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# KALAHI-CIDDS in Siquijor

Mainstreaming Community-Driven Development



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Mainstreaming Community-Driven Development



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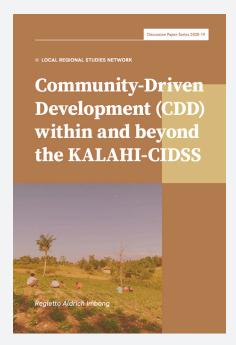
#### **Table of Contents**

## 1 KALAHI-CIDDS in Siquijor Mainstreaming Community-Driven Development

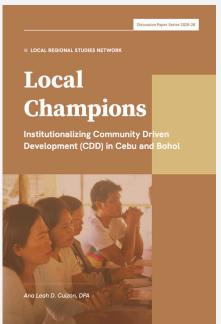
2	Executive Summary
3	From Community-Driven Development to KALAHI-CIDSS
6	Community-Driven Development in Siquijor
6	Methodology
7	Key Informants' Perception of CDD and KALAHI-CIDSS
8	Transparency
9	Participation
14	Accountability
15	Inclusivity
17	Projects of KALAHI-CIDSS
18	Institutionalization and Politicization of KALAHI-CIDSS
19	${\bf Beyond\ KALAHI\text{-}CIDSS:\ Community\text{-}Driven\ Development}$
21	Conclusion
22	References

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## KALAHI-CIDDS IN SIQUIJOR

Mainstreaming Community-Driven Development

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#### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Through the years, Community-Driven Development (CDD) has been used to promote and implement a form of good governance in public service. This way, the principles of CDD are institutionalized through the efforts of those holding government positions. Studies related to the implementation of CDD have presented how these institutional efforts become achievable and successful in different communities, particularly third-world countries. In the Philippines, CDD is concretized through the efforts of the Department of Social Welfare and Development's (DSWD) implementation of the Kapit-Bisig Laban sa Kahirapan-Comprehensive and Integrated Delivery of Social Services (KALAHI-CIDSS). Among the provinces that implemented this program in local governance is Siquijor Island. As a subject matter of its study, the University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UP-CIDS), through the Local-Regional Studies Network (LRSN), initiated a public forum with a focus group discussion (FGD) involving those in the KALAHI-CIDSS to probe for possible data and information that may contribute to mainstreaming CDD in DSWD's KALAHI-CIDSS. It is known, however, that despite its positive feedback and effect on the community, it is set to terminate in the following year. Facilitators and volunteers expressed their weariness and anxiety about the effects of its termination. Hence, this paper is directed toward the positive impacts of CDD in their respective community through the implementation and practices of KALAHI-CIDSS. Further, this paper argues that the residents' perception of CDD is limited to implementing KALAHI-CIDSS, particularly on achieving the four domains of CDD: transparency, participation, accountability, and inclusiveness (TPAI). Therefore, the researcher posits that the principles of CDD, including its domains, go beyond implementing programs of the DSWD. Thus, despite the nearing termination of KALAHI-CIDSS, CDD can be mainstreamed as a principle for good governance. This paper is divided into three parts. First, it will discuss CDD as a principle for good governance and how it is concretized through the implementation of the DSWD's KALAHI-CIDSS program. Second, it will present the narratives and experiences gathered from an FGD with individuals involved in the KALAHI-CIDSS program, namely, the community facilitators and volunteers. Third, it will argue that CDD should transcend government programs as a key principle of good governance, i.e., it should not be limited to the terms of government programs such as the DSWD's KALAHI-

CIDSS. Despite its nearing termination, CDD can be mainstreamed to attain good governance, especially in local government units, by aligning with its key principles: transparency, participation, accountability, and inclusiveness.

## FROM COMMUNITY-DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT TO KALAHI-CIDSS

Scott Guggenheim (2021) pointed out that one of the major problems of the twentieth century is the role of the poor, whether they are merely passive beneficiaries of community development or active participants in transforming the community. Supporting the latter, various literature pointed out the importance of the role of citizens as key factors for social growth. Scholars coined the term "Community-Driven Development" (CDD) to refer to the modality of project delivery and design (Holmlund and Rao 2021) that encourages a more democratic process in the decision-making procedures, implementation, and maintenance of community members.

Since its implementation, CDD has been shifting the decision-making powers to the community members instead of the usual centralized process controlled by bureaucratic elites. Holmlund and Rao (2021) call this "bottomup" since it is this idea that the people align development with their initiatives according to what the community urgently needs, most especially in terms of "delivery of services, construction and maintenance of infrastructures, public goods, and common property resources, and planning and management of community funds". Because of their decision-making power, the people are empowered in terms of their sense of ownership. It is in this case that residents can "control their decisions, plan out their common future, and establish a system of empowerment, accountability, and management". In this case, community members develop social leadership as they see themselves not just as recipients but also as monitors of their members (Wong and Guggenheim, 2018). Furthermore, empowerment not only refers to the sense of ownership and social leadership, but also allows community members to learn government procedures as they will be exposed to these activities (Wong and Guggenheim, 2018).

As stipulated by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in a 2012 report, CDD's objectives manifest in various societal improvements such as delivering

essential social services, infrastructure, resources, political structure, and transparency. Through CDD, basic social services are now accessible by the community members as they are the ones who monitor the distribution. This way, basic social services are now aligned according to the demands and actual needs of the community. Planning, construction, and maintenance of infrastructures are also evident in communities under CDD implementation. These infrastructures include water, farm-to-market roads, and irrigation distribution channels. Common property resources are also enjoyed by everyone in the community. This makes resources accessible to all residents in the community creates a sense of transparency in the use of funds and resources. With these improvements present in a community, poverty alleviation is also expected to be within reach (Dongier, 2002). The political structure within this community is also likely to be aware and, therefore, aligned with the ideals of CDD.

To summarize the ideals of CDD, I would like to borrow Amartya Sen's (1999) types of freedom, which may be considered products of implementing CDD in communities. These are: political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security:

- **1.** Political Freedom refers to the power of the people to have a voice in the government and be able to investigate and criticize their leaders.
- **2.** Economic facilities refer to both the resources and economic facilities that serve the interests of the people.
- **3.** Social opportunities focus on benefits and social services such as education and healthcare that are directed towards bettering the lives of every individual in the community.
- **4.** Transparency ensures the people to interact with a degree of trust.
- **5.** Protective security protects the citizens from misery and disasters that may cause poverty.

Another idea that encapsulates the goals and objectives of CDD is based on the pillars for success in an integrated Local and Community-Driven Development

(LCDD), namely: empowered communities, empowered local governments, realignment to the center, improving accountability, and capacity building (Trang Pham, 2018):

- 1. Empowering communities includes the dissemination of functions, duties, and authority to the community where they decide and implement projects intended for the good of the community.
- **2.** Empowering local government can also be achieved through partnership with ordinary citizens and authorities.
- **3.** Realigning to the center is achieved when citizens and authorities function in harmony with each other.
- **4.** Accountability systems function so citizens may use the essential services provided for them.
- **5.** Capacity building for all members within the society that is driven towards common development.

The goals, ideas, and objectives of CDD can be further elaborated through the principles of transparency, participation, accountability, and inclusiveness. In the later part of this paper, these themes are used to analyze the responses of the key informants (Kuchenmüller, 2022).

In the Philippines, the DSWD concretized the CDD approach through the KALAHI-CIDSS program. It is among the initiatives of the World Bank to lend a budget for development projects focused on empowering communities and improving access to services through participation, inclusive local planning, implementation, and budgeting. It also suggested that it is through KALAHI-CIDSS that community empowerment and poverty alleviation are focused on their programs. Among the references of this program is based from the Republic Act No. 11201, also known as the "Magna Carta of the Poor," which is directed towards uplifting the poor's living and quality of life by providing sustained opportunities for growth and development.

Despite its objectives, CDD, particularly its implementation, has shortcomings in achieving its goals. Implementing KALAHI-CIDSS in the Philippines

faces various criticisms in its execution. Despite advocating community empowerment and participation, since the program is tied to a government institution, there is a tendency for CDD to be tied to bureaucratic and elite control or the politicization of its ideal (Saguin, 2018). Because of this, there is no genuine representation and accessibility to ordinary citizens. Instead of voicing the people's interests, the authority's interests are dominated and bannered in governance. Additionally, existing power asymmetries make the transfer of the decision-making process to community members doubtful (Aceron, 2022). Despite the presence of infrastructure, the community still cannot comprehend the ideals of CDD in higher-order thinking (White et al., 2018). Moreover, the underlying problem existing in mainstreaming CDD is the fact that it is only limited to the implementation of the DSWD's implementation of KALAHI-CIDSS. Beyond this project, CDD is perceived as insignificant.

## COMMUNITY-DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT IN SIQUIJOR

In this portion, I argue that CDD is present in the province of Siquijor. I present the respondents' understanding and perception of CDD and how it is differentiated from the DSWD's KALAHI-CIDSS. I support the claim that the principles of CDD—transparency, participation, accountability, and inclusivity—are followed by the KALAHI-CIDSS programs through the key informants' narratives. I also explain that the projects implemented by the DSWD program are deemed beneficial to the respondents and the whole community, both for present and future generations, since sustainable measures are observed. They even favor projects initiated by KALAHI-CIDSS rather than those implemented by the government. Lastly, I highlight the respondents' reaction to the termination of KALAHI-CIDSS and the mainstreaming through the institutionalization of CDD.

#### **METHODOLOGY**

The UP-CIDS Local Regional Studies Network initiated the Panagtapok, a public forum for community-driven development with KALAHI-CIDSS facilitators and volunteers. This paper focuses on the activity in Siquijor, Siquijor. Twenty-two informants from the municipalities of Lazi, Maria, and

Siquijor attended the public forum. The program started with a rationale about UP-CIDS and LRSN. Later, a brief discussion ensued on KALAHI-CIDSS through the CDD approach. The data gathered from the respondents are divided into two groups: a yes-and-no survey and an FGD probing qualitative data and narratives from the respondents. Responses from the key informants are thematized based on the main ideas from related literature presented above.

## KEY INFORMANTS' PERCEPTION OF CDD AND KALAHI-CIDSS

The respondents' understanding of CDD is closely related to community participation in contributing to the welfare and betterment of their community, especially in terms of collaboration and agreement in the decision-making process regarding community projects. However, the respondents consider CDD synonymous with the DSWD's KALAHI-CIDSS program. Therefore, it is essential to note that their understanding of CDD principles is tied to KALAHI-CIDSS. While most respondents expressed confusion about differentiating CDD from KALAHI-CIDSS, a key informant stated that even if the DSWD's KALAHI-CIDSS will soon be terminated, the teachings and principles of CDD will continue to be practiced. The key informant explained that local governance could lead to a paradigm shift that mainstreams CDD, especially in handling government units. The key informant even assured that with CDD as the guiding principle in local governance, the whole province of Siquijor could have a brighter future.

"Ang KALAHI dili na gyud mawala kay ang teachings na gihatag sa community lig-on na kaayo... hapit na tanang mga barangay officials kahibaw na gyud unsay tumong ug tuyo sa KALAHI... KALAHI will live forever. Ang ato lang na i further strengthen kay ang local governance naay paradigm shift in terms of pag prioritize sa projects. So for me, KALAHI in Siquijor has a better future" (KALAHI-CIDSS will never be gone since its teachings to the community are rooted firmly... Almost every barangay official knows the goals and objectives of KALAHI... KALAHI will live forever. We just need to strengthen the paradigm shift of governance in prioritizing projects. So, for me, KALAHI in Siquijor has a better future).

Based on their narratives, from the perception of the key informants, KALAHI-CIDSS and CDD are most likely interchangeable from their point of view. While some of them expressed that the principles of CDD are limited with the implementation of KALAHI-CIDSS, a key respondent suggested a paradigm shift of governance, i.e., they should consider CDD as the guiding principle for a better society. The respondent's optimism should also be noted when, despite the termination of KALAHI-CIDSS, its guiding principle, CDD, will continue and may contribute to the betterment and welfare of their respective community and even extend to the whole province.

The respondents' confusion about CDD and KALAHI-CIDSS as two interchangeable terms referring to one meaning is similar to a study, stating that the ideals of CDD have become confined to the implementation of KALAHI-CIDSS. In this case, with the threat of the program's termination, it would be expected from the informants' perspective that CDD may also end as an approach to local governance.

#### TRANSPARENCY

The respondents made a comparison between the transparency of the projects and programs of the government and KALAHI-CIDSS. They explained that, unlike government programs and projects, the people from the community are aware of the expenditures and budget updates of the programs under KALAHI-CIDSS. They further explained that without transparency, the people will be ignorant of the whereabouts of the progress and transactions of the projects. A community facilitator mentioned,

"So, naa na silay idea na nga naa diay na siyay steps nga kana diay proyekto sa gobyerno dili lang diay na mutungha diha na magic so naay juy effort, naay himuon na preparation para mugawas na siya. Pag-abot sa financial, makita nila na mao diay disbursements, di diay ta pwede muingon na mao ni ato palition, naa gyud siya himuon na basi na gihimo pud sa mga engineers nga mga bill of quantities ug mga specifications" (The volunteers already have an idea on the procedure; that is, government projects do not just magically show up. There must be an effort in preparation for projects to exist. In terms of finances, they can see disbursements, they must align their activities with the engineers' bill of quantities and specifications).

Further, through implementing KALAHI-CIDSS, the community members, especially the volunteers, became knowledgeable of the detailed procedures for implementing programs and initiating activities. For them, a specific criterion must be followed when deciding and prioritizing projects. A community facilitator expressed,

"Naay criteria setting na sila puy gagama, everything kay gikan gyud sa barangay ug unsay priorities including how to prioritize sa ilang mga gipriority kay sila naman ga set sa criteria and I think it's a practice pud sa KALAHI" (The volunteers follow the process through criteria-setting. All decisions come from the barangay with its existing criteria. This is practiced in KALAHI).

This means that even in decision-making, the community should be transparent in implementing by following the requirements. In this case, unnecessary and unurgent projects most likely fail to secure approval based on the criteria. This way, the volunteers and facilitators observe less corruption in the transactions and expenditures made under KALAHI-CIDSS than in government-initiated projects and programs.

The respondents' narratives demonstrate that they were able to feel a sense of transparency by being oriented with the different processes. This highlights the advantage of CDD to empower the citizens through "schooling" (Wong and Guggenheim) in order for them to be familiar with the process, and so, being able to check each other's performance. This checking of each other's performance is what the same study also emphasized: that through CDD, citizens will be able to develop social leadership in the sense that they can monitor and check their fellow community members so as to achieve transparency within their group.

#### **PARTICIPATION**

According to the respondents, KALAHI-CIDSS encourages participatory involvement of the people in their community since the decision-making in prioritizing and implementing the programs and projects is derived from the basic unit through elections. They claimed that the effort and initiative come from the people through collaboration with households represented by the different barangays. The volunteers' participation is given much value and

importance when the respondents expressed that the projects of KALAHI-CIDSS cannot push through without the involvement and support of the people in their community. A community facilitator expressed,

"Ang tanan nga mga kalihukan, involve gyud ang community so dili pwede mag decide ikaw ra isa labi na sa pag identify sa mga priority needs sa barangay. Kinahanglan nga dapat collaborative bitaw nga pagdesisyon, dili ra ang Kapitan, kundili dapat naa ang katawhan nga ma invite during meetings" (Everyone in the community is involved in all activities. They cannot decide individually in identifying the priority needs of the barangay. Collaboration is needed in decision-making, not just the barangay captain, but also everyone in the community through assemblies).

CDD involves letting people decide on the programs through agreements and negotiations (Guggenheim, 2021). This "bottom-up" process prioritizes people in the decision-making, implementation, and maintenance of projects under CDD (Holmlund & Rao, 2021).

The volunteers claim ownership of their projects through active participation and involvement. This sense of ownership empowers and encourages sustainability among the community members. According to a facilitator-respondent, there is a sense of ownership since they simply facilitate and guide the volunteers. The volunteers themselves make all the efforts and initiatives. As another facilitator-respondent expressed, from inception to implementation, the volunteers, especially those who exerted much effort, can claim ownership of the projects.

"Naay sense of ownership, kana bang imo ang project, ikaw gagama so ikaw tag-iya so syempre mubati ka ug unsa puy mahimo sa imong project pagkahuman imo ra pasagdan" (There is a sense of ownership in the sense that since it is your project, you are the owner, it is expected that you have that connection with your project, and so not abandon it).

Moreover, the sense of ownership does not end in the implementation and in the turnover ceremony. The fact that they claim ownership also makes them feel obligated to maintain and sustain the projects. A respondent further expresses, "Then dili jud ka maignorante na ba sa tanan, kay ah, kana, amoa man na, makaangkon man sila nga apil ko sa pagsukod ana, apil ko sa naningkamot ana maong makaingon gyud ang mga taw nga ampingan jud ang mga project, kay apil mi ana" (You won't be ignorant about anything, because it is yours, and they are part in measuring that, they contributed to that; that is why we can say that the people will maintain the project because they are part of it).

Having a sense of ownership is what the ADB prioritizes in its implementation of CDD programs. It states that citizens are encouraged to participate through a sense of ownership to improve their community's social cohesion.

Volunteer empowerment is also considered one of the significant effects of their participation in the different projects and programs of the KALAHI-CIDSS. The volunteers are empowered since they underwent training and seminars that contributed to the new knowledge and skills they attained. According to them, KALAHI-CIDSS initiated training and seminars that allowed them to learn new things, even those not aligned with their field and expertise. They also acquired new skills after experiencing new functions in the community. Having acquired these make them feel what it is like working beyond their comfort zones. A community volunteer states,

"As community volunteer sauna, naa ra kas balay igo ra ka magluto, mag atiman sa imong mga bata, karon kay nadugangan imong knowledge, experience nga kinahanglan ng amuapil ko ani kay para nis kalamboan sa akong barangay kay mao ni ang gikinahanglan sa akong mga kaubanan sa barangay. Mga ingon ana siya sir, naa sad siyay involvement sa atong mga katawhan" (From these narratives, it could be said that the volunteers are empowered because it improves their knowledge and skills).

Citizens eventually learn government procedures through CDD, since it is when they take charge of local affairs (Wong and Guggenheim, 2018).

Since volunteers are part of the process from inception to implementation, which includes decision-making and planning, the volunteers also feel empowered. They can voice out their concerns, especially those related to the needs of the barangay. With their opinions being valued in the decision-making process and their knowledge and skills utilized in the projects, they

feel committed to working for the betterment of the community. Moreover, they explained that, instead of staying at home and focusing on themselves, with KALAHI-CIDSS programs, they feel the urge and responsibility that it is through the effort of the people that the community will achieve betterment and progress.

The respondents also expressed that women volunteers achieved empowerment. They claimed that because of the project, women can do laborious and mechanical work, such as those related to construction and those stereotyped as men's functions in the community. Through women's participation, they feel more valued in their community. This means that KALAHI-CIDSS programs not only empower volunteers but also encourage women's empowerment in their community. A respondent expressed,

"Na pud tay women empowerment kay gipaapil gyud ang mga kababaihan,gi encourage gyud na naay 35 percent na mutrabaho na mga kababaihan sa sub-project, dili lang mga male labor work. Kaya man pud sa mga bae ang labor, mag file sa mga hollow blocks, paghakot sa balas ug bato so naa juy women empowerment pud" (We have women empowerment because women are included in the process. They are encouraged to have 35 percent of women to work the sub-project, except for male labor work. Women can also do hard labor such as piling of hollow blocks, transporting sacks of sand and gravel. So, there really is women empowerment).

Facilitators also commended and acknowledged the significant volunteerism of the project volunteers. They observed that volunteers feel fulfilled when they present themselves for a specific task and responsibility. Even without compensation, the volunteers' high morale remains unwavering.

For these reasons, it could be concluded that KALAHI-CIDSS encourages participation among the community members, a principle bannered by the CDD approach. Through the program, residents participate in the whole process of a particular project, making them feel a sense of ownership, therefore encouraging them to sustain and maintain the project. The capacity training and seminars also contribute to the additional knowledge, and the volunteers' experience in implementing the project adds to the acquired skills and talents, thus empowering the volunteers with the feeling of entitlement. Through this participation, volunteers are empowered in the sense that,

since they are part of the project, they can voice their concerns and opinions. Even women's empowerment is evident in the volunteers' participation. Volunteerism among community members is also seen, even though they receive no compensation. It is their commitment to the responsibility of making the community better that pushes them to exert effort for the good of society. In general, the volunteers of KALAHI-CIDSS are dedicated despite the challenges of follow-through activities, resources, mechanism for consistency, and sustainability.

However, the respondents also mentioned that the insufficient budget hinders their participation in the KALAHI-CIDSS programs. They claimed that most government officials are not supportive of the projects and are, therefore, hesitant to shell out funds so that volunteers can participate. They narrated that they could not attend capacity training and seminars due to a lack of resources when the venue of the said programs requires them to pay for travel and accommodation expenses. A volunteer mentioned,

"Ang naka ana ko nga experience pud siya kay tawagon mo nga muadto mo sa seminar sa Cebu, nya ma conflict pud kay walay libreng pangcash, nya reimburse pa, mangita pa mi sir, makahulam pa mi sir para makaadto ug maka experience pud ba kay makadugang pud og knowledge adto. Kay ang akong paglantaw karon mura ra pud baya kog, kung muingon nimo nga Kap, naay seminar, nya nah walay budget, mura koa mahiubos unsa ba, nga ah mag undang na lang kay wa man poy mu support nya karon nga nabag o na ang among kapitan, di ba mo malipay nga nakaproject ta tungod sa KALAHI?" (In my experience, problems arise in terms of finances, especially when directed to travel to Cebu to join seminars. Sometimes, we are not provided with cash advance, so we will be forced to loan some funds to be reimbursed soon. For me, it is disappointing when there is no budget allotted for us to attend and seminar, which is beneficial for us. At some point, I would consider quitting due to the lack of support from our government officials. Now with the new set of officers, I will let them realize how KALAHI is beneficial to out community.)

Another problem that one may encounter in the participation aspect of KALAHI-CIDSS is the fact that its process is still under the bureaucracy of the government. This means that elitist practices, despite the principle of CDD, remain prevalent despite consultations and democratic decision-making practices. This is similar to White's idea of the tunnel of attrition, which posits

that participation is limited to a small number of community members. In the case of KALAHI-CIDSS, it could be noted that only those who participated and facilitated are most likely to be heard rather than all community members being given enough opportunity to participate and volunteer from its inception to fruition actively.

#### **ACCOUNTABILITY**

Respondents explained that they can question and criticize the project's decision-making and implementation. They even cited incidents in which community volunteers called out the facilitators' mistakes: when facilitators mishandled the project's implementation, when community facilitators tended to dictate the community volunteers' efforts and initiative, and when discrepancies were evident in the facilitators' reports. The respondent expounds,

"Sometimes if our CFs failed to matawag nato na naa silay mishandling of the situation, pwede sila mu koreher ang amo barangay, musaway na labi na ug naa tay tendency of dictating to what kind of priorities or projects, musupak gyud ng barangay aron" (Sometimes if our community facilitators failed to, or what we call are mishandling the situation, they [residents and volunteers] correct them, event criticizing them if there is the tendency of dictating what kind of priorities or projects. The barangay is really against this).

Because of these scenarios, a facilitator-respondent labeled them "overempowered volunteers" in a positive sense. The description of the residents' overpowering local authorities and community facilitators is similar to Sen's political freedom, which refers to the power of ordinary citizens to have a voice in their community and to be able to scrutinize and question the authorities.

Accountability in the sense of community volunteers could also be closely related to the community members' sense of ownership of the finished project. This sense of ownership encourages the participants to be held accountable for the whole project implementation process, including sustaining and maintaining the project. This is similar to the narrative of a community volunteer, which says,

"Na maintain gyud nila kay muingon man sila nga amoa gud na gipangayo nya gihagoan gud na nila so nindot jud ang sa Kalahi kay ila ang, naa ang pagmahal sa katawhan ba so dili nila pasipad an labi na katong vandalism, suwat suwat sa mga bata sir" (They can maintain it [project] since they would claim that it is their request and they worked hard for it, so KALAHI is nice because we can see the love of the people, so they won't abandon it).

Further, the respondents mentioned that even when the projects have been turned over, the volunteers feel responsible for caring for them. They also explained that part of their task to sustain the project is ensuring that they could benefit future generations since they were given the privilege to implement and decide on a project.

#### INCLUSIVITY

KALAHI-CIDSS encourages inclusivity when implementing projects. It invites all community members to participate in decision-making and contribute to implementation. They ensure that all opinions are heard during meetings, even when some disagreements are present among the body. This is what a community volunteer explained when she said,

"Kay tanan man gud ang nalambigit, dili lang usa ka grupo ang apil, dili lang usa ka purok ang apil kundi ang tanang purok sa community mag apil apil sa desisyon, mu participate man gani kung naay mga kalihukan" (Since everyone is involved, not just one group is included, not just one section, but everyone is included in the decision-making to participate in the activities).

They hold a Municipal Inter-Barangay Forum (MIBF), where views from the different barangays are discussed until the whole body makes a final decision, especially regarding project prioritization, as mentioned by a community facilitator,

"Naa me gitawag na final process in prioritizing sa tanan na priorities of the barangays na gitawag nato ug Municipal Inter-Barangay Forum . That is the final process that really address kung unsa gyud ang number one sa tanan, they undergo voting tanan. Ang barangay magkahiusa sa MIBF" (We have a final process in prioritizing all

priorities of the barangays. We call this Municipal Inter-Barangay Forum . That is the final process that really addresses the most important priority of all. Everyone undergoes an election. The barangays are united in MIBF).

A mechanism is also designed to encourage inclusivity among the community members. The community facilitators mentioned that they would appreciate it more if other community members were allowed to serve as community volunteers. He further added that it would be better if they encountered new individuals during barangay consultations and meetings. Another mechanism is that whenever some households seem passive in the program's activities, they can reach out to the community members to encourage participation and inclusivity. This is attested by a community volunteer when she said,

"Kay naa man guy uban di ka attend kay busy, mubalibad kay busy, so ang buhaton namo muadto sa weekend, muadto jud mi sa barangay kay para lang masuroy to ang mga household nga wala maka attend nya maduganga ang attendance" (If some can't attend because they are busy, what we will do is that we go there on a weekend, we will go to the barangay so that we can reach the household that was not able to attend. This way, we can also add attendance).

To avoid elitism in implementing KALAHI-CIDSS, facilitators claimed that the documents used in the program are written in the native language, making it accessible and less intimidating to the community members. This is explained by a community volunteer when she expressed,

"Pero naa man tay social, so katong sa social nga document mao to siya ang simple ra nga aspect kay Bisaya ra ang atong gigamit para masabtan ra pud siya sa tanan. So naa gyuy empowerment, inclusiveness, transparency, simple ug sustainability, ug community participation" (We have documents translated into the vernacular so that it would be understandable to the people. In this way, there is empowerment, inclusiveness, transparency, simple sustainability, and community participation).

This mechanism could be a resolution to White's Tunnel of Attrition. It is through the efforts of community facilitators to reach out even to those who are not actively participating in the projects and programs. Regarding the benefits, KALAHI-CIDSS is inclusive since all community members benefit from the projects implemented by the program. Further, the benefits of the projects also reach the neighboring barangays, as narrated by a respondent,

"Dili lang pud sa mga bata, sa mga buros, kato pung mga taga lagyong barangay na makaadto pud sa amua para sa mga basic medical kits na magamit kung naay emergency" (Not only for the infants and pregnant women, but also those coming from remote barangays can come for basic medical kits that can be used in case of emergency).

To emphasize, the benefits of the KALAHI-CIDSS projects are inclusive even with neighboring barangays. Moreover, a community facilitator assured that no community member is left behind in enjoying the benefits provided by the KALAHI-CIDSS projects. He also added that the benefits transcend politics, stating that these projects have no political inclination.

#### PROJECTS OF KALAHI-CIDSS

The respondents, both community facilitators and volunteers, described the projects implemented by the KALAHI-CIDSS as beneficial to the community members within their barangay and the neighboring barangays. As mentioned, the project implementation process is rigorous. It requires the effort of the whole community to contribute to the success of the projects from inception to implementation, and sustainability. Since most of the projects mentioned by the informants are related to infrastructures, it is then similar to Sen's social opportunities, since these infrastructures allow the citizens to live better lives. This portion of the paper enumerates the respondents' views of the projects under KALAHI-CIDSS and how these benefit the community residents.

The KALAHI-CIDSS projects include a water supply project, for which the respondents were very thankful. They explained that each household had no water supply before the successful program. They reminisce about lining up for a long time to wait for their turn and carrying water over a long distance from their homes to the artesian well. They are also thankful for the road construction that enabled them to access even the most remote areas of the barangay. They shared how the residents once needed to walk, since no

vehicle-even motorcycles-can pass the road. Aside from an ordinary road, the respondents also mentioned installing a canopied staircase and solar lights, which benefited students and teenagers. For them, the canopy served as a shed against rain and heat. Solar street lights also made them feel more secure, even at night.

KALAHI-CIDSS also constructed daycare centers and healthcare centers, which are still operational. One respondent even claimed she is currently serving the daycare as a teacher. They opined that the daycare center contributed to the community since daycare centers are three barangays away from their homes. This meant that kids must travel far to be enrolled in daycare centers. Through KALAHI-CIDSS, they constructed and operated a daycare center that serves their children. Similarly, before the operation of the health centers, there were instances where patients, specifically pregnant women, still needed to travel to the next barangay before giving birth. With these, it could be said that daycare centers and health centers became more accessible for the residents.

While KALAHI-CIDSS clearly contributed to the betterment of their community, volunteers explained that some projects were not successfully implemented. They expressed that although they had already established a water system in their community, their goal to build a water reservoir was never achieved. For them, the water system provided by KALAHI-CIDSS is just a temporary solution to the water shortage in their community. Although it eased part of their burden, it is still problematic in the long run, as they still experience water shortages despite the project.

## INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND POLITICIZATION OF KALAHI-CIDSS

The respondents understood that in the year to come, despite the numerous successes that KALAHI-CIDSS achieved, it would soon be terminated sans legislation. There would be no more funding from the DSWD for this program. For this reason, the volunteers and facilitators expressed their worries about its termination. They explained that projects under KALAHI-CIDSS would no longer push through and that there are still a lot of projects in their mind that they want to realize. They also expressed gratitude for the program, stating that they would still look back on the projects that KALAHI-

CIDSS made for them. According to them, as long as the program has not been officially terminated, they are still hopeful that KALAHI-CIDSS would continue in the future. There are also those who are optimistic despite the possible termination of the program. They said that even without the program, the KALAHI-CIDSS remains as an example and guiding principle in the implementation of projects and construction of infrastructures in their community. This is because, as explained by the respondents, compared to government policies and projects, the implementation and initiatives done by the KALAHI-CIDSS are more effective. This means that, given the community members already have a glimpse of an alternative and better society, programs that encourage transparency, participation, accountability, and inclusivity will soon be mainstreamed as the standard of local governance in political units.

Beyond the implementation of the DSWD's KALAHI-CIDSS, community facilitators were also optimistic. Despite nearing the termination of the program, former volunteers who have won government positions and are currently working in local government units (LGUs) consciously apply the principles of KALAHI-CIDSS in their governance. The respondents attested that it is the empowering role of KALAHI-CIDSS, and the capacity-training and seminars are considered factors for winning the electoral process. The respondents also cited instances where the programs and initiatives of such government officials carry the elements of transparency, participation, accountability, and inclusivity with them in their tasks to serve the community members. This means that CDD, as the approach of KALAHI-CIDSS, remains relevant even beyond the program.

## BEYOND KALAHI-CIDSS: COMMUNITY-DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT

One problem that surfaced in the informants' responses was the nearing termination of the DSWD's KALAHI-CIDSS. Most expressed their worry that, without KALAHI-CIDSS, the positive effects brought by community-driven approaches might be lost when the program ends. We can note from their responses that CDD is tied to implementing KALAHI-CIDSS. This means that the respondents, both volunteers and facilitators alike, have not yet fully comprehended the ideals and principles of CDD, even with their years of experience in facilitating and participating in the program. This problem is

similar to a finding, stating that there is a common understanding between CDD and KALAHI-CIDSS. However, in the case of the respondents, they are more familiar with KALAHI-CIDSS than CDD.

However, despite their confusion between CDD and KALAHI-CIDSS, the respondents acknowledge and appreciate the positive effects of CDD through the KALAHI-CIDSS. Their narratives coincide with the principles of CDD, which are summarized as transparency, participation, accountability, and inclusivity. It is also aligned with Sen's types of freedom, which may be considered products of implementing CDD in communities: political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security.

It is also aligned to the pillars for success in an integrated Local and Community-Driven Development (LCDD), which include: empowered communities, empowered local governments, realignment to the center, improving accountability, and capacity building.

Given this, I contend that CDD remains relevant even with the termination of KALAHI-CIDSS. It goes beyond implementing the DSWD program. The fact that former volunteers who now serve the government practice CDD principles clearly suggests that CDD can be integrated into good governance. The idea that institutionalization does not necessarily connote legislation supports a thesis that institutionalizing CDD may also manifest in domains of institutionalization such as leadership and commitment, culture, resources, governance, standards, and routine processes (Tocqueville, 2000). In this case, CDD, being appreciated by the respondents, is seen in a culture where the principles of CDD are valued and promoted within their implementation and practices. In this way, even with the termination of KALAHI-CIDSS, CDD will be mainstreamed in the political system of local governance.

This also raises questions about the need to implement a separate project to apply CDD as an approach when it can be practiced within the government system. Therefore, I suggest not creating an alternative program to practice CDD in governance but rather integrating it into local and even national government processes. This would make the government more democratic than the democracy that communities currently enjoy. CDD as an approach to democratizing local governance is emphasized by the ADB, which stated that

CDD is more democratic and involves a larger community in determining how they would be better off (ADB, 2012).

Based on the discussion above, I would then recommend that community-driven development be mainstreamed in the policy implementations of government units. Mainstreaming its principles can be achieved through capacity building, such as seminars, lectures, and workshops for government officials and stakeholders. Further, to sustain the community-driven development integration, duty-bearers should craft assessment tools to ensure the implementation of CDD principles within the community.

#### CONCLUSION

Community-driven development goes beyond the implementation of the DSWD's KALAHI-CIDSS program. Although citizens are more familiar with KALAHI-CIDSS and conflate it with CDD, the former still contributes in exposing the people to the latter. It cannot be denied that KALAHI-CIDSS indeed contributed to the mainstreaming of CDD by utilizing it as its approach. It is clear in their narratives that KALAHI-CIDSS reflects the ideas of CDD in Siguijor Island. However, it cannot also be ignored that CDD is confined within the limits of KALAHI-CIDSS, hence the residents' worry about its nearing termination. But it should also be pointed out that institutionalization of CDD is not only limited to legislation. In fact, it can be institutionalized by mainstreaming its principles and ideas within the political system of the existing government units. In this way, it could, therefore, be said that, as CDD goes beyond the confinement of KALAHI-CIDSS, it should be mainstreamed into different government practices. There is no need to implement a program that serves as an alternative to the role of the government to implement projects and programs beneficial to the community. Moreover, with its current political system, CDD may be mainstreamed in its implementation and its practices. It can and it very well should be mainstreamed to achieve continuity and sustainability.

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