassment and low wages were among the issues faced by women workers. Low wages and the deplorable working condition in factories were among the factors that led women to stage strikes or *alborotos* especially in the tobacco factories in Manila, Navotas and Malabon (Angeles, 1990). Taguiwalo (2002) provided another account that affirms women workers' significant participation through trade union struggles. With an analysis of newspaper articles in 1906 and 1934, she highlights women workers' significant participation in two militant actions of the working class. In 1906 women vendors in Divisoria protested against a city hall ordinance on increased stall rentals. In 1934, women tobacco workers participated in the general workers' strike where Narcisa Paguibitan, a woman trade union leader, played a significant role as a member of the workers' delegation that sought a meeting with General Frank Murphy in Malacanang.

The women-specific demands pushed by trade unions would further support the position that women workers were very much in the world of work. The founding of the *Congreso Obrero de Filipinas* or the Workers Congress of the Philippines in May 1, 1913 included the protection for women and child laborers in their agenda (Del Rosario, 1989). In 1918 more than 8,000 women workers were working in factories (Arriola, 1989). By mid-19th century, about 3,000 women were employed in various cigar factories (Carpenter, in Del Rosario, 1989). Women-only trade unions were then organized such as the *Union de Cigarillas la Alejandria* and the Tobacco Women's Labour Union. The provisions of working seats and separate toilets/lavatories for women were among the demands women workers raised and won in 1923³. Later in 1931, more than 7,500 women became members of trade unions (Arriola, 1989). Moreso, the 1931 record of the Bureau of Labor has accounted membership of women in all the 12

major labor organizations. Alzona (1989), in her book *The Filipino Woman: Her Social Economic Status, 1565-1937*, observed that like men, the women joined unions primarily for protection and benefits. Further, she stressed that women workers have taken part in the strikes that occurred in the country to “show their loyalty to the organizations and their consciousness of the need for cooperation in labor movements” (p. 106).

Other issues like maternity leave, equal pay and the prohibition of child labour were part of the demands during the continuous picket and labour protests in 1936. Women trade unionists also supported the struggle on women's right to vote (Arriola, 1989).

Tribune Manila reported that women workers of the Alhambra Cigar Factory staged a picket in May 1936. In July of the same year, about 10,000 women and men workers held a demonstration in front of Malacanang Palace. Among their demands included the following: (1) equal pay for equal work of women and men; (2) the prohibition of employment of children below 14 years old; and (3) the grant of free education to poor children. While a large number of women have been active in factory work, those who were not absorbed by factories did embroidery and hat weaving in their homes (Del Rosario, 1989).

With the closure of the sugar and tobacco factories during the Japanese Occupation, massive unemployment grew until the post-war years. It was also during this time that both women and children received the lowest pay among workers. In 1949, seventy (70) trade unions formed the Congress of Labour Organization (CLO) with membership of 100,000. In this same year, the largest strike broke out in a sugar plantation which also employed women. In 1950, women dominated the mat and hat weaving, textile and sewing industries. Half of the workers in the tobacco, shoe, brick and furniture industries were women while two thirds of domestic

workers were also women (Del Rosario, 1989). During the 50s and 60s, employment of women declined that even the RA 679⁴ posed as “detrimental to the employment of women... as employers began adopting hiring policies preferential to men” (Fidelino in del Rosario, 1989, p. 60).

The 70s had given birth to the formation of the women’s organization *Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan* (MAKIBAKA). One of their significant programs is the formation of a “mother’s core” which involved some women workers (Collegian, in Del Rosario, 1989). When Martial Law was declared in 1972, the government adopted the export-oriented economic development policy that led to an increase in number of factories such as in the garment and textile, food processing and electronics industries. As a result, women’s employment increased significantly over time. According to Del Rosario (1989), as a policy, the Philippine government offered a package of investment incentives in order to encourage foreign investment in the country, including very cheap women’s labor who comprise the biggest labor force in export-oriented industries. From then on, the growth of women’s employment in export-processing zones increased over time. However, despite greater involvement in the labor force, the condition of women as workers has not improved until the end of this decade. Del Rosario (1989) cites the following problems confronting women workers: unemployment, underemployment, low pay, exploitation in the workplaces, absence of child care support, domestic work burden, lack of skills development, limited opportunities for trade union leadership, dislocation (for those working in the export zones), and an overall decline in the quality of life.

Even beyond the 90s, women workers were very much economically active. Hega (1998) notes that between 1989-1992, the growth rate of women’s employment was at 4.4 percent based on the National Statistics Office (NSO) report and between 1989-2002, the increase was

noted at three percent. Moreover, the Philippine NGO Beijing+10 Report (2005) notes that growth in women's employment has already reached more than 50 percent. As of October 2004, of every 100 workers, around 38 were women (NCRFW, in Philippine NGO Beijing +10 Report, 2005) or 37.51% (National Statistical Coordination Board, in Aganon et al., 2008). With the development of the ICT sector in the 1990s, the demand was high for skilled work yet majority of women found employment only at the lower level in the ICT industry (Hega, 2003).

With globalization as the new face of the millennium, the feminization of labor became a constant feature of the Philippine labor market. Women's employment not only grew but has also expanded almost everywhere - in manufacturing, service, agriculture, etc. In addition, the global assembly line targets women as its reserved labor force. The flexibilization scheme that is widely practiced in the global assembly line in the form of homework further draws more women to be economically active. The flexitime offered by such arrangement enabled women to combine housework, childcare and work with income. According to Aganon (2002), as the operations of globalization become full-blown, women's labor will remain preferred by industries not because of their work skills and attitude but more so because of their social status that makes them vulnerable to accept flexible work and all its various schemes and exploitative features.

Though there is growth in terms of women's employment in recent years, this does not translate to growth in trade union participation of women. Instead, there is a wide gender gap in trade union participation. Aganon et al. (2008) note that women's involvement in union leadership range from zero to 40%. In addition to the wide gender disparity in trade union participation, women's participation is also declining. From 59.6 percent in 1996, it decreased to 34.2 percent in 2000 (NCRFW, in the Philippine NGO Beijing +10 Report, 2005), then further declined to 17.9 percent as reported

in the 2002 General Survey of Labor Organization by the Bureau of Labor and Employment Statistics survey of one million trade union members under 92 trade unions (Hega, 2003).

On the other hand, barriers to entry of women in trade unions are manifold. As cited by Del Rosario (1989), the study “Documenting the Struggle of Filipino Women Workers Engage in Strike Action in Export-Oriented Industries” conducted by the Samahan ng Kababaihang Manggagawa sa Pilipinas (SKMP) points out that the primary constraint to women workers’ participation in trade unions is the double burden. In like manner, the reproductive responsibilities deter mothers to participate in trade unions and only those who are single are drawn into trade union involvement (T. Borgonos, personal communication, August 31, 2008). Del Rosario (1989) further notes that “disaffection with the union leadership aggravated by the absence of regular union activities and concerted actions which can raise consciousness and spur committed involvement” (p.66) is another reason that discourages women’s participation in trade unions.

Moreover, the 4th Philippine Periodic Report to the UN CEDAW notes that women’s positions in trade unions, whether elected or appointed, are often relegated to positions reflective of their domestic functions such as being secretaries, treasurers, and auditors. Among the barriers to women’s active participation in trade unions include time constraints due to multiple concerns as mothers, wives and workers, non-supportive environment due to the macho culture of trade unions and limited access to training and competency development. With women’s limited access to leadership positions, eventually the women are denied representation in trade union’s policy and decision-making (Hega, 2003). Likewise, women’s leadership in trade unions decreased from 35 percent in 1998 to 25.6 percent in 2000 (NCRFW, in the Philippine NGO Beijing +10 Report, 2005).

On the other hand, Hega (2006), a woman trade union leader posits that the dominance of men in trade unions posed as the major barrier to women's active trade union involvement. Thus, she emphasizes:

From its very beginning (it) is a man's world and a terrain which scrutinizes women who are attempting to break into the circle of "brotherhood." Nowadays...most union structures remain to be insensitive to the need of women workers. Trade unions oftentimes avoided confronting the causes of patriarchal exploitation women workers have to face but instead confine their struggles to issues common to male and female workers. Consequently, issues such as maternity benefits, sexual harassment, pay equity and other so-called women's issues are seldom or not at all taken up by the unions. As unions "wage battles for lofty ideals" – like better wages and greater political power - women issues are considered "very specific" and "too narrow in scope" and are often left at the bottom of union priorities (p.3).

Further, she notes that despite the presence of women union leaders who championed women's rights and whose calibre is at par with their male counterparts, still, they are confronted by machismo in the trade union movement. Much has to be done in terms of pursuing the struggle for gender equality within trade unions. Despite the pronouncements of several labor centers regarding their commitment to improve the lot of women workers, women's issues remain peripheral in collective bargaining negotiations. Such pronouncements remain only in papers and documents but never translated into actions. And neither the formation of women's committees and desks nor the formulation of women's program within the unions would guarantee that women's issues become priority in the agenda of the trade unions (Hega, 2006).

Given the changing conditions brought about by globalization - the feminization of employment in manufacturing and service industries, the unprecedented growth of women informal workers and the weakening power of unions - the culture of workers and the traditional union organizing approach have not adapted to the changing times. Gallin & Horn (2005) remind us that the growth of the service sector, the expansion of the labor market and the privatization of the public sector have given rise to a new working class which is predominantly women from the informal sector and with no previous union experience. This implies the need for trade unions to seek a new organizing approach and strategy.

Shaping Identity within the Trade Union: The Organizing Experience of MAKALAYA

Against the backdrop of globalization and its consequential effects of shrinking employment, feminization of labor in electronics, garment industries, service sector and informal work, weakening power and decimation of trade unions, and the growth of women workers, the Manggagawang Kababaihan Mithi ay Paglaya (MAKALAYA) was established. The changes in the world of work served as rationale for its birth.

Early Beginnings⁵

The early beginnings of MAKALAYA could be traced back to 1988 when a core of women trade unionists who were involved in organizing and education work started discussions on women's issues and concerns in a male-dominated trade union movement. Out of these discussions came the need to organize and motivate women to be active in trade unionism. With support from the Gender Program of the Labour Education and

Research Network (LEARN), this core of women designed a module on gender awareness as a strategy for organizing women workers. The graduates of the LEARN Basic Women's Awareness Seminars (BWAS) then realized the need for a forum where women can discuss personal concerns. Thus, the Women Workers' Forum (WWF), a loose network of graduates of LEARN seminars, came into being (M. Hega, personal communication, August 31, 2008).

From 1990 to 1994, the women met twice a year to discuss women's issues in different workplaces through symposia and cultural activities. Out of these discussions, the women had realized the need to integrate women's concerns in the trade union agenda. Moreover, they saw the need for space for women to discuss concerns that are not a priority of trade unions and to create a movement that would be responsive to the needs of women in trade unions. Thus, in 1995, the WWF was renamed Manggagawang Kababaihang Mithi ay Paglaya or MAKALAYA, formally established in March 1998 with membership composed of women trade unionists, community women and women workers in informal work arrangements.

Viewed as a parallel organization of trade unions, MAKALAYA maintains its autonomy from the trade union structure yet working side by side with them on issues concerning women's equality and gender equity. As an organization, it aims to mainstream women's concerns in the trade union agenda. In working with trade unions, it particularly advocates the following:

- the institutionalization of gender education programs in unions;
- the representation of women in all levels of trade union structures;
- the formation of Women's Committee in trade union structures;

- the inclusion of women-friendly provisions in collective bargaining negotiations;
- the integration of women-friendly laws and legislation in union agenda; and
- the integration of women's concerns in trade union policies.

Given its goal of developing an agenda that would empower women in all aspects of their lives, it encourages trade unions to respond to gender concerns as an important part of the working class struggle (M. Hega, personal communication, August 3, 2008).

Although the women's movement took pains in the advocacy of mainstreaming women's concerns in trade unions, such efforts are met with resistance especially from the male trade union leaders. Male leaders considered such acts as divisive. Consequently, efforts and appreciation at mainstreaming is uneven across trade union federations and labor centers. Given the difficulty of integrating women's issues and concerns in trade unions, MAKALAYA aims to "organize unity beyond the federation and labour center structures" (Hega, 2003). Furthermore, she expounds on MAKALAYA's reason for being, thus:

Realizing the impact of neoliberal globalization on workers' employment and organizing, MAKALAYA also exists to operationalize the "working people-social movement unionism" concept as opposed to the traditional view that unionism is only for the wage earners and unions exist only for representation and bargaining. It therefore tries to mix trade unionism and community unionism as an organizing strategy asserting that the working class consciousness must be imbibed by all workers, whether involved in formal employment or informal work. The organization also recognizes that it is no longer viable to organize workers without

seriously looking at workers in the informal economy since this growing section of the working class cannot be seen as separate from the total economic system (p. 8).

MAKALAYA's Goals, Programs and Services

As an organization working for the betterment of women workers in the formal and informal economies, MAKALAYA's objectives are:

- To increase unionists' awareness on gender issues and concerns;
- To popularize and advocate women's issues at the local, industry and international levels;
- To empower women workers to strengthen the family as a basic unit of society and the labour movement as a progressive force in the Philippines;
- To organize women workers and assume active leadership role within the union structures and integrate women concerns in collective bargaining agreements, programs and activities;
- To mobilize women workers to protect and fight for their rights as a distinct group of society; and
- To foster unity and solidarity among women, particularly in the Philippines.

As an organization for women workers, it responds to both practical and strategic gender needs of its members. Thus, its services and programs cater to the needs of women taking into consideration their productive and reproductive functions. Specifically, these programs are:

- A. Education Program - The education programs of MAKALAYA are of two types, namely:

- Women's Empowerment Training (WET) – this program focuses on personal enhancement to develop women as whole and integrated persons. This program serves as entry point in raising the consciousness of women by focusing first on developing their personal skills and competencies before political orientation on women's issues are offered to them. In each session, MAKALAYA organizers allocate time to orient women about MAKALAYA and its activities. These sessions also serve as venues for membership recruitment and mobilizations; and
 - Women Intensive Labor Development (WILD) – this program consists of workshops and conferences that focus on the political, organizational and advocacy work involvement of women. Its main component is Feminist Leadership Formation.
- B. Women Counseling, Entrepreneurial, Livelihood and Legal Services (CELLS) – the thrust of this program is to provide professional support and assistance to women through referrals to network partner organizations.
- C. Women Research for Development (WORD) – the researches under this program focus on gender and women's issues. The program aims to provide women with updated information to advance the advocacy on women.
- D. Women Bulletin (WOMB) – the program aims to popularize gender issues at the local industries, national and international levels by utilizing the researches and knowledge and information shared by women during seminars and education activities.

MAKALAYA's Organizing Principles, Processes and Strategies

MAKALAYA organizes women workers through chapter building. A chapter is composed of various women workers' organizations in a particular geographical area. Each chapter maintains its autonomy, elects its own set of officers and formulates its own programs and plans. The chairperson of each chapter is represented in the National Council of MAKALAYA. The National Congress elects the members of the National Council and the Executive Board every three years. The Executive Board implements the programs and activities of MAKALAYA while the National Council, acts as the decision-making body in between Congress that meets at least twice a year. Its members come from diverse age groups, marital status, sexual orientations, geographical locations, religious affiliations, and educational attainments – sort of a sisterhood in diversity (Hega, 2003).

At present, MAKALAYA has 5,514 members from nine chapters located in various parts of the country (Hega, 2006). Specifically its membership is composed of women from two labor centers, one public and four private sector federations, two urban poor organizations, and three labor non-government organizations (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2003).

MAKALAYA's organizing work processes and strategies are anchored on the following principles:

- Alternative structures should be created where women and men can develop their full potentials as human beings;
- The need to provide for equality of women and men in the economic, political and socio-cultural structures in all spheres of life;

- There should be recognition, respect and premium in the distinctions between women and men; and
- The need to develop simultaneous initiatives in responding to gender and class issues.

Among the strategies adopted by MAKALAYA in organizing women workers are:

- Formation of women's committees within the trade union structures with sustainable programs and services;
- Capability building of women as union leaders and negotiators;
- Provision of support mechanism for women with reproductive responsibilities to enable them to participate in trade union activities; and
- Provision of a comprehensive education program for women.

In terms of organizing strategy, MAKALAYA adopts the “vertical-horizontal” organizing model on the view that it is the most appropriate strategy vis-a-vis women workers' needs and concerns. As Hega (2006) discusses:

Vertical or sectoral organizing pertains to categorizing members based on the work they do. ..its main purpose is to define women workers' role and agenda for different workplaces. It covers the inclusion of women's issues in collective bargaining, establishment of women committees, identification of campaign issues like sexual harassment, and the development of their leadership capabilities in union administration and negotiations. The informal sector women also explore this strategy since it covers specific

occupational groups like street vendors and community caregivers. This is their form of collective representation vis-à-vis the local government. Horizontal organizing, on the other hand is a geographical grouping of its members regardless of individual classification as worker. The idea of horizontal organizing is for members to actively take part on community issues and to develop their sisterhood. ..it also helps surface workers' problems that are not traditionally taken up by the unions. For community organizations, some take the form of direct MAKALAYA chapter organizing while others are recruited individually and facilitate the networking with MAKALAYA. The issues covered aside from employment issues, are those related to social services, housing problems and other related problems that should be addressed to the local and national governments (p. 6).

Generally, MAKALAYA, like any other community or people's organization, follows the same conventional steps in community organizing, however, the following elements differentiate it from others:

- The use of gender lens or perspective in organizing women workers.

In organizing women workers, MAKALAYA is guided by a perspective based on the combined concept of social movement and the Gender and Development (GAD) framework. Using a gender lens in analyzing issues, it starts its analysis of the situation of women workers through a gender lens that viewed women's oppression both at the level of class and gender. In analyzing women workers' issues, it looks both at the situation of women and men workers' conditions and relations in both the productive and reproductive spheres. In particular, it scrutinizes how capitalists exploit women and men in the workplace as well as analyzes their roles and relations in the domestic spheres. The

analysis goes beyond the home and workplace as it is extended to other areas of life: the economy, politics and culture. Further, it views women's problem as an issue of power and power relations. Since women are disenfranchised and powerless, it is imperative that women's empowerment is an important goal of organizing (MAKALAYA, 2002).

- Adoption of the Social Movement Unionism through the combination of labor- community unionism and organizing women both at the formal and informal economies.

MAKALAYA's organizing approach and perspective is heavily influenced by the concept of "social movement unionism" (combination of trade unionism and community organizing with focus on workers in both formal and informal economies) combined with the GAD (gender and development) framework. Such concept is based on the assumption that the working class consciousness has to be internalized by women workers both in the formal and informal sectors. Recognizing that trade unions are traditionally concerned with issues of workers in the formal sector and given the dissipation of formal employment, MAKALAYA is resolute to organize women workers in both the formal and informal economies. Further, Hega (2006) elaborates, "concretely, this means recognizing the need to redefine working people and unionism in the context of changing labor market brought about by neo-liberal globalization. Equally important is to analyze the changes with explicit attention given to women's needs, interests and perspectives" (p.5).

Adopting the social movement unionism concept, it links up not only with trade unions and labor centers but also with other movements like the women's movement, human rights and other progressive movements for social transformation. It embraces labor internationalism

through forging alliances with local, national and international labor movements.

Recognizing the similar issues and situations faced by its diverse members, it served as an advocacy group that mobilized women to collectively analyze issues and formulate actions towards the goal of empowering women. Its political advocacy covers issues on women's rights, sexual harassment, reproductive health, violence against women (VAW), women's access to the Gender and Development (GAD) budget of government agencies, as well as putting gender perspective to labor laws and standards. Since its concern of women's empowerment and gender equality goes beyond economic issues of workers, it also involves itself in "women in politics" through membership in the AKBAYAN Partylist (Hega, 2003).

- Feminist values as part of its practice

MAKALAYA promotes an organizing approach that practices feminist values such as interconnection, cooperation, focus on both process and results, autonomy, consensus building, personal is political and simultaneous struggle for class, gender, race and environmental issues. MAKALAYA tries to operationalize these values through its practices, policies, organization structure and methods of work.

- Re-visioning the notion of leadership by challenging machismo in all fronts (trade unions, workplace, home, society)

The core focus of MAKALAYA's education program is women's self-development as well as developing women leaders. To empower women, MAKALAYA believes that it is imperative to deconstruct the

traditional concept of power and politics that is confined to engagement in the public sphere. Instead, MAKALAYA posits that:

For women, politics consists of determining lives, therefore, making decisions both in the public and private spheres. Moreover, it means making the links between these spheres, based on an understanding that the personal is political and vice versa. Women's politics means managing and changing conditions in the political and economic structures, including power relations therein, and defining issues of one in relation to the structural issues (Hega, 2003, p. 7).

Developing Women Workers' Leadership

As MAKALAYA recognizes the difficulty in mainstreaming women's issues in trade unions, it has adopted innovative strategies that focus on women's personal and organizational needs towards integrating gender concerns in the broader trade union movement. As such, MAKALAYA acts as a pressure group within and outside the labor movement while extending guidance and support to women workers in terms of meeting their practical needs.

One of MAKALAYA's concerns is developing women leadership as a prerequisite to their empowerment. However, it does not subscribe to the male-oriented leadership styles practiced in trade unions. In lieu of this, MAKALAYA recognizes the importance of consciousness-raising and capability-building of women workers. MAKALAYA conducts courses that aim to: 1) develop women's organizing skills and ability to improve their conditions; 2) enhance their capacities in negotiations and capacitate them to represent and defend their interests in trade union's decision-making structures and organization; and 3) build their confidence to defend their rights as workers and as women. In MAKALAYA's education programs,

self-development is given importance on the view that self-empowerment is a prerequisite element in the collective empowerment of women (Hega, 2006).

MAKALAYA gives importance to both the substance of its education programs and to the processes of learning, specifically the types and methods of learning. Having an understanding of the difficult situation of women with familial responsibilities in attending live-in seminars, MAKALAYA utilizes strategies such as study circles, symposia and one-on-one discussions to adapt to the needs and availabilities of women. MAKALAYA inculcates to its educators that MAKALAYA has to bring education to its members and not the other way around. As such, house visits and informal "*huntahans*" are part of it (MAKALAYA Brochure).

Networking and Linkage Building

In lieu of its social movement character, MAKALAYA establishes network and alliances with other organizations both locally and internationally. As a network in itself, it organizes a wide variety of workers in different workplaces. It establishes linkages with other organizations for exchange of information and sharing of experiences and knowledge yet maintains its autonomy as an organization. It establishes links with other women's formations at the local, national and international levels.

As a network of different women's organizations, its thrusts include working towards gender equality, social justice and women's empowerment. It provides direction and support to its member organizations and individual members as well as establishes sisterhood among women workers. Recognizing the fact that it cannot address the needs and problems of women workers alone, it forges alliances with other movements for social transformation and as member of local, national and international women's

groups and formations. Many of its members are members of AKBAYAN Women's Party. Its advocacy work focuses on integrating women's workers issues at all levels such as in the workplace, community, local government units and in national policies and laws (Hega, 2003).

Confronting Sexism within the Trade Union Structures

Organizing formal women workers and working within trade union structure is not easy for MAKALAYA. Its organizers are challenged on two fronts – one is the struggle for women workers' issues in the workplace and the other is the sexism and discrimination from male-oriented trade union culture. MAKALAYA compared these dual struggles like “fighting a two-headed dragon”. The following issues were culled from vignettes of their stories (M. Hega and T. Borgonos, personal communication, August 31, 2008).

- **Everyday experiences of sexism and male resistance.** As experienced by MAKALAYA leaders and organizers, male resistance manifests in various forms such as trivializing everything that has to do with women, regarding women as invisible entity and labelling. Male trade unionists, consciously or unconsciously, practice sexism and discrimination against women leaders. For instance, during meetings, women's opinions are never acknowledged. But when men articulate the same opinion, they are given attention and recognition. Likewise, when women are reporting, it became an opportunity for men to go to the comfort rooms, smoke, take a rest or stretch out.
- **Personal attack to women leaders.** Women's commitment to fight for women's issues and their assertiveness is taken by males as an affront to them. In the context of jokes, male trade

unionists label them as having marital problems, lesbians, angry and problematic. Power relations between men and women are not viewed as the problem; instead women themselves are viewed by men as the problem. Whenever men make fun of gender concerns, especially in the presence of women, remarks such as “*Wag kayong magbiro may masasaktan*” (Don’t crack jokes someone will get hurt) or “*Uy, bawal ang sexist jokes. Magagalit si _____.*” (No sexist jokes, _____ will get mad at us) are often heard.

- **Anything that concerns gender as butt of male jokes.** Many male trade unionists do not genuinely support nor are committed to help support the women’s struggle. For women leaders, male articulation of anything gender is mere lip service, gender issues form part of male jokes. As such, women are faced with a difficult struggle. Aside from labelling women, male trade unionists creatively make jokes with sexist innuendoes to annoy the women. For instance, the Basic Women’s Awareness Seminars (BWAS) was renamed by male trade unionists to *Mga Babaing Nawawala sa Sarili* (Women going out of their minds) and the Women Workers’ Forum (WWF) to World Wrestling Federation with innuendos on the physiques of some women leaders.

Strengths and Gains of MAKALAYA

Though still in the process of struggling to win a difficult revolution, MAKALAYA has achieved significant milestones in the trade union movement in its almost two decades of existence. In viewing MAKALAYA’s performance in this struggle, Hega (2003) opines, thus:

One can always use the analogy that it is [either] “half-full or half –empty” depending on who looks at it. But the solidarity of trade unionists and community women into a community of learning and mobilization is a battle won. Women overcoming the gender divide and creating a space for women leadership and reforms in the realms of organizations, workplaces and State institutions is a major step for gender fair society. It’s a long way but in this case the steps are as good as objectives fulfilled. The small gains and the big victories are changing gender relations in the various contexts of the individual members and of the allied organizations (p.11).

With almost two decades of practice, MAKALAYA has already achieved gains in both trade unionism and changes in national labor laws and standards. These include:

- Women workers are empowered to address gender issues in the workplace;
- Increase in awareness on sexual harassment among trade union members;
- Members realize the importance of gender issues and conditions of discrimination against women;
- Integration of benefits in the CBA provisions such as menstrual leave, full salary and service charge during maternity leave in addition to the social Security System benefits for hotel workers;
- Adoption of an Anti-Sexual Harassment policy for companies;
- Inclusion in the CBA provisions such as refraining women from working beyond midnight, provision of support stockings for pregnant women, light work assignments during pregnancy, and paternity leave;
- Formation of women’s committees in trade unions; and

- Provision of comfort rooms and dressing rooms for women (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2003).

In organizing women, some of the strengths of MAKALAYA are as follows:

- **Utilizing non-traditional entry points in organizing women.** It has adopted “non-organizing” activities to create venues and opportunities for women workers to come together and talk. Livelihood seminars, sportsfests, stress management sessions and focus group discussions, among others are utilized by MAKALAYA to reach out to women and establish contacts on an individual basis. For instance, yoga class is used as an opportunity to discuss women’s health issues; and information gathered during the sessions were used in organizing and educating women in communities.
- **Putting feminism in organizational practices and culture.** MAKALAYA ensures that its chapters are autonomous by having their own constitutions and programs. Chapters are encouraged to decide on their own as long as these conform to the organizational principles and beliefs of MAKALAYA. However, MAKALAYA requires its chapters to submit reports to ensure that they are practicing the principles of MAKALAYA. If they are in difficult situations, chapters seek the assistance or advice of the National Office (NO), while MAKALAYA upholds decisions made by chapters. To cite a particular example, in a sexual harassment case against a teacher, a MAKALAYA chapter member sided with the harasser. Since such act runs counter to MAKALAYA principles, the chapter elevated the case to the NO for decision.

Instead of suspending the member, the NO provided the member with information and reasons why MAKALAYA does not tolerate sexual harassment acts and allowed the member to decide for herself. Eventually, she left the chapter.

- **Combining women's practical needs with political consciousness.** MAKALAYA explores various approaches to reach out to women workers. Though its work is political, it does not ignore the practical needs of women especially in the communities. Thus, livelihood seminars are utilized to organize women or consolidate members. In identifying livelihood for a particular group, MAKALAYA gives priority to products that the area is known for and tap local women as trainers. For instance, in Zamboanga, when indigenous women expressed their need for livelihood programs, MAKALAYA responded by providing livelihood training in *kakanin*-making, of which the province is noted for. Aside from seminars that cater to women's practical needs, MAKALAYA provided community women with education programs to deepen their awareness on gender issues. On the other hand, for women who are in Women's Committees of trade unions and who are already graduates of LEARN seminars, MAKALAYA's approach is focused more on trade unionism and gender issues.

Issues and Problems

As discussed in the previous sections, the problems of women trade unions in the past still resonate at present. Despite the gains and good practices that could be culled from its experience, MAKALAYA is faced with these problems and challenges:

- **The dilemma of “organizing the organized.”** Recruiting trade union members from women’s committees for membership in MAKALAYA draws resistance especially from male leaders who consider this strategy divisive. For them, union work should be the priority of members and other involvement outside the unions are dealt with resistance and hostility. Despite being part of the union structures, Women’s Committees’ activities are considered “non-union” work by male members. As Hega (2003) puts it, “any additional expression outside the union structure but concerns workplace issues is seen as a competition, if not a diversion. As such, pressure is experienced by women workers in becoming active members of MAKALAYA.”(p. 10)
- **“Double-burden” of women in the trade unions.** As MAKALAYA puts more efforts in developing women leaders with gender perspective, it deconstructed the concept of power as inner capacity and does away with male-oriented leadership that prevails in the trade union movement. Instead, it focuses on “unknown” women who may not be vocal and articulate but have the capacity to care and nurture other women. However, when these women developed leadership capacities, they are given more tasks and responsibilities by trade unions, eventually they experienced double burden in balancing responsibilities between the trade union and MAKALAYA. And in most cases, it is women’s concerns that are set aside.
- **Diversity as both strength and limitation.** MAKALAYA has a diverse membership. Women from various backgrounds come together to share knowledge, skills, experiences, and resources and create a community of women. For instance,

women from trade unions train women in the communities about setting up cooperatives. For MAKALAYA, creating confluence among women of diversity is considered one of its strengths, however, it is also a limitation. Given the diversified composition of its members, it has put forth too much effort in responding to the needs of its diverse constituency, especially in terms of stretching out its financial and human resources as well as efforts to respond to the multiple needs of its members.

- **Women's committees as expression of tokenism and gender divide.** With the presence of women's committees, male trade unionists become too complacent to exert more effort to appreciate and own women's issues as part of trade union issues. Due to the availability of women, it becomes an excuse for male unionists not to attend gender education justifying that it is women's concerns and there are already women who could be participants. Men simply provide lip service since their unions already have women's committees. Moreover, formation of women's committees further segregates men's and women's work. As compared to other union committees, the women's committees are not given the appropriate recognition by unions. Issues raised by women's committees are considered "side issues" or "just women's issues" that could easily be "disposed" had bargaining negotiations went rough. Such male trade unionists' attitudes only reflect trade union culture that makes it difficult to mainstream gender concerns into trade union issues. In addition, men viewed the women's committees as women's responsibilities while theirs is trade union work. Thus, creating a new gender divide.

- **Sub-contracting scheme pits workers against each other.** As much as trade unions do not want to lose their workers, the strategy of sub-contracting as practised by companies has pitted workers against each other. In Basilan, as Coca-Cola shifted to sub-contracting strategy in distributing/marketing their products, its consequential outcome is the retrenchment of sales personnel. As the trade union puts too much effort to retain its sales personnel and resists sub-contracting, the situation also creates livelihood opportunities for informal workers of which some are MAKALAYA members who plan to be Coca-Cola distributors. Though such plan is still on hold, situations like these will eventually be encountered in other firms (Hega, 2003). This situation calls for trade unions to rethink its strategies in handling the issues of informal work and retrenchment due to sub-contracting.

Lessons Learned and Future Challenges of MAKALAYA

Based from the experience of MAKALAYA, the following insights can be gleaned:

- Feminist values, processes and practice offered an alternative “way of seeing and doing things” that other organizations can learn from.

Perhaps trade unions can learn from MAKALAYA’s approach in organizing women workers. The feminist values and processes as practiced by MAKALAYA have effectively empowered and developed women’s leadership capacities. Strategies such as giving

attention to women's actual conditions in the home and the workplace, organizing where the women are and considering diverse needs of women are effective strategies to mobilize women workers.

- The need to link the formal and informal workers as part of a particular industry.

As sub-contracting becomes the standard practice of companies, it is inevitable that workers are pitted against each other. Hence, trade unions should think of new organizing approaches outside the traditional trade union organizing. The link of formal workers with sub-contracting workers in the production chain can be further explored to develop strategies that fit to these new set of workers and work relations.

- The importance of women's spaces.

Giving attention to creating women's spaces is an important consideration for MAKALAYA. Autonomy is a political need for women to develop their confidence and capacities. Autonomy is a necessity to develop women-focused initiatives that respond to particular practical and strategic gender needs and interests. The history of trade unions as discussed in the previous sections showed that when women's space is not considered, women are compelled to create their own spaces and organizations outside the trade unions.

- The need for trade unions to respond to both the practical and strategic needs of women workers.

The trade unions can learn from MAKALAYA on the need to respond to both the practical needs and strategic interests of women workers. Practical needs can be used as entry points to organizing women or to consolidate women. As long as the practical needs of women are ignored no amount of political orientation and education efforts will be effective in mobilizing women for trade union work.

- Develop and empower women through redefinition of power and deconstruction of leadership.

MAKALAYA has succeeded in developing women leaders by giving emphasis on the redefinition of power and reconstruction of power relationship. Unlike the traditional trade union notion and approach to leadership development, MAKALAYA developed women's leadership through tapping the innate and creative capacities of women. It focuses on developing caring and nurturing leaders concerned with the needs of members involved in both productive and reproductive work. Such leaders are more concerned in developing a community of women through learning the value of collective life and democratic processes by learning, working and struggling together.

Some Potential for Replications of the MAKALAYA's Organizing Experience

MAKALAYA's organizing experience is rich in lessons as well as potentials for replication. Some of these include:

- *On organizing strategies and the importance of SMU.* MAKALAYA's combination of a feminist perspective and social movement unionism is a good approach in organizing women workers. The feminist perspective helps to analyze the situation of women workers both at the spheres of workplace and home. The once private issues arising from the home as a result of the gender division of labor and socialization have been made "public" and have become demands and themes in campaigns and bargaining negotiations. On the other hand, MAKALAYA's adoption of the SMU in organizing women workers has proven the following points:
 - > MAKALAYA's organizing approach and processes has showed that the traditional union organizing approach is no longer viable *vis-a-vis* dwindling union membership. Organizing beyond the confines of formal workplaces and extending union representation and agenda to other women workers is necessary since globalization has given birth to new sets of workers that also entails a new set of organizing approaches and strategies.
 - > It showed the importance of organizing women workers since a great number of women are now drawn into work both at the formal and informal economies. Likewise, women's participation in leadership is crucial in the revitalization of trade unionism especially nowadays that union membership is dwindling. The experience of MAKALAYA has shown that women can be organized and once organized, they can be potential leaders and organizers.

- > Forging alliances with other groups both at the local and international arenas and participation in other social movements is necessary for an organization like MAKALAYA to legitimize their struggle as well as to rally support for workers' struggle from other groups. At the same time, forging alliances with international groups and networks is advocating for the internationalization of the workers' struggle.
- > By applying the SMU strategy of utilizing labor-community organizing, MAKALAYA has established networks and coalitions between formal and informal workers as well as between trade unions and community organizations.
- > MAKALAYA's struggle and advocacy does not limit itself to economic issues and concerns but also include engaging in political struggles covering a wide range of issues from gender, human rights to the environment. Being a member of AKBAYAN partylist is a means towards this goal.
- *On encouraging active participation of women.* MAKALAYA's strength in organizing women workers can be attributed to two strategies. First is the removal of barriers to women's entry to participation in collective initiatives. These consist of tactics that include advocacy for affirmative action and policies that set quota for women's representation, establishment of organizational units within trade union structures like women's desks and committees, conduct of gender awareness targeting husbands and encouraging them

to share in housework and engaging supportive male leaders and members in women's activities. Second is the creation of enabling mechanisms such as the provision of day care services during seminars and meetings, creating spaces for women to develop their confidence and leadership, creating a support group for women to process emotional and physical trauma caused by abuse, and scheduling meetings and other activities based on the limitations and convenient time for women. The efforts at raising male awareness on gender issues and rights and encouraging their involvement in housework is a strategy to address women's multiple burden.

As a way of ending this paper, rather than presenting a conclusion, instead, some questions are raised and posed as challenges to MAKALAYA as well as to those in the trade union movement:

- Will involvement in both the trade unions and MAKALAYA reinforce double burden to its women members? Is there no other way to balance involvement of women in both trade union and MAKALAYA so as not to create double burden to women workers? How will women's committees achieve autonomy while within the union structures?
- Will the attempt to combine trade unionism and community organizing strategies strengthen or weaken the trade union movement? Will the simultaneous organizing of women in the formal and informal sectors weaken organizational focus?
- How can unions address the issue of workers in the formal and informal sectors being pitted against each? And being part of the production chain in a particular industry, is there a

possibility for trade unions to carry the issues of informal workers in bargaining negotiations and vice versa?

- What new organizing strategies can unions adopt to address the issue of dwindling membership of trade unions and the growth of workers in informal work arrangements?
- Does the formation of an all-women structure within the trade union movement only reinforce the gender divide? Up to what extent can men become involved in pursuing the struggle for gender equality in the workplace?

These questions are dilemmas for trade unions as well as for MAKALAYA as long as these remain unanswered. The experience of MAKALAYA in its attempt at organizing women workers in the formal and informal work is still a “project in progress”. But in relation to the trade union movement, MAKALAYA is in a situation of continuing struggle for a difficult revolution. As the educator-trade union organizer Alice Hanson Cook⁶ (Briskin, 2004) asserted in the book, “Women, Still the Most Difficult Revolution,” organizing women is indeed and will continue to be a difficult revolution.

END NOTES

¹The concept on social movement unionism (SMU) in general focuses on the need for trade unions’ struggles to go beyond the confines of the formal workplace as well as national boundaries, in alliances with other social movements. It was first introduced by Peter Waterman, retired professor at the Institute of Social Studies in the Netherlands in the late 1980s and from then on the discourse on SMU was further developed by various authors that resulted in variations of meanings. However, the most

popular is the “class/popular-community” formulation by Kim Moody. Waterman criticizes Moody’s formulation and re-conceptualized SMU as “class/new social movement unionism.”

²It was Maxine Molyneux (1985) who suggested the need to identify women’s two types of interest: practical interests which arise from women’s condition based on the sexual division of labor and strategic interests which arise from women’s position of having unequal access to resources and power. Practical interests include welfare needs like food, shelter, clean water, health, care, income, education, credit, etc. They are short-term and easily identifiable by women themselves but meeting them do not change the subordinate position of women in society. Strategic interests include gender equality, woman’s emancipation, measures against male violence, elimination of gender division of labor, the elimination of discrimination, etc. They are long-term, common to all women and not easily identifiable by women without consciousness raising efforts. However, Kate Young (1987) asserted that a distinction has to be done between the two because it is important to differentiate wants or lacks from objectives that require collective action that could propel some change in the present social order. Thus, Young recasted them into practical gender needs and strategic gender interests. In the context of planning the “practical gender needs and strategic gender interests” concept is used as a tool of analysis.

³In 1923, Act 3071 (or the Women and Child Labour Law, an Act requiring employers to provide seats and separate toilets and lavatories for women workers) was enacted to regulate the employment of women and children. The Act also forbade women to work in mines.

⁴Enacted in 1952, RA 679 established equal pay for equal work of women and men, and it also required employers to grant their female employees a 14-week maternity leave with 60% of their salary as payment.

⁵Information in this section is drawn heavily from discussions with Mylene Hega and Tes Borgonios, trade union leaders and officers of MAKALAYA

⁶Alice Hanson Cook (1903-1998) devoted her life for the workers' cause, especially women workers. Her career spanned years of involvement in social work, adult education, labor organizing, foreign service and 20 years of teaching at the Cornell University's School of Industrial Relations and authored several books and articles including The most difficult revolution: Women and trade unions (with Val Lorvin & Arlene Kaplan Daniels, 1992). She was a pioneer in bringing women workers' issues like maternity leave, pay equity and comparable worth.

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CULTURAL REPRODUCTION OF GENDER DIVISION OF LABOR IN IRAYA MANGYAN COMMUNITIES: Implications to Community Development Practice

Aleli B. Bawagan

The Iraya Mangyans are the indigenous peoples in the uplands of Northern Mindoro, Southern Luzon, Philippines. They have a distinct culture, such as language, farming practices, spiritual beliefs, customary laws and a social organization apart from the lowland political organization and hierarchy. Over the years, the Iraya Mangyans have experienced varying changes in their culture and practices brought about by external influences such as the entry of various institutions into their communities which bring in new ideas and ways of doing.

This paper will look into how young Irayas learn about gender division of labor in their villages through informal community education, a traditional form of culture reproduction. The roles of men and women in the domestic front, in production work and in the communities will be discussed. Generally, it can be said that notwithstanding differences and overlaps, the Iraya Mangyan society does not attach greater value or importance to either men's or women's work. Women's work at home is valued and is not inferior to men's work inside or outside the community. Both men and women are

equal members in the community, performing domestic, economic and community chores.

The paper will also discuss some implications to community development practice among indigenous peoples such as the following: 1) the need to be gender-sensitive and to avoid assignment of particular roles in organizing work based on gender stereotypes; 2) gender sensitivity sessions and leadership skills training for members of the third generation for them to realize the full potential that men and women are capable of achieving; and 3) the importance of getting the views of both men and women when it comes to discussing community issues and concerns.

Introduction

F. Landa Jocano (1998), a well-known anthropologist who has been doing ethnographic research among various communities of indigenous peoples for decades, posed this challenge:

Unless more systematic and basic ethnographies are done, there would always be gaps in the knowledge of the indigenous culture. This need is even more urgent today as we enter the 21st century and as many ethnic communities undergo rapid change. Moreover, many knowledgeable informants are passing away. The time is not far off when there would be no more indigenous ethnic communities to study and the beautiful ethnic traditions would be empty spaces in the record of our cultural heritage as a people (p. 194).

This statement inspired me to conduct an ethnographic research on identity construction and cultural reproduction among Iraya Mangyans in Mindoro, my first fieldwork area back in the 80s when I was a community development worker who lived and worked with them for three years as a staff of the Organization for Training, Research and Development Foundation, Inc. (OTRADEV). Moreover, my exposure to women's studies and women's organizations encouraged me to include gender research issues, knowing that there are differences between men and women in many aspects of everyday life (Hammond & Jablow, 1976; Moore, 1988; Ofreneo, 2006; Reiter, 1975;). But whether such is true in the aspect of cultural reproduction of the gender division of labor between Iraya men and women remain to be seen.

This paper will discuss the cultural reproduction of the gender division of labor in Iraya Mangyan communities in Mindoro and its implications to community development practice in their communities. This paper is divided into the following sections: discussion of feminist ethnography as the research method; literature review on traditional methods of cultural reproduction and gender roles, symbolisms and division of labor; brief description of the Iraya Mangyans and the research area; cultural reproduction of the gender division of labor in Iraya Mangyan communities; and the implications to community development practice.

Research Design

This qualitative research used a feminist ethnography method (Del Rosario, 1992; Reinharz, 1992; Sobritchea, 2002) which entailed living with Iraya Mangyans, doing fieldwork and participatory observation in

various domestic, social, economic and political activities. Ethnography as a method of research is often associated with an anthropologist who spends time with the people, interviewing them and observing their customs (Ember & Ember, 1993). As mentioned by Peacock (1986), “the ethnographer is necessarily involved – to varying degrees – in the human encounter that is fieldwork. Rather than staying aloof, observing and recording in a detached way, the ethnographer distills his ethnography from his own experience in the flow of native life. One may even say that the ethnographer and the native work together to construct the data and interpretation that we call ethnography” (p.67).

At the same time, the feminist perspective in ethnography aims to render the women’s voices audible and women’s lives visible. A critique of traditional ethnographies, done by both men and women anthropologists, has been its male bias, orientation and interpretation (Olesen, 1994; Reinharz, 1992), referring mainly to having male informants in the research and male perspective in the analysis. Women’s views, perceptions and meanings were highly invisible. Such critique gave birth to feminist research. Feminist researchers who used ethnography as a methodology added the following features to traditional ethnography: gender-sensitive fieldwork, which largely enhanced the use of ethnography as a methodology, especially with research which examine the views of both men and women; participatory research; multiple data-gathering methods; and self-reflexivity, i.e. acknowledging the change among the research participants and the researcher as a result of the subjective exchanges during the whole research process (Del Rosario, 2003; Olesen, 1994; Reinharz, 1992).

Moreover, Del Rosario (1992) and Sobritchea (2002), identified the following essential points of feminist ethnography, namely: 1) being sensitive to the people’s language, specially women’s ways of describing their experiences; 2) understanding depth and range of emotions, which

are as important as words and actions; and 3) being sensitive to past events and their effects on the contemporary situation.

The research covered three generations: the first generation being the older persons in the community, roughly around 55 years and over; the second generation are the children of the first generation, around 30 – 54 years of age; and the third generation are those from 14 to 29 years, both married and unmarried. Key informant interviews and focused group discussions were used as main methods of data-gathering. Gender balance was always a consideration in the search for research participants.

It was essential in this research that rapport be established with the members of the community, and this was done by living in the research areas. The research questions necessitated a very intimate sharing about their lives and if rapport and trust with the people were not established, they did not easily respond to the questions. Moreover, it was also necessary to undergo the participatory research process where I consulted with the community leaders and other members the research questions and objectives of the study. They provided very important suggestions, one of which was the identification of research communities where I can stay for my data-gathering. They likewise encouraged the participation of other community members and suggested individuals who I should interview. Finally, before I left the research sites, we had a validation workshop where I presented the data and collectively, they analyzed the data generated.

The ethnomethodology approach was particularly useful when they categorized the data based on their own lay methodology. Coulon (1995) said that the “scientific project of ethnomethodology is to analyze the methods, or the procedures, that people use for conducting the

different affairs that they accomplish in their daily lives. This is the analysis of the ordinary methods that ordinary people use to realize their ordinary actions” (p.2). The Irayas have their own local way of categorizing and analyzing events and actions, and these I tried to elicit in the data-analysis phase. Recommendations were likewise gathered.

In almost all stages of the research, I tried to abide with research ethical guidelines. From the start, I informed the leaders about the research even before entering the community. I also consulted them on the research questions, sites and participants and had a validation workshop before leaving the area. I obliged whenever they said that they were uncomfortable with the tape recorder or notebook in front of them, forcing me to remember the details until I could record it down. Some matters which were shared to me in confidence were kept off the records. At one point in the data-gathering, the situation in the community became quite tense due to military operations in the mountain areas. I followed their advice to leave the area until the situation cleared to lessen the risks that they might face.

Traditional methods of cultural reproduction

Cultural reproduction refers to the mechanisms by which continuity of cultural experience is sustained across times (Giddens, 1997). Among communities of indigenous peoples, one traditional method of cultural reproduction still being practiced is the informal community education which consists of use of oral traditions such as story-telling, epic-chanting, singing of their songs and reciting their poems. Other community practices such as use of customary law (Hoebel, 1954; Malinowski, 1959), rituals and festivals are also examples of the traditional methods by which culture is

reproduced and ethnicity is constructed. These can be categorized as informal community-based educational processes and methods which ensure that cultural values and norms are continuously passed on from one generation to the next.

Leeprecha (2004) talked about the oral traditions that the Hmong people practiced in various villages in mainland Asia. Myths, legends and history shared by all Hmong members were traditionally passed on to the new generation in the form of story-telling. On social occasions such as funerals and weddings, these stories are likewise shared and talked about over and over again. Festivals and rituals are important events where the myths and legends are put in the form of songs and performed. These are examples of informal community education processes which take place on a daily basis and by which the young generation learn much about their culture and identity.

Other ethnographic studies show varying means of cultural reproduction in different ethnic communities. Kikuchi (1984) talked about the role that the big house (*paykamalayan*) of the Alangan Mangyan in Mindoro play in reproducing familial and societal structures. Inside the big house is a platform which is surrounded by seven sleeping areas called the *ruggoan* which serves as the living space of one nuclear family. Around three generations of family relatives live in one big house. There are rules covering spatial arrangements for sleeping—the mother lies next to the hearth, followed by the father, then the sons. The daughters sleep near the feet of the mother. The wife sleeps near the hearth since she takes care of it daily, while the daughters have to learn maintaining the hearth, too.

Among the various indigenous peoples of Borneo (Kenyah, Selako Dayak, Bidayuh), the longhouse plays a role in cultural reproduction. This domicile contains around 10 – 15 apartments (*lamin*) surrounding a public

area where people do some of their work such as splitting of rattan for mats and baskets, sewing, or simply relax and tell stories (King, 1978). In these places, the members of the young generation learn the skills for making the crafts while they observe and at the same time listen to stories from their elders.

Among the Aytas, Shimizu (1989) showed how the dynamic organization and reorganization of family groupings helped the Ayta social system endure through the years. He particularly cited the roles that parents play in choosing spouses for their children. The arranged marriages enforced within their established network help to strengthen the social ties within the families. Even if the children willingly choose their partners and later elope, the parents try to establish new ties with the new family that now belongs to their network.

Turnbull (1962) likewise shared how the rituals among the forest people called BamButi Pygmies, e.g. 'elima' which is the 'coming of age' of girls, and the ceremonies which praise the forest as their provider and protector, have strengthened the bond among themselves.

Aside from the ceremonies, rituals, festivals and story-telling, the customary laws of a society are also a very potent force in cultural reproduction. The justice system among the Tirurays was discussed in detail by Schlegel (1970) and the laws among the Kiangnan Ifugaos were explained by Barton (1969) in his ethnographic study of Ifugao law. Both showed how customary laws are applied to resolve cases of dispute among community members such as the sale of kinship property and marital problems. Martinez (1999) further clarified Iraya Mangyan customary laws on ancestral lands which have been reproduced through generations, such as how they classify use of the land for their various

needs, e.g. for farming, for burial, for forest, and how they negotiate land boundaries among families.

All of these traditional means of cultural reproduction are already a part of the habitus of the community, acts which are almost 'taken for granted', making transmission of their culture a part of daily life, a natural and casual informal community-based educational process (Bourdieu, 1977).

Gender roles, symbolisms and division of labor

Much of the studies above-mentioned are somehow gender-blind, not distinguishing between men and women in their description and analysis. This has been one of the critiques put forward by feminist researchers who found traditional ethnographies to have a male bias, at times having only male informants in the data-gathering stage. Hence, researches and ethnographies using the feminist perspective brought in discussions on gender personalities and roles, including symbolisms and division of labor.

Different cultures have diverse expectations regarding the personalities and roles that men and women play in their societies. The differences among men and women led to the gender division of labor which may vary across communities. Generally, however, men are assigned to such tasks as trapping animals, herding, fishing and clearing the land for agriculture, whereas women are more frequently assigned to jobs such as gathering and preserving food, cooking, carrying water and grinding grain. A few distinctions seem to be virtually universal. Childrearing and its caretaking extensions are universally assigned to females, and hunting has been assigned to males (Eviota, 1992; Moore, 1988; Ofreneo, 2006).

According to Stokard & Johnson (1992), the common aspect of the division of labor, whatever the role assignments, is the higher premium placed on the male activities vis-à-vis the female. Where men grow yams and women sweet potatoes, the yams have greater prestige during feasts in New Guinea. In many societies, women actually provide the bulk of a group's nutrition, but men's contribution to the food supply is considered the more important and valuable to all.

A study on Iraya Mangyan women (OTRADEV, 1994) in Sitio Yabanan in Abra de Ilog showed that women's roles in farming center mostly around *pagdudulok* (clearing the farm once the big trees have been burnt) and *pag-aani* (harvesting), whereas the other tasks of land identification and clearing, weeding and daily maintenance are mostly done by men. Other economic activities such as trading, working in other lowland farms and fishing are also the domain of men while women's domain is in the household, e.g. caring for children and tending a nearby vegetable farm. Political roles were also largely held by men. This study recommended a deeper investigation of the situation of women and how they can increasingly be involved in community issues and how their decision-making capabilities can be enhanced.

With the Mangyan Patag in Kilapnit, Oriental Mindoro, customary laws on gender as reflected in their Batas Mangyan provide for equality between men and women. Both are subject to the same laws, policies and procedures whenever they commit any misdemeanor to any person or to the community. Norms on social relations, economic activities and political organization are not differentiated based on gender. The same rights are available and can be enjoyed both by men and women (Bacalzo, 1996, p.145) However, the social change happening in the Mangyan Patag society, has transformed the women's status from that of being equal with men to that of domesticity and dependency on men.

With these differences in roles, personalities, symbolism, and division of labor between men and women, Barot, Bradley & Fenton (1999) assert that all societies, including ethnic communities are gendered. Within many ethnic populations, women can be seen playing the important role of carriers of ethnicity, both in terms of ancestry and culture. The home becomes central in this process of constructing women's identity and women's responsibility as homemakers. It is in the home that cultural rules and practices are transmitted to the next generation and where networks of ancestral kinship are maintained.

In nearly every society studied by anthropologists, it is observed that men dominate and control women. Authority is usually given to men, they occupy the higher status positions in their societies. Despite such inequality, women are not entirely powerless. Women wield considerable power or influence in the formulation of socially important decisions. Nonetheless, women usually are still dominated by men (Doyle & Paludi, 1995).

The above-mentioned view, however, is being contested by feminist ethnographers as they re-study cultures which have been studied by men. For instance, Weiner (in Reinharz, 1992), who provided a different view from that of male anthropologists in her study of the Trobriand Islanders, claimed that Trobriand women do have power and that they "enact roles which are symbolically, structurally and functionally significant to the ordering of their society" (p. 48). She said that the difference between her findings and those of her male colleagues, who said that women do not have power, lies in the male bias of the discipline.

This male bias comes from the patriarchal capitalist system which molds men and women into different understandings of their roles and

privileges in society, where it is mostly men who assume dominant roles and women secondary positions. These are reflected in the different institutions in society which further perpetuate such women oppression. These institutions include the church, schools, media, government and business (Labayen, 1998).

Patriarchy breeds a productive–reproductive divide where the men are usually doing productive work, dominating the public sphere, occupying roles related to the economy and polity of the society. On the other hand, women take on the reproductive roles and do largely domestic work in the private sphere. The productive work carries higher value than reproductive work which has no value because it is not paid and even if it were, it would not even raise the status of women who engage in it. “Reproductive work ties women and girls to the home, leaving them no time for other concerns, least of which are themselves” (Pagaduan, 1999, p.56). The current patriarchal system molds an identity among men and women which they form starting from their childhood. Being either gender-sensitive or gender-blind is a result of one’s exposure to gender issues and realities. Furthermore, patriarchy frames one’s mind in reproducing culture as men and women become parents to a next generation of children. Eviota (1992) added, “People as members of social groups create gender-based behavior according to what they believe to be differences and transmit these beliefs to future generations” (p.4).

Iraya Mangyan

There are six major Mangyan groups in the island of Mindoro, categorized into the north and south groups, referring mainly to where they live. The northern groups are the Iraya, Alangan and Tadyawan, while the southern groups are the Buhid, Tawbuhid and the Hanunoo.

The Iraya Mangyans live in the towns of Puerto Galera, San Teodoro, and Baco in Oriental Mindoro and in Abra de Ilog, Paluan, Mamburao and Sta. Cruz in Occidental Mindoro. Based on the year 2005 statistics from the website of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), the Iraya Mangyans number around 30,600 individuals, around 10% of the total Mangyan population at this time.

Based on the ethno-history written by Lopez (1976), the Mindoro peoples traded extensively with Chinese before the coming of the Spaniards. Evidence of this is found in the archaeological excavations in Puerto Galera which yielded 10,000 pieces ranging in date from the 10th to the 15th centuries, consisting of various Chinese glazed wares, celadon and other glass objects. Written Chinese references likewise point to and support the historicity of the pre-Hispanic Mindoro culture.

The entry of the Spaniards created a distinction between the Mangyans and the lowland Christians. The Mangyans refused to be Hispanized and were forced into the interior when there was fighting between the Spanish and Muslim pirates. At the close of the 19th century, the isolated groups in the mountain interiors of Mindoro evolved as a minority group. While there was physical and social distance between the Mangyans and the Hispanized lowlanders, some amount of contact was maintained, mainly economic in nature, where forest goods were traded with the lowlanders at a very cheap price and the Irayas in turn bought consumer goods from the lowlanders.

Such pattern of exploitative economic exchange between the two groups persists until today. The Irayas, mainly swidden farmers, also gather forest products such as honey, timber, vines and wild orchids. These and some other farm products, e.g. bananas and rootcrops, are sold to the lowlanders at prices dictated by the latter. From the money they get from these transactions, they usually buy consumer items such as rice, dried fish,

salt and kerosene. Their swidden farms produce some rice, corn, vegetables and some fruits for their own consumption.

Over time, the Irayas have lived a very basic subsistence form of living. In the uplands, they have been able to practice their traditional beliefs, practices, rituals and customary laws (CCA, 1983; OTRADEV, 2001). But slowly, external influences have entered their daily lives, i.e. different religious groups have come in to convert the Irayas, primary and elementary schools have been set up by government and non-government organizations have helped them through development programs like adult literacy and income generation activities.

External influences have not been confined to their social and cultural life; there have been intrusions as well on their ancestral domains. In the past, government and private corporations came in with timber license and mining agreements and logging and pasture lease concessions. Organized Mangyan groups mounted protests against these programs. Some protests were successful forcing the companies to halt their plans, others were not. Timber plantations have continued, taking much of the farm lands of the Mangyans.

Other lowlanders also came and grabbed land from the Mangyans, who moved further to the mountains to avoid conflicts. The loss of ancestral domains had rendered negative impacts on their life, e.g. their farms on very marginal soil could no longer sustain their food requirements. Consequently, their economic woes have brought them to lowland communities to look for wage labor, such as construction and tourism-related jobs.

On a much larger scale, the militarization in the country, which is also ongoing in the island of Mindoro, has caused some displacement in some communities which experienced firefights between the military and

the New People's Army. The Irayas from Talipanan, one community in Puerto Galera, has decided to settle in the foothills, still in fear that another military encounter will happen again in the uplands.

Aside from landgrabbing and militarization, modernization has likewise made inroads into the daily lives of the Irayas. In Talipanan, Puerto Galera, many students now enroll in the elementary school, which is being supported by a non-government organization. Those who finish grade six and want to continue until high school and even college are provided with scholarships. A few have finished their college education, in courses such as education, social work and midwifery. Education has become a very effective tool for acculturation and modernization. This is evident in the current material and socio-political-economic aspects of their daily life (Bawagan, 2004).

Sitio Mamalao, Bgy. Mangangan 1, Baco, Oriental Mindoro

Much of the data for this paper was gathered from Sitio Mamalao in Barangay Mangangan 1, Baco Oriental Mindoro. Mamalao is only less than an hour uphill hike from Barangay Mangangan 1. All of the residents here, numbering around less than two hundred individuals, are Iraya Mangyans, except for one female Tagalog who is the wife of an Iraya. But she has adjusted well to life in the mountains. There are around a dozen huts, covering a floor area ranging from 12 to 30 square meters, mostly made of light materials such as wood, bamboo and grass for their roofing. Only three homes have iron sheets on their roofs. Their homes are raised from the ground by around one meter or more, animals such as pigs and chickens are kept at the ground level.

They have very basic materials in their homes, such as the following: a hammock, either made from rattan or from used straw sacks used to lull

a baby to sleep; kitchen utensils such as plastic plates, glasses, cups, some spoons and forks, water jar and iron cooking pots black with soot; sleeping materials such as mat, small pillows and mosquito nets; rattan baskets used for storing some food; big plastic bags for their clothes; and farm equipment such as a machete and an axe. A few homes have transistor radios. There is only one house which has a battery-operated black and white television set which can be tuned only to one channel, specifically ABS-CBN. The TV set is switched on between 7 o'clock to 11 o'clock in the evening. At least 25 individuals, adults and children alike, sit, squat or stand glued to the shows, such as the gameshow *Deal or No Deal* and Filipino and Korean telenovelas such as *Panday* and *Princess Lulu*.

There is no electricity in Mamalao. At night, they use kerosene for their gas lamps and firewood or charcoal for cooking. For their water source, there are two water hoses from which the families fetch their drinking water, wash their clothes and take their bath. The hoses are connected to a tank whose water source is the mountain spring.

There is a school for grades 1 and 2, with around twenty pupils and an equal number of girls and boys. The lone male teacher is an Iraya Mangyan who is the only one from this village who has finished a college education. He has an elder sister who reached second year college and another sister who went to high school. But aside from members of this family, no one else has done schooling beyond high school.

Those who do not go to school marry at an early age, sometimes as young as 14 years old. They then bear children one after the other. Most of the families have five to eight children. It is not unusual for a 24-year old mother to have four children, unaware of any birth control methods that she can use. She and her husband do not even talk about it.

All Mangyan families live a very subsistence form of living. They practice slash-and-burn farming where they plant rice, corn, root crops, vegetables, bananas and some fruit trees. While waiting for the harvest season, they weed the farms and protect them from forest animals like rats and monkeys. Corn is harvested in August, while rice is harvested in October. After the harvest, they plant bananas and some fruit trees in their farm. Unlike before, when they allowed the land to lie in fallow for a few years to allow it to recover its fertility, they do not have this luxury anymore.

The staple crops provide them their daily food requirements. However, there are some household needs which entail cash expenses, such as the purchase of rice, salt, sugar, kerosene, matches and cigarettes. The rice they harvest is usually good only for around two months since they do not farm big plots of land. In order to get cash, they sell farm products such as coconuts, bananas, abaca fiber, root crops and fruits. Both Iraya men and women also work on the farms of the lowlanders where they get paid P100 to P150 per day. The work ranges from weeding the farms, climbing for the coconuts and dehusking these, to planting and harvesting rice. Some of them are contracted for work such as getting some timber and making charcoal. Those who do not have their own farms to till rely on these types of work to survive.

Due to the poor diet, the children often get sick with cough, colds and fever. The poor hygiene practices also become a cause of illness such as diarrhea. The children's fingers are always laced with soil. They have worms in their bellies as evidenced by their bloated stomachs. The adults also are easy prey to illnesses such as low blood pressure, anemia or even heart problems.

The Irayas of Mamalao are members of a federation of Iraya Mangyan people's organization called MISB (Mangyan Iraya sa Baco).

MISB started in Mamalao in the late 80s and later included six other sitios. MISB is a member of MKMI (Mal-angatan Kausunan Mangyan Iraya), the federation of Iraya Mangyan municipal-level organizations from the towns of Mamburao, Abra de Ilog, Paluan, Puerto Galera, San Teodoro and Baco. Some of the officers of MISB became organizers and members of the executive committee of MKMI where they received additional trainings as MKMI officers.

The main objective of MISB is the defense of Mangyan ancestral domain. Among its members, it is clear that their main source of livelihood is their farm lands. Hence, it is important to defend it from various corporations and individuals who want to control the upland areas through mining concessions, pasture lands, or big plantations in the forest areas.

Cultural Reproduction of Gender Division of Labor among Iraya Mangyans

One traditional method of cultural reproduction used by community members to transmit their practices and beliefs to the next generations is through informal community education, effectively used by both men and women to teach the children their roles at home and the community. Men and women perform different roles in the household, in the farm and in the community, roles which are observed by young Irayas and by which they learn their culture. Not all of the roles are exclusively male or female; many are shared by both. The children follow the roles of men and women in their community, roles they too will assume when they become adults.

In the Iraya Mangyan community, role differentiation exists between men and women. These, however, are not exclusive to either sex.

The succeeding tables below outline the major tasks done by men and women in three areas of their life – economic, domestic and in the community.

Economic Roles

As shown in Table 1, when it comes to work in their own farm, much of the activities are shared between men and women, from cutting trees to planting and harvesting. When one Mangyan requests their neighbors to help him either in cutting trees or weeding, both men and women join the activity. The children participate in the farm work too; some of them even absent themselves from school in order to help their parents.

But work outside of their own farms, such as charcoal and abaca fiber production, are done mostly by the men. These tasks are physically demanding and require time away from home. Hence, the women are not expected to participate in these activities.

The women's task outside the farm is that of selling farm goods in the lowland market, which is done only once a week. They sell rootcrops, some woven plates and baskets, and fruits. Another off-farm work of the women is weaving baskets and plates, some of which are used for domestic purposes, e.g. *tabuyo* for the ingredients of their betel-nut chew or *balanan* for their household grains or rootcrops, while the plates are sold in the market.

For work outside of their village, the men engage in construction work where they sometimes go as far as Puerto Galera, while the women work as domestic help in homes of lowlanders in Baco. Both men and women can also engage in farm work with the lowlanders, such as clearing their farms and harvesting of farm produce, e.g. calamansi.

Other jobs which are contracted to the Iraya male by the lowlanders are: 1) logging, done only when the lowlander gets a permit; 2) making of simple furniture; and 3) tending to cows and goats of the lowlanders.

When both men and women are engaged by the lowlander, e.g. in weeding their farms, the payment is usually given to the man. The woman is able to hold some money if this is given to her by her husband, or when she sells some crops at the market. The work outside of the village is usually done by the men and women from the second generation. The more senior citizens of the villages, both men and women, continue to work but only on their own *kaingin* or swidden farm. They have kept the habit of going everyday to their farms to gather their daily food needs.

Table 1. Economic Chores Performed by Men, by Women and by Both Men and Women

Men	Women	Both men and women
<i>Pagtatabas</i> (cutting of big trees)		<i>Pagtatabas</i> (cutting down of small trees)
<i>Pagsusunog</i> (Burning of trees)		
	Preparing meals in the farm	<i>Pagtatandok</i> (clearing of burnt debris)
		<i>Pagtatanim</i> (planting); <i>Paggagamas</i> (weeding); <i>Pag-aani</i> (harvesting); <i>Pag-gigiik</i> (threshing)
<i>Pagbisita sa agay</i> (daily visits to the farm)		
<i>Lahat ng gawain sa paggawa at pagbenta ng abaca</i> (all tasks related to preparing and selling abaca)		

		Pagtalok-ani (planting and harvesting rice in lowland farms of Tagalogs)
		Panghihimalay (picking up left over palay after the farm has been harvested)
Pamimili ng mga paninda (Purchase goods for their store)		Pagbebenta sa maliit na tindahan (Selling of goods in their store)
Paglalagare ng kahoy (Logging, with permits only)	Paglala ng mga basket, plato (Weaving baskets, plates)	Pamamaraka (selling farm products at the town market on Wednesdays, market day)
Pamumuti ng mga buko (harvesting coconut)		
Pag-uuling (charcoal-making)		
Pagkarga ng mga produkto sa paragos para dalhin sa ibaba (hauling farm goods into the carabao cart to bring to the lowlands)		
Pagkausap sa mga Tagalog para sa trabaho (negotiate with lowlanders for jobs)		
Magtrabaho bilang karpintero, mason o drayber ng traysikel sa labas ng pamayanan (Find work as carpenters, masons, tricycle drivers outside of the community)	Magtrabaho bilang kasama sa bahay ng mga Tagalog (Find work as house help in homes of Tagalogs)	

The division of tasks in their own farm is also practiced by the children. The boys help cut down the big trees while the women and girls cut down the small trees and prepare the meals. These are what they observe from their own parents and from other families too. Even the younger children are already brought to the farm where they are able to observe the differences in the work between men and women. Eviota (1992) mentioned this as gender-based behavior which is transmitted to the next generations.

One family, however deviates from this practice of assigning the cutting of big trees to boys and men. The father asks his daughter to help him in doing even heavy work because she has shown better stamina and strength than her younger brother. Moreover, her older brother is in school most of the time so he can not help in the farm work. But the daughter does not mind, she has grown used to it and likes it better than working at home. She said, "*Bata pa ako sinasama na ako ng ama sa agay. Kaya sanay na ako, gusto ko rin naman kaysa trabaho sa bahay. Si Ate siya ang naiiwan para magmataw sa mga bata naming kapatid*" (I was still a young girl when my father asked me to accompany him to the farm. I am used to it already and like it better than working at home. My elder sister stays at home and looks after our younger siblings.)

When queried about this division of labor, many community members of Mamalao, said, "*Kapag wala namang lalaki sa pamilya, ang mga babae na rin ang gumagawa ng mga trabaho sa agay dahil wala namang ibang gagawa na. Wala rin namang perang pang-upa sa ibang tao. Kaya rin naman ng mga babae kung kailangan talagang gawin.*" (When there are no men in the family, the women are forced to perform the heavy work since there is no one else in their family who will do it. The women also do not have enough money to hire men to do the heavy work so they have to do it themselves. The women can also do the

heavy work, if necessary.) Even if the man can handle the work, the women are always there to help.

Reed (1975) calls this type of family the productive farm family as opposed to the consumer family of the city. She said that “as long as women led or participated in the productive work of the whole community, they commanded respect and esteem” (p.418). Moreover, Reed (1975) said that as long as agriculture and craft industry are dominant economic systems in society, the farm family will still remain a viable productive unit. In the situation of the Iraya Mangyans, the men and women know what each one is capable of doing in the farm. Even the members of the first generation are still active producers as long as their health permits it. In the Iraya Mangyan society, especially so in Mamalao, since the women remain active participants in the productive sphere, they are not treated as second class. The productive work of women is seen in both their own upland farms and in the town market.

Domestic Roles

Based on Table 2, the household is obviously the turf of the Iraya women, although other work is also shared with the men, such as fetching water, pounding rice and cooking. Much of the daily household activities are attended to by the women, as the men are off to work in the farms or in other economic activities. On a regular day, one usually catches only the women at home during the daytime since the men had already left for their farms.

The mother starts her day early, between half past four and five o'clock in the morning, waking up usually earlier than the father to prepare food for breakfast. If rice is unavailable, she just boils root crops. After the

husband has left for the farm and the children for school, she then takes care of other household chores. There is plenty of work at home, including washing clothes, sorting the already dried clothes, feeding the chickens, pig and goat, and chopping firewood. Towards noontime, she prepares food again for the children who come home for lunch from school. After lunch, she takes a siesta on the *papag* or in the hammock together with her young child.

When the husband is at home, he too helps in taking care of the children like putting the baby to sleep, changing their clothes and feeding them. And when the wife has just given birth and still cannot move around the house, the husband is usually able to handle most of the household chores. Although once in a while, a female relative would come to the house and help in the chores. Seeing men carrying their children saddled on their side is not an uncommon sight either. The Iraya men are not afraid to be called “sissies” when they perform these household chores.

One of the men shared, “*Yang pag-aalaga ng bata, gawain din ng mga lalaki, tulong sa asawa, lalo na kung marami ang anak. Pati paglaba, pag-igib ng tubig, pagluto, mga gawaing bahay pwede gawin ng lalaki. Hindi naman nakakabakla.*” (Taking care of the children is also men’s task, a form of support to the wife, specially when there are many children. Even washing clothes, fetching water, cooking, other household chores can also be done by men. These do not make us sissies.)

After the mother’s siesta, it is time again for another round of preparing meals for dinner, although most often she awaits what the husband brings home from the farm before she prepares the meals. This would usually be around half past four and half past five in the afternoon. The husband returns from the farm before it gets dark.

Table 2. Domestic Chores Performed by Men, by Women and by Both

Men	Women	Both men and women
		<i>Pag-igib ng tubig</i> (fetching water)
<i>Pagtatayo ng bahay: paglagari ng kahoy, paghuhukay at pagpundar ng pundasyon, paglagay ng bubong</i> (house construction – get lumber, dig for the foundation, putting the roof)		Other tasks related to building a house: make windows from coconut leaves; light carpentry work
<i>Pagsibak ng panggatong</i> (Chopping firewood)	<i>Pagsibak ng panggatong</i> (Chopping firewood) – some women	
<i>Pagkuha ng mga saging, balinghoy, gabi</i> (getting bananas, cassava, rootcrops)	<i>Pagkuha ng mga gulayin tulad ng papaya, talbos ng kamote</i> (getting vegetables like papaya, camote tops)	
<i>Panghuhuli ng mga hayop pangkain tulad ng paniki, isda, ibon</i> (Catch animals for food such as bats, fish/shrimp, birds)		Girls and boys catch fish, shrimps, bats – seemingly like play for them
<i>Pagluluto</i> (Cooking) – for some men	<i>Pagluluto</i> (cooking)	<i>Pagbabayo ng palay</i> (rice pounding)
	<i>Paghahain ng pagkain</i> (serve dishes)	
	<i>Paghugas ng plato</i> (Dish washing)	

Men also do this task of washing clothes when their wives have just given birth	<i>Paglalaba ng mga damit; pagsampay, pagligpit ng mga damit</i> (Washing of clothes, hanging wet clothes, keeping dry clothes)	
	<i>Pagwawalis sa bahay at paligid</i> (sweeping inside and outside the house)	
<i>Pag-aalaga ng mga bata</i> – some men also do this when the women have other things to do	<i>Pag-alaga ng mga bata - pagpakain, pagpaligo, pagbibihis</i> (Taking care of children – feeding, taking bath, changing clothes)	<i>Pagkukuwento sa mga anak</i> (story-telling with children)
<i>Paglalaro ng basketball, chess</i> (playing basketball, chess)	<i>Paglalala ng mga basket o plato</i> (weaving baskets or plates)	<i>Paggawa ng saranggola para sa mga anak</i> (Prepare simple kite for their children)
<i>Pag-aalam ng kalabaw</i> (Tending to the needs of the carabao)		<i>Pagpapakain sa mga alagang hayop tulad ng mga baboy, kambing, manok, aso, pusa</i> (Feeding of domestic animals such as pigs, goats, chickens)

During dinner, the father helps in feeding the young children. After everyone has eaten their meal, clearing up is usually the task of the women. The men help fetch water needed in the kitchen.

And since the mothers and grandmothers spend more time at home, they are able to attend more to the children, tell them more stories from the olden times, play the *subing* (Jew's harp), speak Iraya and sing *igway* (Iraya song) to them, as what is happening in Mamalao. The children also help their mothers in doing household chores. Both girls and boys are taught basic household chores such as cooking, washing dishes, washing clothes and cleaning house.

However, when it comes to tending the animals, the girls are the ones tasked for the house animals such as the dogs, cats and chickens, while the boys are the ones who tend to the carabao and the goats. When I asked why such tasks are assigned to boys and girls, one mother said, "*Malayo sa bahay yung pag-aalaman ng kalabaw, medyo masukal pa. Yung mga maliliit na hayop na lang ang pinapakain ng mga anak kong babae.*" (The carabao's location is quite far from the house, there are tall weeds on the way there. My young daughters are in-charge of feeding the small animals instead.)

When it comes to taking care of the younger siblings, the older children are also tasked with this, and the task can be given to either boy or girl. But usually the task is given to the older girls; this task is given only to the boy if there is no girl who can attend to the younger ones. They call this *pagmamataw* or taking care of younger siblings.

Building a modest house in the village is one task that all men should learn. The main work of setting up the whole structure lies with the men, while the women help in the other tasks such as preparing the windows and roofs woven from coconut leaves.

In sum, in the Iraya society, while most of the domestic chores are handled by women, men also perform these tasks as support to their wives, not just occasionally, when the wife has just given birth or is sick, but on a daily basis. Women also perform tasks such as chopping firewood, fetching water and pounding rice. They do not wait for the men to do these tasks, although the men usually take care of these before they leave for the farm. These tasks are reproduced too among the children as most girls stay home and help the mother while boys go with their father and help in the farm work.

It is not just the domestic chores that are shared, but likewise the decision-making involving family concerns such as whether to send children to school, whether to engage in a new economic endeavor, whether to get a loan to help in the purchase of medicines or other big expenses, whether to build, repair or transfer house if necessary.

The situation in the Iraya domestic front is somehow reflective of Pre-Spanish times in the Philippines as described by Eviota (1992) when communities were self-provisioning units and hardly had any surplus. "Women's reproductive work consisted of cooking in earthen stoves, cleaning the house, washing clothes by the river, gathering firewood, fetching water from the well, and all the other tasks needed for the maintenance of the household. They also raised chickens and pigs and kept a vegetable garden. Men helped in some of these tasks. There was generally a complementarity of tasks between women and men in the household economy; but women performed the bulk of reproductive tasks while both women and men did productive work" (p.34).

Community Roles

As regards the community functions, based on Table 3, men and women can become leaders of organizations, ritual leaders and healers. Even the young Irayas acknowledge that women can also hold these positions. However, it has been a while since women have handled positions of leadership and become healers. Currently and in the more recent past, men have held these positions. An elder recalled that when he was a young boy one of his aunts was a *marayaw* (healer).

The current village healer in Mamalao and in Bayanan said that as long as a person is interested, has a good attitude and shows interest to learn the skills necessary for the work, then the task of being a healer can be passed on to that person, regardless of her/his gender. The community members likewise added that if at one point the eldest person in the village is a woman, then she will be given the task of managing community affairs.

During community meetings, while men are usually the ones who speak out more often, the women are not usually intimidated and are able to contribute their opinions and suggestions to the discussions.

The task of dealing with lowlanders is usually taken on by the men in the community, e.g. meeting with local government officials and negotiating for work with Tagalogs. However, during actual protest actions against intruders into their lands, such as the one against the private corporation that wanted to conduct marble mining operations in their upland communities, men, women and even children joined in the community mobilization.

As to the men being more comfortable with leadership positions, Gough (1975) postulated that, "Probably because of male cooperation in defense and hunting, men are more prominent in band councils and leadership, in medicine and magic, and in public rituals designed to increase game, to ward off sickness, or to initiate boys into manhood. The hunting of men seems more often to require them to organize in groups than does the work of women" (p. 71). And in the Iraya Mangyan society, as they transitioned from the hunting stage to the current agrarian stage, this practice has been embedded, although without utter disregard of the roles of the women in the public sphere. Gough continues that women also take part in the community's law and government and are respected as storytellers, leaders and doctors. And indeed I have seen that the Iraya women are able to

Table 3. Community Chores Performed by Men, by Women and by Both

Men	Women	Both men and women
		<i>Pamunuan sa mga samahan</i> (Leadership in people's organizations; men usually are given the roles of head, while the women are given support roles)
<i>Makipagpulong sa ibaba kung sakaling may pinapatawag ang ilang opisyal ng pamahalaan</i> (Meet with government officials in the lowland)		<i>Pagdalo sa mga pagkilos ng samahan sa patag tulad sa mga kampanya</i> (participation in organizational activities in the lowlands, e.g. during campaigns)
<i>Naghahatol o nagmamatanda sa mga tigion</i> (Elder for traditional justice system)	(although they said that women can also hold this position, but over the years only men handled this task)	
<i>Mga manggagamot at marayaw</i> (healers and chanters)	(they also said that women can take on this role, but it has mostly been men doing this role)	
<i>Pagkakarga ng mga gamit pampamayanan</i> (hauling of materials needed for the community, e.g. construction materials; goods for vending)		
<i>Pagpapatay at pagkakatatay ng mga hayop na gagamitin sa mga ritwal</i> (Slaughter and chopping of animals for community rituals)		

contribute their own ideas during village meetings and rituals and are not cowed by the presence of men. The women are also involved in the political processes in the community such as village meetings and protest activities.

What Barot (1999) mentioned about women having an important role as carriers of ethnicity due to the fact that it is in the home that much of the cultural transmission takes place can be seen in the Iraya society, but this is not the exclusive domain of women. Traditional methods of cultural reproduction usually happen both at home and in the village and are performed both by men and women, such as story-telling and informal community education and training. Performance and observance of village rituals and customary laws are likewise inclusive of both sexes.

Over-all, the difference in the diverse roles that Iraya men and women perform at home, in the farm and in the community or the gender division of labor, which are followed by the younger generation, is clear, yet, it is not inflexible. When there are no men in the household or in the community, women can still perform their tasks, and vice-versa.

Some differences and overlaps notwithstanding, the Iraya Mangyan society does not attach greater value or importance to either men's or women's work. Women's work at home is valued and is not inferior to men's work inside or outside the community. Both men and women are equal members in the community, performing domestic, economic and community chores.

Reskin & Padavic (1994) saw this same practice in pre-industrial agricultural communities where women's and men's tasks overlapped but people did not consider the jobs of women as less valuable than those of the men (p.16). Eviota (1992) likewise mentioned that in early human societies "women's work processes and the social relations attached to these

processes may have been different from those of men, but not necessarily inferior to them” (p.5-6).

Implications for Community Development Practice

The above analysis of the roles of Iraya Mangyan men and women in their homes, farms and the community has many implications for community development work among the Mangyans, in particular, and among indigenous peoples, in general. Some of these implications are a reiteration of basic principles of CD work, while others hope to enhance the current practice.

1. Primary among these is the need to be gender-sensitive and to avoid assignment of particular roles in organizing work based on certain gender stereotypes. The community and the CD worker should be guided by criteria such as the individual's interest to serve the community. Such should also provide guidance in other CD tasks such as selection of participants for trainings and exposure programs outside of the community, and the conduct of community researches and advocacy.

2. For activities with young people who have known only male leaders, healers and ritual heads in their community, gender sensitivity sessions and leadership skills training would be helpful for them to realize the full potential that men and women are capable of achieving and to correct gender stereotypes they acquire through mass media and in their interactions with other communities. When asked about handling leadership positions in the future, three high school girls said, “*Naku hindi biro ang magmatanda dito sa Mamalao. Malaking responsibilidad, pero kung wala namang lalaking gagampan, mapipilitan na babae ang magmatanda.*” (It is not a joke to be the leader in Mamalao. It is a big

responsibility, but if no male will take on the task, the women will be forced to lead.) Even the young men are not quite ready to handle such responsibilities. They just laughed off my question. “*Mas masarap yata magbasketbol na lang. Pero kung darating yung panahon, ay di tulad ng gawa ng ama, kakayanin din namin yun.*” (It is easier to simply play basketball. But when the time comes, well just like our fathers, we can also handle that task.)

3. In the Iraya communities, both men and women are concerned with community issues, hence, getting their views are of import. This means that during immersion and groundwork, the CD worker has to find the appropriate time for discussions at home, in their farms, or while they perform other economic activities outside of the farm.

4. The application of feminist ethnography for research among the Irayas also implies the importance of ethnomethodology during the data analysis phase. The ethnomethodology approach was particularly useful when the Irayas categorized the data based on their own lay methodology. CD workers have to be careful in the use of their own categories when doing CD in communities of indigenous peoples, lest these categories turn out to be inappropriate and culturally-insensitive.

5. The analysis of informal community education processes, the players, the methods used and their content would be very helpful in the design of non-formal education programs. Indigenous knowledge has always to be considered, e.g. in trainings on leadership, local resource management and community health and nutrition. Local leaders and healers can be invited to speak on leadership trainings and skills development for local health workers. Informal community education processes thrive on story-telling and modeling, methods which can likewise be used during community trainings.

Note:

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THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF *TIWALA* IN A RURAL POOR COMMUNITY

Lilly V. Mangubat

Among the research participants in a farming community, tiwala (roughly, trust) appears to be a mechanism that provides some semblance of stability and predictability in a precarious world. It provides a symbol of dependability and is associated with social support systems which help people cope with the difficulties of daily living. Further, the data suggest that people's organizations become symbols of tiwala when the marginalized interpret them as embodying not only their ideals but also addressing the immediate and concrete concerns in their daily lives.

This paper explores the social construction of tiwala (roughly translated as trust) among rural poor Filipinos in a community which has undergone organizing efforts, its nuances in situations where people have limited access to resources, and the relationship of tiwala to the development of people's organizations for managing or changing their existing realities. It proceeds from an interest in a grounded understanding of Filipino culture which hopefully will contribute to approaches used in development work.

The significance of exploring the Filipino construct of tiwala is bolstered by the literature and the social conditions

that have prevailed in the country since 1986. The salience of the concept in recent years may be attributed to the emphasis on civil society and social capital in contemporary development discourses, the discovery of the benefits of trust in organizational life and economic theorizing, the crises of legitimacy that have plagued Philippine administrations since 1986, and the continuing interest of social scientists in Asia and in the Philippines in the construction or mapping of indigenous worldviews and concepts.

Over the last two decades, there has been growing scholarly interest in the concept of trust (Bovaird & Loeffler, 2005; Buchan, Croson, & Dawes, 2002; Delhey & Newton, 2002; Gambetta, 1988; Kramer, 1999; Strong & Weber, 1998; Weber & Carter, 2002). In the sociology of development literature, for instance, the centrality of trust to human life and people's interaction with their social environment has been articulated. Influenced by discourses on civil society, social capital, and governance that reflect a convergence of structuralist and post-structuralist development theories and practices, social scientists have stressed the pivotal role of trust in managing risks and complexities associated with various levels of social interaction.

Trust is considered an important factor in the organization of civil society groups. As Dahrendorf (2000, p. vii) observes, "civil society is the world of associations in which people rely on each other and pursue freely chosen goals together; it is the world of trust." Further, Tonkiss and Passey (2000) note that voluntary association and civil society see trust in various ways: as providing the basis for voluntary association, as linked with shared values, as representing a moral resource, and as linked with questions of legitimacy.

This discourse resonates with the importance economists have accorded to trust. In differentiating high-trust and low-trust societies, Fukuyama (1995, p. 26) notes that trust is a precondition of social capital which he defines as the ability of people to work together for common purposes in groups or organizations. Also, Fukuyama (1995, p. 9) asserts that “in all successful societies, these communities are united by trust.” It is quite likely that the focus on trust may have been influenced by its role in reducing transaction costs or improving organizational productivity (Torskvik, 2000).

Another important trend is the increasing reliance of media and political analysts on polls and opinion surveys to monitor the trust ratings of public officials. In the Philippine context, the political crises that beset the nation have pushed the concept of public trust to prominence in people’s consciousness through the polls conducted by Pulse Asia Inc. and the Social Weather Station.

Fukuyama’s distinction between high-trust and low-trust societies and the regular monitoring of the trust ratings of public figures and institutions by survey outfits seem to share an implicit assumption – that trust lies in some linear continuum. Individuals, groups and even societies are assumed to trust other individuals, groups or societies to a greater or lesser extent. They appear to take for granted the multidimensional nature of trust, how people in particular cultures construct trust and what it means to them to have more or less trust.

As Luhmann (1988, p. 103) states, the development of trust or distrust depends on local milieu and personal experience. Further, Seligman (2000, p. 23) notes that without a shared universe of expectations, histories, memories, or affective commitments, there can be no basis of trust. Thus, attempts to construct the potentially multiple meanings and dimensions of trust need to be done within the culture in which it is embedded.

This paper is an initial exploration of the concept of *tiwala* as constructed from the accounts of research participants in a rural poor community. It addresses the following questions:

- What does *tiwala* mean for selected research participants from a rural poor community which has undergone organizing efforts?
- What role, if any, does *tiwala* play in the development of a people's organization for managing or changing their social realities?

Methodology

Taking a social constructionist position, this paper privileges the local context – how people construct and interpret their realities and what becomes meaningful to them in their interaction with others. As such, it does not assume an external social world of regularities independent of social actors. Rather, it is based on the premise that although reality may be apprehended by people as ordered, already objectified, and structured, it is an intersubjective world where meanings are constructed and negotiated (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

As Gergen (2001, p. 125) notes, social constructionism assumes that “knowledgeable propositions gain their meaning within particular contexts of usage and function as a means of coordinating action within these contexts.” Thus, what people find meaningful and relevant may be understood better if their particular life world were explored. Burr (1995, p. 4) explains further, “all ways of understanding are historically and culturally relative; not only are they specific to particular cultures and periods of history, they are seen as products of that culture and history, and are dependent upon the particular social and economic arrangements prevailing in that culture at that time.”

Furthermore, the site of knowledge generation is the ongoing process of coordinating action among persons and locating meaning within the patterns of interdependency (Gergen, 2001, p. 119). What is therefore important to consider is how people establish, negotiate, act on, and reconstruct commonly understood meanings in their social world.

Following the seminal works of Filipino social scientists who have stressed the importance of understanding the Filipino world view, experience and milieu (Enriquez, 1992), this paper utilizes the methodology of constructionist grounded theory which emphasizes the exploration, analysis, and interpretation of the meanings people attach to their realities. It assumes, as Charmaz (2000, p. 521, 524) notes, that “people create and maintain meaningful worlds through dialectical processes of conferring meaning on their realities and acting within them” and seeks “to define conditional statements that interpret how subjects construct their realities.”

Data Gathering and Analysis

This paper is based on a study conducted over a period of five months in a rural community in Central Luzon. The field research involved immersion in the activities of the community to understand the people's particular life world and the meanings they attach to *tiwala* based on their everyday experiences. It basically utilized participant observation, informal interviews, and group discussions.

In the process of interacting with the residents, observations of the everyday lives of people were noted, together with their views on their life world. As the research progressed, informal interviews and group discussions with the organization's officers and members were done as they went about their normal activities, such as attending to household chores, chatting or *huntahan* with neighbors, or tending *sarisari* stores. Although unstructured,

the conversations covered the following areas: their current conditions and common problems, if any; their ways of managing their problems; the people they approach for help regarding their problems; and, the dynamics of their organization.

The process of social integration in the community uncovered not only the residents' views on their everyday lives and on their organization but also some basic notions of *tiwala*. It helped that the key informants were quite open about problems in their organization; thus probing into their notions of *tiwala* was facilitated.

The ideas of the key informants – 10 officers and 36 members of the people's organization - were recorded. The responses were then open coded (Charmaz, 2000, 2006) to identify key words, phrases, or expressions used. Adapting the method of lexical domain analysis (Cipres-Ortega, 1985), the responses were discussed with a panel who have had experience in social development work and who use the Filipino language in their field and classroom courses. Based on the discussion of the panel, the initial dimensions of *tiwala* were defined. These were then validated with the key informants through further interviews and focus group discussions. Although they felt that the results captured their ideas, they also noted further similarities and differences in the key words they used and rearranged some of the items included in the initial dimensions.

Some Limitations

The study has some limitations. First, it is written in English. Considering the constructionist framework that guided the research, this is a major limitation. From this perspective, language, which is inextricably bound with social practices and development of local knowledge, plays a very critical role; every assertion reflects an interpretation understood and expressed within the nuance of language.

While Filipino was the medium of discussion in the field, the translation of the conversations and observations into English may have resulted in loss of information and insight. As much as possible, however, the translation tried to capture the various nuances of the verbal and the nonverbal language employed by the informants.

Aside from language, the study was also limited by time constraints. It would have been ideal for the researcher to have been immersed fully in the community, being there when situations resulting in breached expectations and the erosion of *tiwala* occurred. Since this was not possible, the researcher relied solely on the accounts of key informants, which might have been affected by their construction of the situation at the point of interview and not while the situation was unfolding.

The Field Site

In the process of field research, some informants disclosed sensitive information about their organization. Although they gave their permission to have their experiences included in the study, their names will be changed to preserve confidentiality and the *pagtitiwala* (trust relationship) established with them. Also, the identity and exact location of the field site and of the people's organization will be disguised.

Barangay M is a farming community in a municipality of Central Luzon. Based on the July 2005 Household Screening Survey recorded by the Barangay Secretary, Barangay M had 343 households and a total population of 1,558 spread across six *puroks*. Purok 3, with 62 households and a population of 290, and Purok 4, with 28 households and a population of 141, are the research sites, since most of the members of the people's organization belong to these contiguous areas.

The municipality is about 100 kilometers from Metro Manila. Within the six puroks of Barangay M, tricycles are the common mode of transportation. Some residents, however, prefer to walk when going from one purok to another to save on tricycle fares, which range from P20 to P50 per trip.

The main roads going to Purok 3 and 4 are cemented and are often used to dry palay during the harvest season, despite notices posted along the routes that the practice is not allowed. Barangay roads in Purok 3 and 4, however, are dirt roads which can be very muddy during the rainy season and dusty during the dry season.

Barangay M has a public elementary school and a Catholic chapel (*kapilya*) which, according to some residents, is the center of activities during the observance of Good Friday and the *fiesta* in May. There is no barangay health center and residents go to the town proper or nearby towns for their medical needs. Traditional healers or *medico* as they are called in the community, however, are usually consulted on common ailments such as fever, colds and cough, and joint pains. Normal deliveries are likewise attended to by the medico.

Electricity is sourced through a power cooperative in the province. While most homes are dimly lit at night, several households have television sets, with soap operas and game shows as favorites among the residents. There are no existing telephone lines but some residents have cellular phones. Domestic water supply comes from manually operated pumps (*poso*). Several families have open pit toilet facilities close to their homes, with bamboo walls and doors to provide some privacy.

Although some of the houses are made of bamboo and light materials, many have rough hollow block foundations, which some residents

say they painstakingly and gradually build when they earn some extra money during the harvest season. Also, some had in the past been able to improve their houses and buy appliances, such as television and stereo sets, with their winnings from *jueteng*, a local gambling game. With the current ban on *jueteng*, however, this source of income is no longer easily available.

Most households use firewood for cooking. Some have gas stoves but these have remained idle because of rising fuel costs. Thus, many have resorted to using firewood which they gather from the fields and stack outside their homes.

The usual meal consists of rice, vegetables like string beans, okra and squash, and fresh or dried fish. Pork, chicken, and processed meat are sometimes included in the diet. Also, the residents trap field mice (*dagang bukid*) which they cook in a variety of ways. Dog and goat meat are usually reserved for special occasions like birthdays.

The rice fields in Barangay M are irrigated. Only a few own land, which are usually small (about two hectares or less). Although many have benefited from the Land Reform Program in the past, some residents say that they had either sold or mortgaged their land because of extreme financial difficulties. Thus, many are now leaseholders or farm workers. Leaseholders usually get 10 cavans of palay for every hectare they cultivate; the daily income of farm workers varies from P90 to P200 during the planting season and from P200 to P300 during harvest time.

Some families supplement their income by growing vegetables like string beans and okra. A few, who have some capital, own *sarisari* stores

or are engaged in small-scale poultry and livestock production, such as raising chickens, ducks, pigs, and goats.

A common alternative source of income, particularly among the women, is growing plants such as the popular euphorbia. Some residents say that before euphorbia became the fad among gardening enthusiasts, many grew orchids.

Most of the residents have had elementary education, with a few finishing college or vocational courses. Some have family members working in a variety of jobs in urban areas such as construction work, driving jeepneys, working in factories, and vending. During the slack season in rice production, farm laborers also go to other areas where there is a demand for their work. A few households have some family members working abroad as seamen, construction or factory workers, and entertainers. Families with OFWs (overseas Filipino workers) are easily identified by residents because of their newly built or remodeled concrete houses and the ownership of utility vehicles.

Most of the families are related, either by blood or marriage. While many are Roman Catholic, some belong to other religious denominations such as *Iglesia ni Cristo*.

DAMAYAN: A People's Organization

Many residents in Purok 3 and Purok 4 used to belong to DAMAYAN, a people's organization which was formally established in 1985 through the help of community organizers affiliated with a nongovernmental organization (NGO). DAMAYAN has been registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission as a farmers' federation.

Some DAMAYAN officers recall that the community organizers did a lot of ground work not only in several barangays of their municipality but also in some barangays of two neighboring towns in the late 1970s. Informal meetings, consciousness-raising and leadership training activities moved residents from the two puroks to become involved in identifying common issues and problems, such as lack of farm support mechanisms and alternative livelihood activities. Through their collective actions, original members of the federation lobbied for the irrigation of non-irrigated farms and for the removal of interest in their Masagana 99 loans.

With the help of the community organizers, the federation was able to secure local and foreign funds for its programs. Among its major activities were a sustainable agriculture project and a multi-purpose cooperative, which included rice milling facilities. It had a carabao dispersal project and also granted loans for livelihood projects such as pig and poultry raising. The organization was able to acquire hand tractors and water pumps for the use of its members. Loans, payable at minimal interest rates to the cooperative, were extended to the farmers for much needed farm inputs such as fertilizers and seedlings.

Residents recall that with its various projects, membership in the federation grew to about 1,000 during the period 1985-1993. Members were active in mass actions to address issues affecting the farming sector; the organization developed linkages with other NGOs, farmers' groups, and lobby groups to support their concerns.

Starting 1994, however, DAMAYAN experienced several setbacks. According to some members and officers, former leaders mismanaged the federation's funds and some members did not repay their loans. Financial transactions were not recorded accurately and meetings became irregular. Membership dwindled and the once active multi-purpose cooperative has now become non-operational.

The national federation tried to help DAMAYAN by assigning field workers. Through formal and informal meetings, leadership training, and training on cooperatives, the remaining members decided on the reorganization of DAMAYAN, with a new set of officers they themselves elected.

As part of its efforts to revitalize DAMAYAN, the officers and members decided to form a credit cooperative. As agreed, contributions of P2,000 each from all the officers and P500 each from the members, payable every harvest time, would go to their capital build-up. When the cooperative is able to generate enough funds, DAMAYAN envisages a time when it can extend loans to members for livelihood activities.

The nine-member Board of Directors is composed of the president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, auditor, adviser, and three chapter chairpersons. The cooperative also has its own set of officers. The number of members is officially listed as 62, with 53 coming from Purok 3 and Purok 4 of Barangay M and nine coming from a neighboring barangay. The Board of Directors has irregular monthly meetings. Also, the officers of the cooperative have not had any meeting and only a handful have contributed small amounts for the capital build-up they had previously agreed upon.

Exploring *Tiwala* in a Rural Community

In sharing their DAMAYAN experiences, the officers and members often mentioned significant factors which, to them, led to the decline of their organization a decade ago. While some acknowledged that the mismanagement of funds was a major problem, some also said that non-repayment of loans, lack of systematic

reporting of financial transactions, and lack of regular communication contributed to the steady decline of DAMAYAN. However, many singled out the misuse of funds by past officers as the factor which led to the instability of the organization and the growing skepticism of several members.

Inevitably, some mentioned that they have lost their *tiwala* in their organization because of the perceived corruption of past leaders. As an informant stated, “*Ayoko nang sumapi. Nawalan na ako ng tiwala. Ginawa lang tuntungan ang samahan para sa sarili nila. Ginamit lang kami – may benepisyo raw makukuha pag sumapi. Puro salita, wala naman kaming nakita sa sinabi.*” (I do not want to join DAMAYAN anymore. I have lost my *tiwala*. Previous officers just made the organization their stepping stone for their own benefit. They exploited us – they said we would benefit if we joined. It was all talk because we have not seen any concrete results.)

The erosion of *tiwala* in the organization due to unfulfilled expectations appeared to be strongly felt by several members. Initial ideas revolved around this topic, with some saying, “*Paanong magtitiwala kung hindi totoo ang sinasabi? Aasa ka, tapos wala naman palang mangyayari – sila-sila lang ang nakinabang. Kami, ganun pa rin, hindi makaluwag-luwag. Pag nalinlang ka na, mahirap nang magtiwala at baka pangakong mapapako uli.*” (How can you have *tiwala* when they are not true to their word? You expect something but it is not fulfilled. They were the only ones who benefited while we remain in this situation – our hardships have not been alleviated. When you have been deceived, it is difficult to trust – promises may be broken again.) Others stated, “*Mawawala ang tiwala mo pag nakikita mong nagsasamantala ang tao at nanlalamang.*” (One starts losing trust in people who take advantage of and exploit others.)

The members further traced the erosion of *tiwala* to observed lack of responsibility and accountability among past officers. As they related, “*Pananagutan bilang pinuno ang mga miyembro, lalo na umasa kaming mabiyayaan. Papipirmahin kami sa proposal daw, tapos bale wala na kami. Ang nangyari, hindi pa napanagutan ang pondong nawala. Hindi naging tapat sa napagkasunduan. Umasa kaming matutupad, walang nangyari. Tatabangan ka talaga.*” (Leaders are responsible for the well-being of members, particularly in granting benefits. We were asked to endorse proposals but afterwards, we were ignored. As things turned out, they could not even account for missing funds. They were not sincere and had no commitment to agreed upon expectations. We hoped that our expectations would be met. When nothing happens, one will surely lose interest.)

In the context of their past experiences, corruption, lack of responsibility and accountability, and *panlilinlang* or deceit as reflected in broken promises, taking advantage of others, and inequitable distribution of benefits, appear to have eroded *tiwala* not only in their past leaders but also in the organization. While the current president and officers may not be associated with corrupt practices, some have strong reservations about their organization and readily acknowledge that they are losing interest.

With the sharing of initial ideas on *tiwala* in the context of organizational problems, the study then focused on the further exploration of the concept and its dimensions.

The Social Construction of *Tiwala*

Some key informants expressed their views as follows: “*Ibig sabihin ng tiwala – sa ganang akin – natutupad ang inaasahan. Halimbawa,*

pag sinabi kong may tiwala ako sa kapwa ko, alam kong natutupad ang napagkasunduan namin... kung anong sinabi, natutupad, hindi tinatalikuran ang pangako...ibig sabihin, kilala mo ang isang tao... tapat sa iyo, hindi sinungaling, hindi nanloloko...walang agam-agam, panatag ang loob mo.” (For me, *tiwala* means that expectations are met. For example, when I say I have *tiwala sa kapwa*, I know that person will fulfill what we agreed upon...he or she honors his/her word and does not renege on promises...I know the person... the person is honest and sincere, does not lie or deceive others... I have no doubts and am at ease with a person.)

Still others shared, “*Pwede ring tinutukoy ang tiwala sa sarili, ibig ko bang sabihin, may kumpiyansa ka sa sarili mong kakayahan, pag may gustong maabot, siguradong kaya...ginagawa mo ang abot ng makakaya mo...buo ang loob, may paninindigan at desisyon...kaya mong abutin ang inaasahan mo.”* (*Tiwala* can also refer to *tiwala sa sarili*, meaning that one is confident about one’s abilities and attaining what one wants to achieve...one does something to the best of one’s abilities...a person is determined and does not waver, one has convictions and firm decisions...one can fulfill one’s expectations.)

The above statements represent some of the key informants’ basic ideas on *tiwala* and its nuances in their lives. The theme of *natutupad ang inaasahan* (literally, expectations are being met) is apparent and cuts across what they see as different levels of *tiwala*; the informants’ association of *tiwala* with fulfillment of expectations or conformity to one’s word/expected responsible action resonates with the expectations of dependability of people in social interaction.

Moreover, *tiwala* is perceived to be multidimensional. While it relates to the formation and maintenance of expectations for managing social

interaction and uncertainties in daily living, it is constructed and interpreted differently at various levels. Thus, the key informants talk about *tiwala sa kapwa* and *tiwala sa samahan* in terms of relying on and fulfilling agreed upon expectations, such as expecting people not to break their promises and, in the case of *tiwala sa samahan*, expecting the organization to bring about concrete benefits to its members. Further, *tiwala sa sarili* appears to be associated with confidence and reliance on one's capabilities in meeting personal expectations.

- **Levels of *Tiwala***

The themes generated in analyzing the data indicate that the key informants view *tiwala* as operating at various levels: *tiwala sa sarili* (individual); *tiwala ng kapwa* and *tiwala sa kapwa* (group); *tiwala sa samahan* (organizational); and, *tiwala sa Diyos* (transcendental). While some mentioned *tiwala sa sarili* as most salient, several of the informants mentioned *tiwala sa kapwa* as the most salient level of *tiwala*. In other words, *tiwala* is generally associated with social relationships – in particular, with one's *tiwala* in another person or group.

While *tiwala sa Diyos* was initially identified by only three informants, it was acknowledged during the validation as a basic level even by those who did not mention it as a level as salient as *tiwala sa kapwa*. For them, it helps people cope with and manage their difficult situations; *tiwala sa Diyos* is not only a separate and higher level of *tiwala* but is considered transcendental in two ways: because it transcends *tiwala* (i.e., the distinction made between *tiwala* and *pananalig*- trust and faith) and because informants see it as running through or being implicated as well in other levels. Beyond *tiwala sa kapwa*, *tiwala/pananalig sa Diyos* is based on faith on a higher being's unconditional care (*pananalig na hindi pababayaan; bibiyayaan o bibigyan kapag dumaing*).

Tiwala/pananalig sa Diyos and *tiwala sa sarili* appear to serve as personal anchors in helping manage concrete difficulties in everyday life. Both *tiwala sa sarili* and *tiwala sa kapwa* reflect the fact that while trustworthiness (*tiwala ng kapwa*) is also deemed important, the kind of *tiwala* that emanates from a person or that is within one's control seems to be more crucial for one's behavior than how one is perceived.

For the key informants, *tiwala/pananalig sa Diyos* and *tiwala sa sarili* seem to be associated with constancy (e.g., *pananalig*) and confidence (e.g., *kumpiyansa sa sariling kakayahan*) in facing the vagaries of life. At the same time, they underpin *tiwala sa kapwa*. As one informant explained, "*Kung wala kang tiwala sa sarili at sa Diyos, paano ka magtitiwala sa kapwa mo?*" (If one does not have *tiwala sa sarili* or *tiwala sa Diyos*, how can one have *tiwala sa kapwa*?)

On the other hand, *tiwala* at the group level is seen as *tiwala ng kapwa* and *tiwala sa kapwa*. *Tiwala ng kapwa* is viewed as the individual's meeting and maintaining expectations which, in turn, facilitate the formation of *pagtitiwala* or reciprocal trust relations. *Tiwala sa kapwa* is forming expectations of people in the process of social interaction and is related to developing harmonious relationships and forging understanding and unity (*pagkakasundo at pagkakaisa*) with them.

Tiwala ng kapwa is closely linked with perceptions about a person's reliability and dependability, as shown in the concrete situations they share. One explained, "*Kaugnay yan ng pag-iingat nang inilagak sa iyo.*" (*Tiwala ng kapwa* is related to taking good care of what is entrusted to a person.) Or, as another shared, "*Yung nagpapautang dito na pinagtatrabahuhan ko, hindi na lang tinitingnan ang rekord ko ng pautang at bayad pag nagsusulit ako. Ganun kalaki ang tiwala sa akin. Alam naman kasing nakatala lahat yan sa akin at hindi ko*

itatakbo ang pera.” (The money lender I work for does not even bother to look at my records when I turn over the funds I have collected. That is how much he trusts me. It is because he knows that I ensure everything is accounted for, my records are in order, and he will not be defrauded.)

While the above show *tiwala ng kapwa* associated with reliability and dependability in economic transactions, it is also manifested in daily interactions with others, such as not breaking promises or agreements. It is likewise seen in the context of organizational life. Among the DAMAYAN officers, for example, several realize that the members expect to see concrete results from them before they can fully gain their *tiwala*. While electing them into office is seen as a manifestation of their *tiwala*, two officers stated, “*Alam naming kailangang magpakita ng mabuting halimbawa para makuha ang tiwala ng mga kasapi. Oo nga, may tiwala sila dahil inihalal kami pero ang problema, paano pananatilihin yon. Siguro pag hindi nila nakikitang kami ang ‘puno’ o kaya pag may biyaya, miyembro muna at pantay-pantay ang benepisyo, ubrang mapadali ang pagtitiwala sa amin.*” (We know that we have to set good examples to gain the members’ *tiwala*. True, they showed their *tiwala* when they elected us but the problem is how to maintain that. Perhaps when they see that we give priority to members when there are benefits or they see that benefits are equitably distributed, building their *tiwala* will be facilitated.)

While meeting the expectations of people is underscored in *tiwala ng kapwa*, forming expectations of another person is highlighted in *tiwala sa kapwa*. As several explained, “*Pag may tiwala sa kapwa, alam mong tapat sa iyo ang isang tao – hindi siya nagsisinungaling at nanloloko o kaya nanlalamang, nagkakasundo kayo kasi alam mong may malasakit sa yo.*” (*Tiwala sa kapwa* means knowing that a person is honest and sincere –s/he does not lie, deceive or exploit another person. A

harmonious relationship is established because one knows that the person is concerned about one's well-being.)

The above capture the importance placed on expecting people to demonstrate concern and reliability before *tiwala sa kapwa* can be formed. As a female informant explained, "*Kahit ba sa simpleng bagay lang, tulad ng pagsosoli ng gamit na hiniram, makikita mo kung pinahahalagahan ang pagsasama nyo at ang binitiwang salita.*" (Even in simple matters like the prompt return of borrowed things, one can see if a person values the relationship and his/her word.) She then added, "*May maaasahan kang matatakbuhan pag oras ng pangangailangan...pag dumaing ka, hindi ka napapahiya, alam mong may malalapitan ka.*" (One can rely on the help of another person in time of need – one knows the person is dependable and can be easily approached without fear of being rebuffed.)

Thus, *tiwala sa kapwa* is associated with regarding persons whom one knows as part of one's support system, as people one can depend on and turn to, particularly in times of need. Needs which they ask trusted persons to help them with may vary. Some explained, "*Puwede kong ipagkatiwala ang mga bata at ang bahay pag umaalis ako.*" (I can entrust my children and my house when I have to be away.) One mother revealed, "*Pag wala na kaming maisaing, nagsasabi ako, alam kong hindi naman ako mapapahiya.*" (When we have no rice, I tell her. I know my request will not be refused.) Some farmers said, "*Naghihiraman kami ng gamit sa bukid, tulad ng pang-spray ng gamot.*" (We lend each other farm equipment, such as pesticide sprayers.)

The more frequently cited need, however, is financial, with several informants relating *tiwala sa kapwa* to people's willingness to lend money to them. They shared, "*Nagpapautang o nagpapahiram – pero kung*

walang-wala rin sila, nagkukusang samahan kami sa ibang kakilala para matulungan.” (They lend us money, but when they themselves do not have any, they assist us in approaching others so we can be helped.)

Expectations from persons on whom one has bestowed *tiwala* do not only cover support in material needs but also moral and emotional support. “*Hindi ako nangingiming sabihin ang problema kasi alam kong dadamayan ako – iba yung may alam kang magpapalakas ng loob mo pag medyo may agam-agam ka,*” one male member explained. (I do not have qualms sharing my problems with a person I trust because I know s/he will help me. It means a lot when one knows one has somebody to boost one’s morale.)

Although the key informants distinguished between *tiwala ng kapwa* and *tiwala sa kapwa*, they shared that these are interdependent. As two pointed out, “*Magkaugnay yan. Kung tiwala sa amin, may tiwala rin kami. Kung tiwala naman kami, may tiwala rin sa amin. Mahirap kung hindi magkapareho ang pagtingin. Halimbawa, kung tiwala ako sa iyo, tapos nakikita kong wala ka namang tiwala sa akin, walang mangyayari – laging may agam-agam tayo sa isa’t isa at wala tayong patutunguhang ugnayan.*” (*Tiwala ng kapwa* and *tiwala sa kapwa* are closely related. When people trust us, we also develop trust in them. When we trust people, people develop trust in us. It is difficult when two parties do not share the same view. For example, I may trust you but when I see that you do not trust me, nothing will come out of our relationship. We will always have doubts about each other and we will not move towards a harmonious relationship.)

On the other hand, when the key informants explained *tiwala sa samahan* (trust at the organizational level), they inevitably took DAMAYAN as their frame of reference. As they said, “*Pag tiwala sa samahan, ibig*

sabihin alam mong maganda ang takbo, may proyektong totoo, may pruwembang pakinabang na nakikita.” (Tiwala sa samahan means you know the organization is running smoothly, with projects which provide tangible benefits.)

Maganda ang takbo is seen in the participation of members and in the effective management of leaders. Some stated, “*Nakikita yung tiwala sa samahan pag dumadalo sa miting ang maraming kasapi. Pag nanlalamig, paunti nang paunti ang dumadalo.*” (Well-attended meetings indicate that members have *tiwala sa samahan*; dwindling attendance indicates that members are losing their interest and trust.) Aside from attendance and involvement in meetings, active participation is seen in the extent and pace in mobilizing members for collective action. As two leaders explained, “*Madali ang sama-samang pagkilos pag may tiwala ang kasapi. Hindi lang sa pagdalo pag tumawag ng pulong, sama-sama rin pag may proyekto o malawakang pagkilos; madaling manghikayat ng ibang kasapi na lumahok.*” (Collective action is facilitated when members have *tiwala sa samahan*. It is seen not just in mobilizing members to attend meetings but in collective action when there are projects to be implemented or there is a need for mass action on farm-related issues.)

Those who associated *tiwala sa samahan* with the effective management of their leaders singled out two aspects: the honest, transparent, and fair dealings of leaders, and their regular communication and coordination with the members. As some members said, “*Pag nakikita mo ang katapatan sa tungkulin ng namumuno, magkakaroon ka ng tiwala.*” (When one sees the integrity and sincerity of leaders in performing their duties, one will have *tiwala sa samahan*.) They added, “*sabi nga, hindi dapat na ang pinuno ang ‘puno’ – paano ka magtitiwala nyan kung sila-sila lang ang nakikitang nakinabang? Magtitiwala ka pag nakikita mong tapat, kayang panagutan at nag-uulat ng nagawa sa mga kasapi,*

hindi yung may itinatago sa amin.” (As the saying goes, a leader should not be the only one who gains from the organization. How will you develop *tiwala* when you see that they are the only ones who get the benefits? You will have *tiwala* when you see that they are honest, hold themselves accountable for their actions, regularly give reports to and have nothing to conceal from members.)

Maganda ang takbo may account for expectations on how the organization is managed. For some, however, their main consideration in having *tiwala sa samahan* is seeing concrete projects which provide tangible benefits or, as they said, “*May pruwèbang pakinabang.*” They explained, “*Hindi naman pwedeng puro sakripisyo lang, may biyaya namang dapat nakikita.*” (It cannot be all ‘sacrifice’ on our part – we need to see concrete gains for our time and efforts.)

- **Bases of *Tiwala***

As seen from the perspective of the informants, the notion of dependability in the fulfillment of expectations appears to be the common thread among the various levels of *tiwala*. However, what do they take into account in developing *tiwala*? And, what represent symbols of dependability for them?

Their various statements indicate two key concepts that serve as their bases of *tiwala*: *katapatan* and *pakikipagkapwa*, notions of which get to be formed through observation of personal qualities and ways of relating with people. As several shared, “*tapat sa kasama, hindi binabaliwala ang kasunduan*” (literally, sincere and honest in dealing with people, honors what has been agreed upon). Still another said, “*may malasakit, dumadamay*” (shows concern, extends help).

For most of the informants, *katapatan* (honesty, sincerity) is the important basis of *tiwala*. As several explained, “*May tiwala ako pag nakikita kong tapat ang isang tao.*” (I have *tiwala* when I observe that a person is honest/sincere.) They added, “*Pag sinabing tapat ang isang tao, hindi siya sinungaling, may totoong salita – pagkaharap at pagtalikod, pareho ang sinasabi.*” (When a person is said to be *tapat*, it means that s/he does not lie. S/he is sincere and consistent in what s/he says.)

Katapatan is thus associated with the consistency of people’s words and actions, as well as in the fulfillment of promises. Oft-repeated statements were “*hindi sinisira ang pangako*” or “*hindi tinatalikuran ang salita*” and “*pag may binitiwang salita o pangako, tinutupad.*” (S/he does not break promises and honors her/his word or promise.) For many, giving one’s word is taken seriously since it assumes the nature of a pledge or promise; fulfilling one’s word is a measure of a person’s worth. One member summed this up by saying, “*May isang salita ka lang, tao ka na.*”

Some cited concrete examples of *katapatan*, such as “*pag nangakong sasamahan ka, hindi ka ibibitin, nakapangako kasi*” (you can expect her/him to go with you once s/he gives a promise; s/he will not leave you high and dry) or “*pag nangutang, tumutupad sa kasunduan, hindi mo na kailangang singilin, hindi ka pinagtataguan*” (when one borrows money, one keeps one’s word and repays the amount on the agreed upon date, without being reminded to do so or trying to avoid one’s creditor). In an organization, *katapatan* is seen in people, particularly the leaders, who accomplish what they commit themselves to. “*Pag may sinabing gagawin, ginagawa, hindi yung umaasa kami sa wala.*” (If they say they will do something, we can expect them to do so and not leave us with false hopes.)

Another basis of *tiwala* for the key informants is *pakikipagkapwa*, a concept that hews closely to the views of Sikolohiyang Pilipino proponents

like Enriquez (1992). For many, *pakikipagkapwa* means basic respect for people. As an informant explained, “*Ang taong may pakikipagkapwa, taong marangal ang turing sa kapwa. Yun bang pag may katungkulan, halimbawa, magandang makitungo sa kapwa, hindi ka binabaliwala at nasasangguni mo sa problema mo.*” (A person with *pakikipagkapwa* treats people with dignity and respect. If one holds public office, for instance, one relates well with people, does not ignore them and can be consulted on problems.)

Still others related, “*Alam mong may pakikipagkapwa pag nakikita mong nagkukusang tumulong kahit di mo sabihan.*” (You know a person has *pakikipagkapwa* when s/he demonstrates sensitivity to the needs of others and offers help even without being asked.) A father said, “*makikita mo naman yan sa kilos ng tao. Tulad halimbawa ng pamilya ni ... nung magkasakit ang anak ko, eto na agad ang tricycle nila, hindi na kailangang humingi ng tulong.*” (You can see *pakikipagkapwa* through a person’s actions. When my son got sick, for example, the family of ... readily offered their tricycle; I did not have to ask for their help.)

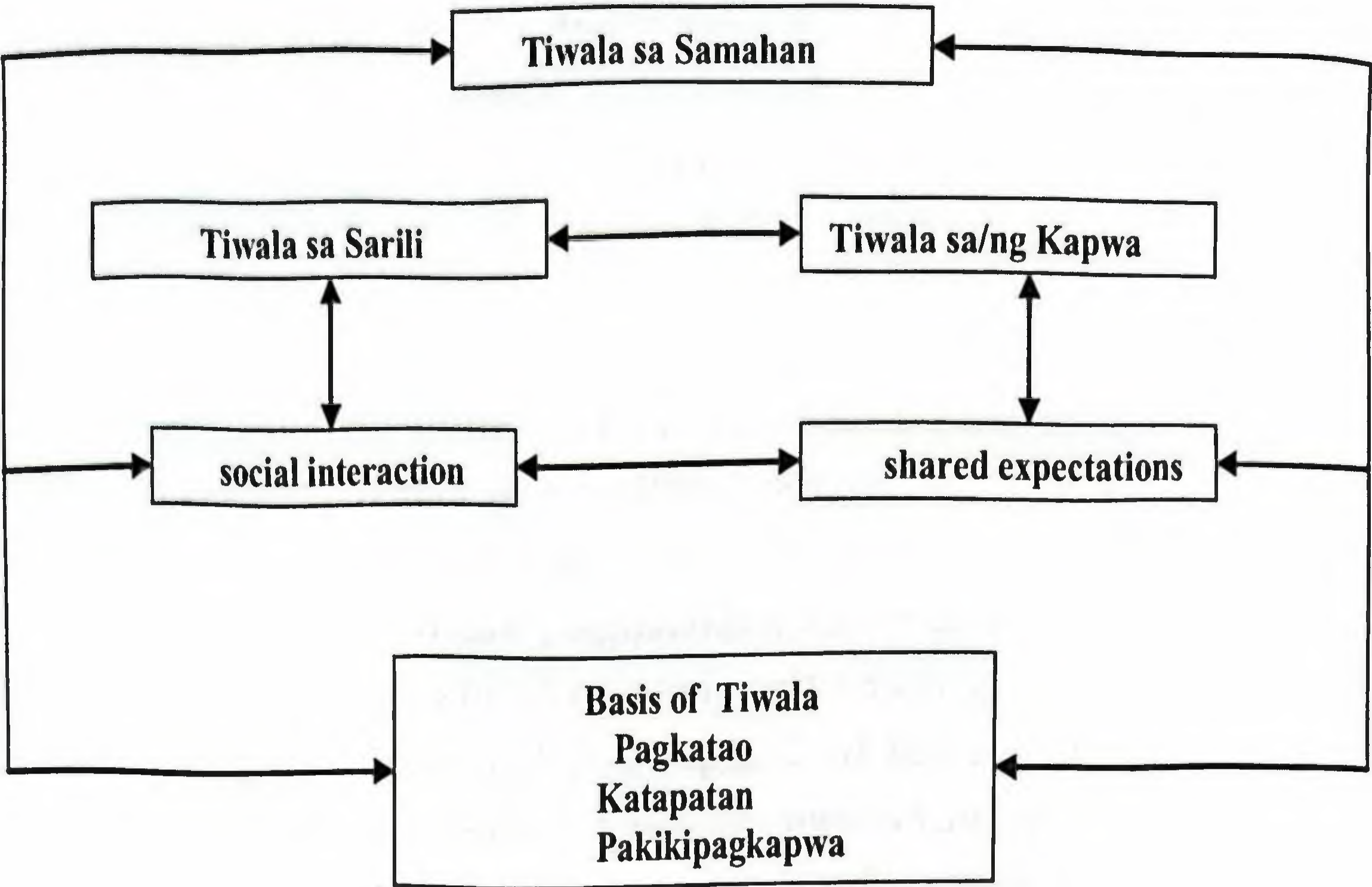
Closely related to *pakikipagkapwa* are solicitude and caring for others (*pagmamalasakit*) and willingness to help, particularly in difficult times (*pagtulong/pagdamay*). The wife of a farm worker related, “*Nung bumaha rito at nasa ibang bayan ang mister ko, tinulungan ako ng kumpare niya para ilikas ang gamit namin. Kung walang nagmalasakit sa amin, hindi ko alam kung anong nangyari. Biro mo, ako lang ang andito at mabilis ang pagtaas ng tubig.*” (When our purok was flooded and my husband was working in another town, his friend helped us evacuate our belongings. If nobody came to our rescue, I do not know what would have happened to us. I was the only one left and the flood waters rose swiftly.)

As noted in *tiwala sa kapwa*, people who are part of one's support system are people one can depend on to sustain oneself in overcoming problems in daily life. Thus, the concrete manifestations of caring for others and of willingness to help are seen as important in gauging *pakikipagkapwa*.

From the discussions with the key informants then, confidence (*kumpiyansa*) or regarding the fulfillment of concrete expectations as likely (*maaasahan*) seem to underlie *tiwala*, based on the interpretation of a person's *katapatan* and *pakikipagkapwa*. In turn, these qualities are indispensable in constructing views on the integrity of one's *pagkatao* (or personhood as noted by Enriquez, 1992). As some key informants explained, "*Ang mahalaga ay yung nakikita mong malinis ang pagkatao – yun bang ginagawa at pinapanindigan ang tama, hindi gumagawa ng nakasasama sa kapwa.*" (What is important is knowing that one has integrity (literally) –one is committed to and does what is right; one does nothing which harms one's *kapwa*.)

Thus, *pagkatao* subsumes all other characteristics since people with integrity are expected to be above board in their dealings with others, devoid of trickery, and concerned about their *kapwa*.

In summary, *tiwala* symbolizes some measure of stability and predictability in a precarious world. Its distinct basis rooted in *pagkatao*, as shown in the following diagram, provides the ground for understanding why *pagtitiwala* or trust relations entail concrete and face-to-face interaction.



Contributions to a Filipino Concept of *Tiwala*

The ideas shared by the key informants suggest some nuances of *tiwala*. As can be gleaned from the data, the social construction of *tiwala* in Barangay M is grounded on the realities the farmers and their families have to grapple with. While planting and harvesting seasons appear with regularity, their main source of income changes due to factors which may be beyond their control, such as continuous rains and floods, pest infestation of rice crops, and increasing costs of farm inputs. The element of uncertainty as they eke out a living is always present; part of the “taken for granted reality” for most of the residents is the worsening state of their livelihood.

In this context, *tiwala* appears to be a representation of some semblance of stability and predictability in their precarious

world. It provides a symbol of dependability in their everyday lives and is associated with social support systems which help people cope with the difficulties of daily living.

Tiwala is developing and maintaining shared expectations for managing uncertainty and reciprocal action in everyday life (Bonifacio, 1989). This appears to be substantiated by the data which underscore the role of expectations at various levels of *tiwala*. The constant reference to reliance on one's word or promise stresses the importance people give to fulfilling agreed upon expectations; once one gives one's word or promise, it means that one commits oneself to a particular course of action. Thus, the reference to *may isang salita* can be understood further as the need to have a concrete symbol of consistency and predictability in everyday encounters and joint actions.

The levels of *tiwala* reveal its intersubjective nature. *Tiwala* – whether it is *tiwala sa sarili*, *tiwala ng kapwa*, *tiwala sa kapwa*, or *tiwala sa samahan* – is developed or eroded in the process of social interaction and in the socially constructed knowledge about the self and others. As they relate with each other, people get to affirm not only their own capabilities and *pagkatao* but also their expectations for mutually beneficial actions.

While interpersonal interaction is highlighted in this rural community, *tiwala sa samahan* does not automatically ensue, regardless of the kinship ties and close interpersonal relations among several members. This suggests that expectations of formal organizations include not only close fellowship but also dependability in meeting concrete material needs of its members, particularly in a community where people are experiencing scarcity of resources. After all, joining or becoming

active in a people's organization needs some investment, particularly in terms of time which could otherwise be devoted to livelihood activities. Thus, bestowing *tiwala sa samahan* implies acknowledgement of the organization's consistent capability to achieve its goals and its credibility as a social support system for its members.

Since it can be precarious as a social support system, *tiwala* is developed on the basis of the construction and interpretation of the integrity of one's *pagkatao*, as seen concretely in *katapatan* and *pakikipagkapwa*. *Malinis na pagkatao*, as interpreted in the process of social interaction, appears to be the critical factor in regarding a person as somebody with commitment to *katapatan* and *pakikipagkapwa* and can therefore be relied on to meet mutually agreed upon expectations. It undergirds the various levels of *tiwala*. *Tiwala sa sarili* is developed as a person becomes aware not only of her/his capabilities, *pananalig/tiwala sa Diyos*, *tiwala ng kapwa*, and the opportunities afforded by others but also, and more importantly, of her/his own *katapatan* and determination to maintain *malinis na pagkatao*. In developing *tiwala sa kapwa* and *tiwala sa samahan*, critical factors include not only meaningful interaction and meeting mutual expectations but also consistency in the behavior of people regarded as having *malinis na pagkatao*.

What are some implications of the above on the dynamics of *tiwala* in a people's organization?

Tiwala, once given through a careful, deliberate process, cannot be treated lightly. It may be a taken for granted reality, but it also carries with it certain responsibilities and reciprocal actions. Once these are breached, *tiwala* is eroded.

Although direct, face-to-face relations are highlighted in the development of *tiwala*, *tiwala sa samahan* is closely linked with expectations of a formal organization. A people's organization formed to address concrete material needs and issues of its members needs to be seen as performing its tasks. Unless it is regarded as a social support system and as a concrete symbol of certainty in their precarious lives, *tiwala* in a people's organization may waver.

Personalistic relations may matter but fulfillment of expectations from a formal support system needs to be seen, such as achievement of stated goals, transparency of operations, responsibility and accountability of elected officers. Furthermore, the eroding *tiwala* of members in their organization due to perceived mismanagement and irregularities in official transactions highlights the fragility of trust relations.

In a rural community where economic survival is viewed as the pervasive problem, it is understandable that most of the concerns which members expect their organization to address revolve around immediate and concrete improvements in their living conditions. For the majority of the members, meaningful changes in their social realities entail having a little capital for livelihood activities such as raising pigs, goats, or chicken, and putting up small *sarisari* stores. For them to identify with and develop *tiwala* in an organization, these desired changes have to be seen. Alone, a person is perceived as being able to do very limited things; with an active people's organization, a person can have more opportunities to fulfill her/his aspirations in life.

Congruence of expectations – that is, members' expectations vis-à-vis organizational goals and objectives; members' and leaders' expectations of desired actions – assumes significance in the development of *tiwala sa samahan*. Some leaders, as observed in the research site, may see the

need to raise the critical awareness of people on wider issues affecting their continuing marginalization, as part of the efforts to revitalize their organization. Unless this is also recognized by the members, however, mobilizing them may be a daunting task.

In organizing viable community groups, the data indicate that building *tiwala* at various levels is a vital component of development work. Empowerment assumes meaning for people when they realize that they themselves have the potentials for bringing about changes in their lives and working collectively toward social transformation. Here the insights on the various levels of *tiwala* in the Philippine context indicate that *tiwala sa sarili*, *tiwala ng kapwa*, *tiwala sa kapwa*, and *tiwala sa samahan* can be the building blocks for empowering processes and structures. In this regard, participation provides the venue for building *tiwala*, focusing as it does on face-to-face relations and affording community residents opportunities to affirm their own *pagkatao* and that of their *kapwa*.

Developing a viable people's organization involves building *pagtitiwala* – among the members themselves, in their leaders, and in their organization. A major challenge in organizing marginalized groups such as the rural poor is the reconstruction of their present realities not as static, despite seemingly oppressive conditions, but as subject to change through collective, concerted transformative actions which the people themselves initiate and follow through.

As suggested by the research methodology, the exploration of the meanings people attach to their realities – how they interpret their situation and what changes are significant to them – facilitates the identification of concerns relevant to them. Privileging their way of constructing and interpreting reality also enhances the awareness of *tiwala ng kapwa*; with

empathic understanding of their world view, people begin to share their ideas and feelings. But this can only be done when researchers/organizers immerse themselves in the culture of a particular community and enter their world of meanings. As the study indicates, sensitivity to the nuances of both verbal and nonverbal language used in a particular area, and willingness to learn from their vast store of knowledge, may enhance the development of *tiwala ng kapwa*.

People who feel marginalized may disparage their own capabilities. However, building initially on their current stock of knowledge – rather than introducing entirely new ideas which may be alien to their culture – may facilitate the further development of *tiwala sa sarili*. In turn, increased recognition of their capabilities and commitment to *katapatan* and *pakikipagkapwa* can enhance social relations and the formation of mutual support systems in the community. Further, the data indicate that people acknowledge that they have certain responsibilities to make *tiwala* work. Thus, building on their views on responsibility can facilitate the leveling of expectations from mutual support systems.

The people's organization focused in this paper reveals that *tiwala sa samahan* can be a potent force in developing the awareness of people regarding their conditions and in mobilizing them to advocate for needed changes affecting their sector. Whether such *tiwala* can be regained fully and enhanced remains to be seen, as key actors attempt to revitalize the organization and help its members move from their cynicism and renew their *tiwala* in the people who breathe life into their organization.

Finally, this paper underscores the need for further studies on relevant Filipino concepts, such as how people in particular communities see the process of rebuilding *pagtitiwala* in their everyday lives. Without negating the contributions of other perspectives, the social constructionist

perspective, more particularly that of the epistemic community dedicated to understanding Filipino culture and society, has much to offer in exploring the various nuances of Filipino concepts which could in turn lead to a greater understanding and appreciation of how Filipinos, especially the disadvantaged sectors, interpret their realities and manage to rise collectively above their extremely difficult circumstances.

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BUILDING THE ROAD WHILE WALKING: An Evaluation of an OD Capacity Development Project

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In recent years, Organization Development (OD) has emerged as a field of interest in development practice. While still considered a tool of the corporate world, the new interest on OD is in response to the growing complexity and unpredictability of global and local changes affecting the social development sector. From 2004 to 2007, the CBNRM Learning Center implemented a capacity development project on Organization Development designed for NGOs and community-based organizations working on CBCRM.

This article examines the outcomes, issues and lessons to be learned from an evaluation of the OD project. Using a combination of evaluative research methods, results of the review indicate that OD capacities have been developed at the individual and organizational levels. The review also identified gaps and challenges that limited the OD project's effectiveness and impact. The article concludes by drawing a close connection between OD and the creation of learning organizations.

Introduction

The Philippines lies in a region known for its highest marine biodiversity. Fisheries and coastal resources are important economic resources that provide employment, income, food and other benefits to the population and the entire economy. However, a complex set of issues has put the state of our fisheries in peril. The de facto open access and state policies promoting privatization of fisheries and coastal resources has led to unequal access to resources and distribution of property rights in favor of large commercial interests to the detriment of marginalized fishers and coastal communities (Tambuyog, n.d.). Various studies (Green, White, Flores, Carreon & Sia, 2003; Tambuyog, 2008) have already established that most coastal ecosystems in the country are seriously degraded and coastal and fisheries resources are being depleted at an alarming pace. Environmental degradation is closely associated with severe poverty and marginalization in coastal communities. Poverty incidence among fishing households has been estimated to be between 60 percent (DA-BFAR, 2005) to as high as 80 percent (Israel, 2004).

Over the last few decades, various models of resources management have been tested and developed as a response to the deepening crisis facing our fisheries sector and the grave socio-economic impacts that these could bring to coastal communities and the entire nation. One such approach is Community Based Coastal Resources Management (CBCRM), an approach pioneered in the 80s by civil society organizations in partnership with coastal communities.

CBCRM started not as a coastal management intervention but emerged from the social justice movement in the 70s and shaped further by the environmental movement that rose in the 80s. Guided by the principles of popular participation and people empowerment, CBCRM put premium

on the direct involvement of the community based on the philosophy of 'resource users-as-managers'. The main tenet of CBCRM is the recognition that communities, by whatever definition the term is used, are potentially the best resource managers since they have the biggest stake in the sustainability of the coastal resources. Hence, decision making about access, use, and conservation of coastal resources, conflict resolution and sharing of responsibilities and benefits, is the exclusive right of the community members. This implies active participation of the community members and an equitable sharing of rights and responsibilities. CBCRM is basically seen as community empowerment for resource productivity, sustainability and equity and is seen as an important strategy in poverty alleviation. It is inherently holistic and integrated, process oriented, participatory and context-specific (Ferrer, Polotan-delaCruz & Cabaces, 2004; Newkirk & Rivera, 1996).

After more than two decades, CBCRM theory and practice has evolved. From working initially with the disempowered sectors organised into People's Organizations (POs), the notion of "community" has expanded to include other stakeholders in coastal resources management. From operating initially in small geographic units known as *barangays* (villages), CBCRM has grown to influence several contiguous communities and local government units in the management of larger common pool of resources.

In a national gathering of CBCRM advocates and practitioners in 2003, the conference participants (composed of fisher POs, NGOs, government and academe) affirmed that the continued empowerment and growing confidence of community members in the management of their coastal resources through the organizing and capability building process stands out as one of the most significant achievements of CBCRM programs and the movement as a whole (Polotan-dela Cruz & Ferrer, 2004). The conference also acknowledged the following gains of the CBCRM movement:

- the implementation of various resource management projects for the protection and rehabilitation of fishery resources;
- the development of supplemental livelihood projects to increase household income, thereby enabling time to be spent for addressing community management issues;
- the active involvement of fishers through their organization in crafting local legislations/ordinances governing fishery management;
- the commitment of practitioners to take advantage of learning opportunities provided through capacity building initiatives and the willingness to share local experiences whenever possible;
- the increased participation/representation and negotiation for power within local institutional structures responsible for decision making in resources management; and
- integrating gender into environmental management, with substantial achievements in building awareness of gender issues, women's rights, the role of women in environmental management, as well as an increase in development of women's organizations and committees to address women's needs more specifically.

CBCRM practitioners and advocates have further noted that from being facilitated by intermediary non-government organizations (NGO), the past decade has seen an increasing number of people's organizations (POs) taking over the responsibility in implementing programs and in managing their own resources including their finances (Vera, Balderrama & Cleofe,

2004). The increasing autonomy of POs from their erstwhile NGO partners has signaled the need to redefine partnership roles and relationships in the common task of development. It also underscores the need for more responsive and adaptive capacity development support that would spur this new development further.

CBCRM and the Need for Organization Development

Despite these significant advances, however, there remain critical challenges in the practice of CBCRM. Among these are the following: (1) continuing and systematic investigation and analyses of the nature and extent of poverty among coastal populations; (2) translating the gains of resources management into tangible economic benefits and improved well being enjoyed by poor households; (3) developing an array of property rights models; (4) addressing threats posed by liberalized fisheries and investments; and (5) addressing other community entitlements, especially women's property rights to coastal and fisheries resources.

All these underscore the need for new approaches to development practice and increased effectiveness of organizations espousing to be vital agents of social change. The growing complexity and emergent patterns of social change amplifies the need for increased capacity in **organization development** (OD) and a culture of learning which allow organizations to simultaneously deal with emerging opportunities and problems as they happen.

OD has been defined as "a disciplined exercise using a variety of processes and practices to enable an organization to develop better understanding of the 'whole picture' of the organization, in its

environment and how it works; implement necessary changes in whole and complex systems; become more effective in working and managing change through development of an appropriate and effective organizational practice and culture; and develop a continuing capacity for learning and deepening understanding through its practice” (Hardin, in Felizco, et al., 2004, p.32).

While OD traces its roots to a number of influences including the corporate management world, development NGOs and POs nowadays are themselves confronting the difficult challenges of having to live with the implications of change and complexity not only in the external environment but also within their organizations. This has made OD Practice an emerging field of interest among social development practitioners and development managers.

Through effective OD, development organizations learn to balance complex demands such as between learning and delivering, between strategic and operational management, between empowering processes and efficiency-oriented approaches, and between enabling relationships and achieving results. There is a need to further strengthen and locate OD not only as a tool for increasing effectiveness but more for building learning, adaptive, resilient and accountable organizations. An effective OD process must therefore be participatory, empowering, gender responsive, sustainable and must build a learning culture.

The OD Capacity Development Project

Cognizant of this changing context, the Community-Based Natural Resource Management Learning Center¹ (CBNRM LC), implemented a project entitled “Imagining New Relationships among

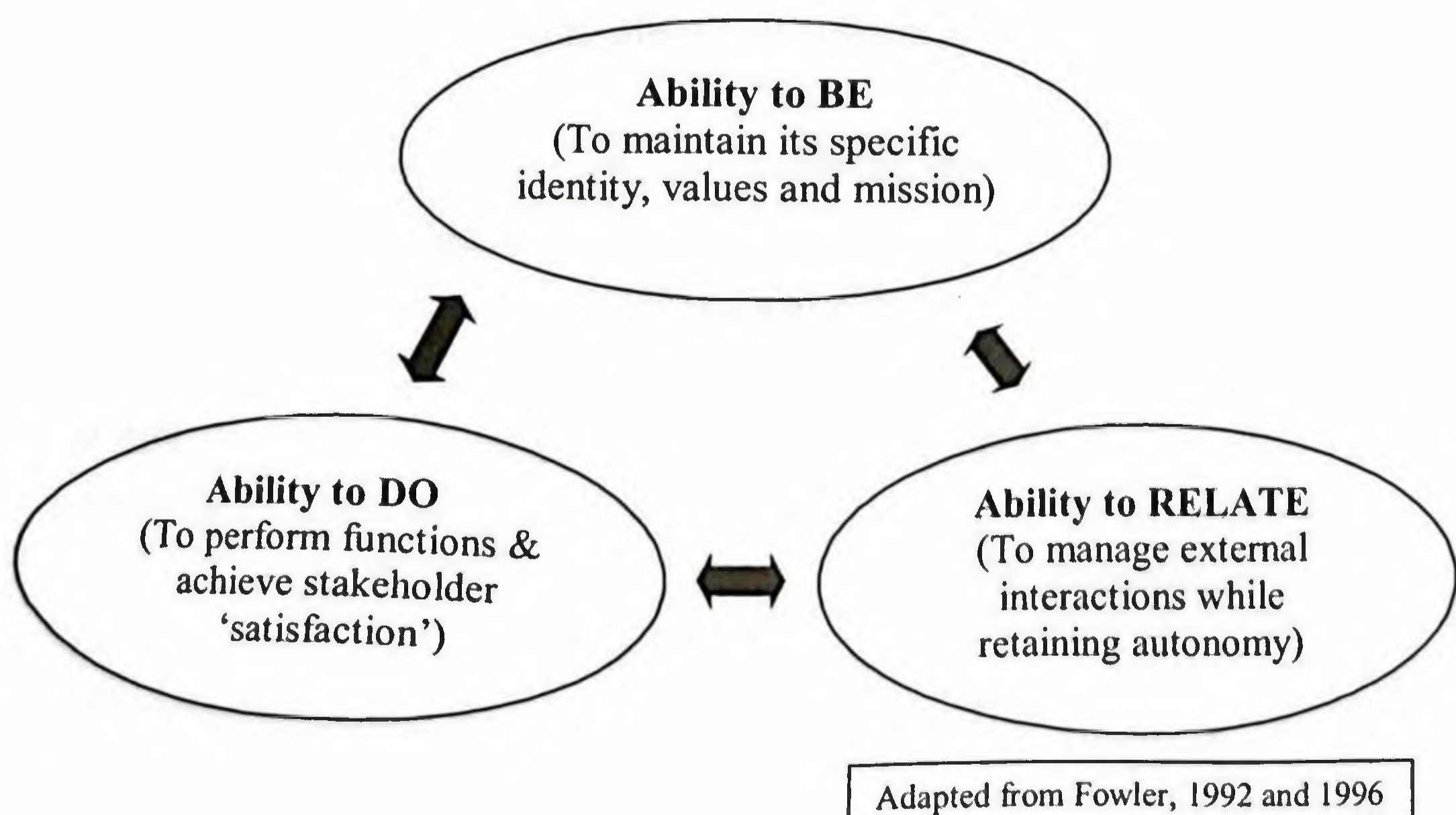
Civil Society Actors towards CBCRM Movement Building”. With funding support from Oxfam Hong Kong, the three-year OD capacity development project sought to increase the effectiveness of non-government organizations (NGOs) and people’s organizations (POs) as CBNRM actors by building on their OD practice in order to advance the gains of the CBNRM movement in the Philippines. The project had the following specific objectives:

- Share experiences in the application/adaptation of OD interventions among CBNRM actors and provide a venue for further theoretical discussions and debates on OD issues;
- Review and build on the gains of the OD and learning experiences of the CBNRM actors in the last ten years towards addressing the changing roles and relationships among NGOs, POs and other support groups;
- Develop a pool of OD and learning facilitators to assist in capability building activities;
- Generate learning materials and resources on participatory and empowering OD as it is applied in a variety of settings;
- Develop processes and tools that enhance organizational capacity to adequately and creatively respond to changing times;
- Develop appropriate OD approaches for POs and community-based organizations (i.e. fisher groups); and
- Build a library of OD and learning materials and provide access to OD practitioners.

Areas for Capacity Development in OD

The OD project sought to address what Fowler referred to as three key issues in NGO self-development (Fowler, in Felizco, et al., 2004, p.21). The **Ability to BE** is defined as an organization's capacity to have a strategic perspective, or a clear organizational vision, sense of purpose and strategy. This is expressed through the organization's embedded development framework or theory of social change, as well as its explicit organizational values. The **Ability to DO** refers to a range of capabilities that an organization must develop (e.g., technical, organizational and structural) in pursuit of its broad aims and achieve the satisfaction of one's stakeholders. Finally, the **Ability to RELATE** pertains to an organization's capacity to initiate and maintain partnerships and processes essential to meeting one's mandate or sense of purpose in ways that reflect the organization's development principles and values.

Figure 1. Key Areas in OD Capacity Development



Strategies for OD Capacity Development

The OD project employed a combination of strategies to meet the capacity development objectives. A brief description of each is provided below:

Development of OD Fellows System. The OD Fellows was an informal, flexible multi-disciplinary team whose members came from the NGOs, POs, the academic community and other development practitioners. The OD Fellows served as the CBNRM LC's partner in project development and implementation. They contributed significantly as resource persons, participants and mentors in OD learning events. OD fellows engaged in dialogues and served as feedback mechanism for developing, advancing and testing new ideas in OD capacity building.

Research. To have a better appreciation of the existing practices of Organization Development among Philippine civil society organizations, the project conducted a review of literature on OD theory and practice in the country. A follow-up research looked into the dynamics of accountability between NGOs, POs and donor agencies. Case studies on the application of OD were also developed under this component.

OD Trainings & Workshops. To respond to the capacity development needs of CBNRM organizations and practitioners, the provision of trainings, workshops and other mentoring support became a vital strategy of the OD project. Trainings were organized for OD Fellows, PO leaders and senior management staff of NGOs who were part of the CBNRM LC's network and partners. The trainings and workshops provided a venue for OD practitioners and development workers to reflect on and share experiences in the application of OD interventions and engage in animated conversations on the relevance of OD and OD issues among development organizations.

OD courses were conducted on the following themes: Basic OD for NGOs; Basic OD for POs; Appreciative Inquiry; Development Partnerships; Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation; Leadership in OD; Learning Organizations; and Gender in OD. Prior to each course, a process of learning needs analysis was undertaken to determine the specific OD experiences or practice of participants and develop a deeper appreciation of their learning needs and expectations from the workshops. Results of the process served as the bases for formulating the course designs. Each course culminated in the participants' preparation of their personal vision as OD practitioners and leaders, as well as individual and collective plans for making progress towards this vision.

OD Support Services. The project also provided OD support services to NGO and PO partner organizations who requested for such assistance. These included support in organization diagnosis, strategic planning, organizational change management and leadership development. Designed as a follow through to the OD trainings and workshops, the OD support services became an opportunity for mentoring graduates on specific OD activities within their own NGOs and POs.

Documentation/Publication/Library. The project believed that knowledge sharing can be broadened if experiences can be documented and lessons shared to others. Case studies and research reports, workshop proceedings and learning materials were thus developed (in a form appropriate to the intended audience), published and disseminated to project participants and the broader public. Reports were also posted in the website of CBNRM LC. To be more relevant to POs and local organizations, OD learning materials written in the local language (in Filipino and Cebuano) were produced and disseminated to workshop participants and partner organizations.

Events and Celebration. Social movements are not only economic and political in character but are cultural endeavors as well. Celebratory events were organized and undertaken with participating organizations to mark their successes and development in order to build confidence and get re-energized. The OD project culminated in the “OD Dialogues: Learning from the Emergent Future”, a national conference convened in November 2007 to glean and share lessons gained from the three year OD project. The conference featured a combination of cultural activities and conceptual discussions.

Figure 2. Strategies to Meet OD Capacity Development



Evaluating OD Capacity Development

Towards the end of the OD Capacity Development project in 2006, the CBNRM LC conducted an evaluation to determine, describe and critically examine the outcomes, issues and lessons learned from the experience and to identify strengths, weaknesses and areas for improvement of OD capacity development programs.

Methodology

The evaluation was designed as a participatory and learning exercise involving participants from the CBNRM LC, OD fellows and ‘beneficiaries’ of the OD project. As envisioned, the CBNRM LC saw the evaluation to be an opportunity for self-assessment and thoughtfully designed a process that would allow different partners/stakeholders to express their views and perspectives vis-à-vis how they experienced the OD capacity development project.

A purposive sample of respondents was identified using the following criteria: (a) geographical spread (participants should come from Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao); (b) gender equity; (c) diversity of program beneficiaries (relative proportional representation of POs, NGOs, and OD Fellows; and (d) representation of positions within the organization (e.g., leaders vis-à-vis members).

The study benefited from the points of view of a total of 64 respondents chosen on the basis of their involvement in the OD project. In summary, there were 18 OD Fellows, 12 graduates of the OD courses and workshops, 29 members of People’s Organizations and five staff of the CBNRM LC who served as sources of data for the study. Of the total number of research participants, 32 were males and 32 were females. Sixty one percent

of the respondents were from POs, while 39 percent were from NGOs. (Refer to Table 1)

The evaluation study was primarily descriptive and qualitative. Guide questions were developed to explore the following themes: (1) most important community and organizational issues/problems; (2) perceptions of the most significant changes at the personal, organizational and community levels brought about by their participation in the OD project; (3) negative and unanticipated changes, perceived weaknesses; and (4) areas for further improvement in the future.

In the absence of baseline data, the first theme was meant to provide a starting point from which to assess what changes have occurred. The next three themes were used as indicative measures of programme outcomes and impact at different levels.

The evaluation utilized a combination of methods and tools for data collection. It started with a Tracer Study designed as an electronic survey instrument to gather initial information from OD fellows and graduates on the outcomes and impact of the capacity development project. The results of the Tracer Study were then used to design the succeeding data collection methods which included Key Informant Interview, Focus Group Discussion and Case Study Analysis.

The study heavily relied on interviews and FGDs with a selected set of key informants. This was supplemented by the review of existing documents and reports on the OD project. Key informant interviews were conducted with OD Fellows and NGO graduates. Three separate FGDs were conducted involving PO representatives from the provinces of Zambales, Romblon and

Misamis Occidental who have received OD support services and mentoring support from the project. As part of the FGDs, Mind Mapping (Buzan & Buzan, 1994) was used to identify the range of changes/outcomes at the organizational level. Mind mapping proved to be a useful participatory tool as it provided the respondents with a visual aid to organize their thoughts and see the links and relationships of their responses.

Some OD Fellows were asked to prepare Case Studies to document in-depth individual and organizational learnings and applications of the capacities developed in OD. Using the evaluation objectives as guide, the evaluation team organized the information gathered into themes and categories.

Table 1. Distribution of Evaluation Participants per Data Gathering Method

Method	Nature of Respondents	Number of Participants/ Respondents
Tracer Study	OD fellows and NGO graduates	9
	PO graduates	10
	Total	19
Interviews	OD fellows	9
	OD graduates	2
	Total	11
FGD (3x)	PO members and leaders	29
Internal Assessments	Staff of CBNRM LC	5

The Evaluation was conducted by a three-person team from the CBNRM LC who administered the interviews, FGDs and tracer study. The team was supported by staff of partner NGOs and POs who helped organize the logistics of the data gathering field visits. Fieldwork for data gathering was conducted from March to August 2007. Other members of the CBNRM LC contributed in the design, analysis and writing of the evaluation report.

Significant Changes in OD Capacities

The following sections present the key findings of the evaluation following the objectives set in the evaluation design. The section begins with a description of the most significant outcomes and results of the OD capacity development interventions followed by an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the capacity development strategies employed in the project.

In summary, respondents from NGOs and POs who were interviewed for the review cited significant contributions and achievements at two levels, namely personal development of NGO and PO leaders and organizational development of NGOs and POs. It is important to stress that these significant outcomes are principally a result of the partners' collaborative efforts and by no means is there an attempt to attribute such achievements to the CBNRM LC's efforts alone. In contrast, significant changes at the community level were more difficult to attribute directly to project interventions.

Significant Contributions to Personal Development of NGO and PO Leaders

OD Fellows

One of the most notable accomplishments of the OD capacity building project is the formation and nurturance of what is now referred to as the 'OD Fellows' – a pool of individuals coming from NGOs and POs who identify themselves as 'OD practitioners' and are committed to advancing Organization Development as part of their social development orientation.

The OD Fellows function as a Community of Practice (Sharp, 1997; Wenger, 1998) where members share a purposeful concern for the theory and practice of OD as lived by social change organizations. Majority of the OD Fellows are senior NGO/PO managers and leaders who are concerned with the application, adaptation and development of OD processes that strengthen learning, accountability and effectiveness of their own NGOs and POs.

According to the respondents of this evaluation, they regard the OD fellows system as a venue for members to come together and exchange experiences, problems and draw lessons from their OD practice in their respective organizations. One of the perceived benefits of these interactions is the promotion of learning especially since a particular characteristic of the system is that it is composed of people coming from different organizational contexts and fields of development practice. This diversity helped to stimulate individual and collective learning not only in OD but also in other development issues or fields.

Another achievement is the creation of spaces for cooperative engagement among the fellows to work together towards a common goal or project. For example, the OD project's capacity development strategies such as research and publications, trainings and other mentoring services were strongly anchored on the active involvement and leadership of the OD fellows. Given the fellows' different expertise and levels of capacities, this arrangement encouraged the formation of mutually supportive partnerships, as well as coaching and mentoring relationships between 'senior' and 'junior' fellows.

As commonly observed, NGO leaders and managers have a tendency to completely immerse themselves with the day to day concerns of program management and implementation. Respondents shared that their participation in the OD fellows' activities (e.g. preparing for and conducting an OD workshop) allowed them much needed time off to pause and reflect on their own organizational experience and development practice. It also provided a venue for "looking at oneself", challenging one's mindset and developing self-awareness as organizational leaders and managers. This reflective process enabled them to develop deeper awareness and understanding of their own organizations and how they function.

In addition, respondents observed that the OD Fellows system afforded them the opportunity for self development as OD "practitioners" and as development workers. Their participation in the OD workshops whether as resource persons or participants enabled them to sharpen their understanding of OD concepts, learn about new approaches and gain concrete handles on OD-related issues or difficulties faced by their organizations. As one evaluation participant observed: "In the course of reviewing and preparing for specific OD workshops, one gets a better understanding of how OD is done. Even during the workshop design phase, working with the other OD fellows as part of the preparatory committee

facilitated the deepening of my understanding of what OD is all about.” Finally, the team of OD Fellows also serves as a support system to members. Because membership is *informal* and *voluntary*, members are more capable to relate as equals. And because members face common issues as senior leaders and managers of their organizations, they are able to relate on a personal level and create an atmosphere of openness. This openness promotes sharing of problems and experiences, even of a sensitive nature. It also affords an objective view of one’s organization.

OD Graduates

Aside from the OD Fellows, the OD capacity building project also provided training and mentoring support to other NGO and PO leaders. ‘Graduates’ of the OD workshops/courses cited a number of outcomes at the individual/personal level such as broadening their perspectives on leadership and gaining self-confidence as a leader, ‘increased appreciation of the importance of learning in our CBCRM work’ and ‘learning to better appreciate our organization’s accomplishments rather than focusing on our problems’.

In addition, participants also cited gaining increased self-knowledge/awareness which translated to increased ability to exercise self-control, getting affirmation and deepening dedication to their organization’s purpose and mandate, and renewal of alignment between personal and organizational values and beliefs.

Another common theme that emerged especially among PO graduates is enhanced leadership abilities as manifested in the following changes cited by the respondents: they became less timid or shy; enhanced skills in relating with people; developed openness to listen to opinions with

and greater understanding of others; and greater appreciation of the value and role of members in their organization.

In general, majority of participants found the OD workshops to be highly thought-provoking, enriching and inspiring. Some expressed initial difficulty in grappling with the shift in paradigm for viewing their organizations (i.e., from looking at organizations as machines to understanding organizations as living systems) and in the implications of such shift to OD processes and interventions. Participants appreciated the fact that they were able to share and articulate diverse views on concepts and principles that have now been taken for granted by social change agents (e.g. community-based approach, accountability, participatory monitoring and evaluation, leadership and leadership development). Moreover, participants were able to share and deepen their understanding of how complex development principles, contexts and strategies have changed and how these changes affect the individuals, the organizations and the communities.

OD Fellows and graduates observed that one of the most significant change brought about by the capacity development project is that it has demystified OD. From an initial view of “OD as something that experts and external facilitators do”, they realized that OD is a role inherent to being a leader and development practitioner. However, not everyone is fully conscious of this role and is therefore less mindful of how they can develop their OD competencies. The manner in which the OD capacity development project was conducted allowed the participants to recognize their organic OD practice and instinct as NGO and PO leaders. According to participants, the OD workshops provided them much-needed space to take stock of their learnings from their decades of development practice and relate these with emerging concepts, principles and tools in the application of OD among organizations committed to social change. As NGO and PO

leaders, they have become more appreciative of OD processes such as organizational learning, negotiation and conflict management, human resources development and performance management and accountability mechanisms.

The participants highly valued the relatively flexible schedules which characterized the workshops. They recognized that the flexibility allowed each participant to share and learn from others. PO participants considered as empowering this unhurried process to recognize, label and express one's experiences and opinions. Although there was clamor to increase the number of workshop participants, it was also recognized that a large number of participants would make it impossible for everyone to engage meaningfully in workshops.

Significant Contributions at the Organization Level

OD fellows whose NGOs were undergoing OD processes such as strategic planning during the time of the interviews observed that the concepts and tools from the OD capacity-building activities proved to be immediately useful. An example cited was the adoption of change and complexity perspectives in one NGO's contingency planning as part of its disaster risk management program.

From the Tracer Study conducted as part of this evaluation, the following were identified by the respondents as significant learnings from capacity-building activities of the OD project:

Learnings in OD	Applications in the Organization
Organizational assessment	Informed strategic planning
Individual, team and system-wide OD interventions	Adoption of comprehensive staff development plan
Appreciative inquiry	New perspectives in organizational assessment
Change Management	Addressing transitions and changes in Leadership
PME	Program assessments

But even as respondents found the introduction of new tools and frameworks useful, majority considered the changes that have occurred in their perspectives and attitudes on organizations and organization development to be the more significant gains. As explained by one NGO respondent: *“Tools are useful to have but have to be treated only as templates. I consider learning about the participatory OD process (learning/looking at the whys) more important. What it actually takes to design, develop and undertake OD and what values are really important. I also realized the importance of developing partners within who could sustain the change efforts because we as leaders will not be there at all times.”*

According to respondents, they found immediate opportunities for applying their learnings on OD such as OD fellows who applied their learnings to urgent organizational concerns such as the conduct of organizational assessments and the development of local OD teams/trainers that are tasked with mentoring other organizations. This is pronounced in organizations that planned OD-related activities after the OD workshops. In this sense a multiplier effect is put in motion; from a limited group of individuals who have attended the OD capacity development activities, more OD “practitioners” have been developed on the ground. A re-echoing of

learnings served as the primary mechanism for sharing OD learnings such as conducting similar OD trainings at the PO level.

Participants also cited several areas where specific OD initiatives were undertaken to effect organization-level changes among community-based organizations and/or NGOs. These included review of organizational systems, conduct of strategic planning to develop longer-term institutional plans, review of staff development programs, and strengthening of governance mechanisms which included regularization of board meetings.

From these actions, respondents observed significant changes in their organizations' practices. For some, this translates to developing institutional thinking in assessment and planning processes, e.g., thinking beyond specific projects or programs. This represents a significant change in terms of organizational thinking given the emerging trend of changing donor priorities which in turn translates to dwindling external support and limited funding opportunities for smaller NGOs and POs. Confronted with these new trends, NGOs and POs were challenged to develop further a culture of deliberate or conscious learning in order to recognize and take advantage of new opportunities, overcome threats and maintain organizational effectiveness in meeting their development goals.

A heightened awareness of organizational dynamics/relationships is cited as a result of learnings from the OD project. This is seen as a significant departure from dominant output-oriented approaches to NGO management. The Appreciative Inquiry approach to understanding organizations was cited as useful in conducting organizational assessments and in dealing with relationship issues (i.e., looking at the strengths of staff instead of focusing on their weaknesses).

Comments from SIKAT and PARASAMAZA:

As part of the OD project, the CBNRM LC participated in the strategic planning workshop conducted by SIKAT, a service NGO for PARASAMAZA (Pampangisdaang Adhikain para sa Reporma ng mga Mangingisda ng Zambales), its partner provincial fisherfolk federation in Zambales. The workshop was facilitated by the OD Team of PARASAMAZA, some of whom were graduates of the OD workshops. The strategic planning came at a critical point, with the impending phase-out of SIKAT from their areas in Zambales. OD was previously regarded as a highly technical process, *“mga NGO lang ang gumagawa”*. With this experience, SIKAT came to realize that even the POs can do it themselves (*“Kaya pala ng PO”*).

The strategic plan continues to guide the PARASAMAZA federation in its work. In the words of the SIKAT staff, *“... there is always a plan that you can refer to which addresses the sustainability of the organization”* (*“mayroong binabalikang plano na ina-address ang sustainability ng samahan”*).

Based on the responses of PO representatives, new learnings gained on OD were translated to changes in attitudes and perspectives of members and leaders, and improved organizational practices such as:

- Stimulating openness among PO leaders to their right in relating with other NGOs, the barangay and local government units (*“Binuksan ang kaisipan naming mga lider na may karapatan pala kaming lumapit sa ibang NGO, sa barangay, sa LGU”*);
- Looking beyond the self, the organization and community to explore other possibilities to what we can still contribute (*“Hindi lang panloob ng organisasyon ang titingnan natin kung hindi pati sa labas kung ano ang pwede nating gawin”*);

- Openness and broadening of views of leaders (*“Nabuksan at napalawak ang kaisipan ng mga lider”*);
- The importance of planning in an organization and how to develop project proposals by putting together good organizational plans (*“Paano gumawa ng plano, at pwede rin palang gumawa ng isang proposal kung pag-isahin ang mga plano”*);
- Greater appreciation of members of their role in the organization (*“Pagpapahalaga ng mga kasapi sa kanilang tungkulin sa samahan”*);
- Instilling initiative among leaders (*“Pagpapalalim ng sariling kusa bilang mga lider”*);
- Importance of developing the core competencies that are required based on the organization’s mandate (*“Kahalagahan na maging epektibo sa mga nakatakdang gawin ng samahan gaya ng sa resource management at alternatibong kabuhayan*); and
- Importance of periodic assessment and review of projects and programs vis-à-vis one’s strategic plan (*“Kahalagahan ng pana-panahong pagbabalik-tanaw sa mga gawain at programa batay sa pangkabuuang layunin ng samahan”*).

Among POs, the significant changes in organizational practices appear to be in the areas of reaffirmation of their organizational mandate and developing strategic leadership, and valuing internal OD processes and preparing POs for eventual autonomy.

Reaffirming mandate and strategic leadership. POs cited the reaffirmation of their organizational mandate as one of the most significant gains of their OD activities. This is expressed in terms of developing a heightened sense of responsibility among leaders and members which is reinforced with the affirmation of rights and responsibilities as citizens.

POs observed that their OD related processes stimulated much-needed reflection and review of their organization, the work it is doing and its future directions. These reflections served to clarify organizational direction and strategy. This has led some organizations to either expand or prioritize their work. In the case of KAPAMILYA (*Karagatan Aalagaan ng Pederasyon ng Alyansa ng Mangingisda na Itataguyod ang Likas Yaman at Agrikultura*), a fisher federation in Romblon, their strategic planning process convinced them to expand their work from an initial focus on CRM advocacy to including community livelihood services such as provision of technical support for enterprise development. Expanding organizational strategies is important for POs to address issues of sustaining the organization in the context of partner NGOs phasing out of their communities. On the other hand, SAMAPP (*Samahan ng Maliliit na Mangingisda ng Puerto Prinsesa*), a PO federation in Puerto Princesa, Palawan, had a different experience. The review of their organization's vision, mission and goals (VMG) that was conducted as part of their strategic planning prompted the decision to re-focus on advocacy for resource management and let go of their other programs such as livelihood development. Such decision was reached to ensure organizational effectiveness.

But whether they decide to expand or re-focus, POs have to deal with the eventuality of having to make it on their own, with or without their partner NGOs. In facing this challenge, OD becomes useful in helping organizations look for emerging trends and patterns in its external

environment, assess its core competencies, and identify the most appropriate ways of organizing its people, system, structure and programs vis-à-vis its strategic purpose or intent as an organization.

Valuing OD within the organization and preparing for PO Autonomy.

POs were confronted with having to take on new and often unfamiliar roles as a result of their NGO partners either totally phasing out or gradually reducing operations in their communities. One of the more tangible results of OD activities conducted with POs is the development of an internalized culture that values OD and the formation of local OD teams. For PARASAMAZA, these OD teams assist member POs to resolve organizational problems (i.e., structure and functioning of officers) or serve as conduits to the federation leadership. In Romblon, KAPAMILYA's OD teams function as "evaluators" of member PO organizations to identify capacity development needs of their member POs. In the context of changing relations brought about by the phase out of NGOs or reducing operational support to POs, this could indicate the growing importance placed on OD to prepare organizations to stand on their own. Notably, PARASAMAZA's OD activities contributed to developing a perspective of looking at other options/ways to pursue its mandate given current limitations in resources.

Impact on CBNRM at the Community Level

One of the evaluation questions was whether the OD capacity development has direct impacts on CBNRM practices and policies at the community level. However, this proved to be more difficult to ascertain given the nature of the OD project itself and the multiple actors and development initiatives involved in CBNRM work in general.

However, respondents recognized that the OD capacities they have built contributed significantly to strengthening their organizations' effectiveness in pursuing CBNRM. Most notable perhaps is the increased appreciation of the importance of actively engaging with the local government units (LGUs) which led to improved relationship with the LGU officials in their communities. In addition, they also cited other significant accomplishments of their organizations. These include mobilizing residents in fisheries resource management activities (e.g. in participatory resource assessment, resource management planning, establishment of Marine Protected Areas, mangrove reforestation and evaluation of activities), creation of supplementary livelihoods, networking, regular patrolling of local volunteer fish wardens, disaster management planning, lobbying and other advocacy work. These in turn contributed to better fish catch, resurgence of fish species and more responsive local policies.

Undoubtedly, these impacts cannot be solely attributed to OD capacity development project alone and instead should be recognised as a result of collaborative and complementary efforts among various organizations, projects and individuals at different levels.

Enhancing OD Capacity Development through Monitoring and Evaluation Practice

An important feature of the OD Capacity Development project is the internal participatory monitoring and evaluation (PME) system developed from the very beginning of the project design. This PME system included, among others, the consistent use of participants' needs assessments to aid

the design of trainings and other learning events, the conduct of formative assessments and evaluations at the end of each training or workshop, the frequent and periodic reviews of activities by the project staff, and the conduct of annual review and reporting to donors and other project stakeholders to take stock of achievements, analyze and synthesize issues and lessons relevant to the project's effectiveness, learning and accountability.

The project's PME system helped the CBNRM LC to identify and address major areas for change and innovation in order to make the capacity development project more effective in meeting the needs and conditions of the project participants. These internal formative assessments were able to address necessary changes in three important areas – direction, content and process.

The OD research confirmed the fact that current OD frameworks and perspectives are highly influenced by literature, ideas and methods from developed countries and from corporate or international organizations. More importantly, there was a culture built wherein OD was expert-driven, formal, and heavily resource dependent. To address this, CBNRM LC took serious efforts to adapt these materials to fit the local context of NGOs and POs, as well as to develop materials on OD experiences of local organizations. To address the language barrier, materials were translated to Cebuano and Filipino to make them more accessible to non-English speaking practitioners.

The research also revealed the marginalization of organizations based outside Metro Manila in terms of access to OD services. The lack of OD practitioners from the regions led to the concentration of OD services in Manila. Hence, the project deliberately targeted organizations based in Visayas and Mindanao by conducting a regional workshop and by conscientiously recruiting Cebuano-speaking OD Fellows.

In terms of the OD workshops, from an initial design of holding mixed-workshops, POs were separated from NGOs in the succeeding workshops to address their needs and expectations better. PO workshops were designed heavily around practical concerns (i.e. know-whats and know-hows). On the other hand, NGO workshops focused more on the know-whys.

Instead of promoting specific OD tools, the workshops focused on generating insights and in critiquing the appropriateness of these tools. While this resonated soundly with the needs of graduates, there was also a clamor for practical OD tools. For example, a learning activity was done on the LOGFRAME (Logical Framework), a common OD tool imposed by funding agencies and subscribed to by NGOs and POs. Hence, a menu of tools was provided in the training kits and learning materials. The OD support services allowed PO participants to be mentored by OD Fellows not only on the use but also in the designing of OD tools. Despite this, graduates still saw the need to further incorporate the discussions on specific tools in the designs.

Weaknesses and Areas for Improvement

The evaluation also identified the following gaps and challenges that need to be taken into consideration in order to improve further its effectiveness and impact.

OD Fellows. While the respondents confirmed the relevance of the OD fellows, the loose and informal nature of its membership have some negative impact on its effectiveness and sustainability.

As mentioned above, membership and participation in the OD fellows system is voluntary and driven by the individual desire for

learning and in recognition of individual fellows' capacities, skills, knowledge and experience. This has impact on the fellows' conception of how they are accountable to the CBNRM LC and the Fellows pool. The OD Fellows have different perspectives on this issue. Some fellows prefer to emphasize the absence of formal mechanisms to exact accountability and consider this a weakness. Other fellows hold the view that in lieu of formal systems and mechanisms, accountability is motivated by moral commitment and a sense of obligation on the part of the fellows. Thus, as one fellow puts it, it is not for the CBNRM LC to demand fellows to be active, it is for the fellows to be sensitive and live up to their moral obligation.

The voluntary nature of the fellows and the perceived lack of clear plans in turn have impact on the performance of the fellows system. To some, the full potential of the fellows system as a Community of Practice (CoP) is yet to be realized. This unrealized potential is attributed to the observation that presently, the venues for interaction are still limited and occur mainly in specific activities such as during OD trainings. Thus a regularity of interaction, seen crucial in a CoP, is lacking.

The irregularity and lack of venues for interaction and lack of clear plans also impact on the continuity of learning, both for the fellows and their implicit "clients". This brings to the fore the question as to the workability of the objective of mentoring and coaching as follow-up/ complementary activities of trainings.

It has also been observed that so far, there is a "shallow bench" or limited number of fellows who participate in OD activities. They would like to see more fellows being tapped as resource persons and mentors, not only to "spread the work" but also to make OD more accessible especially to organizations outside of Metro Manila.

While capable of transcending time and geographic limitations, the e-group/electronic media, intended as a venue for regular, albeit virtual interaction still also needs to be maximized and appreciated. This stems from the observation that interactions in the e-group has so far only served as a virtual bulletin board and that exchange is intermittent and slow. The limited content and slow exchange is in turn attributed to the issues of access to internet and equipment, time and to cultural factors. While virtual exchange can be useful and efficient in certain situations, fellows hypothesize that people still prefer personal interactions.

Need for Follow-up Trainings. Some POs like PARASAMAZA in Zambales have already set up mechanisms to “institutionalize” OD, such as setting up local OD teams which are venues for the OD graduates to apply their learning. While local OD capacity-building activities were designed by the PO and their partner NGO to develop more OD practitioners on the ground, the level of internalization and appreciation of the participants still vary. All the PO respondents to this evaluation point to the need for follow-up activities done at the local level, in order to develop more OD “practitioners” among their ranks. This could actually be an opportunity to address the observation that there are limited opportunities to practice OD skills. As such, mentoring could come in the form of fellows assisting fellows from other organizations in their OD work.

OD Fellows Participation. While the fellows’ contribution to OD support is commendable, in some cases, participants noted a “mismatch” between resource persons and the needs of the requesting PO. This issue is pronounced in cases where the fellow/resource person comes from a different sector than the PO. While this may be an isolated case, this can be connected to the “shallow bench” (i.e. too few fellows to respond to the increasing number of requests for OD support). As such the need to develop more OD fellows to respond to the needs of POs is highlighted.

Fellows (and CBNRM LC staff as well) should also be better prepared for such engagements in terms of getting a grasp of the organization and its context beforehand. Participants also suggest having a mix of local resource persons/facilitators and “outsiders” in order to have new learnings and at the same time ensure that the facilitation is “grounded” on the realities of the organization.

Learning Materials. The project has developed a modular series of materials on OD called the *Tuklas Dunong* series which POs and NGOs find immediately useful in the conduct of local OD trainings. However, copies are limited. It may be worthwhile to note that POs are requesting for more copies so as to have reference material readily available.

Balancing spread and focus. The difficulty in tracking the project’s impact or end-of the-chain changes can be due in part to the strategy of targeting a wide range of individuals and organizations instead of concentrating on a few. This can be seen as appropriate during the initial stage since there was a need to demystify OD and increase the level of appreciation of OD among many development practitioners as possible.

In the future, however, a follow-up to the project could be to target specific organizations for OD capacity development. Aside from being able to customize the capacity development program to each organization and tracking the development and impact of the program, such a strategy will build a “critical mass” of learning-oriented OD thinkers and practitioners in the organization. It would be expected that such a “critical mass” would more effectively facilitate change management within organizations and with their partner institutions.

Reflections on the Evaluation Process

The use of multiple methods in this evaluation study can be considered as a strength in itself. Since each method has its unique strength and limitation, the combination of methods complemented and supplemented each other. That the OD project had a functional PME system was also an advantage to the evaluation since it provided on-time tracking of the progress of the project.

The electronic tracer study was useful in providing baseline data on the whereabouts of the participants to the different OD activities, what they have learned and how they have applied those learnings. Although the number of respondents in the tracer study was far from the ideal number, the electronic tracer study was an inexpensive means to gather preliminary information from the project participants who are mostly based outside Metro Manila. However, the tracer study included too many questions, which in hindsight, went beyond the intended objective of just conducting a scoping exercise. While some of the responses already provided key insights on the outcomes of the OD project, the length of the questionnaire may have also discouraged the other respondents to answer.

The case studies provided more in-depth understanding of the context and changes in capacities of individuals and organizations. Changes in individuals and organizations became more evident with the highly personal nature of the case studies used. In addition, the case studies facilitated the reflection and self-evaluation process of case study writers. Because learning was a principle shared in the preparation of the case studies, the OD fellows were observed to be more open and comfortable in sharing sensitive realities and changes in perspectives and attitudes. This allowed the case studies to provide

a more “human face” and a more nuanced view of the actual OD experiences.

The flexible execution of the face to face open-ended interviews allowed space for the interviewers to ask follow-up questions. It also allowed the interviewees to tell their stories in a relaxed and non-threatening manner.

The use of mind mapping as part of the FGDs facilitated participation as it helped organize the thoughts of the participants and capture non-linear and complex group analysis. This in a way aided in identifying non-linear changes in individuals and organizations. From experience, mind mapping was more effective when used with smaller groups.

The Importance of Learning Organizations

From the evaluation, it is evident that the OD project can be described as a relevant and effective project that has demonstrated significant outcomes at different levels. These achievements gain more prominence given the relatively short project duration of three years. The active engagement of a diverse set of NGO and PO partners, the flexibility and diversity of capacity development strategies utilized and the highly collaborative approach to project implementation can be considered as key contributory factors to its significant achievements.

Over-all, what can be considered as the OD project’s most significant contribution is the promotion of NGOs and POs as learning organizations. Taylor (1998) defines the learning

organization in this manner: “the organization which builds and improves its own practice by consciously and continually devising and developing the means to draw learning from its own (and other’s) experience”. This definition underscores four critical elements, namely: (1) conscious intent and commitment to the process of learning; (2) the purpose of learning is to improve practice; (3) learning has to happen continuously; and (4) emphasis on experience as the source of learning (Taylor, 1998, pp.1-2). At the core of the learning organization is the individual – the basic unit of learning in the organization. Organizations learn through individuals who learn.

This concept of ‘learning organization’ is particularly important to NGOs and POs given their unique social aims, the absence of reliable ‘blueprints’ to follow and the growing trend of dynamic complexity around the world. Being perennially faced with limited and declining resources, NGOs and POs now more than ever are challenged to generate truly creative and innovative learning in order to address societal problems, improve its impact and exert influence on a broader movement for social change.

Individuals within learning organizations such as NGOs and POs are learning all the time from a variety of sources and using a variety of ways. However, learning may often take place at an unconscious level and may not be captured and shared more consciously to improve future practice. The OD project has demonstrated that the recognition of existing practices of where and how learning takes place and the promotion of foundational attitudes and dispositions for learning within organizations need to be supported. Important attitudes and dispositions include the following:

- Taking personal responsibility and individual accountability for one's learning, growth and development;
- Sense of purpose – being connected to something higher and that there is meaning and purpose larger than oneself;
- Humility – awareness of one's ignorance, incompetence and disabilities;
- Capacity to ask fundamental “why/why not” questions;
- Courage – to say the ‘unsayable’, to challenge the ‘art’ of not knowing;
- Taking comfort with discomfort, discontent and self-doubt;
- Independence - Ability to stand against the crowd and maintain one's own convictions; and
- Tenacity or the ability to thrive creatively in tensions and conflicts.

Conclusion

This final section tries to highlight important insights derived from taking part in the implementation of the OD project and looking at the evaluation results.

On the Nature of OD. Organization Development is like a pane of glass that is both a **window** and a **mirror**. As a window, OD forces our organizations to look out to the external world and keeps us constantly grounded within that evolving world. As a mirror, OD shows us a reflection of our own world and our interaction with the outside world. It allows us to draw images that relate these two worlds.

OD is more than the sum of its parts. Development organizations, the external world that it is a part of and development practitioners and leaders are in themselves complex and dynamic. The interaction of these elements in the process called OD makes the whole even more complex and dynamic.

OD as 'lived' experience. OD thrives in multiple realities and holds many contradictions and tensions. While there may be models or tools, each OD experience is unique. Our own store of past experience, many failures and disappointments, and inspiring successes need to be recognized as repositories of knowledge and materials for learning on OD. We have seen the merits of carefully choosing wholistic OD approaches or strategies that address multiple realities and tensions. Similarly, wholistic and integrated organizational assessment is key to coming up with appropriate OD interventions.

The primacy of learning and self-transformation. As facilitators within organizations, OD practitioners need to engage in relentless self-critical reflection, connect with others, and make our language and meaning accessible and useful to our communities. We need to continually **broaden our spheres of influence** – within our organizations, with communities, other NGOs, within alliances, with governance institutions and other important stakeholders.

OD and Development Practice. Every OD effort should itself contribute to the capacity development and ultimately to increasing learning, effectiveness, accountability and performance of development organizations and professionals. The practice of OD needs to be grounded on our development principles, values and vision. The ultimate role of development-oriented NGOs and POs is to transform unequal power relations and work against the forces that increasingly marginalize, exclude and impoverish vast members of our global community. Participation, diversity, negotiation, responsibility and responsible well-being need to guide and inspire both our development and OD practices.

Note:

¹ Established in 1995 as the CBCRM Resource Center, the CBNRM LC's thrust is to facilitate the development of a learning community of development workers, researchers, practitioners and advocates in order to continuously evolve and promote the theory and practice of CBCRM in the Philippines and Southeast Asia.

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TEACHING-LEARNING METHODS IN FIELDWORK SUPERVISION: Lessons from the Field Instruction Program of the UP CSWCD Department of Community Development

Ma. Theresa V. Tungpalan

This is a practice-based study focusing on the experiences of the UP-CSWCD Department of Community Development on fieldwork supervision. It puts together experiences, reflections, lessons and challenges of supervising CD students in varied community settings. Analysis and synthesis are intertwined processes. Using reflexive research approaches, the paper presents teaching-learning methods relevant to fieldwork supervision in a popular format for easy recall. Three emerging characters are described: supervisor-mentor, supervisor-nurturer, and teacher-activist. This means that fieldwork supervision goes beyond teaching-mentoring. It becomes part of one's advocacy and service commitment to pro-poor development agenda.

Context and Scope

For more than 3 decades, both the graduate and undergraduate curricula of the Department of Community Development (DCD) have given importance to community-based practicum courses. Students are fielded in rural and urban areas as part of their degree programs. Primacy is accorded

to development praxis, enriching theoretical perspectives with field-based learning. The Department's Field Instruction Program (FIP) has undergone changes in terms of focus and policies in response to the dynamic character of the discipline. But it has remained as a core area of study – where faculty and students jointly apply and validate CD concepts and processes in partnership with communities and support groups.

Beyond academic concerns, however, “commitment” and “service” also play significant guideposts in pursuing fieldwork. The Department and individual faculty members view fieldwork not as a mere academic requirement but an opportunity to put into practice our collective commitment to a pro-poor development agenda that is “participatory, gender-responsive and environment-friendly” and rights-based. Service is redefined in the context of an empowering process: increased access not mere service delivery; needs-based rather than program-based; community-managed not top-down.

Through the Department's FIP, the students' classrooms expand to the poor urban settlements and countryside barangays. Even before other social science disciplines have embarked on their own field exposures and the mandatory National Service Training Program (NSTP) community work, our students have been tasked to live and learn from the people for two semesters for undergraduate students or at least one semester or summer for graduate students as part of their academic program.

Fieldwork Supervision for the DCD-FIP is part of teaching. Where the students are, the teachers are there, too. How else can effective teaching be done if not in the actual arena of development work. Supervision is a team effort among the assigned faculty (faculty supervisor) and partner agency (agency supervisor) or community (community leader-supervisor). It is complex and multifaceted; at best, it is very challenging and life-

changing. The DCD Fieldwork Manual (a serious attempt to systematize current practices) was drafted about five years ago, but has not been finalized due mainly to its changing content and scope. Much of what fieldwork supervision is today evolved from many years of experience and involvement of the faculty as well as the demands of the field areas. Moreover, there are changes in character and composition of fieldwork students. Thirty years ago, UP students were a different breed. Today, a new generation of students is doing their fieldwork – with their brand of activism, different career options and new lifestyle.

This paper on fieldwork supervision is long overdue. It aims to put together reflections, lessons and challenges from the point of view of the fieldwork supervisors. It is meant to surface significant experiences and contribute to better teaching strategies. Hopefully, it can generate further discussion on how to improve fieldwork and how best to pursue commitment and service even in the context of academic programs.

Fieldwork as an academic course

Community Development is a practice-based discipline. It has undergone rethinking and redefinition through the years. From its counter-insurgency character in the 1950s, it has reinvented itself and emerged as a potent vehicle in attaining people's empowerment and social transformation. The UP College of Social Work and Community Development has chosen the "road less traveled"- learning from the masses and accompanying them in their struggles. Its different academic programs, including course offerings of the Department of Community Development, emphasize service learning – where students and faculty members learn together by engaging in community services.

Fieldwork is regarded as an integral component of the curricula. Luna (2005) traced the growth of Community Development as an academic discipline. He noted that the Department's FIP contributed to the growing indigenization of the discipline. As experienced in many communities, CO-CD (community organizing- community development) proved to be a vital strategy in people-oriented development. Community Development practice continues to pose greater challenges:

“Community Development deals with growth and sustenance, conflict resolution, rehabilitation and transformation of marginalized communities through people's participation and collective actions to ensure the holistic well being of the people.”
(Luna, 2005)

The Department's FIP Guidelines outline the scope of fieldwork. Students undergo service learning and are expected to attain the following:

1. To relate theory to practice and evolve theory from practice;
2. To develop critical awareness regarding the economic, political and socio-cultural conditions;
3. To integrate and identify with the people being served;
4. To acquire/refine appropriate skills and techniques for CD work;
and
5. To develop/enhance commitment to the creation of a just society.

In the process of completing their degrees, students (with guidance from the field supervisors) validate and critique their classroom learning by actually engaging in helping partnerships with poor communities. Learning content expands to real-life issues and problems.

Service Learning

There are many books and write-ups about supervision; fieldwork supervision however is not about corporate nor bureaucratic settings. It involves teacher-student relationship, or more precisely a community classroom set-up.

Fieldwork supervision is not unique to Community Development practice. Its broader meaning is anchored to service learning. In this context, classroom learning runs parallel to forging service partnerships with particular groups and communities. The concepts and methods of education for conscientization (Freire, 1972), development education (Luna, 2005; Tungpalan, 1991) and “teaching social change” (Zinberg, 1976) provide the context of operationalizing service learning.

Education for conscientization

Paulo Freire (1972) defined two contrasting learning approaches: banking and liberating education. The CD Department’s practice of fieldwork supervision approximates the liberating or problem-posing approach where teachers and students become co-learners, critical thinking is developed, and decisions are based on collective wisdom and shared responsibilities. Conscientization, organization building, mobilization and advocacy are interwoven with the teaching-learning process.

Development education

Education work involves political decisions and more importantly development education is pro-poor. It is derived from

the practice of liberating education and popular education in different poor communities. It aims to redirect education work to generate access and opportunities to marginalized sectors and groups, build people's capacities, and engage people in collective analysis and action. Thus, education work must be participatory and empowering. In our fieldwork, this educational approach is practiced not only among students and supervisors, but also among our partner organizations and communities.

Teaching social change

How do we teach our students to be advocates of social change? Getting a passing grade in fieldwork is not just mere compliance to academic requirements. One has to have the mind and heart to pursue working with poor people. In addition to classroom-based preparation on development principles and strategies, the students (as well as the faculty) must “walk their talk”. Thus, students and supervisors engage in community work not in a learning laboratory but in real-life community settings - sharing the lived experiences of peasants, workers, urban poor, indigenous groups, women, elderly, persons with disabilities, youth and children. Community work is complex, less structured and very demanding. It involves practice-based and commitment-building learning activities. The fieldwork curriculum content is defined by the community needs and capacities; and its methods of work are anchored on *pakikipamuhay* (community integration) and *pakikipagkapwa-tao* (interpersonal relations). The greatest challenge, however, is how to nurture and inspire people's capacities to help themselves and generate broader and substantial changes in their lives.

Teacher-Supervisor

L. dela Cruz (2004) proposes parameters for fieldwork supervision. She defines field supervision as the

“process of providing timely, adequate and relevant guidance and support to students necessary to ensure that learning goals are achieved.”

There is no recipe of supervision functions. The demands and challenges of the area-specific situation provide the context on how this is operationalized. Regular field visits are expected of field supervisors: at least weekly for urban areas and bi-monthly for rural areas. Actual frequency, however, is influenced by distance of the field area, available resources, field activities and other considerations, including capacities of students and partner agencies, and presence of safety threats, conflicts and emergency situations.

At the minimum, field supervisors are tasked with the following:

- facilitate team discussions and reflection/synthesis sessions;
- provide psycho-social interventions;
- observe and assess students' behavior/performance;
- troubleshoot 'problematic' situations; and
- extend assistance in community activities. (dela Cruz, 2004)

Field supervision involves multiple tasks. The faculty supervisor cannot be in the field site all the time. Thus, partner groups provide support functions related to students' field placement. Four types of supervisors have emerged in recent years: faculty supervisor, agency supervisor, community facilitator and peer facilitator.

The FIP Guidelines outline the roles of the faculty supervisor and the agency supervisor. The faculty supervisor is mainly responsible for providing guidance and direction to the students' learning process, and acts as mediator between students and partner agency/community. The agency supervisor, on the other hand, facilitates the students' area-based operations, and coordinates logistical needs for community activities.

Case studies on students' field placements (CSWCD Journal, 2004) underscore the important role of community leaders who act as supervisor-facilitator for the students' fieldwork. They take the lead in community activities, as well as act as surrogate family for the students. Students acknowledge the community facilitators' significant influence to their own (students') learning process.

Team building is a critical factor in ensuring students' maximum performance. As a team, each student is responsible for one's self as much as the whole team. They are encouraged to establish effective learning and working relationship for three reasons: to facilitate group tasks; to ensure quality assistance for partner communities; and to nurture each other's personal development. Peer 'supervision' is practiced; either individuals emerge as lead facilitators or leadership is assumed on a rotation basis by group members.

Synthesizing fieldwork experiences

This paper veers away from the usual academic paper. It does not have a clearly defined hypothesis nor proposition, much less a structured research methodology; even the framework has an evolving character. It is a work in progress. It is an attempt at synthesizing field experiences as part of theory building. From the narratives and shared experiences of different people, themes and lessons are derived. By giving a voice (through this paper) to thoughts and feelings, these are

subjected to critique, affirmation and validation by a wider audience. Even the language used and manner of presentation are influenced by popular education principles.

Analysis and synthesis of field experiences are intertwined processes. Analysis involves breaking down the information. Synthesis means putting them together into a coherent whole. Four interrelated research approaches guided this paper: grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), reflexive methodology (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000), interactive learning (Alcoff & Potter, 1993; Tungpalan, 1997) and “being there” (Weiss, 1972).

Grounded theory

Grounded theory means deriving concepts and principles through analysis of patterns and themes from field data sets. This, however, does not imply negating existing knowledge base. Its inductive character aims to contribute and enrich current theories, or refute certain ideas, or even lead to redefining and discovering specific phenomena.

Reflexive methodology

Reflexive research is influenced by grounded theory and feminist research. It legitimizes practice as a source of knowledge. From one's own lived experiences, the “conscientious” researcher reflects, interprets, critiques and synthesizes the lessons derived from practice. It begins with some theoretical grounding as basis for interpretation and reflection. Then it moves forward to a deeper understanding of field experiences. An emerging method is “autoethnography” (McIlveen, 2008) that gives recognition to autobiographical account as a significant data source.

Interactive learning

Interactive learning as a research methodology is derived from feminist research practice, particularly from feminist oral history and group methods. Knowledge generation is pursued alongside group interaction. There is sharing of experiences through dialogue. And this process results to group reflection, deeper analysis, and unified perspective. As applied to fieldwork, this means data generation occurs parallel to group interaction and learning among different groups, namely students, supervisors, partner organizations and key community leaders.

“Being there”

In doing program evaluation research with community groups, Weiss (1972) identified “being there” as a very powerful research technique. Most research methods gather important information. But certain field processes, relationships and settings are quite complex to be reduced to mere data sets or summary reports. The researcher’s presence and involvement in the phenomena under study provide the empirical and subjective perspectives to get more meaning from actual practice.

Reflections: Making a difference through fieldwork

“A supervisor is a counselor;
Someone who enables others
To solve their problems and
Become self-reliant.” (Hope & Timmel,
1995)

What have we learned from years of supervising students' fieldwork? Much of what are considered good practices on field supervision today evolved from self-reflections and group sharing among field supervisors.

The following listing is an initial attempt to synthesize significant teaching-learning methods in field supervision. While it is an alphabetical listing, it does not mean that the tasks have to be followed in such order. Sources of information include the following: survey data from faculty supervisors; group sharing; fieldwork assessments; students' feedback; fieldwork papers; and field observations.

Practitioners and students are encouraged to add and refine the list of teaching-learning methods in fieldwork. "Methods" as used here include the learning activities and tools used by the supervisor and those which the students undergo. Most of these activities are done simultaneously in practice. Some activities also tend to overlap.

A - Assessment

Periodic assessment is a must in the entire fieldwork process. What happened? What are the strengths and weaknesses? Did we accomplish our objectives? What is the extent and quality of group participation? What problems surfaced and how were these resolved? What lessons and insights have we learned? What are our recommendations? What are our future actions? These are some of the questions that must be answered collectively by the fieldwork team. There are also several levels of assessment: with the community, with partners, among field students, between supervisor and students, fieldwork committee and at the department level.

Advocacy

The advocacy agenda of the college focuses on pro-poor development through participatory, gender-responsive, environment-friendly and rights-based approaches in the context of people's empowerment and social transformation. Fieldwork supervision is anchored on this basic tenet, both in terms of content and methods. Specific field area concerns are analyzed in the context of the larger national and global development issues. Supervisors and students get involved in advocacy issues in varying degrees. Inputs and processing of experiences aim to develop among students critical perspectives as well as appropriate technical and people skills. Service commitment is nurtured in the process.

Personal involvement and advocacy concerns of faculty supervisors also influence field area assignments. Faculty members who have linkages or interest in specific programs of partner agencies and communities are assigned as supervisors. This facilitates smooth working partnership as well as serves the mutual interest of partners and fieldwork team.

B - Bonding

Learning can also be fun. Aside from the usual serious academic content of field supervision, interpersonal relations between supervisors and students, and among students, are enhanced through "bonding" sessions. These are informal and unstructured activities that foster rapport, mutual trust and friendship. Personal experiences, stories, jokes, music, laughter, pain, problems, doubts, aspirations and even food are shared by the group. Bonding sessions form the foundation for support group building.

C - Consultations

There are varied venues for consultations: formal vs. informal, with students or with partners or both, about academic or community concerns, group or individual, dealing with personal or work-related problems, regular vs. emergency/urgent sessions. The common elements are dialogue and sharing as basis for group decisions and future plans. The faculty supervisors, in consultation with partners, act as primary guardians of fieldwork students.

CSC (Criticism-Self-Criticism)

Part of character formation among students is for them to recognize their own strengths and weaknesses. Fieldwork provides learning opportunities beyond the classroom structure and comfort zones of their homes. Students have to learn how to deal with group expectations and make personal adjustments. In an atmosphere of cooperation and friendship, they develop unified perspectives within their team. They have to learn how to accept as well as give constructive criticisms that can foster group cohesion. Such skills are useful during fieldwork. These are also important when they go into real-life development work in the future.

Conflict Management

Supervisors act as mediator in conflict situations (assuming that they are not the concerned party of course). They assist students in resolving conflicts in many levels, such as conflicts among students, with host families, with partner agencies or with other individuals. Supervisors help students understand the issue at hand, who are involved, possible actions to be taken, and possible

outcomes. Early detection of brewing conflicts is advisable. Conflicts tend to be more complicated and harder to resolve if ignored for long periods of time. If resolution is not feasible, compromises or “truce” can be worked out. More time may be needed for concerned parties to learn to “let go” of certain conflicts.

Counseling

Supervisors often act as surrogate mother, father, aunt, uncle, brother, sister, aside from being teacher-friend. They exert major influence on their field students mainly due to their close interaction with them during fieldwork. In their late teens or early 20s, students are confronted with myriad issues with their family, lovelife, peers, sexuality, school, organizations, religion, finance, self-esteem and many more. Ten or 15 years ago, problems were more on crushes or love interest, parents’ different career choices, and their academic standing. In recent years, there has been marked increase in more complex problems such as having dysfunctional families, financial bankruptcy, pre-marital sex, pregnancy/abortion, sexual harassment, psycho-social adjustments and homosexuality. Though many of these are beyond curricular concerns, supervisors find themselves as confidante and counselor to help their field students handle their situation.

D - Dialogue

The supervisor-student relationship involves listening to each other and having an active exchange of ideas. Dialogue connotes communication between equals, not top-down but interactive and dynamic. However, there are also instances that prerogatives of supervisors are exercised for critical decisions.

Documentation

Much of the FIP experiences are in the form of oral history. Field documentation is mainly through student papers. But supervisors, too, need to keep a good documentation of fieldwork. This provides continuity (some supervisors are assigned to specific areas for more than two semesters) and monitoring of processes and outcomes. Field assessments are also facilitated by adequate information from this documentation.

E - Exchange visits

Visiting other field sites offers new insights for both students and faculty. Short visits to different communities can widen one's perspectives and appreciate the uniqueness of specific areas. This can also be a venue for sharing and validation of lessons from fieldwork. However, adequate resources have to be generated for these exchange visits.

F - Field visits

Regular field visits by supervisors ensure proper monitoring of fieldwork activities. For nearby field sites, weekly visits are possible. The frequency is lesser for rural communities, primarily because of limited logistics. The physical presence of the supervisor in the area facilitates first-hand knowledge of events on site. Field visits also provide venues for consultations and bonding with students, host families, other community members and partner groups.

G - Groupwork

A greater part of fieldwork is accomplished through groupwork. While on field, students do not work as individuals but as members of a team. The tasks on field need joint efforts of all concerned, including local counterparts. When students engage in groupwork, they also become role models for group participation.

H - Hands-on / Minds-on

For supervisors to have a “feel” of what is happening on site, a hands-on and minds-on approach can help. Supervision is not mere observation. Supervisors can also get involved in actual training, research, or project activities as part of technical support system. Caution, however, must be exercised so that supervisors do not take over field students’ initiatives. Task assignments must be agreed upon during the planning stage.

I - Immersion / Integration

Community integration is a must in fieldwork. This is the rationale behind requiring students to actually live in the area, not in staff houses or “affluent” houses but with ordinary (preferably poor) yet safe host families. This arrangement allows them to fully immerse in the daily struggles of the community. Field visits by supervisors also offer opportunities for community integration, for them (supervisors) to know and feel community life as well.

J - Journal writing

Individual fieldwork journal is part of the academic requirements for field courses. The journal is the repository of one’s

observations, experiences, people encountered, data, places, feelings, problems, actions taken and insights. The journal is submitted by students to their supervisor periodically. This serves as a monitoring device of the supervisor to keep track of the learning process of each student. The journal can be an effective mechanism for personal growth – where thoughts and feelings are surfaced and processed.

Jamming

“Jamming” is just being together and enjoying each other’s company, usually with music and laughter. It has no structure nor objectives, just “*wala lang*”. It helps people who are shy or sad or simply “down” to overcome negative feelings by being in the company of a supportive group. Jamming creates a climate where people can let their “hair down” and be themselves. Jamming is a variation of bonding.

K - Keeping in touch

Constant and regular communication is important between supervisor and students. The supervisor needs to know where they are, what is going on, how they are, and who they are with. This is not meant to intrude on their personal lives, but more to ensure their welfare, even when the supervisor is not around. Years or decades ago, communication was hampered by distance and lack of or complete absence of telecommunication facilities. Nowadays, advanced technology assures regular interaction via cellphone and email – even in faraway communities. Keeping in touch is not confined to serious academic matters, but also involves friendly messages, greetings, personal sharing and words of comfort.

L - Lifestyle adjustments

Many students find difficulty in leaving behind their middle or upper class upbringing while on fieldwork. Immersion requires students to imbibe a simple lifestyle not much different from their host community. This means no display of expensive possessions, less self indulgence, minimal provision for basic needs, doing household chores, and other adjustments for them to blend with the community lifestyle.

M - Mentoring

Mentoring involves guided learning through coaching and practice-based methods. The role of the supervisor is crucial because timely interventions must be provided to attain the proper balance of both academic expectations and service demands of partner groups. Students are being trained while they are also assisting in actual community needs.

Monitoring

Regular and close monitoring of fieldwork activities and students' performance help supervisors adapt their supervision tasks to site-specific needs. Critical incidents like accidents, harassment, disaster, sickness or military operations need urgent response/action from supervisors.

N - Network building

Fieldwork entails a lot of resources such as varied technical skills, facilities, materials and funds. With minimal

financial support for FIP from the College, much of the required logistics have to be generated through network building. Both students and supervisors get involved in sourcing out assistance from outside and local support groups.

O - Orientation

Preparedness of the students to go into fieldwork is a critical factor. The orientation covers a wide array of topics, to wit: field requirements; area situation; partners' background; learning goals; field expectations; personal circumstances; limitations; and group rules. The orientation also sets the tone for the quality of learning-working relationship of the team for the whole fieldwork period.

One-on-one

Much of the fieldwork tasks are undertaken through groupwork. Equally important, however, is the one-on-one interaction between supervisor and student. Fieldwork students have unique individual qualities, potentials as well as limitations. Supervision also requires developing individual capacities for students to excel and for them to contribute positively to group goals.

P - Planning / Programming

Supervisors together with partner organizations guide fieldwork planning. As part of their academic training, field students engage in team planning – through consultations,

processing and validation. Plans and programs can either be short-term or long-term. Generally, weekly operational plans are based on the semestral learning goals and long-term area plans.

Partnerships

It is extremely difficult for the Department to undertake FIP without the able support and cooperation of its fieldwork partners from people's organizations, non-government organizations, local government units and government agencies. Faculty supervisors cannot be on field all the time. Thus, the assistance of local partners and co-supervisors is valuable in providing appropriate learning opportunities for the students. Partnerships may start with FIP, and may extend to other joint projects at a later time.

Q - Quality time

Faculty supervisors spend more hours in the field than in the classroom. Still, the long hours spent during field visits and consultations seem inadequate for the multitude of tasks needed. Individual and team processing require quality time for supervisor-student interaction. Quality time connotes purposive, timely and process-oriented intervention. Critical incidents must be identified because these need urgent response and more time, e.g., serious illness, psycho-social problems, accidents, conflicts or similar emergency situations.

R - Resource generation

Part of field supervision is to encourage students to be resourceful and creative in resource mobilization. It is not a matter of just providing needed resources, but enabling field students to initiate and work collectively with partners in resource generation.

Reflection sessions

Field supervision involves a series of guided reflections among students. Reflection means “to see, to analyze, and to act.” Based on current community issues and actions, students develop knowledge, skills and attitudes related to service commitment. Reflection sessions also assist students to put meaning to their experiences, derive insights and raise these to conceptual/theoretical level.

Role-modeling

To teach is also “to show”. As teacher-supervisor, students can learn more effectively when they see how things must be done. For faculty supervisors who have limited time, it is difficult to role-model the whole organizing process. But modeling can be done for specific instances such as during integration, training, research, advocacy and networking.

S - Sharing of field experiences

Sharing within the team and across fieldwork teams are important components of the learning process. Individual experiences are

processed and shared with the team and later to a larger group, where lessons across field sites are analyzed as basis for theory validation.

Site-student matching

Every fieldwork area has its own focus in terms of learning opportunities: rural or urban, sectoral or multi-sectoral, issue-based or program-based organizing, local or national issues. Students, too, have diverse concerns and particular advocacy interests. Preferences and appropriate matching of student capacities and area needs are good considerations in assigning field students to specific areas. Of course, instances of mismatch may occur. Either, students make adjustments or other arrangements are made to maximize learning opportunities.

T - Team building

The area team functions as the immediate support system of its members. CD students have been trained in groupwork while still in Diliman. When they go on fieldwork, they have to hone their skills further in building a working and learning team. This is not a smooth process. The supervisor provides guidance in making this experience more meaningful for the team, processing the ups and downs of groupwork.

“Text” supervision

Undeniably, text messaging is the most “used” means of communication in field supervision. Around five years ago, only a few field sites were connected to a phone network. At that time, many students preferred to be assigned to areas such as

this. But now, the nationwide coverage of cellphone companies makes almost all areas accessible by SMS or texting. Moreover, almost everyone has access to cellphones, including host families and local partners. The “unlimited text” promo has also changed interaction behaviors such as sending text messages instead of having face-to-face contact, confirming schedules and activities via text, getting ideas and consensus by texting, and many more. Text supervision is a supplementary tool, but should not be the main nor dominant mode of supervision.

Troubleshooting

Whenever there are emergencies, conflicts or when all other means fail, the supervisor takes on leadership functions for the team. Facilitating has its own limits as dictated by situation-specific constraints. When the students cannot function well or the tasks at hand need outside intervention, the supervisor must make decisions when and how to intervene or act on certain instances.

U - Updating

What is “in” or “out”? The supervisor must keep abreast with the latest issues, gossip/“*chismis*”, relationships, feedback, personal concerns, etc. Information about the latest happening provides the context on how supervision can be carried out, and guide students how to handle field situation.

Unwinding

Field supervisors handle a variety of concerns and pressures. Students, too, have their own share of problems and angst. To

unwind means to “let go” of the negative elements and renew one’s energy to face life’s pressures better. Field students are allowed to have days off during fieldwork, as long as the team and supervisor are informed. They need not go back to Diliman or Manila and go to the shopping mall to unwind. They can also unwind near or within their field area like having a picnic, going to the beach, take a nature walk, climb a hill, attend fiesta or party, play sports, visit friends, or some other “less expensive but worthwhile” leisure activities.

V - Variation of learning opportunities

Fieldwork is an exciting experience. However, it can lead to boredom or complacency sometimes, both among students and supervisors. The community offers varied learning stimuli and opportunities that must be harnessed without losing focus on the fieldwork goals. In many situations, these unplanned learning results to improved capacities of the students, if adequately processed and guided by field supervisors.

W - Weekly meetings

How often should team consultations be? The best answer is, as often as needed. Weekly meetings with faculty supervisors are feasible for field areas within or near Metro Manila. But for distant areas, weekly meetings may still be possible with local supervisors, and with faculty supervisors during field visits. What is important is a regular venue for team and supervisor consultation, and effective mechanisms for handling urgent matters.

X - X-factor

Field supervision is a challenging job. It is a balancing act: knowing when to “push” and pressure students to do their best and knowing when to “let go” for them to take initiatives and discover new things. It is similar to “parenting”, nurturing students to become better citizens and development practitioners to help disadvantaged groups and communities. Most students prefer supervisors who are “accessible” (always available when needed), “mabait” (kind-hearted), caring, understanding and helpful. But supervisors can also be strict and demanding when called for. Supervisors must also be knowledgeable and skillful; and must have the “heart” for the tasks at hand. From the point of view of supervisors, good supervision comes with genuine interest in students’ welfare, grounding in development work and believing in what is to be done.

Y - Youth work

Field supervision is more than teaching college students. Interaction occurs outside the classroom and in real-life community situation. It is not a regular 3-hour weekly session but 24/7 encounter during field visits. They are not ordinary college students, but a group of idealistic young people on the threshold of the challenges of development work. For field supervisors, working with them requires a deeper appreciation of their youthful activism and culture of their generation. This does not mean agreement with their preferences, but mutual respect and openness for possible compromises.

Z - 'zzz'

Having listed all of the above, is there time left to rest and sleep? Field supervision is not a full-time involvement. There must be life beyond fieldwork or FIP. There should be time to rest, unwind, re-charge and heal even among field supervisors. After all, field students come and go. They stay for one or two semesters and they move on. Field supervisors stay on to provide continuity and focus for sometime, for several semesters or years before they take on another field assignment.

Challenges in Field Supervision

Supervisors play varied roles. Much of what we consider as effective ways for field supervision evolved from constant assessment of practice. Three emerging characters are relevant for fieldwork supervisors, namely being supervisor-mentor, supervisor-nurturer and teacher-activist.

1. Supervisor-Mentor

In teacher education literature, developmental supervision emphasizes the different needs of individuals as well as their capacities to improve. Moving away from the coercive and fault finding approach of traditional supervision, developmental supervision recognizes the importance of cooperation among peers and initiatives of the students. The supervisor functions as catalyzing factor and role-model.

In fieldwork, the supervisor deals with the students both as a collective and as individuals, with varying needs and capacities. Although their classroom education (three years for undergraduates and at least one and a half years for graduate students) has prepared them for fieldwork, this has to be translated into operational terms based on concrete field area situation. The supervisor must bridge the gap between theory and field realities.

“Mentoring” is a teaching mode wherein inputs are tempered by capacity building efforts (not spoonfeeding) and role modeling (attitudes, skills, behaviors – whenever needed).

2. Supervisor-Nurturer

In Social Work tradition, supervisors have three major functions: administrative, educational, and supportive or enabling functions (Kadushin, 1977). Administrative tasks ensure effective organizational mechanisms for maximum performance; while educational tasks focus on providing required knowledge and skills. The supportive function provides for timely psycho-social interventions to build individual emotional readiness to perform tasks, including stress management and motivation. The latter underscore the nurturing character of field supervision. Task performance is surely significant, but not the end itself. Part of effective supervision is concern for the personal development of individuals, not merely as students but as human beings and citizens of the larger society.

This is especially important in development work that entails initiating change and motivating others to take action for their

own development. The capacity to nurture others starts from being personally prepared to draw from one's own strength and conviction.

The nurturing character of supervision helps develop students' personal character. In turn, they can apply this in their own lives and in interaction with community residents.

3. Teacher-Activist

Field supervisors help prepare the students' mind and heart for the greater challenges of development work not only during fieldwork, but more importantly, when they eventually engage in real-life development work after graduating from school. Fieldwork is not merely an academic requirement. Fieldwork is a life-changing experience and a process of character formation especially among students. It is the final test in their academic life whether or not they have made the right career choice.

Not only the mind and heart need to be prepared, but also the soul. Are the students ready to take the side of the poor? Are they committed enough to fight for what they think is right and just? To what extent are they willing to make sacrifices? Or compromises?

Fieldwork is similar to a personal journey for many students. Some started out with indifference, but majority made informed choices. Long after students graduate from college, many alumni attest that their fieldwork experiences significantly made lasting impression on their lives, in whatever work situation they find themselves.

Since the FIP is imbedded in the CSWCD's commitment to pro-poor development, fieldwork helps students develop this same

commitment. Field supervisors accompany the students in this journey of forming their social commitment. This is not a simple task. As individuals, supervisors have their own ideologies, advocacies and agenda. But as teachers, these have to be tempered by the students' own processing and choices. Activism cannot be regulated nor required, students develop this as they learn and struggle amidst community immersion. And field supervisors must provide varied learning opportunities within the guidelines set under FIP.

Concluding Note

Service, commitment, and life-long learning are very big words. In the short span of time allotted for fieldwork, there is no assurance that these principles can be fully learned by the students. Yet, we persist and are hopeful that in the students' life journey, their field practice somehow would make a significant impression in their future choices.

For field supervisors, especially those who have opted to stay on for years or even decades in field instruction, this type of teaching experience is of great value both for personal growth and academic training. Praxis is difficult to teach, unless one engages in it. Field supervision is not just teaching or mentoring. It also involves building relationships with students, organizations and communities. It is a continuation of our advocacy, and our own commitment to development work in the larger society.

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Field Instruction Program Guidelines (Draft)

Selected Fieldwork Integrated Papers

Selected Students' Fieldwork Journals

Lecture notes on Popular Education, Development Education and Educational Supervision

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Brief History. Initiated as the Social Welfare Section within the Department of Sociology and Social Welfare in 1950 in then College of Liberal Arts, the present College of Social Work and Community Development (CSWCD) became a separate Department of Social Work by 1961 and evolved into the Institute of Social Work and Community Development in 1969 through R.A. 5174 which was passed in 1967. Its reclassification as a full-fledged college was prompted by the University's move to standardize the nomenclature of academic units performing similar functions. The CSWCD offers graduate and undergraduate programs in both social work and community development, as well as graduate programs in women and development.

Vision Statement. Justice, peace and sustainable well-being shared by the Filipino people and the global community

