

POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

SOCIAL SCIENCESAND DEVELOPMENT REVIEW



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SOCIAL SCIENCES AND DEVELOPMENT REVIEW

Polytechnic University of the Philippines
Office of the Vice President for Research, Extension, and Development
Research Publications Office
2025

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ISSN 2350-7055 (Print) | ISSN 2546-0757 (Online)

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Floods, Fault Lines, Futures: Rethinking Development through Social Science Research in the Philippines

Mary Joy S. Parajas

Corruption in flood control projects by local governments in various parts of the country is a major issue in the Philippines today. This is not just a matter of corruption among government officials but also a pervasive problem that undermines the security and safety of Filipinos who are submerged in floods, devastated by typhoons, and shaken by earthquakes every year. Flood control projects, which are intended as technical solutions to the environmental hazards, now serve as a symbolic arena for negotiation among state agencies, local communities, and civil society to challenge and redefine the concept of development. The tension between ordinary Filipinos and those involved in substandard, unfinished, or "ghost" flood control projects (a slang term referring to unstarted infrastructure) is intensifying the public demand for security and sustainable livelihoods—livelihoods that are resilient and protected from future calamities and disasters.

In brief context, the Senate Blue Ribbon Committee commenced its inquiry into the anomalous flood control projects following an announcement by President Marcos Jr. that fifteen contractors had cornered a disproportionately large volume of flood control projects, collectively valued at approximately ₱100 billion. This revelation underscored the "disproportionate concentration and awarding of projects to a selected group of contractors," which served as the official premise for the legislative probe. The President's explicit call for a review and accountability subsequently prompted the legislature to act on the matter.

Consequently, in response to this issue which has claimed numerous lives due to severe flooding, a significant number of Filipino citizens organized the Trillion Peso March on September 21, 2025, coinciding with the anniversary of Martial Law. The principal demands centered on accountability, specifically calling for the immediate arrest and imprisonment of government officials, legislators, and private contractors implicated in anomalies, ghost projects, and substandard infrastructure. Another major demand was the recovery of stolen funds and ill-gotten wealth, including luxury assets, from those proven corrupt. The protesters further pushed for transparency through the immediate public disclosure of officials' Statements of Assets, Liabilities, and Net Worth (SALNs), the lifting of bank secrecy restrictions, and the prevention

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of opaque and abuse-prone congressional insertions in the national budget. Finally, to achieve more sustainable development, a key call was to abandon cement-centric projects and shift toward nature-based solutions, such as reforestation and watershed restoration, which are deemed more resilient and less susceptible to corruption.

In these circumstances, Filipinos have become more critical in discussing development that should have been more responsive to the needs of every citizen, grounded in the actual lived experiences (danas) of their respective communities. What perspective on development is truly necessary for Filipinos? The role of social science is crucial in investigating and deliberating the issue of development. It serves as a reminder that progress is not solely focused on infrastructure, statistics, and economic growth. Utilizing a broad variety of research methods—including ethnography, participant observation, survey analysis, critical theory, and immersion—social science reveals the human dimensions of development: how communities interpret risks, how policies are implemented in daily life, and how Filipinos assert themselves before agencies when facing structural constraints.

This issue of Social Sciences and Development Review takes this enduring dilemma as its point of reflection. The flood control controversy serves here not merely as a topical reference but as a conceptual metaphor for understanding social sciences' task in turbulent times. It draws inspiration from these tensions, exploring how social forces negotiate the meaning of development amid ecological risk and everyday struggle. The articles in this issue examines how Filipinos – workers, activists, believers, students, and communities – navigate these channels of constraint and possibility, crafting forms of resistance, adaptation and meaning in the process. It offers more than empirical findings; they compose a narrative of confluence – where advocacy, community development, labor, gender, culture, and education flow into one another. Each article, in its own way, examines how Filipinos respond to the uneven currents of modernization and globalization. Whether resisting the privatization of health, adapting to disaster risks, sustaining dignity at work, or nurturing communal bonds, these works reflect a shared inspiration for justice and human flourishing.

The Social Sciences and Development Review extends its deepest gratitude to the contributors, reviewers, and readers whose efforts make each issue possible. In publishing this collection, the editorial board reaffirms its commitment to fostering critical, interdisciplinary, and community-oriented research. As the Philippines continues to confront the challenges of climate change, social inequality, and civic reawakening, the task before scholars is clear: to build not only stronger infrastructures but also stronger solidarities.

Healthcare Advocacy & Legislation in the Philippines: Social Movement/Civil Society Alternatives to Privatization and Commodification

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ABSTRACT

The Philippine Health Insurance Corporation's (PhilHealth) financial situation is in dire straits, with an official claiming that its actuarial life would last until 2027 only. To achieve free universal healthcare, alternative financing options for the Philippines' national healthcare system would have to be considered. This paper aims to analyze historical government healthcare reform policies vis-à-vis social movement/civil society alternatives – and the corresponding paradigm shifts that they present - which culminate in the recently filed House Bill 9515 ("An Act Providing for a Free, Comprehensive, and Progressive, National Public Healthcare System") authored by the Makabayan Coalition – a bloc of grassroots party-lists with strong links with social movements. House Bill 9515's provisions would bring the Philippine system closer to Cuba's and the United Kingdom's systems which both offer useful springboards in making public healthcare free for all. Thus, the bill can potentially help the Philippines transition from privatization and commodification which have characterized the prevailing framework in the country's healthcare system for decades now.

Keywords: healthcare reform, healthcare advocacy, free healthcare, social movements, anti-neoliberalism

INTRODUCTION

The policy to further increase and deepen privatization of health services provisioning is detrimental to PhilHealth's financial sustainability, as recent trends on its finances show. As the Philippine government is unable to spend more for public healthcare institutions, trends point to continuing and even expanding private sector dominance in healthcare, observed in the increasing number of private hospital beds vis-à-vis public hospital beds, ever-increasing PhilHealth payments to private healthcare providers, and the bigger current percentage of private healthcare institutions in the total number of PhilHealth-accredited healthcare institutions (HCIs). Such de-facto privatization of healthcare – within the framework of Public-

Private Partnership (PPP) schemes where delivery of services is partially privatized, with some citizens required to pay out-of-pocket expenses - negatively affects PhilHealth's financial situation as this means perpetuating a system where overpayments, fraud, upcasing, and lack of ample documentary support for payments, enable private firms to reap profits at the expense of the national health insurance's bleeding coffers. Seeking an alternative financing scheme is, thus, necessary.

At least two feasible alternatives to the Philippines' public-funding-for-privatizedhealth-care scheme can be considered: UK's and Cuba's public sector-dominated healthcare, which, while coming from two separate ideological traditions, are both characterized by heavy government spending for public health and generally free health services with relatively minimal out of pocket payments (OOPPs) compared with Philippine statistics for OOPPs. Such alternatives are closer to Philippine social movements' past and present healthcare advocacies for accessible or free public healthcare services.

This research aims to answer the following questions: 1) How did healthcare reform paradigms change (or remain constant) in the Philippines?; 2) How does House Bill 9515 intends to reform healthcare financing in the Philippines?; 3) How does the bill embraces (or sets the limits of) de-commodification and de-privatization of the Philippine healthcare system?; 4) How does it mirror the Cuban and/or the UK healthcare systems on healthcare financing?

METHODOLOGY

This study primarily used comparative documentary analysis mainly spanning the period from the first Marcos administration to the Duterte administration. Documents related to past and present healthcare reform - both from the State and social movements were analyzed to gain insights on the prevailing healthcare reform paradigms and how such paradigms change (or remain constant). Documents on the current healthcare financing system (such as the Universal Healthcare Act/UHCA and related PhilHealth policy issuances) were compared with the full text of House Bill 9515 to analyze how the bill intends to reform healthcare financing in the Philippines. The same documents were used in answering the other research questions. In discussing and summarizing such analyses, indicators used for applying the framework of McIntyre and Kutzin (2016), adopted from (Myint et al., 2019), with the current researcher's modifications, would be utilized. Thus, differences between the status quo and how the bill intends to reform the system on matters of revenue raising, resource pooling, service purchasing, extent of benefits, and provision for financial protection (against OOPPs) were highlighted. Insights on the bill's embrace of or limitations on decommodification and de-privatization were emphasized within the discussions on resource

pooling, service purchasing, and provision for financial protection. Various national health systems reviews and related scholarly works and documents were analyzed vis-a-vis the provisions of the aforementioned bill. Finally, recent legislation on free healthcare – which generally mirrors many aspects of UK's and Cuba's healthcare systems – were analyzed to reveal how the status quo differs from the said models and social movement/civil society alternatives to healthcare privatization and commodification.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The country's long march to fulfilling universal healthcare provision started through the enactment in 1969 of Republic Act No. (R.A.) 6111, which established the Philippine Medical Care Plan (Medicare) and created the Philippine Medical Care Commission — precursors of what would become the Philippines' public healthcare insurance system. This law declared that the government intends to "gradually provide total medical service for our people by adopting and implementing a comprehensive and coordinated medical care program based on accepted concepts of healthcare, namely: (a) There shall be total coverage of medical services according to the needs of patients; (b) There shall be coordination and cooperation in the use of all medical facilities of both the government and the private sector; and (c) The freedom of choice of physicians and hospitals and the family doctor-patient relationship shall be preserved" (Republic Act No. 6111, 1969, emphasis supplied). The said law also included the following in its "main purposes and objectives": "(a) Extension of medical care to all residents in an evolutionary way within our economic means and capability as a nation..." (Republic Act No. 6111, 1969, emphasis supplied). It listed two plans, one for those formally employed and one for those who are not, for which regular contributions are required to avail of fixed-rate benefits for hospitalization, surgery, and "necessary professional medical treatment," and that do not cover any expense for:

- (a) Cosmetic surgery or treatment;
- (b) Dental Service, except major dental surgery or operation which needs hospitalization;
- (c) Optometric service or surgery;
- (d) Services related to the case of psychiatric illness or of diseases traceable to such illness; and
- (e) Services which are purely diagnostic.

(Republic Act No. 6111, 1969)

Section 18 of R.A. 6111 also allows co-payments:

Provided, that when the charges and fees agreed upon between the employee and the hospital and/or medical practitioner are in excess of the amount of the benefits provided for under this Act, such employee shall be liable only for the payment of that portion of such fees and charges as are in excess of the benefits payable under this Act. (Republic Act No. 6111, 1969, emphasis supplied)

Nevertheless, as this is the first Philippine law that aspired for a semblance of universal healthcare, the government's own euphemistic declaration (Department of Health [DOH], 2014) that "it was a major step in the journey towards achieving healthcare for all Filipinos" is truthful, especially considering that the 1943 Constitution (in effect during that decade) did not even contain a provision on healthcare.

Meanwhile, Section 7 of the amended 1973 Constitution includes such essential provision, albeit healthcare is lumped with other public services:

The State shall establish, maintain, and ensure adequate social services in the field of education, health, housing, employment, welfare, and social security to guarantee the enjoyment of the people of a decent standard of living. (Philippine Constitution, 1973, amended)

Such laudable provision was indeed even a few years ahead of the 1978 Alma Ata Declaration (to which the Philippines is a signatory), which, among other things:

Strongly reaffirms that health... is a fundamental human right and that the attainment of the highest possible level of health is a most important world-wide social goal whose realization requires the action of many other social and economic sectors in addition to the health sector... Governments have a responsibility for the health of their people which can be fulfilled only by the provision of adequate health and social measures. A main social target of governments, international organizations, and the whole world community in the coming decades should be the attainment, by all peoples of the world, by the year 2000, of a level of health that will permit them to lead a socially and economically productive life. Primary healthcare is the key to attaining this target as part of development in the spirit of social justice. (World Health Organization [WHO], 1978)

Simply put, this international declaration pushed for "Health for All" as a primary social goal.

The government's own reckoning of healthcare history in the Philippines (DOH, 2014) points out that the health minister then initiated the implementation of the country's "Primary Healthcare" plan and adds that the Marcos regime built specialized healthcare facilities such as the Philippine Children's Medical Center (PCMC), the Philippine Heart Center, the Lung

Center of the Philippines, and the National Kidney Institute. The Martial Law Museum (n.d.) emphasizes that such supposed "achievements in public infrastructure did not come without a price. Many of Marcos' projects were funded by foreign loans that left the Philippines with an outstanding debt of about \$28.3 billion by 1986. These projects were also often the site for gross overspending, garishness, and corruption". Fineman's investigative report (1987) cited "statistics gathered from the World Health Organization, the United Nations, Philippine government physicians and health officials, and several international relief agencies working in the Philippines," and revealed that:

tens of thousands of Filipinos die each year simply because there are too few hospitals, too few doctors, too little medical equipment and medicine, and too little money to help the government cure its national disaster. For years under Marcos, the nation's health was gradually deteriorating into what has now become a seemingly insoluble crisis; yet the danger signs were not only ignored but deliberately hidden by a government determined to show the world that the nation was healthy and strong... many of the national and local officials in the Marcos administration routinely diverted huge sums of government health-care funds to favorite or political projects (p. 35).

A published scholarly assessment of healthcare under the Marcos regime and the first Aquino administration supplied essentially the same findings (Pagaduan-Lopez, 1991):

Chronic underdevelopment in the Philippines explains much of this country's poor health record. Almost 75 per cent of Filipinos live below the poverty threshold... In 1985 alone, over three million people, or 15 per cent of the total labour force of 20.6 million, were out of work. Six years later, under the Aquino government, the figure has increased to 20.2 percent... This grim picture is compounded by inadequate transportation and communications systems, which hamper the ability of rural residents to reach health facilities in central towns and cities. Even in urban centres, the high cost of prolonged institutional medical care is far beyond the means of the average wage earner.

Pagaduan-Lopez (1991) added that:

(h)ospitals often have to get by with inadequate supplies of x-ray film, bed linens, and antibiotics. In 1983, for instance, doctors at the Philippine General Hospital, the country's biggest tertiary state hospital, reported that a shortage of x-ray film had forced them to forego taking essential radiographs of many patients. Over 50 per cent of the country's doctors and more than 60 per cent of its nurses work outside the country. Of those doctors who remain in the country, most have private practices in

urban areas. Manila, the country's capital, has 15 times as many doctors as outlying rural areas.

Furthermore, Pagaduan-Lopez (1991) revealed that:

...in the two years before the fall of the Marcos regime between 30 and 40 per cent of the national health budget for supplies and materials had been diverted into 'kickbacks, corruption, and graft'.

He concludes by remarking that the country's healthcare woes remain unsolved:

...the Aquino government seems nowhere close to solving the myriad problems it inherited from the Marcos regime. Saddled with a deteriorating economy, destabilisation efforts from both right and left wing factions, graft and corruption, and poor central planning, it has often been accused of resorting to increased militarisation to contain political violence against its continued existence.

Such stark reality contrasted with a 1988 speech celebrating the 40th anniversary of the World Health Organization (WHO), in which then President Corazon C. Aquino reiterated her government's firm commitment to "the objective of health for all by the year 2000 through the primary healthcare approach..." (Aquino, 1988, p. XX).

The first Aquino presidency did pass vital laws on healthcare, "although the sweeping reforms signaled by both laws were not immediately felt" (DOH, 2014). The administration passed the Generics Act, described as "a landmark legislation which guaranteed generic prescription and dispensing, and the right of informed choice for consumers" (Presidential Management Staff, 1992), consequently allowing cheaper medicines to become available. Furthermore, "RA 7160 or the Local Government Code of 1991 ushered in the devolution of services not only for the DOH but also for other government agencies. Devolution effectively transferred the management and implementation of public services to local government units..." and in 1992, "the Magna Carta for Public Health Workers (RA 7305) was passed, providing for the benefits of health workers. Insufficient funds, however, kept it from being fully implemented" (DOH, 2014). Despite the documented continuing expansion and increase of healthcare facilities from basic clinics to specialized hospitals during the first Aquino administration (Presidential Management Staff, 1992), the country's healthcare system remained largely unreformed, especially in terms of healthcare financing, until the Ramos administration was elected. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that the 1987 Constitution's more progressive provisions on healthcare such as Article II, Section 15—"The State shall protect and promote the right to health of the people and instill health consciousness among them"—and Article XIII, Section 11—"The State shall adopt an integrated and comprehensive approach to health development which shall endeavor to make essential goods, health, and

other social services available to all the people at affordable cost. There shall be priority for the needs of the underprivileged sick, elderly, disabled, women, and children. The State shall endeavor to provide free medical care to paupers."—gave impetus to the preceding post-Marcos Sr. era healthcare reforms.

As PhilHealth's website explained (2014):

(i)n the 1990s, a vision for a better, more responsive government healthcare program was prompted by the passage of several bills that had significant implications on health financing. The public's clamor for a health insurance that is more comprehensive in terms of covered population and benefits led to the development of House Bill 14225 and Senate Bill 01738, which became the National Health Insurance Act of 1995 or Republic Act 7875, signed by President Fidel V. Ramos on February 14, 1995.

The said law

paved the way for the creation of the Philippine Health Insurance Corporation (PhilHealth), mandated to provide social health insurance coverage to all Filipinos in 15 years' time. PhilHealth assumed the responsibility of administering the former Medicare program for government and private sector employees from the Government Service Insurance System in October 1997, from the Social Security System in April 1998, and from the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration in March 2005 (PhilHealth, 2014).

Its full text included a provision establishing the

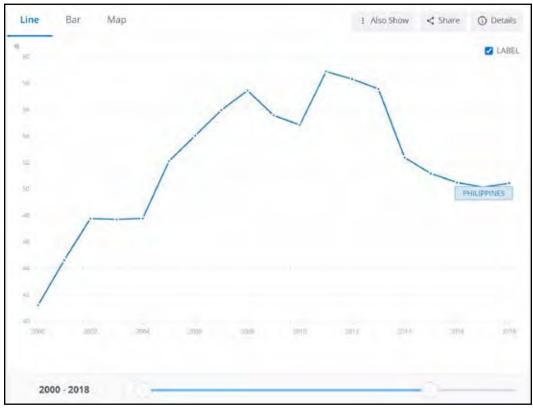
"National Health Insurance Program, the compulsory health insurance program of the government as established in this Act, which shall provide universal health insurance coverage and ensure affordable, acceptable, available, and accessible healthcare services for all citizens of the Philippines."

Despite such rhetoric for "universal health," the country's citizens remain overburdened with out-of-pocket payments then (and now), and millions were not enrolled in the so-called national insurance scheme. The Estrada administration attempted to remedy the situation by adopting the Health Sector Reform Agenda (HSRA), which, at the very least, expanded the coverage of the National Health Insurance Program (DOH, 2014; Priela, 2001). Yet by 2005, the second year of Macapagal-Arroyo's second term, the Philippines' estimated formal national health insurance coverage as a percentage of the total population stood at only 55% (International Labor Organization, 2007), falling further to 53% in 2010 (DOH, 2010).

Moreover, high out-of-pocket payments (OOPPs) persisted and even worsened from 2000 to 2018 (see Figure 1), starting at 41.2% in 2000—an all-time low for the period—breaching more than 50% in 2005 and never returning below that level, peaking at 58.9% in 2011. Two years after the establishment of PhilHealth, in 1997, 51.5% of total health expenditure was categorized as private health expenditure, 4.6% of which was labeled as "private insurance," and 95.4% as OOPPs (Musgrove et al., 2002). Private insurance is, in fact, OOPPs too, as premiums for private health insurance are technically out-of-pocket payments. In the same year, Cuba's private health expenditure was pegged at 12.5%, while the UK's was at 16.3%. If rounded off, the latest available data for OOPPs as a percentage of current health expenditure in the Philippines would still be around 50%, or 47.9% to be exact (PSA, 2020).

Figure 1

Philippines' Out-of-pocket Expenditure (% of current health expenditure)



Note. Figure from the World Bank (2021).

Under the Macapagal-Arroyo administration, no major healthcare reform was enacted, though two health-related developments are notable: healthcare discounts for

senior citizens through the Expanded Senior Citizens' Act and the regulation of medicine prices through the Cheaper Medicines Act. The country's healthcare system – especially healthcare financing – remained almost untouched until the UHCA was signed into law in 2019, under the Duterte administration. However, it must be emphasized that the groundwork for UHCA was first laid down through the second Aquino administration's DOH Administrative Order No. 2010-0036 with the "Subject: The Aquino Health Agenda: Achieving Universal Healthcare for All Filipinos." Short of automatic public insurance enrollment, the said administrative order compelled PhilHealth to "(e)xpand NHIP coverage by ensuring the annual registration and enrolment of poor families while leveraging for local counterparts and providing member and provider services to promote utilization of NHIP benefits" and to "(s)ecure financial risk protection for inpatient services by implementing a no-balance-billing policy (NBB policy) in government hospitals for our poorest population." The second Aquino presidency bolstered the achievement of these goals by passing RA 10606, which amends the National Insurance Act of 1995 to institutionalize the NBB policy – albeit, for poor citizens only – by explicitly stating that "no other fee or expense shall be charged to the indigent patient, subject to the guidelines issued by the Corporation..." The said law, now known as the National Health Insurance Act of 2013, rhetorically supported "mandatory coverage" for all citizens but does not include a mandate for automatic enrollment. The UHCA built on these policies by legislating universal healthcare as a national policy through automatically enrolling every citizen into the national insurance program, with the government shouldering the premium contributions for indigent citizens, thereby drastically increasing PhilHealth's funding sources, in contrast with the old scheme where despite universal health declarations, healthcare services for all poor citizens were not automatically subsidized. Under the UHCA, the NBB policy has also been expanded to cover all citizens regardless of socio-economic status, subject to a condition: "...no copayment shall be charged for services rendered in basic or ward accommodation".

In view of the above, there are at least three paradigm shifts in the government's official healthcare financing policy: 1) gradual transition to a system of public healthcare provisioning, subject to the country's financial capacity, albeit, with continuous private sector existence (Marcos Sr. regime to the first Aquino administration); 2) nominal subscription to the universal healthcare paradigm, with a clear schedule (Ramos administration), and still retaining private sector involvement; 3) a two-tier universal healthcare paradigm, with free services for the poorest citizens (or at least those listed in the government database), and with (theoretically) affordable healthcare for currently employed citizens (second Aquino administration to Duterte regime), which still allows co-payments to be collected and profitoriented healthcare facilities to operate. While the current system is definitely better than the one in place in the late 1960s – with ever-broadening healthcare coverage for citizens, though

still at a cost for many citizens – things could still get better, as the second half of this paper would argue.

At this point, it must be highlighted that the government's forward-looking policy shifts (however limited) are partly the result of social movement-driven or -influenced campaigns and/or advocacies for health policy reforms. At times, social movements are powerful enough to compel governments to craft meaningful policy shifts. Sometimes, the governments are only compelled to make relatively minor concessions which don't alter the status quo of a commodified, private sector-dominated healthcare system.

During the Martial Law years, social movement-led and/or -influenced organizations engaged in direct action to supply health services that the government is unable too. Thus, rather than formulate a policy-laden counter-proposal to the healthcare status quo, most health service advocacy groups directly offered healthcare services while also providing a comprehensive critique of the social order which fails to mobilize State resources for healthcare and other services. The "nationwide movement" of community-based health programs (CBHPs), which missionaries initiated in 1975 (Khor & Lin, 2002), pre-dated the Alma Ata declaration by a few years. The CBHP scheme "does not provide the solution to health problems but assists and facilitates in laying the foundation of a health system that is governed by the people at the community level...through education, training and services. It is a method or process of giving or transferring knowledge, skills, and power to the people so that they become more responsible for their health. It strengthened the people's resolve to demand their basic right to good health. Therefore, the CBHP is a method of health-care development with and for the people at the community level" (Khor & Lin, 2002). CBHP proponents encouraged medical students and new medical program graduates to "immerse themselves in rural communities where the lack of medical services is most visible..." offering CBHP's non-traditional approach to healthcare which encompasses "organizing and enlightening communities to enable them to establish and run their own autonomous healthcare systems" rather than "simply providing medical services" (Quijano, 2002).

Tan (1993) identified "three parallel tracks" that "had emerged within the Philippine healthcare system by the end of the 1970s," including CBHPs, and described their main differences:

On one hand, there were more health activist NGOs involved, mainly in establishing CBPHs, with emphasis on preventive health and a highly politicized health education program. This ran parallel to the government's public healthcare system, very much hospital-based and curative in orientation. The martial law period also saw the formation of large semi-government health foundations... In a sense, these

foundations were the earliest of what was later to be called GONGOs (government organized NGOs).

He added that:

The mainstream private sector, GONGOs and conservative NGOs formed a third track, cooperating to some extent with government and often hostile to the more radical NGOs. For example, many conservative Catholic bishops refused to allow CBPHs in their dioceses and joined the government in labeling these programs as subversive.

The difference in approach was further highlighted by the fact that:

The CBHP also received lukewarm responses from the mainstream NGOs, particularly professional organizations. Besides the radical politics of the community programs, the concept of having peasants initiating medical treatment was unacceptable to many of these traditional groups. (Tan, 1993)

Influenced by CBHPs or directly engaged in CBHP programs, many doctors, medical students, and the like went to the countryside - including Dr. Bobby De La Paz (Quijano, 2002), who was assassinated under the Marcos regime – to help provide healthcare services within CBHPs' holistic approach to health and development which some elements in the said regime consider as subversive. De La Paz utilized the Primary Healthcare approach (which is in accordance with the Alma Ata Declaration), and "went to remote villages to attend to the sick, teach first aid, basic hygiene and nutrition to community health workers...used appropriate technology with herbal medicine and acupuncture, and even assembled an acupuncture oscillator made from local materials at minimal cost. The martial law regime took note of the couple's activities, and they were labelled as subversives..." (Bantayog Foundation, 2015). As "doctors of the people" true to the spirit of the CBHP, they "took the road less travelled and chose to help those severely neglected and largely ignored by the government" (Umil, 2020). Through this approach, De La Paz "...went to the people and lived with them, in the process witnessing the effects of an unjust system upon the health and lives of poor communities, especially the children..." (Bantayog Foundation, 2015). His social engagement as one "who chose to work in a remote militarised area of Samar Island with the rural poor, thereby sacrificing his life in the course of his clinical work to an unidentified military assailant" is internationally renowned (Claude, 1989). De La Paz's killing moved many doctors and faculty members of UP-College of Medicine – including Dr. Mita Pardo de Tavera who later became Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) Secretary under the first Aquino presidency – to establish the Medical Action Group (MAG), which coordinated with the Free

Legal Assistance Group (FLAG) to provide legal and medical aid to victims of human rights violations, and eventually, in 1984, healthcare activists from UP help established Health Alliance for Democracy (HEAD), which built on MAG's objectives to also include raising the consciousness of those in the health community on realities of Philippine society and help organize them in support of "the national-democratic struggle" (Quijano, 2012). Such dynamism also partly explains the popularity of the communist insurgency during Martial Law and beyond, which, in contrast with the government's inability to provide social services, especially to rural areas, "helps the masses organise their co-operatives, provides them with political education and attends to their health problems" (Davis, 1989).

The CBHP movement's comprehensive approach to healthcare eventually found broader, multi-sectoral support through the left-wing umbrella group Bagong Alyansang Makabayan's (BAYAN/New Patriotic Alliance) founding declaration (1985), which subscribed to the idea that "it is the people's right to avail of social services that take care of their health, ensures employment, housing, social security, and education, simply put, services that respond to the people's basic needs." HEAD was in fact among BAYAN's founding organizations. At least one approved resolution in BAYAN's founding assembly – "Resolution on Genuine Agrarian Reform and Rural Development" - includes the advocacy to "ensure the timely provision, in a coordinated manner, of the full range of services, including...health and nutrition...at the local level," echoing CBHP's approach. In a separate General Program of Action (GPOA), BAYAN pledged to advocate for "...adequate social and public services of the same quality and quantity to rural and urban areas throughout the nation. Such services should include primary healthcare, water, education, housing, light and power, public transport and communications, social security, and recreational and leisure facilities." Such a comprehensive view of healthcare as a basic human right of every citizen, which must be upheld along with other essential socio-economic rights, is typical in many social movements' advocacies throughout history.

After the 1986 EDSA People Power I Uprising, inspired by the opening-up of the so-called "new democratic space," the health NGOs moved into advocacy and lobbying work. BUKAS (Bukluran para sa Kalusugan ng Sambayanan) was formally established in May 1986 following a series of 'snap symposia'...BUKAS framed an extensive 'Manifesto for People's Health' that called for reforms in the health sector, from a National Drug Policy to health financing schemes" (Tan, 1993). The campaign for a national drug policy helped gain momentum for the Generic Act, which helped lower the price of medicines in the country. The "Manifesto for People's Health" was considered a local contextualization of the Alma Ata Declaration's health as a human right, especially that it emphasized the need for state funding for primary care and the regulation of the pharmaceutical market (Hermansson, 1989).

Also, shortly after EDSAI, the first Aguino administration assembled the Constitutional Commission (ConCom), which became an arena for progressive ideas, including healthcare reform. Citizen-advocates of healthcare wrote letters to the ConCom to push for big ideas that aligned with social movement-led efforts for holistic social transformation and social services for all. The ConCom Proceedings cited Romulo P. Sandejas III's letter to the Committee on Human Resources "proposing free education and health service, among others"; a "(r) esolution of the Philippine Medical Women's Association, Inc., proposing the principle that it shall be the duty of the state to give free primary healthcare to its underprivileged citizens" (emphasis supplied); and Fidel R. Milan et al.'s letter to the Committee on General Provisions "requesting provisions on urban land reform, free hospitalization..." etc...

Meanwhile, the ConCom's Proposed Resolution No. 277 was entitled "Resolution to Incorporate in the New Constitution a Provision on a National Health Policy for a Comprehensive Healthcare Delivery System for the Entire country," and thus went beyond the Alma Ata Declaration's focus on primary healthcare. The said resolution was introduced by Delegate Minda Luz Quesada and two others. Quesada was a trained nurse by profession and way back in 1984 established the Alliance of Health Workers (AHW), in the same year HEAD was formed. In the ConCom deliberations, Quesada fought hard to enshrine healthcare in the Bill of Rights as a fundamental human right, explaining that "(o)ur personal experience shows that because of inadequacy or lack of social services, like health service, many people have been denied this right to life." Quesada failed in this particular fight, but her social movementbacked insights on a "comprehensive healthcare delivery system for the entire country" were nevertheless adopted and integrated into a particular segment for health in the 1987 Philippine Constitution (Sections 11-13 of Article XIII). Rather than a free healthcare system, the delegates settled for an "affordable" one, with the additional aspiration that "(t)he State shall endeavor to provide free medical care to paupers."

An advocacy pamphlet entitled "Policy Proposals on Agriculture and Countryside Development," impliedly written to influence the policy trajectories of the ConCom, (Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas/KMP/Peasant Movement of the Philippines, 1986) emphasized ensuring "the effective delivery to the rural population of appropriate health and nutrition services that are anchored on direct participation of the people in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of these programs," by strengthening "the primary healthcare concept as a basic thrust of the country's rural healthcare program," setting up and sustaining "community-based healthcare programs in the countryside that will integrate and further develop the indigenous yet scientific health practices and health resources of the rural communities" etc.

The push for healthcare for all citizens persisted (and somehow, also had a paradigm shift) even after the 1987 Philippine Constitution was ratified in a national plebiscite. BAYAN's "Deklarasyon ng Mga Prinsipyo at Ang Pangarap ng Isang Pambansang Demokratikong Lipunan"/"Declaration of Principles and Our Aspiration for a National Democratic Society" (c.1987) contains the following healthcare advocacy: "The State must ensure effective and sufficient delivery of basic social services. Be it free or affordable, the provision of ample and suitable health and medical services must be ensured." Partido ng Bayan/PnB (literally, People's Party), a left-wing party established in 1987 by BAYAN-affiliated forces, released an updated "Vision and Program of Government" in 1991, expressing its plan to "provide free primary healthcare and socialized forms of medical services and hospitalization."

Meanwhile, HEAD and other organizations formed the Network Opposed to Privatization (NOP) and "led the protests against government's (hospital privatization) plans" (Nandi et al., 2020) in 1998. In the said launch, the Council for Health and Development (CHD) presented a statement which became the de facto founding manifesto of the NOP, asserting that health is "a basic human right. It is primarily the responsibility of the government to ensure accessible and affordable healthcare for all, especially for the majority of Filipinos who are living in extreme poverty," emphasizing that "(p)rivatization is government's way of shirking its responsibility to the people; and it has the gall to pass on to others (like NGOs, churches and private groups) what it does not have the political will to do..." and calling upon the Filipino people to "reject all moves of the government to privatize healthcare" and "fight for our right to affordable and accessible health services," among other things (NOP, n.d.). In 2007, the NOP along with health sector associations and unions filed a Supreme Court petition to stop "the collection of socialized user fees and the corporate restructuring of government hospitals" under the Philippine government's HSRA. The NOP was relaunched as the Network Opposed to Privatization of Public Hospitals and Health Services in 2012 (All UP Workers' Union, 2012).

In 2000, the People's Health Movement Philippines was launched, with organizational members that include HEAD and AHW, "pursuing the vision of the People's Charter for Health" through initiating and supporting "various campaigns such as the revitalization of primary healthcare; increased access to essential and low cost quality medicines" and opposing the "privatization of health services." The said charter emphasized that the Alma Ata Declaration's "Health for All by 2000" remains unrealized in many countries and thus opposed "international and national policies that privatise healthcare and turn it into a commodity," demanded "that governments promote, finance, and provide comprehensive Primary Healthcare as the most effective way of addressing health problems and organising public health services so as to ensure free and universal access," called upon "governments to adopt, implement and enforce national health and drugs policies," and demanded "that governments oppose the privatisation of public health services and ensure effective regulation of the private medical

sector, including charitable and NGO medical services" (People's Health Movement, 2000) among other things.

Meanwhile, a founding document of the Makabayang Koalisyon ng mga Mamamayan (Nationalist Coalition of Citizens) or Makabayan Coalition/Bloc (2009) — the ideological inheritor of PnB — emphasized affordability of social services as a means of lifting "the majority from poverty," and asserts that the demands of the people should be fulfilled, including "...a more advanced and affordable services in public education, health, housing, water, and electricity..." In 2014, Makabayan Bloc legislators joined the NOP and dozens of similar organizations in filing a Supreme Court petition to stop the privatization or commercialization of the Philippine Orthopedic Center. The petition's "prefatory" asserts that it is the State's responsibility

to provide and ensure a basic social service such as health based on the people's constitutional right to health and to free medical care and access to affordable health services. Such duty should not be relinquished to a private entity through privatization or commercialization of a government hospital to the prejudice of the poor and underprivileged.

It also asserted that "the right to health, right to access to affordable health services, and right to free medical care are legally demandable rights." In 2015, Makabayan Bloc's official declaration of endorsement for the presidential and vice-presidential ticket of Grace Poe and Chiz Escudero pointed out their pledge to "increase the budget and expand the system of public education, hospitals, health centers, and housing..." Poe and Escudero's signed response to the endorsement (2015) provided details of such healthcare policy:

The health of everyone is important. A person's family must not become bankrupt because of his/her sickness. They should not be made to choose between eating and buying medicines for a sick loved one. Public hospitals must be increased and strengthened. There should be health centers in all communities, and sufficient medicines, doctors, nurses, and midwives should be ensured. The policy of commercialization and privatization of public hospitals must be reviewed. Healthcare services are not a privilege for those who have money, but a right that must be enjoyed by everyone in society.

Another left-wing party, Akbayan Citizens' Action Party/Akbayan Party-list (n.d.) criticizes "the dominance of a market-oriented framework" in Philippine healthcare and "asserts that public health is not a question of market imperatives or trade, where profit dictates over human development and social equity. Our agenda is to put public health back in the realm of basic rights and human dignity. The right to health...is as inalienable as

the right to life." The said party did not directly call for free healthcare but put "focus on the following areas: overhauling the neoliberal framework in Philippine healthcare system and pushing for greater State responsibility; addressing flaws in the devolution of health service; and attending to a myriad of issues, such as labor migration policies, population growth and the well-being of mothers and children, access to essential medicines, prevention through effective community-based and primary healthcare, reproductive health, corruption and patronage in healthcare, and patient's rights." Makabayan Bloc's advocacy, coupled with Akbayan's eventual role as a junior coalition partner of the second Aquino presidency (Juliano, 2015), arguably partly aided (if not compelled) the latter's pioneering adoption of the "universal healthcare" framework, albeit, in a limited manner constrained by public-private partnership schemes which essentially allow (if not encourage) the continuous involvement of profit-oriented firms in the healthcare sector. The popularity of the universal healthcare framework is proven by Risa Hontiveros' successful senatorial win in 2016, which definitely rode on her clear advocacy for universal healthcare (Geronimo, 2016; Lim, 2016). Before she was elected as senator, Hontiveros was an Akbayan representative in Congress and was also later appointed by the second Aquino administration to PhilHealth.

In 2017, the National Anti-Poverty Commission (NAPC) headed by Liza Maza, a Makabayan Bloc stalwart, released the "Kilos Sambayanan (People Act) Primer," which was drafted through consultative, multi-sectoral assemblies. The said primer pushed for the fulfillment of 10 basic needs (including health services), as a "call for convergence of all sectors in society, inside and outside government, to create the movement against poverty" that would ensure the right to "highest possible standard of health" in a country where 93 million citizens (92%) are covered by the National Health Insurance Program in 2015, "inching towards the desired goal of universal health insurance coverage though out-of-pocket costs still amount to 55.8%." The same primer also called for further state investments in the healthcare system to reverse the prospective privatization of 70 public hospitals, a policy which was initiated under the second Aquino administration. Furthermore, the said primer emphasized that it is the government's obligation "to ensure that everyone enjoys suitable and affordable healthcare, including other essential needs for good health such as sufficient food, safe drinking water, and a clean environment." Maza's Makabayan Bloc colleagues in Congress initially supported an early version of House Bill 5784 (what eventually was passed as the Universal Health Care Act/UHCA) but they withdrew their co-authorship of the final bill because it "is not in consonance with our position that free healthcare and a unified public healthcare should directly be funded by the government through public hospitals... the bill pushes for the privatization and commercialization of the healthcare system," and will "reduce the funding of public hospitals, allowing private facilities to dominate the healthcare system," in which the government will merely become a "collector of contributions" rather than a "primary funder" of public healthcare (Cupin, 2017).

Makabayan Bloc's earliest legislative advocacy for free healthcare based on the House of Representatives' online archives was in 2009 – under the 14th Congress – when Bayan Muna Rep. Satur Ocampo filed House Bill 5831 ("AN ACT AMENDING SECTION 4 (e) OF REPUBLIC ACT 7432, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS THE SENIOR CITIZENS ACT OF 1992, AS AMENDED, GRANTING FREE HOSPITALIZATION TO SENIOR CITIZENS IN ANY GOVERNMENT HOSPITAL"). A substitute bill was eventually passed as R.A. 9994 in 2010, but it included only discounted rates for healthcare treatment of senior citizens, rather than 100% free healthcare. Representatives of the Makabayan Bloc also filed succeeding bills very similar to House Bill 5831, still focusing on directly providing free hospitalization for indigent senior citizens in any public hospital (such as House Bill 4712 in 2011 and House Bill 3461 in 2013), but such bills gained no ground in Congress. In 2016, the Makabayan Bloc also filed House Bill 2475 ("AN ACT PROHIBITING THE PRIVATIZATION AND CORPORATIZATION OF PUBLIC HOSPITALS, PUBLIC HEALTH FACILITIES AND PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES"), which gained support in Congress through a substitute bill, House Bill 7437, which was filed in 2018 and passed by the House of Representatives on the same year. Health advocacy groups like AHW (2017) also support that initiative asserting "that public hospitals, public health facilities and public health services from the barangay to the national level should not be privatized..." and "that public healthcare system from the barangay level to the public hospitals should be modernized and developed and be given free to the public. This should be tax-based and not open for private partnership."

In 2019, under the 18th Congress, the Makabayan Bloc filed a more encompassing bill – which could have been a good starting point for a broader publicly-funded and public sector-dominated universal healthcare system – House Bill 224 ("AN ACT PROVIDING FOR FREE HEALTH SERVICES TO ALL FILIPINOS IN ALL GOVERNMENT HOSPITALS, TREATMENT REHABILITATION CENTERS AND SANITARIA, RURAL HEALTH UNITS, AND BARANGAY HEALTH CENTERS). The said bill garnered just one co-author outside their bloc, and eventually, the UHCA - which somehow fulfilled Makabayan Bloc's advocacy for free public healthcare services in public hospitals (although limited to basic or ward accommodations), but which they rightfully criticized as a law that still allows (if not expands) private sector dominance in the healthcare system – was passed. Similarly, the People's Health Movement Philippines opposes UHCA as its provisions can set "limits for insurance claims..." which "will mean more out-of-pocket spending, more commercialized and privatized healthcare," thus, in lieu of the UHCA, they instead propose "...a free, comprehensive, progressive and unified public healthcare system that is tax-based and anchored on the principle of health as a fundamental human right" (De La Paz, 2019). Another organization, HEAD (2020), labeled UHCA as a "neoliberal program" which intends to hike PhilHealth premium rates, fails to resolve backlogs in the number of healthcare personnel and public healthcare facilities, and that "worsens the commercialization of the health system...where big capitalists...benefit more" through profit accumulation in exchange for health services. Their description of the

UHCA as a neoliberal scheme suits some scholars' characterization of the Duterte regime as an essentially neoliberal one (Lindio-McGovern, 2020; Ramos, 2021). As an alternative to the UHCA, HEAD (2020) wants expansion of the public healthcare system through directly increasing the government's expenditure for public healthcare facilities rather than for or via subsidizing PhilHealth. Meanwhile, Akbayan legislators supported and lauded the passage of UHCA (Hontiveros, 2019; Reganit, 2019). Describing herself as an Akbayan senator, Hontiveros (2019) – a co-sponsor of UHCA – praised the measure as a "key milestone in efforts to make the country's health services equally accessible, effective, and affordable for all Filipinos." Nevertheless, the principled opposition to UHCA - premised on the assertion that it is not good enough in limiting if not totally wiping out healthcare commodification – persisted and even seems to have been revitalized by the COVID-19 pandemic that has exposed the weaknesses of the public healthcare system and the inequities of UHCA-era healthcare (Martinez, 2020; Bekema, 2021).

In April 2020, a citizen-initiated change.org petition to stop PhilHealth's mandatory collection of premiums from Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs)—a new policy explicitly contained in Section 4(f) and Section 10 of the UHCA—went viral, reaching around 300,000 signatures in a few days (Rappler, 2020) and close to 465,000 signatures as of this writing. Due to such public pressure, then President Duterte was forced to temporarily stop PhilHealth from collecting these premiums from migrant workers. The suspension of this collection still stands as of this writing.

Upping the ante for broader healthcare reform, in September 2020, HEAD and other allied organizations initiated a petition entitled "Philhealth, not a solution. Demand for Genuine Free Healthcare Services for the People!" (HEAD, 2020). The statement cited DOH's National Objectives for Health 2017–2020 and pointed out that:

"PhilHealth's services account only for 16.7%, while out-of-pocket spending constitutes the biggest share—52.2%—of the country's total health expenditure from the period 2012–2016. Filipinos from many rural communities have yet to see a health worker, let alone a health center, and seven out of ten Filipinos still die without ever seeing a health professional."

It concluded with calls such as:

"Abolish PhilHealth, and allocate its funds directly to public health, state-run hospitals, and health facilities. With bigger and better funding, public health facilities can have more complete medical supplies, medicines, and equipment. Barangay and rural health centers can provide free and quality outpatient services, while larger facilities like hospitals will have better and more complete diagnostic and therapeutic

capabilities; develop and strengthen the public healthcare system that is integrated, tax-funded, and that provides free and comprehensive healthcare; develop a healthcare system that is centrally planned and anchored on a social orientation with its basic principle of health as a right."

In February 2021, various NGOs, including the liberal-leaning think tank Stratbase ADR Institute for Strategic and International Studies (Calayag, 2021), launched the broad group UHC Watch through a Manifesto for Universal Healthcare in the Philippines (UHC Watch, 2021). The said manifesto seemed to echo HEAD's concluding calls, albeit in a milder tone and short of calling for the abolition of PhilHealth:

As infections continue to spread plus the absence of universal healthcare coverage, access to reliable and affordable medical and health services is a daily challenge faced by a vast majority of Filipinos... We appeal to the Government to prioritize the implementation of the Universal Healthcare Law, together with other health laws, and allocate adequate resources for their operationalization... We call for urgent improvement of the public health system and adopt measures that will ensure inclusive, accessible, adequate, and timely quality health services - especially for the most vulnerable and marginalized sectors of society (women, children, elderly, indigenous peoples, persons with disabilities, and those with chronic illnesses)... We demand for a transparent and accountable public health system. (UHC Watch, 2021)

In 2021, Laban ng Masa (LnM), another left-leaning coalition distinct from both the Makabayan Bloc and Akbayan, released a comprehensive 25-point agenda for the 2022 elections on its website, covering "COVID-19 AND HEALTHCARE," where the following items were tackled:

Disband the useless Inter-Agency Task Force on COVID-19 (IATF) and form a new cohesive body that is led by proven medical professionals who will actively solicit popular participation in the formulation of pandemic plan to provide free, rapid, and comprehensive testing, vaccination, and medical treatment for all. Create a COVID-19 Economic Fund that aims to provide direct, emergency support to every person in the Philippines. Enact an ambitious universal healthcare program founded on the principles of accessibility, wide coverage, and guaranteeing the right of every Filipino to healthcare, not profit. Significantly raise the salaries of public healthcare providers in recognition of their important role in protecting our society. Dramatically improve the access of Filipinos to dental care, mental health, neglected tropical diseases, and other unaddressed health issues. (emphasis supplied)

A version of the said manifesto published by the Inquirer (2021) was more direct, from a policy perspective:

From the proceeds of the wealth tax and the debt cancellation, increase funds for vaccine purchases, institute a universal basic income of 1,500 a day for each family, fund a universal healthcare program delivering quality, preventive care for free... (emphasis supplied)

Before this recent intervention, LnM, along with Sanlakas, an LnM-allied left-wing formation that used to have a partylist representative in Congress (1998–2001 & 2001–2004), had no publicly available stance (or statement) on UHCA.

In the same year, under the 18th Congress, the Makabayan Bloc filed House Bill 9515 ("AN ACT PROVIDING FOR A FREE, COMPREHENSIVE, AND PROGRESSIVE, NATIONAL PUBLIC Healthcare SYSTEM"). This is the most comprehensive healthcare reform legislation so far, since the UHCA (and if the UHCA is excluded, this bill is arguably the only comprehensive healthcare legislation from a social movement-backed party-list grouping at this point). The breadth and depth of this bill is a testament to how far the country's healthcare reform agenda has gone from (see Table 1) the days of merely aspiring for healthcare for all with no clear timetable, to dreaming of a healthcare system that is free for all, with no co-payments whatsoever.

Summary of Social Movements' Health Policy Advocacies & Notable Paradigm Shifts in the Philippines

Social Movements with Health Policy Advocacies	Main Advocacies	Administration	State Response/s	Notable Paradigm Shift
NGOS' CBHPs	 Providing basic healthcare services & health literacy Direct stakeholders' engagement in establishing and running CBHPs Political Education and Mobilization 	Marcos	Medicare Act (contribution-funded public health insurance; compulsory for employed, voluntary for those not employed)	Health for all as an aspiration
BUKAS	 Cheaper medicines Bigger state funding for primary healthcare Free or affordable comprehensive healthcare for all Sustaining CBHPs 	C. Aquino	Generics Act of 1988 Local Government Code of 1991 (covers healthcare)	Devolution of healthcare to LGUs Regulation of medicine price through cheaper generic medicines
BAYAN KMP				
PnB	 Free primary healthcare and socialized forms of medical services and hospitalization 	Ramos	PhilHealth Organic Act	Timetable for healthcare for all
People's Health Movement	Anti-privatizationFree comprehensive primary healthcare	Estrada	Health Sector Reform Agenda	Greater coverage of the National Health Insurance Program

Social Movements with Health Policy Advocacies	Main Advocacies	Administration	State Response/s	Notable Paradigm Shift
Makabayan	Affordable healthcareFree public hospitalizationfor senior citizens	Macapagal- Arroyo	RA 9994 (discount for medical services for senior citizens)	Healthcare Discount for Senior Citizens
			Cheaper Medicines Law	Regulation of medicine price through cheaper generic medicines
Akbayan Makabayan	 Expanded state-funded healthcare Free public hospitalization for indigent senior citizens Anti-privatization 	B. Aquino	Administrative Order for a Universal Healthcare Plan	Universal health coverage for the poorest
KILOS SAMBAYANAN	Free healthcare	Duterte	инса	Zero co-payments for the poorest (No Balance Billing);
ΓυΜ	 Tax-funded free healthcare 			Automatic public insurance coverage for all
Makabayan	 Free public hospitalization for all citizens 			Snowballing support for free, tax-funded healthcare for all
	 Tax-funded free healthcare 			Legislative advocacy for renationalization (reversal of devolution to LGUs) and against privatization

Note. Author's summary of the current review.

In sum, social movements in the Philippines emphasize universal access to healthcare then and now – the concept that healthcare is a right, a state responsibility, rather than a commodity. Hence, social movements advocate making healthcare free, or at least, affordable for all & free for the poorest. In most cases, throughout history, Philippine social movements tackle healthcare as an essential component of sweeping and comprehensive socio-economic reforms for which they mobilize their forces and intend to muster public support. Usually, social movements link healthcare services to other basic social services such as education and housing. Little by little, social movements were able to push for healthcare reforms, which have compelled the Philippine state from merely aspiring for healthcare for all in the 1970s, to making membership in the public insurance system automatic, and even free (state-funded) for the poorest segments of the population, just one step short of making it free for everyone, which is what House Bill 9515 intends to do. As a review of the origins of the concept of UHC emphasizes, UHC is a political struggle that is waged and won by mostly left-wing parties (Greer & Méndez, 2015), backed by and/or having roots in robust social movements.

Breadth and Depth of Healthcare Reform Under House Bill 9515

House Bill 9515 intends to remake the country's healthcare system away from commodification and privatization, closer to a genuinely universal healthcare system where tax-funded free health services - with no OOPPs - are available at least in public healthcare facilities (see Table 2). The most far-reaching reforms that House Bill 9515 intends to achieve include the following: 1) instituting tax revenues as the sole source of funds for the public healthcare system thereby abolishing PhilHealth and doing away with mandatory contributions (Section 6; Section 32-33); 2) free healthcare in public health facilities (including free medicines) with no OOPPs (Section 6); 3) free oral and dental healthcare services in all facilities (Section 13); 4) renationalization of health services or the reversal of healthcare devolution to LGUs (Section 18); 5) setting minimum number of (and standards for) public healthcare facilities from the barangay to the national levels (Section 23); 6) prohibition of privatization (Section 34); and 6) tax holidays and incentives for local private hospitals in areas where there are no public facilities (Section 39).

Table 2 Comparison of Elements and Indicators of Health Financing Mechanisms Under UHCA and House Bill 9515

Elements in the framework	Indicators (UHCA/Status Quo)	Indicators (House Bill 9515)
Revenue raising	 Government revenues (taxes, mandatory contributions, & other revenues) Out-of-pocket 	Government revenues (taxes)Out-of-pocket
Pooling	 Single pool (PhilHealth) Continuing presence of private health insurance 	 Single pool (directly tax-funded; PhilHealth is abolished) Continuing presence of private health insurance, albeit, subject to regulation
Purchasing	 Public, private, and mixed providers (private sector is dominant, in general) Payments/reimbursements capped at case rates, beyond which OOPPs are collectible 	Transition to a public sector- dominant system Full cost of treatment in public facilities is shouldered by the state; OOPPs are technically still collectible in private ones
Benefits	Capped at case rates	No cap for public facilities
Financial protection	Continuing out of pocket payments (OOPPs)	Theoretically minimal out of pocket payments (OOPPs)

Note. Indicators used for applying the framework of McIntyre & Kutzin (2016), adopted from (Myint et al., 2019), with the current researcher's modifications.

At the outset, abolishing PhilHealth would seem a very drastic idea, but its dire financial situation may convince even non-radicals that it has outlived its usefulness. In 2021, a PhilHealth executive told a congressional hearing that PhilHealth actuarial life could last up to 2027 only (Cahiles, 2021), unless government subsidy for PhilHealth is increased and/or premium contributions are hiked. Indeed, the pandemic has drastically affected both premium contributions from voluntary members and even compulsory members (especially since the government has allowed OFWs to make voluntary payments, rather than mandatory ones, at least during the pandemic), and has also raised expenses for claims or reimbursements due to the ever-increasing number of COVID-19 cases. Hence, PhilHealth's abolition could even be viewed as a cost-effective measure of terminating the operations of an inefficient agency. Such abolition would instantly free up billions of pesos in operating expenses: PhilHealth's 2019 "total operating expenses" is pegged at 12,948,749,363 pesos (latest available). In the same year, PhilHealth's collection efficiency rate is at 79% only, which, while numerically better than in recent years, remains far from he ideal 100%, especially since premium contributions are automatically deducted monthly from the salaries of those in the PhilHealth is also partly faulted by the Commission on Audit (COA, 2021) for the "all case rate payment scheme" which had 'sped up (the) reimbursement process but lacked control mechanisms to detect and prevent improper payments" Thus, in abolishing PhilHealth, the savings can instantly be rechanneled to the public healthcare system and the government's huge ust in 2020, the government funneled subsidies amounting to 63,425,436,284 pesos to PhilHealth. Allotting such subsidies to the public healthcare system is more efficient than retaining it as a subsidy for PhilHealth, which in turn spends a huge portion subsidies (which PhilHealth enjoys then and now) could also be utilized to expand the public healthcare system. For example, of it for reimbursements to private healthcare facilities, where its support value is less maximized compared to public facilities ormal sector (private and public employees). There is simply no reason to tolerate a collection efficiency rating below 100%. see Tables 3 & 4).

Fable 3

PhilHealth's National Average Support Value in Various Private Healthcare Facilities (2017)

						Priva	ite Fac	Private Facility Type	ø.						
		Level 1			Level 2			Level 3		MCP	MCP (Maternal Care Package) Provider	al Care wider	Infirm	Infirmary/Dispensary	ensar
Member Category	NSN	ASV w/o other support	SV w/o ASV w/ other other USV upport support	NSN	ASV w/o other support	ASV w/ other support	NSN	ASV w/o other support	ASV w/ other support	NSN	ASV w/o other support	ASV w/ other support	NSN	ASV w/o other support	ASV w/ other suppor
National 63%	63%	52%	23%	48%	41%	42%	40%	53% 48% 41% 42% 40% 35% 36%	36%	%66	72%	99% 72% 73% 71% 57%	71%	21%	28%
	:														

Legend: USV – Unadjusted Support Value; ASV – Adjusted Support Value Note. Data from author's FOI request #PH-435443369785. Figures were rounded off.

Table 4

PhilHealth's National Average Support Value in Various Government/ Public Healthcare Facilities (2017)

	MCP (Maternal Care Package) Provider	USV w/o other support support	99% 72% 73% 85% 67% 68%
Government Facility Type	Level 3	ASV ASV W/O Other support port	1% 56% 57%
Governme	7	ASV w/ other support	60% 71%
	Level 2	ASV w/o other support	29%
		NSN	67% 74%
		ASV w/ other support	%29
	Level 1	ASV w/o USV other	%99
		NSN	84%
		Member Category	National 84%

Legend: USV – Unadjusted Support Value; ASV – Adjusted Support Value Note. Data from author's FOI request #PH-435443369785. Figures were rounded off.

who can best afford to pay much higher taxes" (Africa, 2020). Another advocacy group, the Freedom from Debt Coalition, also for which the total collected from direct contributors amounts to a whopping 85,569,185,891 pesos in 2020. Admittedly, such abolition of premium contributions will instantly provide additional savings for those who are employed. In lieu of premium n the UK, Labour Party-affiliated members of parliament (MPs) call "for a progressive tax on those with assets worth over £5 million" to fund healthcare, in lieu of a national insurance rate hike (Trinder, 2021), a policy also backed by senior Labour Party igures (Helm & Inman, 2021). Back in the Philippines, in the first year of the pandemic, IBON Foundation has also reiterated its call for the imposition of "(a) wealth tax of 1% on wealth above Php1 billion, 2% on wealth above Php2 billion, and 3% over Php3 oillion..." which "..will raise Php236.7 billion annually just from the 50 richest Filipinos alone who by any standard are those House Bill 9515 has one possible immediate drawback: its provision of doing away with the premium contributions, PAGCOR revenues, etc. (Section 33). Laban ng Masa's wealth tax-for-health-care advocacy could help fine-tune and bolster such provision, and ensure that there will be enough funds for the swift expansion of the public healthcare system. Similarly, campaigns for a wealth tax in the Philippines (Rivas, 2021), and at least one economist, UP Prof. Solita Collas-Monsod (2021), contributions, the bill provides for alternative sources of funding for the public healthcare system, such as sin tax revenues, also favors such a wealth tax

House Bill 9515's focus on strengthening the public healthcare system is a big leap from past schemes (including the UHCA) that do not explicitly ban privatization and instead even emphasize public-private partnerships, which the bill considers as a form of privatization. This is also the culmination of the decades-long fight of social movements against the piecemeal privatization of aspects of Philippine healthcare, including the presence of private clinics inside government healthcare facilities, for example. In including free oral/dental healthcare, the bill also outdoes the UHCA (which does not provide PhilHealth coverage for oral/dental health services). Mendoza et al.'s recent policy analysis (2020) points out that "(o) utpatient dental health services, which comprise the majority of availed oral health services, are not covered by PhilHealth benefits." Thus, similar to House Bill 9515's advocacy for free oral/dental healthcare, they recommend that PhilHealth consider covering "public oral health services...The dental health team may be compensated for services rendered. This could be an encouragement for dental professionals to be in the public health sector as financial benefits can complement the services they render to the public."

The bill would also want to renationalize currently devolved aspects of healthcare, after decades of a somehow failed devolution process. Its explanatory note remarks that "(t)he system of devolution has done little to address the widening inequalities in access to healthcare in our population," and that "(g)iven the inequitable distribution of health workforce and services...increased development is needed in the countryside where majority of the population are underserved." Related to health equity, a loyal Duterte ally, Sen. Christopher "Bong" Go (2021), current chairperson of the Senate Committee on Health, supports renationalizing a number of local hospitals, pointing out that "we cannot just pass on the cudgels to LGUs at this time especially amid an ongoing pandemic when resources are already scarce. National government must step in..." An early assessment (Grundy et al., 2003) gives evidence that:

(s) ubsequent to the introduction of devolution, quality and coverage of health services declined in some locations, particularly in rural and remote areas. It was found that in 1992-1997, system effects included a breakdown in management systems between levels of government, declining utilization particularly in the hospital sector, poor staff morale, a decline in maintenance of infrastructure, and underfinancing of operational costs of services. Decentralization aims to widen the decision-making space of middle-level managers, enhance resource allocations from central to peripheral areas, and improve the efficiency and effectiveness of health services management. The findings of the historical review of devolution in the Philippines reveal some consistencies with the international literature, which describe some negative effects of decentralization...

Despite such findings, Grundy et al. (2003) suggested "undertaking a second wave of reform in order to 'make devolution work." Meanwhile, Cuenca (2018) pointed out that devolution has also weak spots in a developing country context, though there are local government units (LGUs) whose positive devolution experiences could become role models for others, and thus opts for a system in which "public health can be a shared responsibility of both national and local government."

Despite the bill's far-reaching objectives, however, it still allows private healthcare facilities and health maintenance organizations (HMOs) or private insurance to exist subject to State regulations, thereby leaving some space for the continuous commodification of healthcare, at least in private facilities where OOPPs would certainly be required for most types of treatment (especially after PhilHealth is abolished). Arguably, such reality will not matter if the bill succeeds in expanding the public healthcare system (Section 6 and Section 23) and if the sources of tax revenues listed for the law's appropriations are retained and even increased (Section 33), as most citizens would theoretically be accommodated in public healthcare facilities where services would become totally free as per the bill's provisions, and most private hospitals – especially profit-oriented ones – would either go out of business or operate as charitable institutions. However, the 3-month period after the bill's passage – during which PhilHealth will be abolished (and consequently, government spending for citizen's availment of private healthcare would instantly be stopped) - could be too short a time to immediately fill the gaps in the public healthcare system and swiftly transition to a system where majority of the citizens will prefer to seek treatment in (and would be accommodated by) public healthcare facilities. Even assuming that the necessary funding for such expansion of public healthcare is fully secured through tax revenues, some aspects of expansion such as putting up additional buildings and hospital beds and ordering imported state-of-theart medical technologies (not to mention the mass hiring of additional personnel for public facilities in anticipation for an increase in demand) would take longer than 3 months to accomplish. Hence, the transition period should either be extended by a year or two (even 10 years, if necessary), during which PhilHealth would still be allowed to partly shoulder the cost of treatment in selected private hospitals. If such a period is extended, the bill should also include a provision on possibly regulating (towards lowering) the cost of treatment in private hospitals, while ensuring that "reimbursement rates approach the true cost of providing care efficiently in the private sector..." (Dayrit et al., 2018) so as to eventually stop private hospitals from asking patients to cough up OOPPs.

House Bill 9515's provisions would make the Philippine healthcare system closer to both the UK and Cuban models (see Table 5). Government expenditure on healthcare will be increased through tax revenues. With regard to financing healthcare, the bill's provisions are more like those of the Cuban model (fully tax-funded), in contrast with the Philippine status quo and the UK system (both partly funded by mandatory national insurance contributions). More recently, the Conservative Thus, House Bill 9515 would make public healthcare in the Philippines even more progressive than that of the UK's NHS, at least from the viewpoint of taxpayers. Furthermore, out-of-pocket payments under the bill would be zero, except in private healthcare acilities. Operations and "essential and lifesaving" medicines are now also covered. Moreover, even oral/dental healthcare is o be free of charge. In general, House Bill 9515 concretizes the social movement-backed call for free, comprehensive, public UK government has passed legislation to increase the national insurance payment by 1.25 percentage points (Alegretti, 2021). nealthcare, which has spanned decades now.

Table 5

Illustrative Comparison of the Healthcare Systems of the Philippines, UK, & Cuba

Govern Country Expen					
	t o	Out-of-pocket payments (OOPPs)	Medicines (Prescription Drugs)	Total Hip Replacement	Oral/Dental Health
Philippines Low (status quo		Bi Bi	Not free; Free essential medicines available thru some LGUs; Subsidized medicines (30 drugs) also available to certain sectors 48.5% of OOPPs spent for "drugs, neutraceuticals and medical products." Drug prices historically high (especially when compared with India & Pakistan)	Free for "indigent, sponsored, and kasambahay members"; With "negotiated fixed co-pay" (OOPPs) "for all other eligible members and their qualified dependents," for expenses beyond 103,400.00 pesos (for members who are 66 years old & above); and beyond 160,400 pesos (for members who are 65 years and 364 days old and below)	Partially

Country	Government Expenditure on Health	Out-of-pocket payments (OOPPs)	Medicines (Prescription Drugs)	Total Hip Replacement	Oral/Dental Health
Philippines (under House Bill 9515)	High	Zero in public healthcare facilities. Status quo (possibly still big OOPPs in the short term; theoretically could be reduced in the long term) in private hospitals.	Free in public healthcare facilities	Free in public healthcare facilities Government subsidy for private healthcare (PhilHealth coverage) would be stopped, hence, possibly high OOPPs in private health facilties	Covered
N N	High	Small	Free/no charge in Scotland, Wales, & Northern Ireland; Minimal charge in England (£9.35 or 632 pesos per item) but 90% of items are still free of charge	Free	Covered

Country	Government Expenditure on Health	Government Out-of-pocket Expenditure payments on Health (OOPPs)	Medicines (Prescription Drugs)	Total Hip Replacement	Oral/Dental Health
Cuba	High	Small	Focus is on preventive healthcare;	Free	Covered
			Prescription drugs for hospitalized patients, free;		
			Shortage of medicines documented in recent years		
			List of subsidized drugs (162 items) retained		

Note. Data from: DOH (n.d.); Picazo, 2012; Dayrit et al., 2018; BBC, 2011; teleSUR, 2020; Ulep & De La Cruz, 2013; PhilHealth, 2014; Cylus et al., 2015; Spiegel & Yassi (2004); Riera (2006); NHS Business Services Authority (n.d.)

House Bill 9515, private healthcare facilities could be compelled to reduce OOPPs to still attract patients, function as charitable However, since the bill abolishes PhilHealth, subsidies for treatment in private facilities would be stopped. Thus, in the short term, this may mean big (or even higher) OOPPs in private facilities, except in areas where the private facilities will be given tax incentives, pending the establishment of public ones. This is a pragmatic approach that will ensure no areas are left unserved by healthcare facilities. In the long term, as the public healthcare system is meant to be expanded and strengthened by nstitutions or donor-funded foundations, or stay out of business.

can still boast of better health outcomes which the Philippines can only aspire for. The Philippines should ensure that funding problems would not hamper the swift establishment and strengthening of a robust and free public healthcare system. In Cuba's In remaking the Philippine healthcare system, the country has the opportunity to learn from the experiences of both Cuba case, it is impossible to gain a valuable insight on financing (except for the fact that a developing country, with a GDP smaller and the UK, which at this point, despite funding problems, still offer free healthcare for all, and, at least before the pandemic,

than the Philippines', can choose to prioritize healthcare and reap good health outcomes for its citizens, despite perennial problems ranging from medical supply shortages to inability to upgrade infrastructure), as their financial problems are a result of a long-term external factor (the US-led economic blockade) which instantly ties its hands on most economic matters. Considering that the Philippines has no such externally induced financial difficulties, the Philippines could easily start providing more budget for public healthcare if its government chooses to do so. Meanwhile, the UK's experiences point to the importance of consistent funding/state investment in healthcare and caution against piecemeal privatization (and hence, commodification) of the public healthcare system.

The Royal College of Physicians' report, Underfunded. Underdoctored. Overstretched. The NHS in 2016, says it all: "The NHS budget has not kept pace with rising demand for services. We need a new NHS budget that: meets the demand for health services; sets realistic targets for efficiency savings; protects funds for transformation; invests in the longterm sustainability of the NHS." Robinson (2002) notes that the NHS has been underfunded for "the past 20 years." More recently, the NHS Support Federation (2020) reveals that:

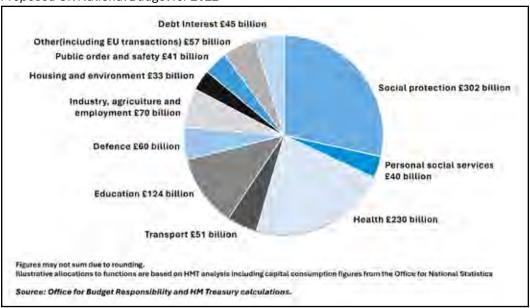
"(t)he NHS has experienced a decade of underfunding since 2010, despite cash boosts in 2018 and 2019. Between 2009-2019, the NHS budgets rose on average just 1.4% per year, compared to 3.7% average rises since the NHS was established. The whole NHS budget has not been protected and the result is cuts to frontline services, especially in public health. (n)early half of staff say underfunding stops them doing their job properly—many say it is the worst situation they have seen. There is a crisis in the recruitment of staff across the NHS—including too few doctors, midwives, paramedics, and nurses. Per head, the government spends less on the NHS than many other comparable countries. We have less beds and doctors per head than many comparable countries. Large cuts to social care and mental health have added huge pressure on the NHS, as there are not enough services outside of hospitals."

Within this context, underfunding has clearly partly caused

"...the worst performance against waiting times targets since the targets were set. This includes the highest proportion of people waiting more than four hours in A&E departments since 2004, and the highest proportion of people waiting over 18 weeks for non-urgent (but essential) hospital treatment since 2008...survey evidence suggests more people are experiencing lengthening delays in getting GP appointments" (Thorlby et al., 2019).

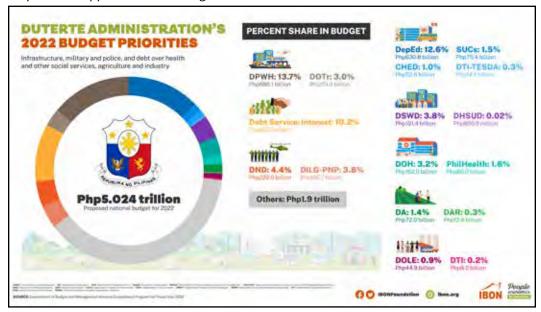
Thus, it must be emphasized that the UK NHS could have achieved way more if its underfunding had been reversed, and even with perennial underfunding, it was able to provide far better services than what the Philippine healthcare system offers. Proposed 2022 national budgets for the UK (Figure 2) and the Philippines (Figure 3) show how much the latter would have to learn from the former to establish a fully functioning free healthcare system. Notice that the UK's spending for healthcare dwarfs its defense spending, while in the Philippines, defense expenditure is bigger than the health department budget. Passing House Bill 9515 without drastically increasing Philippine state spending on healthcare would mean that the country may face long queues in the public healthcare system, possibly worse than what the UK now experiences.

Figure 2 Proposed UK National Budget for 2022



Source: UK Government (2021)

Figure 3 Proposed Philippine National Budget for 2022



Source: IBON Foundation (2021)

As House Bill 9515 opts for a pragmatic approach that retains private healthcare facilities and also incentivizes those in areas where no public facilities are currently available, the Philippines must also ensure that it has learned the lessons on the perils of piecemeal privatization through so-called public-private partnership schemes, which partially commodify healthcare services. This is parallel with Philippine social movements' consistent campaigns against privatization and for greater state responsibility (and funding) for healthcare. Indeed, the bill's Section 34 explicitly bans the "privatization of public health facilities, hospitals and health services...in any form" including "prohibition of transformation to corporate entities, contracting of services to private agencies, public-private partnership, hiring or leasing of equipment and devices from commercial entities." The bill also prohibits the following forms of privatization: "a) Divestiture or outright sale of public sector assets in which the state divests itself of public assets to private owners; b) Franchising or contracting out to private, for profit, or not-for-profit providers; c) Self-management, wherein providers are given autonomy to generate and spend resources; d) Market liberalization or deregulation to actively promote growth of the private health sector through various incentive mechanisms; and e) Withdrawal from State provision, wherein the private sector grows rapidly as a result of the failure on the part of the government to meet the healthcare demands of the people."

An additional lesson from the UK shows how underfunding can lead to privatization by stealth (Shaw, 2003; Lee, 2018). The "deliberate strategy" of underfunding the public healthcare system is "the standard method of privatisation: underfund, make sure it does not work, people get angry, you hand it over to private capital. Then government pays more, for less" (Hyde, 2019). Senior doctors in the UK have also criticized the Conservative-led government for "deliberately underfunding NHS to accelerate privatisation plans" (Forster, 2018). In contrast, the UK Labour Party manifesto (2019) opposed healthcare privatization because "(e)very penny spent on privatisation and outsourcing is a penny less spent on patient care." Analyzing the impact of privatization on the NHS, Giovanella (2016) explains that "... commodification and fragmentation have produced inefficiencies and major administrative spending hikes (from 6% to 15%)" because of the "multimillion-pound tenders, mergers, and hiring of private consultancies" that it entails. Such a link between privatization and profit-orientedness explains why, under the current setup, PhilHealth support value is less maximized in private facilities, and consequently, why, in general, public healthcare is more cost-effective. In public facilities, administrative expenses are minimized because services are free at the point of use; hence, there is no need for administrative processes related to the marketization of health services. Within the context of perennial underfunding in the UK's NHS, the Philippines, as a bare minimum, must ensure continuously increasing expenditures for the public healthcare system parallel with the country's ever-burgeoning population's needs, on top of the huge initial investment needed to swiftly bring Philippine public healthcare standards closer to the systems that are proven to have good health outcomes (e.g. UK's and Cuba's healthcare systems).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Healthcare reform paradigm shifts in the Philippines were partly a result of vibrant and continuous healthcare advocacies of social movements. Inch by inch, grassroots organizations mostly outside the halls of power, but eventually through representatives in Congress too, were able to compel the national government to slowly adopt reforms from the beginnings of healthcare for all aspirations in the 1970s to the automatic enrollment of every citizen in the public insurance system and the partial realization of free healthcare (e.g. for the poorest segments of society) under the UHCA, which was passed more than four decades after the precursor of the current public insurance system was established. House Bill 9515 refiled by ACT Teachers Partylist Rep. Antonio Tinio and Kabataan Partylist Rep. Renee Louise Co as House Bill No. 205 on June 30, 2025 - intends to reform healthcare financing in the Philippines to make public healthcare free for all, rather than for the poorest citizens only. The bill bans both further privatization and commodification of healthcare but stops short of prohibiting existing private health facilities and private HMOs from operating. Hence, it is

actually a pragmatic measure that wants big changes, yet gives room for some aspects of the status quo, which will be very difficult to abolish right away. If it is passed into law, its success would only be assured if funding for the public healthcare consistently matches the demand for healthcare, and as the UK healthcare system shows, failure to provide adequate funding can affect the quality of service and/or cause policy regression into re-privatization or expanded privatization. Despite recent policy changes, the Philippines' current healthcare system under the second Marcos administration remains far away from social movements' aspirations for a genuinely free (or at least affordable) and universal healthcare system. Future researches may build on the current study to analyze the extent of recent policy shifts.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

An early version of the draft paper benefitted from comments made by Dr. Ador Torneo, one of the author's mentors for the Directed Research requirements of the PhD in Development Studies (Research Track) program under De La Salle University-Manila's Department of Political Science and Development Studies. Portions of the current paper were also partly grounded on the author's related on-going dissertation project, for which Dr. Torneo also serves as his mentor.

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Community Development Initiatives Implementation and Disaster Risk Management Practices in Calamba City Barangays

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ABSTRACT

This examined the relationship between community development frameworks and disaster risk management (DRM), also referred to as disaster risk reduction management (DRRM), as well as Republic Act 10121 (Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act) practices, using a quantitative descriptive correlational design. Data were gathered from 150 respondents, 40 barangay officials, and 110 community members from Barangays Palingon, Lingga, and Sampiruhan in Calamba City through a validated researcher-made survey (CVR = 1.00) utilizing a four-point Likert scale. Statistical analyses included a paired T-test (.05 significance level) and Pearson Product-Moment Correlation.

Findings indicated that community development initiatives and DRM practices were generally "Fully Implemented" and "Fully Manifested," with Self-Understanding (3.49) and Preparedness (3.62) receiving the highest ratings, while Engage and Empower, Reflect and Celebrate (3.35), and Recovery (3.46) were the lowest. Significant differences were observed in Preparedness (p = 0.001) and Reflect and Celebrate (p = 0.044), while Self-Understanding (p = 0.175) showed no significant difference.

Correlation analysis revealed significant relationships, with Engage and Response (p = 0.001) as the strongest and Reflect and Preparedness (p = 0.026) as the weakest, while no significant relationship was found in Reflect and Mitigation (p = 0.877). To enhance disaster preparedness and response, an action plan was proposed to equip barangay officials with hands-on training in Incident Command System (ICS) Level 1.

Keywords: Community development, community frameworks, disaster risk reduction management implementation

INTRODUCTION

Disaster risk reduction management (DRRM) practices are essential strategies aimed at minimizing the impacts of disasters on communities, infrastructure, and economies. These

practices span risk assessment, mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery, building resilient communities capable of withstanding and recovering from hazards. According to Bang (2024), the United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development highlights DRRM's vital role in addressing natural and environmental risks while enhancing resilience. Notably, Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) 11 and 13 align with this agenda. SDG 11 focuses on creating inclusive, safe, and resilient communities, while SDG 13 advocates for urgent action on climate change, embedding adaptation and mitigation strategies into community initiatives.

Sandoval et al. (2023) highlighted the rising challenges of climate change, socioeconomic inequalities, and the increasing frequency and intensity of disasters in recent decades. Building on Wen et al. (2023), the study emphasized how extreme events in a changing climate not only hinder sustainable development goals but also threaten hardearned progress. Climate change amplifies disaster risks, intensifying damage and losses while posing significant challenges to global development.

Mizutori (2020) emphasized the national government's crucial role in aligning global priorities with localized DRRM strategies, ensuring they fit the country's geographical, cultural, and socio-economic context. Similarly, Djalante and Lassa (2019) highlighted the growing need to enhance risk governance at the community level by empowering local officials, strengthening decision-making bodies, and addressing the needs of vulnerable groups. The overflow of Laguna Lake led to significant flooding, impacting thousands of residents across various municipalities and cities in Laguna, including Barangay Palingon, Barangay Lingga, and Barangay Sampiruhan, which were located near the lake, shared adjacent borders, and were situated 2 kilometers from the Poblacion at a low elevation in the City of Calamba.

Despite increased attention to disaster risk reduction management (DRRM) and community development, local communities such as those in Calamba City continue to struggle with effective, inclusive, and risk-informed implementation. A persistent gap exists between policy intentions and actual practices, especially in integrating community development initiatives with DRRM.

This quantitative study aims to examine the relationship between the level of implementation of community development initiatives and the level of manifestation of DRRM practices in selected barangays of Calamba City. By analyzing the assessments of both barangay officials and community residents using statistical methods, the research seeks to identify significant patterns, differences, and correlations that reflect how effectively local development efforts align with DRRM strategies. The findings are expected to provide evidence-based insights that can strengthen barangay-level governance, inform future policies and programs, and support more resilient, inclusive, and sustainable community development.

Social inclusion and meaningful community engagement have been widely recognized as essential elements for the long-term sustainability of development programs. Tjale et al. (2024) emphasized that inclusive strategies are critical in reaching marginalized and vulnerable populations, ensuring equitable participation, and preventing the exclusion of any sector in community development efforts. Complementing this perspective, Amadei (2020) highlighted that active community participation significantly improves access to both material resources, such as infrastructure, healthcare, education, and financial assistance, as well as institutional resources, including government services, NGO programs, and legal support. Their findings suggest that involving communities throughout all stages of planning and implementation enables them to mobilize local capacities, leverage external support systems, and contribute meaningfully to decision-making processes, resulting in more responsive and contextually relevant outcomes.

Moreover, in the field of disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM), several scholars have advanced systematic and human-centered approaches. Albris et al. (2020) underscored the importance of structured methodologies for risk identification, assessment, and reduction, advocating for evidence-based planning tools. Bello (2023) emphasized the importance of vulnerability awareness and initiative-taking mitigation to build resilience before disaster events occur. Supporting these views, Williams et al. (2020) and Sarmiento et al. (2020) noted that fostering self-understanding within communities promotes empowerment and collective knowledge, which are vital for effective, community-led disaster responses.

Additionally, Muzamil et al. (2022), and Geekiyanage et al. (2020) emphasized the value of capacity building and collaborative planning in strengthening preparedness against natural hazards. Poland et al. (2021), Bosher et al. (2021), and Fjader (2021) added that strong social networks and trust among stakeholders significantly enhance emergency response coordination and resource mobilization. Abdussalaam et al. (2024) and Khan et al. (2022) emphasized integrating community development efforts into recovery initiatives to ensure long-term sustainability and resilience. Similarly, Pickering (2023), Mort et al. (2020), and Rabonza et al. (2022) underscored the importance of recognizing community achievements to reinforce motivation, build social cohesion, and enhance future preparedness and recovery capacities.

Furthermore, Saad et al. (2024) highlighted how international frameworks, such as the Yokohama Strategy, Hyogo Framework (2005–2015), and Sendai Framework (2015–2030), have strengthened community participation in disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM), promoting inclusive and proactive approaches to enhance global resilience, particularly in mitigating flood risks. At the national level, Pojas (2024) discussed efforts through the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Framework (NDRRMF) and the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan (NDRRMP) 2020–2030. Alongside Republic Act 10121,

these initiatives aim to build disaster-resilient Filipino communities. However, despite their strong emphasis on public engagement, there is still a lack of assessment regarding their actual implementation at the barangay level. In support of these goals, Mendoza (2025) noted the development of various DRRM-related policies in the Philippines, including Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plans for LGUs and the Guidelines for Mainstreaming DRR and Climate Change Adaptation (CCA). The Philippine Development Plan (PDP) 2023–2028 further reinforces this direction by identifying disaster resilience as a national priority.

What is more, Bankoff and Hilhorst (2022) pointed out that vulnerability has long been at the heart of disaster studies. But in recent years, the spotlight has shifted to resilience. While fostering resilience and promoting adaptation remain critical, it is equally important to recognize and directly address the underlying factors that contribute to vulnerability to achieve truly sustainable risk reduction. In addition, Gaillard et al. (2023) emphasized that participatory approaches to assessing vulnerability necessitate active community involvement and collective reflection. This includes examining past hazards, identifying affected community assets, analyzing response actions, and evaluating recovery processes. Such engagement enables participants to connect abstract concepts, like vulnerability, resilience, and local capacities, to their own lived experiences and context.

Despite these valuable contributions, gaps remain in understanding how community development and DRRM frameworks can be holistically integrated, particularly at the barangay level. This study addresses such gaps by examining the intersection of these frameworks within the context of Calamba City barangays. It bridges the literature gap by offering a comprehensive, community-centered disaster management approach that incorporates both development and risk reduction principles. The temporal dimension is addressed by analyzing evolving trends and shifts in community initiatives over time, while the spatial gap is tackled by investigating disparities in resource allocation, infrastructure development, and program accessibility between central and less-developed barangays. By doing so, this study contributes practical insights for promoting equitable resource distribution and proposes adaptive strategies to enhance both community development and DRRM practices.

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a quantitative descriptive correlational research design. According to Dehalwar and Sharma (2024), quantitative research systematically uses statistical techniques to collect and analyze numerical data, patterns, and trends for evidencebased decision-making. A structured, researcher-made survey questionnaire, designed for validity and reliability, gathered data on community development initiatives and disaster risk reduction management practices in the selected barangays.

This research focused on Barangay Palingon, Barangay Lingga, and Barangay Sampiruhan in Calamba City, collectively known as "PALISAM," due to their geographic vulnerability and proximity to natural hazards. Situated near the San Juan River and Laguna de Bay, these barangays face significant environmental risks, including flooding, landslides, and erosion, highlighting their critical status for disaster risk research. Their selection was also strategic for understanding the intersection of disaster risk reduction management and community development, providing insights into local adaptation, mitigation, and sustainable development, as outlined in the Comprehensive Development Plan (2019–2023).

The study was limited in scope, as only selected residents, and barangay officials from three vulnerable barangays were surveyed. Key groups such as persons with disabilities, solo parents, and senior citizens may not have been adequately represented. It captured data at a single point in time, lacking a longitudinal perspective to show changes or progress over time. The use of structured questionnaires may have restricted deeper insights into local challenges. External factors such as political dynamics, funding constraints, or recent disasters were not considered, even though they may influence implementation.

This study utilized stratified random sampling to select barangay officials and resident respondents. According to Iqbal et al. (2024), stratified random sampling (StRS) involves dividing the population into distinct groups, or "strata," ensuring proportional representation. The selected PALISAM barangays were chosen due to their vulnerability and frequent exposure to natural and human-caused hazards. The target population was divided into two strata: 40 barangay officials responsible for implementing disaster risk reduction management (DRRM) practices and 110 vulnerable residents. This method ensured fair representation, reduced bias, and allowed for a comprehensive assessment of community development initiatives and DRRM practices across the barangays, involving a total of 150 respondents.

This study utilized a researcher-made questionnaire designed to assess the implementation of community development initiatives and disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM) practices in selected barangays of Calamba City. Anchored on the study's theoretical framework, the instrument was divided into two main sections. The first section focused on community development initiatives and included five dimensions: Self-Understanding (5 items), Engage and Empower (5 items), Connect and Build (5 items), Design and Deliver (5 items), and Reflect and Celebrate (5 items), totaling 25 items. The second section assessed DRRM practices across four dimensions: Mitigation (4 items), Preparedness (4 items), Response (4 items), and Recovery (4 items), totaling 16 items. Each item was rated using a 4-point Likert scale to quantify the level of implementation or manifestation. Additionally, a demographic profile section gathered contextual information such as age, gender, civil status, and length of residency or service, which helped in understanding the respondents' perspectives more fully.

Validity and reliability were ensured through alignment with conceptual frameworks, and a four-point Likert Scale provided a structured method for quantifying responses, enhancing clarity, consistency, and the robustness of the findings. However, this approach may not fully capture the contextual nuances or underlying reasons behind respondents' ratings. Recognizing this limitation, future research is encouraged to incorporate qualitative methods, such as focus group discussions or key informant interviews, to provide deeper insights, serving as a solid foundation for future mixed-method research.

The questionnaire underwent a thorough validation process to ensure construct and content validity through consultations with a multidisciplinary panel, including the thesis adviser, a statistician, the school's research director, the dean of the graduate school, and two disaster risk reduction management experts from the City Government of Calamba. Their evaluations confirmed the questionnaire's relevance and alignment with the study's objectives. The instrument achieved a Lawshe's Content Validity Ratio (CVR) of 1.00, indicating unanimous agreement among experts on the relevance of all items, classifying them as "Essential." Additionally, a Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Test was conducted, with pilot test results ranging from 0.726, reflecting acceptable reliability, to 0.933, demonstrating excellent internal consistency.

The data-gathering procedures were carefully planned to ensure accuracy and reliability. A formal letter was sent to each Barangay Captain, outlining the study's objectives, significance, survey structure, and data collection process, seeking approval to conduct surveys in their communities. After securing approvals, face-to-face data collection sessions were scheduled and conducted with selected constituents from each barangay. Respondents provided informed consent before participating by signing a consent form. Barangay officials functioned as facilitators and respondents, streamlining the process and offering valuable insights into barangay-level practices. The survey featured well-structured questions aligned with the study's objectives. Upon completion, survey forms and datasets were meticulously reviewed to ensure accuracy and completeness.

The study adhered to the Data Privacy Act of 2012 and the ethical guidelines of the Laguna College of Business and Arts Research Manual. Participants were fully informed about the study's purpose, procedures, and their rights, ensuring transparency. Participation was voluntary, with data anonymized and securely stored to protect confidentiality. Surveys were conducted privately to safeguard personal information, respecting local customs and maintaining cultural sensitivity. Proper citation and referencing were ensured for all literature and studies mentioned, upholding academic integrity throughout the research process.

The study utilized the mean and a four-point Likert scale to quantitatively assess the level of implementation of community development initiatives, namely Self-Understanding, Engage and Empower, Connect and Build, Design and Deliver, and Reflect and Celebrate, and the level of manifestation of disaster risk reduction management (DRRM) practices, including Mitigation, Preparedness, Response, and Recovery. To ensure the reliability and objectivity of the results, data from two respondent groups, barangay officials and selected residents, were independently analyzed. A Paired t-test, a robust and widely accepted parametric test, was employed to determine whether statistically significant differences existed between the perceptions of these two groups. Additionally, the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient was applied to examine the strength and direction of the relationship between the implementation of community development initiatives and the manifestation of DRRM practices. The use of these validated statistical methods enhances the credibility and empirical rigor of the study's findings.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Statement of the Problem

Problem Number 1. What is the implementation level of community development initiatives in selected barangays in Calamba City as assessed by barangay officials and selected residents in terms of; Self-understanding, Engage and Empower, Connect and Build, Design and Deliver, and Reflect and Celebrate?

Table 1.1 Implementation Level of Community Development Initiatives in Selected Barangays in Calamba City as assessed by Barangay Officials and Selected Residents in terms of Self Understanding

lu dia skana		Offici	als	Constit	uents	Compo	osite
Indicators		Χ̈́	VI	Χ̈́	VI	Χ̄	VI
The barangay has implemented promote personal awareness roles in community development disaster preparedness efforts	of individual ent and	3.75	FI	3.57	FI	3.66	FI
 Has consistently implemente to inform residents about their responsibilities in preparing for to, and recovering from disast 	r roles and or, responding	3.63	FI	3.47	FI	3.55	FI
 Consistently implements initi cultivate a strong sense of res encouraging active participati 	ponsibility,	3.50	FI	3.41	FI	3.46	FI

	Indicators	Offic	ials	Consti	tuents	Comp	osite
	Indicators	Χ̈́	VI	Χ̈́	VI	Χ̄	VI
4.	Effectively utilizes communication methods such as flyers, community meetings, and social media to promote personal awareness.	3.48	FI	3.50	FI	3.49	FI
5.	Workshops and seminars aimed at increasing personal awareness of community roles are regularly implemented.	3.30	FI	3.24	I	3.27	FI
Ge	eneral Assessment	3.53	FI	3.44	FI	3.49	FI

Note. 3.25 - 4.00 Strongly Agree – Fully Implemented (FI) 2.50 - 3.24 Agree – Implemented (I) 1.75 - 2.49 Disagree – Partially Implemented (PI) 1.00 - 1.74 Strongly Disagree - Not Implemented (NI)

Both barangay officials and residents perceived the Self-Understanding component as fully implemented, reflecting a shared awareness of individual roles in community development and disaster preparedness. This alignment pointed to effective communication and inclusive strategies that promoted civic responsibility at the grassroots level.

Slightly lower ratings from residents suggested room for improvement in sustaining engagement through activities like workshops and seminars. While general awareness was evident, access to deeper, skill-based learning appeared limited. Enhancing these efforts could strengthen individual capacity and encourage more active community participation.

Table 1.2 Implementation Level of Community Development Initiatives in Selected Barangays in Calamba City as assessed by Barangay Officials and Selected Residents in terms of **Engage and Empower**

In dia stava	Offic	ials	Constit	tuents	Comp	osite
Indicators	Χ̄	VI	Χ̈́	VI	χ	VI
 The barangay has implemented initiatives such as information campaigns (utilizing social media, SMS/ text brigades, and community meetings) that encourage the active participation of residents in emergency preparedness, evacuation routes, and safety protocols. 	3.40	FI	3.36	FI	3.38	FI

	la dia ana	Offic	ials	Constit	uents	Comp	osite
	Indicators	Χ̄	VI	Χ̄	VI	Χ̄	VI
2.	Programs aimed at building confidence among community members are regularly conducted by the barangay, such as Disaster Preparedness Workshops with training sessions on first aid, fire safety, and flood response to empower residents with essential survival skills.	3.30	FI	3.39	FI	3.35	FI
3.	Actively encourages residents to take responsibility for implementing positive changes in the community. Building resilience and enhancing disaster response.	3.35	FI	3.30	FI	3.33	FI
4.	Supports initiatives that help residents identify and address community issues collaboratively, enabling residents to work and develop strategies for response and recovery.	3.43	FI	3.40	FI	3.42	FI
5.	Training sessions focused on leadership and the necessary skills to effectively collaborate during emergencies.	3.35	FI	3.22	I	3.29	FI
Ge	neral Assessment	3.37	FI	3.33	FI	3.35	FI

Note. 3.25 - 4.00 Strongly Agree – Fully Implemented (FI) 2.50 - 3.24 Agree – Implemented (I) 1.75 - 2.49 Disagree – Partially Implemented (PI) 1.00 - 1.74 Strongly Disagree - Not Implemented (NI)

The results showed that both barangay officials and residents perceived the Engage and Empower component as fully implemented. This reflected the barangay's consistent efforts in promoting participation through communication channels, confidence-building programs, and community-based training initiatives. Officials and residents agreed that information campaigns and collaborative efforts were in place to enhance disaster readiness and civic responsibility. Residents gave a lower rating to leadership and collaboration training, indicating that while such initiatives existed, not all segments of the community had equal access or engagement. This suggested a gap in inclusive capacity-building, especially in developing grassroots leadership during emergencies.

Table 1.3

Implementation Level of Community Development Initiatives in Selected Barangays in Calamba City as assessed by Barangay Officials and Selected Residents in terms of Connect and Build

	Indicatore	Offic	ials	Constit	uents	Comp	osite
	Indicators	Χ̄	VI	Χ̈́	VI	Χ̄	VI
1.	The barangay has implemented initiatives to connect residents to foster community relationships, enhance communication, and work to develop comprehensive disaster preparedness and response strategies.	3.50	FI	3.44	FI	3.47	FI
2.	Encourages collaboration between different organizations and groups within the community.	3.48	FI	3.57	FI	3.53	FI
3.	Training or workshops on effective communication and relationship-building skills are regularly offered by the barangay for effective disaster preparedness and response.	3.33	FI	3.15	FI	3.24	I
4.	Feedback mechanisms are in place to assess the effectiveness of community networking efforts.	3.30	FI	3.18	FI	3.24	I
5.	Effectively utilizes communication platforms to facilitate connections among residents.	3.55	FI	3.41	FI	3.48	FI
Ge	neral Assessment	3.43	FI	3.35	FI	3.39	FI

Note. 3.25 - 4.00 Strongly Agree – Fully Implemented (FI) 2.50 - 3.24 Agree – Implemented (I) 1.75 - 2.49 Disagree – Partially Implemented (PI) 1.00 - 1.74 Strongly Disagree - Not Implemented (NI)

Findings showed that both barangay officials and residents perceived the Connect and Build component as fully implemented, indicating active efforts to strengthen community ties, foster inter-organizational collaboration, and improve communication systems. High ratings on collaboration and platform utilization reflected accessible and effective coordination across the community.

Slightly lower scores on communication skills training and feedback mechanisms pointed to gaps in structured capacity-building and two-way communication. This suggested that while systems were in place, deeper engagement and skill development were not consistently experienced by all stakeholders.

Table 1.4

Implementation Level of Community Development Initiatives in Selected Barangays in Calamba City as assessed by Barangay Officials and Selected Residents in terms of **Design and Deliver**

07	Design and Deliver						
	In dia atau	Offic	ials	Constit	tuents	Comp	osite
	Indicators	Χ̄	VI	Χ̈́	VI	Χ̄	VI
1.	The barangay has implemented initiatives specifically designed to address the unique needs of the community, and the resilience of residents, and respond to specific challenges faced by the community.	3.60	FI	3.47	FI	3.54	FI
2.	Programs are regularly evaluated to ensure they remain relevant to the current needs of residents. This continuous assessment helps optimize the effectiveness of community development and disaster risk management efforts.	3.35	FI	3.28	FI	3.32	FI
3.	Community awareness campaigns are conducted to ensure residents understand the initiatives and disseminate information about programs and support services for their development and disaster preparedness.	3.50	FI	3.42	FI	3.46	FI
4.	Disaster risk reduction management initiatives are carefully planned and effectively executed through the conduct of drills and test exercises, ensuring that the community derives meaningful benefits and is better prepared for potential emergencies.	3.40	FI	3.41	FI	3.41	FI
Ge	eneral Assessment	3.46	FI	3.40	FI	3.43	FI

Note. 3.25 - 4.00 Strongly Agree – Fully Implemented (FI) 2.50 - 3.24 Agree – Implemented (I) 1.75 - 2.49 Disagree – Partially Implemented (PI) 1.00 - 1.74 Strongly Disagree - Not Implemented (NI)

The findings showed that both barangay officials and residents considered the Design and Deliver component as fully implemented. This reflected the barangay's commitment to crafting responsive programs tailored to the unique needs and vulnerabilities of their communities. The consistently high ratings confirmed that initiatives were not only

well-conceived but also visibly executed in areas such as risk reduction drills, information dissemination, and service accessibility. Despite full implementation, slightly lower resident ratings on program evaluation suggested that feedback mechanisms may not have been equally inclusive or transparent. This indicated that while efforts were actively monitored by officials, residents may not have been fully engaged in the assessment processes, potentially limiting adaptive improvements based on community experience.

Table 1.5 Implementation Level of Community Development Initiatives in Selected Barangays in Calamba City as assessed by Barangay Officials and Selected Residents in terms of Reflect and Celebrate

	n di anta va	Offic	ials	Constit	uents	Comp	osite
'	ndicators	Χ̈́	VI	Χ̈́	VI	Χ	VI
0,	gularly conducts past programs and initiatives putcomes.	3.15	I	3.12	I	3.14	I
to share their ex	mbers are encouraged operiences and lessons evious initiatives.	3.45	FI	3.43	FI	3.44	FI
, ,	es a culture of resilience ng both successes and	3.43	FI	3.21	I	3.32	FI
•	ents are organized to reflect ements and foster a sense	3.58	FI	3.34	FI	3.46	FI
participate in th	or community members to be evaluation and reflection ansistently offered.	3.45	FI	3.32	FI	3.39	FI
General Assessme	nt	3.41	FI	3.28	FI	3.35	FI

Note. 3.25 - 4.00 Strongly Agree – Fully Implemented (FI) 2.50 - 3.24 Agree – Implemented (I) 1.75 - 2.49 Disagree – Partially Implemented (PI) 1.00 - 1.74 Strongly Disagree - Not Implemented (NI)

The findings revealed that both barangay officials and residents perceived the Recovery component as fully manifested, indicating effective community engagement in postdisaster activities such as rebuilding, emotional support, and access to recovery resources. High ratings underscored the visible efforts of barangay officials to support both structural and psychosocial recovery.

Slightly lower scores from residents, particularly on access to mental health services and recovery participation, suggested that support may not have been equally distributed or accessible to all sectors. This disparity implied the need to strengthen inclusive recovery measures, particularly in addressing emotional well-being and mobilizing broader community involvement.

Problem Number 2. What is the level of manifestation of disaster risk reduction management practices in selected barangays in Calamba City, as assessed by barangay officials and selected residents in terms of Mitigation, Preparedness, Response, and Recovery?

Table 2.1 Level of Manifestation of Disaster Risk Reduction Management Practices in Selected Barangays in Calamba City as assessed by Barangay Officials and Selected Residents in terms of **Mitigation**

	Indiantara	Offic	ials	Consti	tuents	Comp	osite
	Indicators	Χ	VI	Χ̈́	VI	Χ̈́	VI
1.	The extent of disaster-resilient infrastructure, such as flood barriers, in your community, is significant, and these structures effectively mitigate disaster risks while enhancing overall safety and resilience, reflecting the proactive efforts of barangay officials.	3.68	FM	3.45	FM	3.57	FM
2.	The frequency of disaster risk mitigation awareness campaigns, such as posters, community meetings, and workshops, in your area, is notable, along with their effectiveness in engaging the community in understanding and addressing potential risks.	3.70	FM	3.40	FM	3.55	FM
3.	The implementation and visibility of early warning systems, such as flood alerts and earthquake warnings, in your community are significant, as they effectively inform residents.	3.75	FM	3.53	FM	3.64	FM
4.	The availability of emergency supplies, such as first aid kits, fire extinguishers, and evacuation kits, in public spaces is noticeable and reflects the officials' efforts.	3.68	FM	3.54	FM	3.61	FM

Indicators	Officials		Constituents		Composite	
	Χ̈́	VI	Χ̈́	VI	Χ̈́	VI
5. Has launched initiatives to connect residents, strengthen community relationships, enhance communication, and develop comprehensive disaster mitigation.	3.68	FM	3.55	FM	3.62	FM
General Assessment	3.70	FM	3.49	FM	3.60	FM

Note. 3.25 - 4.00 Fully Manifested (FM) 2.50 - 3.24 Manifested (M) 1.75 - 2.49 Partially Manifested (PM) 1.00 - 1.74 Not Manifested (NM)

The results revealed that both barangay officials and residents assessed the Mitigation component as fully manifested, reflecting initiative-taking measures to reduce disaster risks and promote community safety. High ratings across items confirmed the presence of disaster-resilient infrastructure, frequent awareness campaigns, and wellestablished early warning systems. These efforts demonstrated the barangay's commitment to minimizing vulnerabilities through visible and functional interventions. While both groups rated this component favorably, slightly lower scores from residents indicated varying levels of awareness or access, particularly regarding emergency supplies and understanding of mitigation strategies. This suggested that although systems were in place, some residents may not have fully benefited from or engaged with these efforts.

Table 2.2 Level of manifestation of Disaster Risk Reduction Management Practices in Selected Barangays in Calamba City as assessed by Barangay Officials and Selected Residents in terms of Preparedness

Indicators		Officials		Constituents		Composite	
	muicators		VI	Χ̄	VI	Χ̈́	VI
1.	The extent of disaster preparedness drills, such as fire drills and earthquake simulations, conducted in your community is significant, and these drills effectively involve residents in practicing safety protocols.	3.70	FM	3.35	FM	3.53	FM
2.	The presence of publicly accessible disaster preparedness plans, such as evacuation routes and emergency contact information, in your community, is notable, reflecting the efforts of barangay officials to ensure residents are informed.	3.85	FM	3.78	FM	3.82	FM

Indicators		cials	Constituents		Composite	
Indicators	X	VI	Χ̄	VI	Χ̄	VI
3. The visibility of public awareness campaigns on disaster preparedness, such as posters, social media, and community workshops, in your area, is significant, and these initiatives effectively engage the community.	3.85	FM	3.49	FM	3.67	FM
4. The incorporation of disaster preparedness education, such as drills and safety lessons, into the curriculum of local schools is noteworthy and reflects the commitment of barangay officials to promote safety awareness among students.	3.73	FM	3.37	FM	3.55	FM
5. The frequency with which communication channels, such as hotlines and emergency apps, are tested and promoted for disaster preparedness in your community is notable and demonstrates the proactive approach of barangay officials.	3.70	FM	3.34	FM	3.52	FM
General Assessment	3.77	FM	3.47	FM	3.62	FM

Note. 3.25 - 4.00 Fully Manifested (FM) 2.50 - 3.24 Manifested (M) 1.75 - 2.49 Partially Manifested (PM) 1.00 - 1.74 Not Manifested (NM)

Findings showed that both barangay officials and residents rated the **Preparedness** component as fully manifested, reflecting strong initiatives in public awareness, safety planning, and community-wide drills. High scores confirmed the presence of accessible preparedness plans, educational integration in schools, and frequent public campaigns, demonstrating a comprehensive approach to equipping the community for emergencies.

Residents consistently rated items slightly lower than officials, particularly in areas such as drills, communication channels, and school-based preparedness. This indicated that while programs were in place, participation and access were not uniformly experienced, pointing to gaps in outreach or community engagement strategies.

Table 2.3 Level of Manifestation of Disaster Risk Reduction Management Practices in Selected Barangays in Calamba City as assessed by Barangay Officials and Selected Residents in terms of **Response**

	Indicators		ials	Constituents		Composite	
			VI	Χ	VI	Χ	VI
1.	The extent to which community members volunteer in disaster response efforts, such as search and rescue and distribution of supplies, is commendable and highlights the active involvement encouraged by barangay officials.	3.68	FM	3.28	FM	3.48	FM
2.	The availability of emergency response resources, such as medical supplies, food, and shelter, during a disaster in your community, is frequent and reflects barangay officials' effective planning and preparedness efforts of barangay officials.	3.70	FM	3.62	FM	3.66	FM
3.	The level of awareness among residents regarding the emergency procedures and resources available in your community during a disaster is significant, reflecting the efforts of barangay officials to keep the community informed.	3.68	FM	3.45	FM	3.57	FM
4.	The frequency of effective coordination between different agencies, such as government, NGOs, and community organizations, during disaster response efforts is notable, demonstrating the collaborative approach fostered by barangay officials.	3.60	FM	3.65	FM	3.63	FM
5.	The extent to which technology, such as mobile apps and social media, is utilized for coordinating disaster response in your community is significant.	3.58	FM	3.37	FM	3.48	FM
Ge	neral Assessment	3.65	FM	3.47	FM	3.56	FM

Note. 3.25 - 4.00 Fully Manifested (FM) 2.50 - 3.24 Manifested (M) 1.75 - 2.49 Partially Manifested (PM) 1.00 - 1.74 Not Manifested (NM)

The results indicated that both barangay officials and residents assessed the Response component as fully manifested, reflecting active efforts in resource mobilization, coordination, and community engagement during emergencies. High ratings from both groups on agency collaboration and resource availability confirmed the presence of structured and responsive systems during disaster events.

A noticeable disparity emerged in resident ratings regarding volunteer involvement and technology use in response coordination. While barangay officials viewed these areas positively, residents reported lower engagement, indicating that opportunities to participate in or benefit from digital tools may not have been equally accessible or communicated.

Table 2.4 Level of Manifestation of Disaster Risk Reduction Management Practices in Selected Barangays in Calamba City as assessed by Barangay Officials and Selected Residents in terms of **Recovery**

	Indicators		ials	Constituents		Composite	
	ilidicators	Χ	VI	Χ̄	VI	Χ	VI
1.	The active participation of community members in recovery efforts, such as rebuilding and providing support to affected families after a disaster, is significant and effectively facilitates the overall recovery process, highlighting the encouragement from barangay officials.	3.55	FM	3.43	FM	3.49	FM
2.	The availability of recovery resources, such as financial aid, counseling services, and rebuilding materials, to residents following a disaster is significant, demonstrating the commitment of barangay officials to support the community's recovery efforts.	3.68	FM	3.45	FM	3.57	FM
3.	The active participation of community members in recovery efforts, such as rebuilding and providing support to affected families after a disaster, is notable and plays a crucial role in facilitating the overall recovery process, reflecting the encouragement from barangay officials.	3.58	FM	3.27	FM	3.43	FM

	Indicators	Offic	ials	ls Constitu	uents	ents Comp	
	iliulcators		VI	Χ̈́	VI	Χ̈́	VI
	The frequency of mental health support services, such as counseling and support groups, offered to residents following a disaster is notable, reflecting the commitment of barangay officials to address the emotional well-being of the community.	3.40	FM	3.23	М	3.32	FM
	The active involvement of local government in recovery planning and implementation after a disaster is evident, showcasing the commitment of barangay officials to support and guide the community through the recovery process.	3.48	FM	3.53	FM	3.51	FM
Ger	neral Assessment	3.54	FM	3.38	FM	3.46	FM

Note. 3.25 - 4.00 Fully Manifested (FM) 2.50 - 3.24 Manifested (M) 1.75 - 2.49 Partially Manifested (PM) 1.00 - 1.74 Not Manifested (NM)

The findings revealed that both barangay officials and residents perceived the Recovery component as fully manifested, indicating effective community engagement in postdisaster activities such as rebuilding, emotional support, and access to recovery resources. High ratings underscored the visible efforts of barangay officials to support both structural and psychosocial recovery.

Slightly lower scores from residents, particularly on access to mental health services and recovery participation, suggested that support may not have been equally distributed or accessible to all sectors. This disparity pointed to the need to strengthen inclusive recovery measures, especially in addressing emotional well-being and encouraging broader community involvement.

Problem Number 3. Is there a significant difference between the assessment of barangay officials and residents on the implementation level of the community development initiatives and the level of manifestation in terms of the community development frameworks?

Table 3 Test of Significant Difference between the Assessments of Barangay Officials and Residents on the Implementation Level of Community Development Initiatives and Level of Disaster Risk Reduction Management Practices in Selected Barangays in Calamba City

Variables	T-test	P value	Remarks	Decision
Self-understanding	1.364	0.175	Not Significant	Accept Ho
Engage and power	.531	0.596	Not Significant	Accept Ho
Connect & build	1.242	0.219	Not Significant	Accept Ho
Design & deliver	1.092	0.277	Not Significant	Accept Ho
Reflect & celebrate	2.031	0.044	Significant	Reject Ho
Mitigation	2.865	0.005	Significant	Reject Ho
Preparedness	5.732	0.001	Significant	Reject Ho
Response	3.085	0.002	Significant	Reject Ho
Recovery	2704	0.008	Significant	Reject Ho

Statistically significant differences were identified between barangay officials' and residents' assessments, indicating measurable gaps in the implementation and experience of community development and disaster risk management efforts. in the following areas:

Reflect and Celebrate: Barangay officials perceive that evaluation and recognition practices, such as reporting accomplishments, holding ceremonies, or showcasing success stories, are regularly conducted. However, the lower ratings from residents suggest they are often left uninformed, uninvolved, or uninvited to these activities. As a result, many community members are unaware of efforts worth celebrating, limiting shared reflection, and weakening the sense of community ownership and pride.

Mitigation: Officials may point to the existence of hazard maps, structural reinforcements, or early warning systems as evidence of preparedness. However, residents often report that they have not seen these tools, do not understand how to use them, or feel they are not accessible in their area. This suggests that, while systems may exist, they are not reaching or benefiting the wider community in practical or visible ways.

Preparedness: Higher official ratings may reflect completed training sessions and planning activities. In contrast, residents' lower assessments indicate that few have participated in disaster drills, received emergency kits, or been clearly informed about what to do during emergencies. This points to a disconnect between preparedness efforts and their actual reach or impact on households.

Response: Barangay officials may describe organized response protocols and coordination mechanisms. However, residents often experience delays, confusion, or inadequate help when disasters occur. This suggests that the systems in place may not function effectively on the ground or fail to respond equally to all affected individuals.

Recovery: Officials tend to focus on the restoration of public infrastructure and the distribution of aid. On the other hand, residents may feel that recovery is slow, uneven, or does not address their specific needs, such as livelihood support, housing repair, or mental health services. This reflects a gap between the scope of official recovery efforts and the actual needs of families trying to rebuild their lives.

Alternatively, the statistically nonsignificant differences in the assessments of Self-Understanding, Engage and Empower, Connect and Build, and Design and Deliver suggest that barangay officials and residents share a common perspective on the implementation of these community development initiatives. This alignment indicates that both groups consistently observe and experience the same levels of program delivery, which may be attributed to effective communication, inclusive participation, and transparent planning processes.

As a result, the impact of this shared perception is a stronger sense of trust, collaboration, and collective ownership over development efforts. It implies that the community development initiatives are not only being implemented as planned but are also genuinely reaching and engaging the community. Consequently, this alignment reinforces participatory governance, sustains civic involvement, and supports the long-term impact and resilience of community-driven programs.

Problem Number 4. Is there a significant relationship between the implementation level of community development initiatives and the level of manifestation of disaster risk reduction management practices in Calamba City Barangays?

Table 4

Test of **Significant Relationship** between the Community Development Initiatives Implementation Level and the Level of Manifestation of Disaster Risk Reduction Management Practices in Calamba City Barangays

Community Initiatives	Disaster Risk Reduction Management	r value	p-value	Remarks	Decision
Self- understanding	Mitigation Preparedness Response Recovery	0.125 .232** .243** 0.081	0.127 0.004 0.003 0.324	Not Significant Significant Significant Not Significant	Accept Ho Reject Ho Reject Ho Accept Ho
Engage and empower	Mitigation	-0.032	0.700	Not Significant	Accept Ho
	Preparedness	0.102	0.212	Not Significant	Accept Ho
	Response	.269**	0.001	Significant	Reject Ho
	Recovery	0.131	0.111	Not Significant	Accept Ho
Connect and build	Mitigation	-0.144	0.078	Not Significant	Accept Ho
	Preparedness	0.061	0.457	Not Significant	Accept Ho
	Response	.183*	0.025	Significant	Reject Ho
	Recovery	.239**	0.003	Significant	Reject Ho
Design and deliver	Mitigation	0.025	0.765	Not Significant	Accept Ho
	Preparedness	0.073	0.374	Not Significant	Accept Ho
	Response	0.142	0.083	Not Significant	Accept Ho
	Recovery	.253**	0.002	Significant	Reject Ho
Reflect and celebrate	Mitigation	-0.013	0.877	Not Significant	Accept Ho
	Preparedness	.182*	0.026	Significant	Reject Ho
	Response	.211**	0.010	Significant	Reject Ho
	Recovery	.198*	0.015	Significant	Reject Ho

^{*} Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The correlation analysis revealed several **significant relationships**, indicating how specific community development components contribute to the effectiveness of disaster risk management dimensions:

Self-Understanding showed significant positive relationships with Preparedness and Response. This suggests that when individuals recognize their roles in the community, they are more likely to engage in Preparedness activities and respond effectively during disasters. **Engage and Empower** was significantly related to Response and Recovery,

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

indicating that promoting participation and confidence among residents strengthens their involvement during emergencies. Connect and Build had significant positive correlations with Response and Recovery. This implies that efforts to build community relationships and networks enhance collective disaster response and post-disaster recovery. Design and Deliver showed a significant relationship with Recovery, suggesting that well-planned and implemented community initiatives play a critical role in supporting long-term recovery processes. Reflect and Celebrate was significantly correlated with Preparedness, Response, and Recovery, highlighting that recognizing community efforts and achievements contribute positively to sustained disaster readiness and resilience.

However, other results showed no significant relationship, that the other several community development components did not correspond with measurable changes in specified DRRM, highlighting important gaps: Self-Understanding had no impact on mitigation or long-term recovery, indicating that raising individual awareness alone did not translate into stronger infrastructure projects or sustained rehabilitation efforts. Engage and Empower activities failed to affect mitigation, preparedness, or recovery, suggesting that confidence-building workshops and participatory training did not extend to technical risk-reduction measures, formal emergency planning, or equitable aid distribution. Connect and Build efforts did not lead to improved mitigation or preparedness outcomes, implying that stronger networks and collaborations did not automatically incorporate the detailed planning, drills, or resource allocation needed for these areas. Design and Deliver initiatives showed no effect on mitigation, preparedness, or immediate response, underscoring that even well-tailored programs require direct integration with engineering projects, standard operating procedures, and rapid-response training to influence these dimensions. Reflect and Celebrate practices did not drive mitigation improvements, revealing that recognition and celebration alone are insufficient to motivate investments in physical hazard-proofing.

CONCLUSIONS

The study's findings underscore that the implementation of community development initiatives and the manifestation of disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM) practices across Calamba City barangays are consistently assessed as Fully Implemented and Fully Manifested, respectively. These results affirm the strong institutional commitment of barangay leadership to advancing local development and disaster resilience. Through the systematic integration of the Community Development Framework, comprising Self-Understanding, Engage and Empower, Connect and Build, Design and Deliver, and Reflect and Celebrate, and the Disaster Risk Reduction and Management (DRRM) Framework, including Mitigation, Preparedness, Response, and Recovery, barangays demonstrate their readiness in addressing local needs and hazards.

However, significant differences in perceptions between barangay officials and residents indicate varying levels of engagement, understanding, and expectations. Barangay officials often approach initiatives through a managerial or policy lens, while residents evaluate them based on their lived experiences. Where such differences do not exist, it reveals a shared vision and cohesion, which are critical for sustaining participatory governance.

The study also reveals a partial alignment between the two frameworks. While certain components of community development, particularly self-understanding and engagement, show a significant influence on disaster preparedness and recovery, other components lack such synergy. This gap highlights a missed opportunity to fully harness the community development approach as a strategic asset in strengthening DRRM.

In response to these insights, the development of a Comprehensive Capacity-Building Action Plan, particularly focused on Incident Command System (ICS) Level 1, emerges as a crucial strategy for the City of Calamba. This plan, anchored in the research findings, is designed to integrate development and disaster frameworks more seamlessly into governance processes. Equipping barangay leaders and communities with appropriate knowledge and tools ensures a responsive, coordinated, and empowered local system.

Recommendations

1. Policy Integration and Institutionalization.

Local executives should institutionalize community development and DRRM integration by enacting a city ordinance that mandates periodic capacity-building workshops, participatory planning, and performance audits. This legal mechanism can allocate resources, define implementation standards, and incentivize best practices in community-led development and disaster response.

2. Community Awareness and Multi-agency Collaboration

To further strengthen DRRM, barangays must implement localized awareness campaigns and education programs that address specific hazards. Establishing Memoranda of Agreement (MOA) with agencies such as OCD, NDRRMC, DSWD, and PAGASA will ensure that local efforts align with national disaster frameworks and benefit from technical and logistical support.

3. Bridging Perception Gaps through Participatory Governance

Address the perceptual gaps between barangay officials and residents through inclusive decision-making, community consultations, and transparent communication mechanisms. Regularly held training, workshops, and feedback sessions can promote mutual understanding, build trust, and reinforce collective ownership of initiatives.

4. Strengthening DRRM Capacity through ICS Training

A formal MOA between the Office of Civil Defense and Calamba's LGU/Barangays should focus on ICS Level 1 training, simulation drills, and joint evaluation exercises. This will institutionalize disaster response procedures and clarify operational roles, enhancing the city's readiness for emergencies.

5. Implementing a 3-Year Capacity-Building Plan

Launch a 3-Year Action Plan spearheaded by the City Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Office (CDRRMO), in partnership with barangays and national agencies. The plan should prioritize training in incident planning, resource mobilization, emergency communication, and stakeholder coordination to build a robust and responsive local disaster management system.

6. Advancing Research and Innovation

Future researchers should expand the scope of the study by investigating the socioeconomic, cultural, and governance dimensions influencing the success of community development and DRRM efforts. Using longitudinal and mixed-method approaches can provide nuanced insights. Collaboration with LGUs, NGOs, academic institutions, and technology providers is essential to develop scalable, evidence-based models for integrated disaster management.

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The Pursuit of Fulfillment: A Phenomenological Study of Street Sweepers in the Philippines

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ABSTRACT

Street sweepers are one of the most vulnerable groups of workers nowadays due to their working conditions, tenure of employment, health issues, and socio-economic status. Nevertheless, they are the driving force behind the maintenance of solid waste management and the cleanliness of cities. Using the Self-Determination Theory as the framework of this study, this paper aims to explore the sense of fulfillment experienced by street sweepers in Tangub City, Misamis Occidental. Using a phenomenological research design, eight (8) street sweepers were interviewed using a semi-structured interview guide questionnaire. The gathered data were transcribed, validated, and analyzed using the Braun and Clarke thematic analysis approach. Results revealed four (4) emerging themes: maintaining community cleanliness and orderliness, upholding professional integrity and work ethic, being acknowledged and respected in the community, and supporting family livelihood and wellbeing. In conclusion, the sense of fulfillment of street sweepers is driven by their sense of orientation, commitment, and accountability, how the community values them, and how the work sustains the physiological needs of their families. The city government should recognize the invaluable contributions of street sweepers by ensuring fair wages, benefits, job security, and recognition initiatives, which can foster greater motivation and job satisfaction. Future research could explore ways to improve job security and benefits for workers in similar sectors, ensuring their efforts are recognized and adequately rewarded.

Keywords: fulfillment, happiness, phenomenological study, satisfaction, street sweepers

INTRODUCTION

In the rage of industrialization, street sweepers played a vital role as they undeniably helped shape the community's progress. Street sweepers are a group of workers hired

to sweep the different kinds of waste thrown on the street (Gebremedhn & Raman, 2020). Generally, street sweepers are cleaners of streets implementing solid waste management systems in which public awareness plays an important role. They are in contract with administrative zones and solid-waste management offices, and are involved in cleaning streets using brooms, dustpans, or plastic garbage bags (Alie et al., 2023). Nevertheless, they play a vital role in safeguarding the health and hygiene of the people living within the cities. Street sweepers help maintain a tidy appearance by removing litter, leaves, and other debris, creating a visually pleasing environment (Zamora et al., 2018).

On the other hand, Khan et al. (2021) stated that some countries have opted for mechanization and vehicles to perform street cleaning tasks. Given the challenges posed by the limited workforce and the expansive geographical areas of metropolitan cities, highways are cleaned by employing specialized cleaning attachments on vehicles. The mechanization of cleaning materials for street sweepers significantly outperformed hand-held brooms in terms of time taken, swept area, output energy, and efficiency, as utilizing these machines is cost-effective and guarantees improved health, comfort, well-being, and safety (Adebesin & Adedeji, 2020). In India, a designed road cleaning machine exhibits low stresses and negligible deformation, confirming that the design is safe in addressing human health risk problems (Tsegay & Dora, n.d.). On the contrary, in some developing countries, such as the Philippines, street sweepers are constantly visible on all streets in the country. However, their job is not easy as it requires considerable physical force to do the tasks (Salve & Chokhandre, 2016). The prevalence of musculoskeletal discomfort (Idrees et al., 2023) and increased risk of sustaining injuries (Park et al., 2020) are high among them.

Numerous global studies have examined the socio-economic circumstances, health issues, and potential risk factors associated with disabilities among street sweepers. Research conducted in South Korea revealed that many street sweepers had limited educational backgrounds, worked on contract or as day laborers, and frequently worked overtime (Park et al., 2020). Similarly, street sweepers occupy a lower position in the occupational hierarchy in India, characterized by lower educational attainment, social discrimination, and economic disadvantage (Ahmad & Shah, 2022). Street sweeping and waste collection are hazardous jobs that expose workers to infections, especially with the little, if any, protective measures they apply (Ewis et al., 2013). In the Philippines, specifically in Davao, Lagura and Ligan (2018) conducted a study revealing that street sweepers face precarious employment conditions, which result in inadequate remuneration and the absence of benefits. Moreover, their work, involving street sweeping and waste collection, exposes them to various health hazards and the risk of infections. A study by Jeong (2017) shows that 'roadway cleaning' was the most common type of cleaning process for injuries, followed by 'sidewalk cleaning,' 'going/returning to work by bike,' and 'lifting/carrying.' They are exposed to many risks, such

as respiratory symptoms and airway obstruction, which increase because of dust inhalation (Habybabady et al., 2018; Mostafa et al., 2015; Van Kampen et al., 2020; Sabde & Zodpey, 2008). Furthermore, around the world, street sweepers are physically burdened and exposed to various hazards (Van Kampen et al., 2020). This kind of job raises the risk of musculoskeletal disorders and related disabilities (Salve & Chokhandre, 2016; Park et al., 2020). In Ethiopia, lack of job satisfaction and cleaning longer distances were identified to be predictors of musculoskeletal disorders among street sweepers and solid waste workers (Alie et al., 2023).

Several studies have been conducted on the topics of street sweepers, but research outlining the very essence of their roles and tasks has been unexplored. Although the study conducted by Lagura and Ligan (2018) shed light on the challenges, coping mechanisms, and job satisfaction of street sweepers in the Davao Region, Philippines, it lacked a specific focus, which is on the life of street sweepers on and behind street sweeping. It provided a general overview of their circumstances without delving into the deeper nuances. Additionally, there is a scarcity of research and literature that genuinely captures the comprehensive nature of street sweepers' lives. Hence, this study adopts a qualitative approach to bridge this gap and explore the positive aspects of being a street cleaner. Phenomenological design is appropriate in this context as it explores the participants' lived experiences regarding the "sense of fulfillment."

Objectives of the Study

This study aims to explore the sense of fulfillment experienced by street sweepers in Tangub City, Misamis Occidental. Specifically, the research questions to achieve these goals are:

- 1. What are the essential roles of the street sweepers in the community building?
- 2. How do street sweepers perceive their value in the community?
- 3. How satisfied and contented are the street sweepers in their job?

Theoretical Framework

This study's framework was founded on the self-determination theory of motivation, which was developed by Edward Deci and Richard Ryan in 1985 (Ryan & Deci, 2022). This theory is particularly concerned with how social-contextual factors support or thwart people's thriving through the satisfaction of their basic psychological needs for competence, relatedness, and autonomy (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 3). Moreover, it offers an approach to understanding human motivation and personality, employing empirical methods while emphasizing the significance of humans' inherent inner resources for personal development and behavioral self-regulation (Ryan et al., 1997). This theory's concept has found application in various domains, such as education, work, parenting, exercise, and health.

According to this meta-theory, individuals are viewed as active organisms with curiosity, agency, inspiration, and self-motivation, constantly striving to learn and grow. In other words, a person's intrinsic motivation is determined by their need for growth. Studies have shown that feelings of competence will not enhance intrinsic motivation unless accompanied by a sense of autonomy or by an internal locus of causality (DeCharms, 1968), and the need for relatedness is strongly linked to each other. In competence, individuals need to gain mastery of tasks and learn different skills. When people feel they have the skills required for success, they are more likely to take action to help them achieve their goals.

In the context of this study, motivation plays a vital role in the accomplishment of work tasks for street sweepers. Providing them with increased responsibilities, support, encouragement, and meaningful feedback can significantly impact their performance. The workers' attachment to their jobs is primarily influenced by the recognition they receive, as it can fulfill their sense of self-realization and positive self-worth (Simpson et al., 2019). Street sweepers crave recognition, respect, and a sense of environmental responsibility from the community, and it is crucial to nurture these aspects (Lagura & Ligan, 2018). However, there is a paradox in the recognition given to these workers, as it may fail to translate their potential into actualities, potentially harming their self-esteem and self-respect (Slutskaya et al., 2016).

Job satisfaction significantly impacts street sweepers' motivation and ability to fulfill their responsibilities. Those who feel self-determined in their roles experience higher job satisfaction, ultimately contributing to the organization's success. Furthermore, meaningful work is associated with perceiving an authentic connection between one's job and a broader transcendent life purpose beyond the self (Bailey & Madden, 2017, as cited by Simpson et al., 2019). This sense of meaningfulness precedes income, job security, and promotion for individuals pursuing fulfilling employment (Cascio, 2003, as cited by Simpson et al., 2019). Nevertheless, some street sweepers face challenges related to job security, leading to inadequate compensation and nonexistent benefits. These issues stem from the complex interactions of economic laws and evaluation systems, which allow certain groups to monopolize resources and opportunities, perpetuating inequalities (Slutskaya et al., 2016). Despite the elusive nature of job security, street sweepers exhibit pride and satisfaction in their work (Lagura & Ligan, 2018).

METHODOLOGY

In this study, a qualitative research approach was employed to emphasize the exploration of a central phenomenon, beginning with identifying a problem and formulating questions that, if answered, contribute to addressing the problem (Creswell & Báez, 2020). Using in-depth interviews, a phenomenological design was utilized to delve into the personal experiences of individuals about a specific phenomenon (Creswell & Báez, 2020; Moustakas, 1994). This study is grounded in hermeneutic phenomenology, or interpretive phenomenology, which serves as its guiding methodological framework. This approach is well-suited for exploring the meanings that individuals assign to their lived experiences within their everyday realities (Bynum & Varpio, 2018). Unlike descriptive phenomenology, which seeks to bracket out the researcher's perspective, hermeneutic phenomenology recognizes the researcher's role in interpreting the data, allowing personal insights to enrich the analytic process. It is characterized by a continuous cycle of reflection and writing that deepens understanding of participants' narratives.

In the context of this study, this paper explores street sweepers' narratives to understand what they experience on the phenomenon through their responses, and by getting the essence or the truth of the whole experience. Hence, the methodology is appropriate as it aims to capture and interpret the subjective experiences of street sweepers concerning their sense of fulfillment. By engaging with their accounts, the research seeks to uncover the essential meanings and contextual influences that shape their perceptions and daily realities. The present study focuses on capturing street sweepers' perspectives on their "sense of fulfillment," which served as the sole subject of investigation.

This study was conducted in Tangub City, a coastal component city in Misamis Occidental, Philippines, known for its strong cultural identity, community-oriented values, and diverse livelihoods. Tangub City is situated along the southern coast of Misamis Occidental, bordered by Panguil Bay to the south and the majestic Mount Malindang to the north, covering an area of approximately 162.78 square kilometers, which comprises 55 barangays. As a locality shaped by both agricultural and urbanizing forces, Tangub offers a socio-economic landscape where individuals, particularly those in marginalized occupations, such as street sweeping, navigate complex layers of meaning in their daily lives. The city's cultural richness, embodied in its vibrant festivals and diverse ethnic composition, intersects with everyday realities shaped by labor, public service, and social recognition.

The identified participants were chosen using purposive sampling and inclusion criteria. Purposive sampling, a non-probability sampling technique also known as judgmental or selective sampling, involves the researcher's deliberate selection of participants based on specific criteria such as relevance, expertise, or willingness to participate in the study (Rai & Thapa, 2015). Thus, inclusion criteria refer to the specific demographic, clinical, or geographic characteristics that define the target population and ensure the participants are appropriate for addressing the research question (Patino & Ferreira, 2018). There were a total of 21 street sweepers employed by the city during the conduct of the study and these participants were chosen based on the following requirements: (1) 25-65 years of age; (2) job order employees of the city; (3) who have experienced cleaning the street for at least one (1) year already; and

(4) willing to participate in the study. The interview was conducted from September 4 to 8, 2023.

Table 1 Demographic Profile of the Participants

Participants	Gender	Type of Employment	Years in Service
P1	Female	Job Order	1
P2	Female	Job Order	1
P3	Male	Job Order	1
P4	Female	Job Order	1
P5	Female	Job Order	30
P6	Female	Job Order	7
P7	Female	Job Order	1
P8	Female	Job Order	1

In Table 1, the distribution of the gender, type of employment, and years of service of the street sweepers participating in the research is given. Seven street sweepers participating in the study were female, and one was male. In terms of employment, all of them were job order employees. Six street sweepers had one year of experience, one had seven years of service, and one had 30 years of service. Based on Table 1, it can be observed that most of the street sweepers were female, none held permanent tenure, and the majority of them have just started cleaning the streets for one year already.

Due to the absence of an ethics committee in the institution, this paper underwent a research proposal hearing in the institutional research council before conducting the study. After the approval, the interview guide questionnaire utilized in this study was validated by experts from the teacher education department, and the arts and sciences department, who provided comprehensive feedback and suggestions for its enhancement. To gather data, open-ended questions were employed to elicit responses from the street sweepers. The interviews followed a semi-structured format, which allowed for organic exploration while maintaining a topical focus as the conversation progressed (Magaldi & Berler, 2020). This approach facilitated the discovery of relevant insights that emerged during the interview process (Adeoye-Olatunde & Olenik, 2021).

To conduct the study, a formal letter was sent to the office of the City Mayor, seeking permission to interview the street sweepers. Approval took four (4) days. Then, another letter was delivered personally to the head of the City Engineering Office, which supervises the

street sweepers, to request face-to-face interviews and inquire about their assigned areas and whereabouts. We had a two (2)-hour informal discussion with the head regarding the study. Next, we visited the participants at their locations in the city proper at 10 a.m., during their rest period. We greeted and introduced ourselves formally, and had informal conversations about their situations. After establishing rapport with them, we explained our objectives and the purpose of recruiting them. Consent forms were provided, and the study's purpose was comprehensively discussed with each item in the form, ensuring participants understood their involvement. After they signed, interviews were scheduled at their preferred time. Some street sweepers were unwilling to cooperate because they feared it was all about political matters and might cause their work termination. Ethical considerations were prioritized throughout the data collection process, emphasizing that participation was voluntary and ensuring the confidentiality of participants' identities. The interviews ranged from 10 to 20 minutes, were audio recorded, and transcribed verbatim. After interviewing the eight participants, the researchers reached the saturation point of their utterances. The responses were then organized and printed.

The gathered data were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed using Braun and Clarke's six (6) phase process of thematic analysis to generate codes and themes systematically (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researchers read Byrne's paper (2022), which explicitly provides examples and explanations on how to follow the process of these guidelines. The analysis started with data familiarization, in which the researchers read and re-read the responses of the participants to be fully immersed in their experiences. Thereafter, the researchers generate the initial codes, where we identify the pieces of relevant information that the participants expressed through phrases and short descriptives. After identifying and reviewing the codes, the researchers generated the themes by combining all related codes to interpret all the statements of the participants' responses. Consequently, the researchers reviewed potential themes by analyzing and asking questions on the emerging themes to ensure coherence. Subsequently, the researchers defined and named the themes by extracting the participants' responses to narrate and explain the questions being addressed, aligning with the general themes. Finally, upon analyzing the themes, the researchers produced and wrote the data results by synthesizing and organizing all information and narratives to carefully explain the phenomenon being studied. The transcripts were put in Microsoft Word, and color coding was used to ensure the analytical process was correctly organized and done appropriately. After finalizing the report, the paper was subjected to deliberation and scrutiny by the college's research council during the final research paper presentation. Thereafter, the revised paper, together with the minutes of the presentation, was submitted to the council members for final checking and validation before submission to the publication.

RESULTS

This section presents the views regarding essential roles, value in the community, and contentment and satisfaction of eight (8) street sweepers with their jobs. Four (4) themes emerged from their responses, as presented below.

Maintaining Community Cleanliness and Orderliness

This theme emphasizes street sweepers' central role in upholding their community's cleanliness and orderliness. All participants emphasized that ensuring cleanliness is their primary responsibility, a duty entrusted to them by the local government. Their work begins at dawn, well before their official duty hours at 8:00 AM, reflecting their commitment to their roles. Keeping the streets clean and debris-free contributes to the community's hygiene, aesthetic appeal, and overall livability. This sense of responsibility fosters a deep pride in their work among the street sweepers.

Street sweepers' narratives on their essential roles:

- P1: "I sweep the streets... towards the bridge; that is where I sweep... My job is probably to serve and make the city orderly and clean."
- P2: "I sweep from the gadget store to BDO, Cebuana, Emcor, Manukan ng Bayan, Bookstore, up to the bridge near Prince Hypermart... Yes, the cleanliness in the surroundings because you can see that everything is clean."
- P3: "My tasks here include sweeping the streets, mopping, and repairing damaged tables."
- P4: "What I do is just cleaning, fulfilling my tasks, and being honest with my work... In one day, I can make a big difference by cleaning my area."
- P5: "My first task was to sweep the upper and lower Maloro areas... I sweep and leave when it is time to go home."
- P6: "I do tasks like sweeping, mopping, and cleaning tables. Yes, mostly on the streets."
- P7: "I sweep the streets, the area around my assigned area, like from Function Hall 1 going to Velasco, down to Migcanaway, and Akawi... The greatest thing I have done is just doing my job—sweeping every day."

P8: "I start sweeping around 6 AM because I want to get things done early to ensure everything is clean... It is a big responsibility now to maintain cleanliness, sir."

Street sweepers are strategically assigned to different areas and corners of the community to ensure comprehensive coverage. Beyond cleaning tasks, many participants juggle multiple responsibilities, such as mopping floors, repairing public infrastructure, and maintaining facilities like restrooms and benches. Their contributions extend beyond physical labor and assist community members and visitors by providing directions and information. This multifaceted role highlights their function as custodians of cleanliness and as stewards of public spaces and informal liaisons between the city and its residents or guests. Their work elevates the city's image as a clean, organized, and welcoming environment.

Street sweepers' narratives on additional responsibilities:

- P3: "My tasks here include sweeping the streets, mopping, and repairing damaged tables... There was a time I worked on benches, those seating areas."
- P4: "I maintain the women's restroom... and distribute chairs because people borrow benches... Visitors would ask, 'Ma'am, where is the...? Or 'Ma'am, can I ask where this is? Does it have a fee?"
- P5: "When people ask, 'Where is this? Ma'am, where is this, and is there a fee?' I answer them... Sometimes, they ask where they can get their MDR."
- P6: "I watered the plants, mopped the floor, wiped the tables, and swept the streets."

These narratives collectively illustrate the street sweepers' dedication to maintaining their community spaces' cleanliness, functionality, and hospitality. Their work addresses practical needs and fosters a positive and orderly community atmosphere.

Upholding Professional Integrity and Work Ethic

Integrity and a strong work ethic form the foundation of the street sweepers' professional identity, enhancing their credibility and the trust they foster within their community. Participants consistently emphasized that being responsible and trustworthy in one's duties is vital in fulfilling their roles and contributing to the city's progress. They exhibit professionalism through punctuality, honesty, and diligence, ensuring the reliability of their services. Returning lost items and adhering to their schedules are key examples of their commitment to ethical standards. Furthermore, the participants view their work as a significant contribution to the city's development, motivated by external supervision and their

internal sense of responsibility. As noted, their performance, monitored by their supervisors, serves as the basis for renewing their six-month contracts.

The importance of being committed to their job is reflected in the participants' narratives:

- P1: "We just need to be honest and hardworking, so we will not cause trouble for our supervisor."
- P2: "We just need to be honest in our work and come in at the right time for our duty... I applied for this job."
- P3: "I need to be serious about my work; that is my investment as an employee. I must be honest because if my performance is not good, my contract will not be renewed, since it is only for six months... Even though we only earn 375 pesos, I am content because I work for the government."
- P4: "It gives a good reputation to the city to have workers who are good at cleaning... I give my service; I do not ask for payment because I am already getting paid by the government."
- P5: "I am proud that I have clean areas... I do my job properly because we will not be hired elsewhere if we do not work seriously."
- P6: "We are given simple tasks, but do them sincerely. You will not be renewed if you are dishonest and serious about your work... It is just being honest, like returning a wallet that I found... It is all about being honest in your work."
- P7: "We start at 5 AM... Then we stop at 10 AM and return at 2 PM because it is too hot... I do my work honestly... I feel ashamed if others see me resting while there is work to do... I want them to see that I am doing my work properly... Sometimes, I return to pick up the trash I missed to ensure everything is clean."
- P8: "We start our shift at 4 AM, before sunrise... I continue sweeping until 10 AM... When you are working in your area, you need to focus."

In addition to fulfilling their essential responsibilities, participants often expressed a willingness to exceed expectations by starting work earlier or volunteering extra hours to ensure tasks are completed. This voluntary commitment reflects their dedication and fulfillment in meaningfully contributing to their community.

Participant narratives on voluntary commitment:

P1: "I always make sure it is clean; sometimes I even go further than needed to clean.... I ensure I do not just wander around and that I do not get removed from my job because this is my livelihood."

P3: "We also help clean each other's areas."

P4: "We volunteer to work early because it is already crowded in the morning with people."

Participants also highlighted their gratitude and happiness for their roles. Despite the contractual nature of their employment and modest earnings, they viewed their positions as vital to their well-being. This gratitude stresses their positive outlook and sense of contentment.

Participant narratives on gratitude:

P2: "I am happy to have been accepted because it is tough to find a job."

P5: "I am happy with my job. I may not have achieved much, but I am content."

P6: "Right now, our employment is just contractual, but we do not wish for something greater, even if it is a maintenance position. If there is a steady job, that is all we hope for... I am very thankful to God for helping us with our lives... I am grateful."

P7: "I am also happy that I got this job because I do not have any other work, no other job. I am grateful that they accepted me... I am not looking for anything else because I do not have many other job options."

The participant's commitment to professional integrity and work ethic ensures the effective delivery of their responsibilities and contributes to their satisfaction and the community's trust. Their narratives highlight how values such as honesty, diligence, and gratitude reinforce their roles as vital contributors to urban cleanliness and orderliness. These traits reflect the essential link between individual work ethics and community progress.

Being Acknowledged and Respected in the Community

This theme highlights the appreciation and recognition that participants receive from their community and supervisors. Such acknowledgment is a vital source of motivation, fostering a sense of belonging and validation for their efforts. Recognition, whether through tangible gestures, verbal praise, or displays of respect, significantly boosts morale and sustains the workers' dedication to their roles. These findings underline the importance of community engagement in promoting a positive work environment and reinforcing the value of the participant's contributions.

Tangible Acts of Gratitude

Participants reported experiencing a deep sense of value and belonging within their community when receiving tangible tokens of appreciation. These gestures, often small but meaningful, affirmed their role despite the perceived social hierarchy of professions. Receiving necessities or tokens of gratitude eased daily burdens and was an essential motivator to continue their work.

One participant reflected on the impact of these acts:

P1: "When they give you something, it is a big deal to me. During birthdays, the celebrants prepare food to eat for everybody. They always gave me food."

Another participant shared a similar sentiment:

P3: "The vendors of the fish section always gave us fish to be grilled. They sometimes give us grilled fish as a token of appreciation. They gave it with willingness."

Others emphasized the significance of receiving gifts during special occasions, which strengthened their sense of worth:

P5: "Yes, like at Christmas, they give me something, and they also give gifts during Christmas, even from the city. They also give, especially from the wealthy ones."

P6: "I was thrilled when they gave me enough groceries. It will be of big help since payday is on the 15th day of the month. We get bonuses from the city mayor."

These expressions of gratitude relieved financial pressures and reinforced the participants' perception of their importance within the community.

Verbal Expressions of Appreciation

Beyond material gifts, participants highlighted the profound impact of verbal acknowledgment and encouragement. Simple words of gratitude, compliments, and greetings significantly uplifted their morale and validated their efforts. These verbal expressions served as affirmations of the street sweepers' contributions to the cleanliness and harmony of the community.

One participant shared:

P1: "They always say, 'Your area is really clean; you are hardworking."

Another participant noted the importance of being appreciated by their supervisors:

P3: "Our head is happy when they see our clean area. It feels good to be appreciated; it makes me happy to hear that."

Expressions of gratitude from the community also played a significant role:

P4: "Some people express gratitude, but I do not ask for anything. People praise my work, saying that I am doing well. I always keep my area clean when they appreciate me for keeping the comfort room clean."

Participants emphasized the sincerity of simple greetings, which reflected respect and acknowledgment:

P7: "When they see us working, they always show their respect to us by greeting us 'Good morning.'"

P8: "Our mayor and other officials even shake hands with us and ask, 'Are you okay, ma'am?' or they would say, 'Good morning!'"

These interactions cultivated a sense of connection and mutual respect, reinforcing the participants' motivation to continue their work.

Recognition and Respect for Good Work

Recognition and respect emerged as essential elements in fostering a positive work environment. Participants valued being treated with kindness and politeness, as these interactions enriched their relationships with community members and enhanced their work experiences. The sense of being respected and acknowledged encouraged participants to maintain high task standards.

One participant expressed how their efforts were noticed:

P2: "I think they see me as a good person because they noticed that I clean well."

Others shared stories of being treated with care and respect:

P5: "They are kind to me and ask if I have eaten. They care about me. They say, 'Have you eaten already?' Moreover, they treat me well."

P6: "I just feel thankful for the kindness and sincerity of others. I am thankful because of the kindness of our mayor."

The importance of everyday gestures of politeness was also emphasized:

P7: "They greet us with a 'Good morning' and ask for respect."

Such recognition and respect fostered a sense of dignity and pride in their work, strengthening their connection to the community and their commitment to their roles.

Supporting Family Livelihood and Well-Being

This theme emphasizes the sense of fulfillment and contentment street sweepers experience in supporting their families through work. Despite limited financial resources and the modest income associated with their jobs, the participants consistently expressed satisfaction, gratitude, and a deep sense of purpose in their roles. Their work enables them to address family needs, achieve financial stability, and maintain a sense of independence. The participants' narratives reflect an intrinsic motivation rooted in familial obligations and the desire to ensure a better future for their loved ones. Many shared how their earnings help pay debts, cover their children's school expenses, and provide for daily necessities, thus creating a ripple effect of stability and security within their households. Even with financial challenges, their resilience and resourcefulness allow them to adapt and remain content. Beyond financial gains, the participants emphasized the value of consistency in their employment. Having a regular income, no matter how modest, offers a sense of security and accomplishment. For some, the job represents a long-awaited opportunity to work for the government, adding to their pride and motivation.

The participants' testimonials provide a vivid account of their contentment and commitment to their work, as highlighted below:

- P1: "Yes, I am contented. Whenever payday comes, I can pay off my debt, buy rice... I am content with my job. Yes, I can even dress well... Also, I can provide for the expenses of my students whom I send to school and buy things they need at school...Even though we are just job-order employees, I am already so grateful for what we have."
- P2: "Yes, it is fine, sir, because I can still manage my problems, such as buying household items and food. Yes, I can manage it for my family and grandchildren, especially since their father has no stable job...It is fine, and I do not have any complaints."

- P3: "I am content with my job, even though we only earn 375 pesos. If you calculate it, it is not enough because everything is expensive now. However, it is okay because there are lending options here. My family can still get by. Of course, we would all like higher salaries, but it is not always possible. I am content because I am working in the government."
- P4: "I am happy with this job because I have long dreamed of working for the government. I have a college student so that I can provide for their needs...I am content with my job because it allows me to provide for our needs, even if it is just a small amount, as long as it is consistent. I have a salary to look forward to. When my family needs something, I work hard to meet those demands, even before payday."
- P5: "I am just happy that I do not have to depend on my children because I earn my income, sir. I am truly grateful to God for this job. I have prayed to Him for good health so I can continue working and supporting myself... I am happy with my job. I may not have achieved much, but I am content... It helps my family, sir, because I am a widow now. I do not have a husband anymore...I am happy I do not have to depend on my children."
- P6: "Still, we are happy and content with what we have. It has solved our problems, especially with food and other necessities. Even if it is just a small amount, we make it work because we would not even be able to borrow money if we did not have jobs...There have been significant improvements in my life. For instance, I have been able to buy small things and repair my house. This year has brought me so much joy because of my job. I am truly grateful."
- P7: "I am okay with it. I do my work every day, and even when I am tired, I do not mind because I am focused on my goal: supporting my child's education. I have a thirdyear college student, and I work hard to ensure she can continue her studies."
- P8: "Yes, I am content, sir. I am okay. Even with a small salary, it is still helpful. That is how it is. I am fine with it, sir. I can contribute to our household. For example, my husband might ask me to buy additional fishing nets if we are short on supplies."

While their earnings may be modest, the participants' ability to provide for their families fosters a sense of accomplishment and pride. Their intrinsic motivation, driven by familial obligations, reflects the values of hard work and perseverance. It also serves as a testament to their integral role in building a resilient and cohesive society.

DISCUSSIONS

Despite the inherently challenging nature of their job, street sweepers shed light on its positive aspects through their lived experiences. Emerging themes reveal that participants view their work as essential to fostering a clean and well-maintained urban environment. Street sweepers are critical in promoting environmental health by maintaining cleanliness and contributing to a visually appealing and orderly urban setting (Habybabady et al., 2018; Johnson & John, 2020). Removing litter, leaves, and other debris helps uphold the city's aesthetics and hygiene (Zamora et al., 2018; Kabir et al., 2015). This highlights the indispensable role of street sweepers in preserving their environment's hygiene, organization, and visual appeal. Their contributions form the backbone of a clean and well-maintained community, significantly impacting public health by preventing waste accumulation and mitigating potential hazards. The daily routine of street sweepers starts as early as 4 to 5 in the morning to avoid the sun's intense heat. The street sweepers' dedication is evident in their early work hours and unwavering commitment to community standards, reflecting not just physical labor but also a profound sense of purpose and responsibility. Their responsibilities include cleaning designated areas and adhering to scheduled rest periods. Their efforts extend beyond basic cleaning tasks, including mopping, repairing infrastructure, watering plants, and managing public facilities. Their multifaceted roles position them as vital custodians of public spaces and key intermediaries between the city administration and its residents. These contributions resonate far beyond their immediate tasks, enhancing the city's image as a clean, welcoming, and organized destination, fostering community pride, supporting tourism, and elevating the quality of life for its inhabitants. Despite the physical demands and early hours, street sweepers recognize their vital role in the community, reflecting intrinsic motivation derived from their perceived competence in performing a valued task. According to the Self-Determination Theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000), fulfilling the need for competence enhances intrinsic motivation and job satisfaction. This alignment between their duties and community value reinforces their sense of pride and accomplishment, contributing to their well-being.

Moreover, besides maintaining cleanliness, participants emphasize the centrality of personal values such as integrity, honesty, and diligence in defining the professional identity of street sweepers. They narrated the importance of commitment to their job as another way to help the community. Subsequently, they emphasized their responsibility to deliver high-quality service, recognizing that their performance impacts the city's reputation and job security. Additionally, they must be hardworking, responsible, and honest. Since all the participants are on a job order, individual performance is crucial for renewing their contract. Indeed, they are working with no tenure security, which leads to meager compensation and nonexistent benefits (Lagura & Ligan, 2018). Despite modest financial compensation, street sweepers find

immense personal fulfillment in their roles, expressing gratitude and satisfaction with their work. Their willingness to volunteer extra hours or begin tasks earlier illustrates an intrinsic motivation rooted in a sense of duty and pride. Nevertheless, one participant mentioned that doing their job well is a form of investment. Hence, having a sense of commitment to their task is the least they could contribute towards the city's progress. Despite challenging conditions such as non-permanent contracts, commitment to their work can be understood through the Self-Determination Theory's need for autonomy. While street sweepers have little control over their employment security, their internal commitment and dedication to their work reflect an internalization of their role. This internal commitment to fulfilling their responsibilities despite external constraints is an example of intrinsic motivation. The intrinsic motivation is derived from their belief in the value of their work and the personal satisfaction they derive from performing their duties diligently.

Through participants' efforts in doing their daily tasks, they are appreciated by the people in the community. Simpson et al. (2019) claimed that workers' attachment to their jobs is primarily influenced by the recognition they receive, as it can fulfill their sense of selfrealization and positive self-worth. Being acknowledged and respected in the community reveals the profound impact of recognition and appreciation on the morale and dedication of street sweepers. Tangible acts of gratitude, such as food, groceries, or bonuses, alleviate financial burdens while affirming their importance to the community. Verbal expressions of appreciation, including compliments and greetings, provide emotional validation and a sense of respect, thereby, fostering a positive work environment. A central belief of SDT is that the best way to get human beings to perform tasks is to reinforce their behavior with rewards (O'Hara, 2017). These gestures enhance their self-esteem and reinforce their commitment to maintaining high standards. A study in Indonesia would agree that street sweepers' loyalty is based on fulfilling rewards following expectations. If their work climate is improved, they could have a good quality of work life (Salmah et al., 2021). They felt a sense of belonging since people approached and welcomed them willingly and openly. This experience strongly resonates with the theory's component of relatedness, which emphasizes the importance of feeling connected and valued by others. These tokens made the cleaners feel valued and respected, strengthening their connection to the community. Positive social interactions and a sense of appreciation satisfy the need for relatedness, a critical factor for motivation and psychological well-being (Baard et al., 2004). This social validation is crucial for satisfying the need for relatedness, as it helps street sweepers feel integrated into the community. In contrast to other studies where street sweepers feel marginalized and unrecognized (Gidwani, 2015; Goswami & Divi, 2019; Olafimihan et al., 2020), the experience of the cleaners demonstrates that positive community interaction can enhance their sense of fulfillment and well-being, thereby, reinforcing their motivation and dedication to their work. Participants shared how acknowledgment from community members and supervisors created a culture of mutual respect, motivating them to sustain their diligence. When workers feel that their contributions are recognized and valued by others, it fosters a stronger sense of community and enhances their overall job satisfaction.

Nevertheless, the street sweepers expressed contentment with their jobs as they could provide for their families despite the low pay and lack of job security. This reflects the fulfillment of competence in the Self-Determination Theory in a broader context, where their ability to sustain their families contributes to their self-worth and job satisfaction. Indeed, there is pride and satisfaction in being a street cleaner (Lagura & Ligan, 2018). Their happiness and joy while on the job signify the contentment and satisfaction it brings to their lives. Hence, although the street sweepers are not permanent in their tenure, the salary they could receive every first and second half of the month would help provide necessary things for their families. As they shared, despite modest earnings, participants consistently expressed satisfaction with their jobs, valuing financial stability, independence, and the ability to meet household needs. Their work enabled them to pay off debts, support their children's education, and manage daily expenses, underscoring the critical role of consistent employment in fostering household resilience. Consequently, 97.81% of sweepers in Ethiopia had no job satisfaction (Gebremedhn & Raman, 2020), waste workers are poorly compensated in India (Gidwani, 2015), and have meager compensation in the Philippines (Lagura & Ligan, 2018). Nonetheless, the ability to meet their family's needs, even with limited resources, gives street sweepers a sense of achievement and fulfillment. The participants' narratives revealed their resourcefulness in managing limited resources and their gratitude for the independence afforded by their work. This perseverance reflects a broader social value, as their dedication contributes not only to their family's well-being but also to the overall stability and functionality of the community. This result highlights how competence in economic contribution and self-sufficiency is key to their satisfaction and well-being.

CONCLUSION

This study was undertaken because there is a lack of research literature that genuinely captures the comprehensive nature of street sweepers' lives and the positive aspects of being on the job. Hence, street sweepers are pivotal to maintaining public spaces' cleanliness, orderliness, and functionality. Their work is instrumental in achieving community hygiene and aesthetic standards and is critical to urban governance and public welfare. Their commitment to their duties, underpinned by values of honesty, responsibility, and dedication, contributes significantly to the community's trust and efficient delivery of urban cleaning services. The street sweepers' voluntary commitment to exceeding expectations and their positive outlook on their work, despite the challenges posed by contractual employment and modest earnings, reflect the essential role of intrinsic motivation in fostering a dedicated

workforce. Furthermore, being acknowledged and respected by the community significantly enhances their morale and commitment to their work. These scenarios not only motivate the participants to uphold high standards of service but also strengthen their connection to the community, contributing to a more harmonious and productive urban environment and fostering a sense of belonging and validation. Lastly, street sweepers derive significant satisfaction and fulfillment from their work due to their ability to support their families despite the modest financial rewards. Their sense of contentment stems from the stability, independence, and financial relief their jobs provide, allowing them to meet family needs and secure a better future for their loved ones. Their intrinsic motivation is driven by a deep sense of responsibility and care for their families, ultimately fueling their commitment to street sweep roles. Overall, applying the context of Self-Determination Theory as a framework for this paper provides a comprehensive understanding of the factors contributing to the street sweepers' sense of fulfillment. Despite the challenges associated with their job, the fulfillment of their psychological needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness through their work and community interactions contributes significantly to their motivation and overall well-being. These results are highlighted by Bailey and Madden (2017), as cited by Simpson et al. (2019), that meaningful work is associated with perceiving an authentic connection between one's job and a broader transcendent life purpose beyond the self. A study by Cascio (2003), as cited by Simpson et al. (2019), further explained that this sense of meaningfulness precedes income, job security, and promotion for individuals pursuing fulfilling employment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The researchers acknowledge certain limitations of the study. A majority of participants had only one (1) year of work experience, primarily due to the non-renewal of contracts among long-serving street sweepers following a change in political administration. Consequently, some participants struggled to elaborate on their lived experiences in depth. It is, therefore, recommended that a similar study be conducted in a different setting, specifically involving participants with at least five (5) years of work experience as street sweepers. This would likely yield more contextually rich and comprehensive narratives. Additionally, the present study did not undergo ethical review from a local ethics committee due to its absence in the area. However, the researchers sought guidance and critique from academic experts and the college research council, including during the faculty research presentation. To enhance data interpretation and reporting, the researchers also used ChatGPT for suggestions and language refinement, which were later cross-validated by experts.

Based on the study's findings, several action-oriented recommendations are put forward. The city government is encouraged to recognize the essential contributions of street sweepers by ensuring fair wages, adequate benefits, and stable job security, particularly for

those who have served for decades. Specific programs should be institutionalized to uphold their dignity and motivation, such as the introduction of performance-based recognition systems like "Employee of the Month" awards, "Service Excellence" citations, and incentives during community or city-wide events, which boost morale and emphasize their value to the community, can foster greater motivation and job satisfaction. To address the issue of employment instability arising from political transitions, the study recommends the establishment of a "Security of Tenure Framework" for job order employees, including street sweepers. This could be institutionalized through local ordinances or administrative policies that protect long-serving employees from arbitrary dismissal due to political turnover. The framework could include criteria-based contract renewals, grievance mechanisms, and the creation of plantilla (permanent) positions for qualified workers.

Future research could explore ways to improve job security and benefits for workers in similar sectors, ensuring their efforts are recognized and adequately rewarded. Hence, future research is encouraged to explore benchmarking practices from both local private organizations and international models where sanitation workers receive employment protections, health and welfare benefits, and career development programs. These models can be adapted and contextualized to suit the Philippine local government setting and could inform the crafting of inclusive labor policies for marginalized urban workers. Finally, building upon the qualitative findings of this study, future researchers may adopt a quantitative approach to determine the extent to which the themes uncovered are experienced by a broader population of street sweepers. Such empirical validation may help in crafting data-driven policy decisions aimed at improving their work conditions and overall sense of fulfillment.

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Organizational Citizenship Behavior and Intention to Quit: Mediating Role of Job Burnout Among Call Center Agents in Metro Manila, Philippines

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ABSTRACT

This research investigates the relationship between organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) and turnover intention, with job burnout as a mediating factor among call center agents in Metro Manila. A total of 175 participants were recruited through snowball sampling and responded to an online survey. Descriptive statistics were used to determine the average levels of OCB, job burnout, and turnover intention among respondents. Spearman correlation analysis was performed to examine the relationships between these variables, while mediation analysis using the Med-Mod module in JAMOVI assessed the mediating role of job burnout. Results revealed that job burnout fully mediates the relationship between OCB and turnover intention. These findings highlight the importance of promoting organizational citizenship behavior to mitigate turnover intention by addressing job burnout.

Keywords: Organization, Citizenship, Behavior, Burnout, Turnover

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The call center industry is well known for experiencing difficulties in retaining employees and managing high turnover intentions (Dhanpat et al., 2018). Despite offering attractive compensation packages and competitive salaries, the BPO industry continues to face some of the highest turnover rates (Greenlees, 2006). In the United States, a study by Poddar and Madupalli (2012) revealed that the average annual voluntary employee turnover rate in the call center industry ranges between 30% and 50%, which is significantly higher than in many other industries. A more recent study by Posey (2019) found that the annual turnover rate remains at approximately 40%. However, Taylor and Bain (2005) argued that actual turnover rates are significantly higher than what companies report, emphasizing that employee retention remains a major challenge for the industry.

In the Philippines, the contact center industry similarly experiences high turnover rates, with an annual attrition rate of 60% at a company level and 20% industry leave rate (IBPAP, 2014). According to the Magellan Solutions (2020) Call Center Benchmarking Report,

the attrition rate in the IT-BPM sector is 50%, indicative of the ongoing challenge in employee retention. Although the Call Center Association of the Philippines (CCAP) projected that attrition rates in the sector could fall below 45% in 2024 (CCAP, 2023), the data still highlight the persistent and consistently high turnover rates in the industry. This issue remains a significant concern for organizations within the sector, as it impacts both operational efficiency and long-term sustainability. Hechanova (2013) even referred to the sector as a "revolving door" due to the rapid movement of employees entering and leaving within a short period, further emphasizing the difficulty of maintaining a stable and committed workforce.

The high turnover rates in the Philippine contact center industry are not only a reflection of employee dissatisfaction but also a result of the challenging nature of the work itself. The activities performed by call center operators are said to have low variability due to repetitive interactions with customers, which are often facilitated by automatic call distribution services (Holman, 2003). This routine aspect of the job has been further amplified by the requirement for employees to follow scripted call guides when conversing with customers (Zapf et al., 2003). Despite the repetitiveness, the job remains complex due to the continuous and extensive amount of information requested by customers, requiring agents to quickly process and deliver accurate responses. Additionally, employees must provide help and support to angry and frustrated individuals (Dormann & Zapf, 2004). These demanding interactions expose agents to significant emotional strain and negative feelings, leading to burnout (Molino et al., 2016). Studies by Workman and Bommer (2004) and Posey (2019) further highlight that the stressful, repetitive nature of the work contributes to high levels of turnover and absenteeism in the call center industry. Given these challenges, it is crucial to devise strategies to manage these inherent stressors and promote the well-being of employees in call center environments. Doing so can enhance overall workplace dynamics and reduce turnover. This is where Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB) becomes particularly relevant, as it can serve as a buffer against burnout and contribute to a more supportive work environment.

OCB, first coined by Dennis Organ in 1988, refers to voluntary behaviors by individuals that go beyond their job descriptions or duties to benefit the organization or colleagues. These actions are typically discretionary, meaning they are not formally recognized or compensated but are performed with the intent of benefiting the organization or colleagues. Organ (1988) identified five dimensions of OCB: altruism, courtesy, conscientiousness, sportsmanship, and civic virtue.

Altruism refers to the voluntary act of helping others within the organization, such as offering assistance to new hires or helping colleagues meet tight deadlines.

- Courtesy involves behaviors that prevent conflicts and foster positive interactions
 within the workplace. This could include actions like providing advance notice
 when scheduling meetings or offering constructive feedback respectfully.
- Conscientiousness goes beyond the minimum expectations of the job, with employees demonstrating a high level of care and diligence in their tasks. This might include actions such as consistently being punctual and adhering to company policies.
- **Sportsmanship** is characterized by maintaining a positive attitude even in the face of adversity or setbacks. For example, an employee might encourage their team after delays or challenges.
- **Civic virtue** pertains to an employee's responsible and constructive involvement in the broader organizational processes. This includes actions such as staying informed about company policies and actively participating in meetings.

The dimensions of Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB) outlined earlier highlight how employees can contribute to a positive and supportive work environment. Although most studies have shown that stress and burnout at work decrease OCB (Davila & Finkelstein, 2013; De Clercq & Belausteguigoitia, 2020; Johansson & Hart, 2023), it is also possible to view OCB as a precursor to workplace well-being, rather than merely its consequence (Santos et al., 2023). This perspective shifts the focus from just the effects of stress on employee behavior to how engaging in OCB itself may promote well-being. While much of the research has concentrated on understanding why and when employees engage in discretionary behavior, the effects of OCB on employee well-being have been less explored (Podsakoff et al., 2009). Bakker and Demerouti (2007) suggested that job motivation and stress can serve as both outcomes and predictors of job demands and resources, with OCB being considered a valuable job resource. This was supported by a more recent study by Bakker et al. (2023), which emphasized that intensifying positive workplace behaviors, including OCB, can significantly impact various organizational outcomes, such as increased engagement and reduced turnover intentions.

In line with this, Kumar et al. (2016) argued that engaging in prosocial behaviors such as OCB can reduce individual burnout levels. These reductions result from fostering a supportive climate initiated by the individual actor (Firth, 2004). Similarly, Kalliath and Beck (2001) observed that supervisory support, an example of OCB, reduced two dimensions of burnout: depersonalization and emotional exhaustion. However, it is important to note that engaging in OCB does not always lead to positive outcomes. Bolino et al. (2013) highlighted the "dark side" of OCB, where it has been linked to work overload, work-family conflict, and job stress (Halbesleben et al., 2009; Koopman et al., 2016). This suggests that while OCB can be beneficial, its impact is not universally positive. Therefore, viewing OCB as a precursor

to workplace well-being does not conflict with studies that position it as a consequence of organizational factors, as positive workplace behaviors often create reciprocal cycles of action (Santos et al., 2023).

Building on the understanding of OCB's potential impact on workplace well-being, it is essential to explore how these behaviors relate to turnover intentions, especially in industries where employee retention is a persistent challenge. The relationship between OCB and turnover has been well-documented, with higher OCB levels associated with lower turnover and absenteeism rates (Podsakoff et al., 2009). For instance, Coyne and Ong (2007) supported this finding and identified sportsmanship as a specific dimension of OCB that predicts turnover intention. This suggests that employees who engage in positive behaviors and exhibit resilience in the face of challenges are less likely to leave the organization. Similarly, studies have shown that increasing OCB can reduce turnover intentions by fostering a more positive and supportive work environment (Regts & Molleman, 2013; Lau et al., 2016).

In a meta-analysis by Podsakoff et al. (2019), the relationship between OCB and withdrawal behaviors, such as turnover intentions, was explored. While stress was not explicitly identified as a mediator, it was noted as a potential dysfunctional outcome of OCB that could influence turnover intention. The foundational Job Demands-Resources (JD-R) model by Demerouti et al. (2001) demonstrated how job demands, including OCB as an extrarole demand, can lead to burnout and stress, which, in turn, can affect turnover intention. In other words, while OCB is typically seen as a positive behavior, its excessive demands can contribute to negative outcomes such as stress and burnout, which may prompt employees to reconsider their commitment to the organization.

Building on this, it is crucial to further explore how stress and burnout might mediate the relationship between OCB and turnover intentions, particularly within the context of call centers. Although prior studies have examined the relationship between OCB and turnover intention, few have considered stress and burnout as mediating factors. Additionally, there is a lack of research specifically exploring these variables in the context of call centers. Previous studies have focused on healthcare workers (Tsai & Wu, 2010; Al Shbail & Al Shbail, 2020; Hsu & Yang, 2022), hotel and restaurant workers (Pivi & Hassan, 2015; Yurcu & Akinci, 2017), and production workers (Coyne & Ong, 2007). Considering that employee retention is a significant challenge for the call center industry, it is essential to examine other variables that might affect turnover intentions. Understanding the relationship between OCB, burnout, and turnover intentions is crucial for developing targeted interventions that can help call centers create a more supportive and sustainable work environment, ultimately improving employee retention. Lastly, addressing this gap in the literature is necessary for creating effective organizational practices that support both the employees' mental health and the overall success of the call center industry.

METHOD

Sample

A total of 175 respondents were selected as the sample for this research, ensuring a representative group for the study. Data collection was conducted over one month, starting on May 24, 2024, and ending on June 24, 2024. The respondents were drawn from a specific population: call center agents or employees currently working in a business process outsourcing (BPO) company based in Metro Manila. This setting was chosen due to its relevance to the research focus on OCB, burnout, and turnover intention in the BPO industry.

To ensure the eligibility and appropriateness of participants for this study, the following inclusion and exclusion criteria were applied:

- 1. Respondents must be at least 18 years old, the legal age for providing informed consent to participate in the study.
- Participants must be currently employed as call center agents in BPO companies located in Metro Manila. This criterion was set to focus on the experiences of workers in this specific geographic and professional context.
- Only full-time call center agents were included in the study, regardless of whether they handled inbound or outbound calls. This ensured consistency in the employment status of respondents and allowed the study to focus on the shared experiences of full-time employees.

These criteria were designed to refine the scope of the study, ensuring that the data gathered were both relevant and reflective of the targeted population. By focusing on this specific group, this research aimed to generate insights into the interplay of workplace dynamics and employee retention within the BPO sector.

Measures

Organizational Citizenship Behavior

This study utilized the 24-item Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB) Scale developed by Podsakoff et al. (1990), a widely recognized tool in organizational research. The scale is designed to measure five distinct dimensions of OCB, namely: altruism, sportsmanship, conscientiousness, courtesy, and civic virtue. Each of these dimensions is represented by specific items within the dimensions: altruism, conscientiousness, sportsmanship, and courtesy are each measured through five questions, while civic virtue is assessed using four questions. The respondents rated their agreement with each statement using a 7-point Likert scale, where 7 indicated "strongly agree" and 1 indicated "strongly

disagree". Lastly, the focus will be on the universal OCB score, rather than analyzing each dimension individually. Responses across all dimensions were aggregated to provide a holistic view of organizational citizenship behavior among respondents.

Job Burnout

This study employed the Maslach Burnout Inventory-General Survey (MBI-GS), a widely recognized tool for assessing burnout across various occupational groups. The MBI-GS is a 16-item questionnaire designed to evaluate the levels of burnout experienced by individuals in their professional roles. Respondents rated their experiences using a 7-point Likert scale, where 7 represented "every day" and 1 represented "never," allowing for a detailed assessment of the frequency of burnout-related symptoms. The survey measures three core dimensions of burnout: emotional exhaustion, cynicism, and professional efficacy. Burnout is determined based on the scores across these dimensions. A high score in emotional exhaustion and cynicism, coupled with a low score in professional efficacy, indicates the presence of burnout.

Turnover Intention

In measuring the turnover intention, the Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire (MOAQ) developed by Cammann et al. (1979) was used. The MOAQ is specifically designed to measure turnover intention, a critical indicator of an employee's likelihood of leaving their current organization. The questionnaire consists of three items, each rated on a 7-point Likert scale, where 7 indicates "strongly agree" and 1 indicates "strongly disagree." This scale allows for the assessment of participants' agreement with statements related to their intentions to stay or leave their organization. Despite its brevity, the MOAQ has demonstrated robust psychometric properties, making it an effective instrument for evaluating turnover intention in various workplace settings.

Data Analysis

To ensure the validity and reliability of the measures employed in this study, a reliability analysis was conducted using the statistical software JAMOVI. The analysis yielded Cronbach's α coefficients of .943 for organizational citizenship behavior, .950 for job burnout, and .960 for turnover intention. These values significantly exceed the widely accepted threshold of .70, indicating that the measures demonstrate a high degree of internal consistency and are thus considered highly reliable for this research.

Furthermore, all statistical analyses were performed using JAMOVI. Descriptive statistics were calculated to determine the mean values of the three variables, providing an overview of their central tendencies within the dataset. To examine the relationships among

the variables, Spearman correlation was employed, which is particularly suitable for assessing associations in ordinal data or when assumptions of normality are not met.

Additionally, the Med-Mod module in JAMOVI was utilized to test for mediation effects, specifically assessing whether job burnout serves as a mediating variable in the relationship between organizational citizenship behavior and turnover intention.

RESULTS

Socio Demographic Profile

The respondents who participated in this study had a mean age of 28.6 years, with a standard deviation of 5.26, indicating a moderate variation in the ages of the participants. The youngest respondent was 18 years old, while the oldest was 47 years old, reflecting a diverse age range among the sample population. Regarding educational attainment, more than half of the respondents hold a bachelor's degree, accounting for 52% of the sample. This was followed by college undergraduates, who comprised 37% of the participants.

 Table 1

 Descriptive Statistics for the Socio-demographic profile of respondents

Variable (Coding Range)	N or mean (% or SD)
Age (in years)	28.6 (5.26)
Gender	
Male	66 (37.7)
Female	107 (61.1)
Gay	1 (0.6)
Transgender Female	1 (0.6)
Highest Educational Attainment	
High School Graduate	19 (10.9)
College Undergraduate	64 (36.6)
Bachelor's degree	91 (52)
Master's Degree	1 (0.6)

Work Profile

The salary distribution of the respondents shows that the majority (45.1%) fall within the ₱20,001 - ₱30,000 salary range, followed by 30.9% of respondents earning between

₱30,001 - ₱40,000. A smaller proportion of respondents earn in the higher salary brackets, with 10.3% earning between ₱10,001 - ₱20,000, 8.6% earning between ₱40,001 - ₱50,000, and 4.6% earning above ₱50,000. This indicates that the majority of respondents are earning above the minimum wage, with most falling within the ₱20,001 - ₱40,000 range.

In terms of length of service, the majority of respondents have been employed for 1 to 2 years (47.4%), followed by those with 3 to 4 years of service (31.4%). A smaller percentage of respondents have been with the company for 5 to 6 years (11.4%) or between 6 to 12 months (5.1%). These results suggest that the respondents generally have moderate to substantial tenure, with a significant concentration of individuals having 1 to 4 years of experience.

 Table 2

 Descriptive Statistics for Work profile of respondents

Variable (Coding Range)	N or mean (% or SD)
Salary Range	
Below P10,000	1 (0.6)
P10,001 - P20,000	18 (10.3)
P20,001 - P30,000	79 (45.1)
P30,001 - P40,000	54 (30.9)
P40,001 - P50,000	15 (8.6)
Above P50,000	8 (4.6)
Length of Service	
Less than 6 months	3 (1.7)
6-12 months	9 (5.1)
1-2 years	83 (47.4)
3-4 years	55 (31.4)
5-6 years	20 (11.4)
7 years and above	5 (2.9)

Level of Organizational Citizenship Behavior

The respondents reported an overall average level of Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB), with a mean score of 5.15 ± 0.96 . This indicates that, on average, the respondents demonstrate behaviors aligned with Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB), though there is notable variability in the extent to which individuals exhibit these behaviors.

Among the 24 items measured, four items received a high verbal interpretation, indicating a higher frequency of positive OCB. These items include: "I consider the impact of my actions on coworkers" (M = 5.85), "I do not abuse the rights of others" (M = 6.09), "I take steps to prevent problems with other coworkers" (M = 5.97), and "I am mindful of how my behavior affects other people's jobs" (M = 5.96). These results suggest that respondents are highly aware of their actions and their effects on others, prioritizing the well-being of their coworkers and maintaining a positive work environment. In addition, respondents are highly aware of their actions and their effects on others, prioritizing the well-being of their coworkers and maintaining a positive work environment. These behaviors align with the Courtesy dimension of Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB), which emphasizes thoughtfulness, respect, and proactive measures to prevent conflicts and support coworkers.

In contrast, several items were interpreted as having an average level of OCB, with mean scores ranging between 3.34 and 5.66. These items reflect behaviors such as helping others with heavy workloads, adhering to company rules, and attending non-mandatory meetings or functions. Notably, the item "I attend functions that are not required but help the company's image" received the lowest mean score (M = 3.85), indicating that respondents are less likely to engage in activities that are not directly required but contribute to the organization's image. These behaviors align with the Civic Virtue dimension of Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB), which involves commitment to the organization as a whole, such as participating in non-mandatory events, showing concern for the organization's reputation, and staying informed about organizational matters. The average level of engagement in this dimension suggests that while respondents generally adhere to expected behaviors, they may be less inclined to go beyond what is required to enhance the organization's image.

 Table 3

 Descriptive Results for Organizational Citizenship Behavior

Organizational Citizenship Behavior	М	SD	Interpretation	Rank
I help others who have heavy workloads.	5.26	1.30	Average	14
I am always ready to lend a helping hand to those around me.	5.49	1.38	Average	7
I help others who have been absent.	5.27	1.43	Average	13
I willingly help others who have related problems.	5.42	1.38	Average	8
I help orient new people even though it is not required.	5.31	1.45	Average	12
I am one of the most conscientiousness people in this organization	5.20	1.41	Average	15

Organizational Citizenship Behavior	М	SD	Interpretation	Rank
I believe in giving an honest day's work for an honest day's pay.	5.42	1.37	Average	8
My attendance at work is above the norm.	5.34	1.47	Average	10
I do not take extra breaks.	5.33	1.43	Average	11
I obey company rules and regulations even when no one is watching.	5.51	1.70	Average	6
I am the classic "squeaky wheel" that always needs greasing ®.	4.39	1.59	Average	20
I consume a lot of time complaining about trivial matters ®.	4.97	1.59	Average	17
I tend to make "mountains out of molehills" ®.	4.91	1.70	Average	19
I always focus on what's wrong, rather than focusing on the positive ®.	5.07	1.59	Average	16
I always find fault with what the organization is doing ®.	4.93	1.67	Average	18
I try to avoid creating problems for coworkers.	5.65	1.28	Average	5
I consider the impact of my actions on coworkers.	5.85	0.98	High	4
I do not abuse the rights of others.	6.09	0.98	High	1
I take steps to prevent problems with other coworkers.	5.97	0.94	High	2
I am mindful of how my behavior affects other people's job.	5.96	0.97	High	3
I keep abreast of changes in the organization.	4.36	1.67	Average	21
I attend meetings that are not mandatory but are considered important.	4.03	1.83	Average	22
I attend functions that are not required but help the company image.	3.85	1.82	Average	24
I read and keep up with organization announcements, memos, and so on.	4.01	1.84	Average	23
Total Average	5.15	0.96	Average	

N=175, low=1-3.33, average=3.34-5.66, high=5.67-7.00

Level of Job Burnout

The respondents reported an overall average level of job burnout, with a mean score of 3.60 ± 1.11 . This suggests that, on average, the respondents experience moderate levels of burnout, but there is considerable variability in individual responses.

Among the 16 items measured, six items received a low verbal interpretation, indicating a higher level of burnout. These items include: "I can effectively solve the problems that arise in my work" (M = 3.06), "I feel I am making an effective contribution to what this organization does" (M = 3.01), "In my opinion, I am good at my job" (M = 2.87), "I feel exhilarated when I accomplish something at work" (M = 3.02), "I have accomplished many worthwhile things in this job" (M = 2.97), and "At my work, I feel confident that I am effective at getting things done" (M = 3.02). These results suggest that respondents may feel a lack of accomplishment or efficacy in their work, which contributes to feelings of burnout.

Conversely, several items were interpreted at an average level of burnout, with mean scores ranging between 3.34 and 5.66. These items reflect feelings of emotional exhaustion, disengagement, and strain, such as "I feel emotionally drained from my work" (M = 3.82), "I feel used up at the end of the workday" (M = 3.99), and "I feel tired when I get up in the morning and have to face another day on the job" (M = 3.99).

The relatively high level of standard deviation across several items, particularly those with lower mean scores, suggests significant variability in the respondents' experiences of burnout. This variability indicates that while some individuals may experience high levels of burnout, others may feel more engaged or less affected by the stressors of their work.

Table 4

Descriptive Results for Job Burnout

Job Burnout	М	SD	Interpretation	Rank
I feel emotionally drained from my work.	3.82	1.60	Average	9
I feel used up at the end of the workday.	3.99	1.66	Average	2
I feel tired when I get up in the morning and have to face another day on the job.	3.99	1.67	Average	3
Working all day is really a strain for me.	3.97	1.61	Average	4
I feel burned out from my work.	3.94	1.63	Average	7
I doubt the significance of my work.	3.88	1.62	Average	8
I have become more cynical about whether my work contributes anything.	3.95	1.53	Average	6

Job Burnout	М	SD	Interpretation	Rank
I just want to do my job and not be bothered.	4.29	1.67	Average	1
I have become less enthusiastic about my work.	3.97	1.62	Average	5
I have become less interested in my work since I started this job.	3.77	1.62	Average	10
I can effectively solve the problems that arise in my work.	3.06	1.08	Low	11
I feel I am making an effective contribution to what this organization does.	3.01	1.09	Low	14
In my opinion, I am good at my job.	2.87	1.19	Low	16
I feel exhilarated when I accomplish something at work.	3.02	1.25	Low	13
I have accomplished many worthwhile things in this job.	2.97	1.21	Low	15
At my work, I feel confident that I am effective at getting things done.	3.02	1.23	Low	12
Total Average	3.60	1.11	Average	

N=175, low=1-3.33, average=3.34-5.66, high=5.67-7.00

Level of Turnover Intention

The respondents reported an overall average level of turnover intention, with a mean score of 3.06 ± 1.30. Among the three items measured, all received average verbal interpretations, indicating that respondents occasionally think about changing jobs or quitting. The item "I will probably look for a new job in the next year" received the highest mean score (M = 3.18), suggesting that respondents are somewhat likely to consider seeking new job opportunities within the next year. The other items, "I often think about quitting" (M = 3.05) and "Recently, I often think of changing my current job" (M = 2.94), reflect moderate levels of turnover intention. These findings indicate that while respondents may occasionally consider leaving their current job, they are not overwhelmingly inclined to do so.

Table 5

Descriptive Results for Turnover Intention

Turnover Intention	М	SD	Interpretation	Rank
Recently, I often think of changing my current job.	2.94	1.32	Average	3
I often think about quitting.	3.05	1.34	Average	2
I will probably look for a new job in the next year.	3.18	1.39	Average	1
Total Average	3.06	1.30	Average	

N=175, low=1-2.33, average=2.34-3.66, high=3.67-5.00

Correlation among Study Variables

The results show significant correlations between the study variables. Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB) was negatively correlated with both Job Burnout (r = -0.485, p < 0.001) and Turnover Intention (r = -0.476, p < 0.001). This indicates that higher levels of OCB are associated with lower levels of job burnout and turnover intention. In other words, employees who engage in more positive organizational behaviors tend to experience less burnout and are less likely to consider leaving their jobs.

Moreover, Job Burnout and Turnover Intention were strongly positively correlated (r = 0.835, p < 0.001), suggesting that employees who experience higher levels of burnout are more likely to have a stronger intention to leave their job.

Overall, these findings highlight that enhancing OCB may help reduce both burnout and turnover intention, highlighting the importance of fostering a positive work environment and supporting employee well-being.

 Table 6

 Spearman Correlation Coefficients of the Study Variables

Study Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)
(1) Organizational Citizenship Behavior			
(2) Job Burnout	-0.485***		
(3) Turnover Intention	-0.476***	0.835***	

Note: *** Correlation is significant at the 0.001 level.

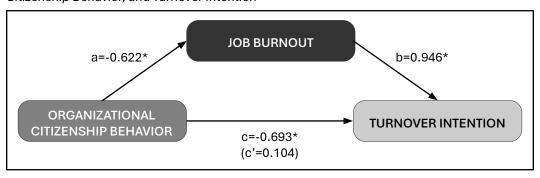
Mediation of Job Burnout between Organizational Citizenship Behavior and Turnover Intention

Mediation analysis was conducted using the JAMOVI Med-Mod module to examine the mediating role of job burnout in the relationship between organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) and turnover intention. The results revealed a significant total effect of OCB on turnover intention (β = -0.693, p < 0.001), indicating that higher OCB is associated with lower turnover intention. Furthermore, a significant negative indirect effect of OCB on turnover intention was observed through the pathway of job burnout (β = -0.588, p < 0.001), suggesting that OCB reduces turnover intention by mitigating job burnout. However, the analysis showed no significant direct effect of OCB on turnover intention when job burnout was accounted for (c' = -0.104, p = 0.097).

These findings suggest that job burnout fully mediates the relationship between OCB and turnover intention, as the direct effect of OCB on turnover intention becomes non-significant when job burnout is included in the model.

Figure 1

Mediation of Organizational Commitment between Job Burnout between Organizational Citizenship Behavior, and Turnover Intention



ab=-0.588, 95% C (-.740 - -0.436) Note: *significant at 0.05 level

DISCUSSION

Before exploring the relationship between Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB), burnout, and turnover intention, it's important to note that respondents generally show moderate levels of OCB. Many actively contribute to a positive work environment by being considerate of coworkers and preventing conflicts. While the study focused on the overall OCB score, it's interesting to highlight that respondents scored high in Courtesy—being thoughtful and proactive in maintaining good relationships—but were less engaged in Civic

Virtue, such as participating in voluntary activities or supporting broader organizational goals. This result aligns with the findings of Wang et al. (2013), who similarly observed variations in OCB dimensions among Chinese employees.

Respondents also reported moderate levels of burnout, particularly in areas related to feelings of personal accomplishment and efficacy, suggesting that some may feel undervalued or ineffective in their roles. Turnover intention was also moderate, with respondents occasionally consider leaving or seeking new opportunities. These findings align with Tocle's (2021) study on call center agents in Metro Manila, which similarly observed this turnover intention pattern.

With regard to the relationship among the variables, this study revealed that organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) was significantly related to both job burnout and turnover intention. Specifically, OCB is negatively related to both job burnout and turnover intention, indicating that higher OCB is linked to lower levels of burnout and reduced likelihood of leaving the organization. In contrast, job burnout and turnover intention were positively related, meaning that as job burnout increases, turnover intention also increases.

These results are consistent with previous studies. For instance, Kumar et al. (2016) found that OCB contributes to better psychological health, indirectly reducing the burnout levels of individuals. This suggests that when employees engage in OCB, they experience low stress and burnout, fostering a healthier work environment. Additionally, the work of Inandi and Buyukozkan (2013) supports this view, showing a negative relationship between OCB and job burnout. They stated that employees who exhibit higher levels of OCB tend to experience lower levels of burnout, suggesting that prosocial behaviors in the workplace can serve as a buffer against the negative effects of stress. This was also substantiated by the research of Firth et al. (2004), who found that OCB helps create a supportive climate within organizations. Such a climate, where employees feel valued and supported, can significantly reduce burnout levels. This highlights the importance of fostering an organizational culture that promotes OCB as a means of reducing burnout.

Moreover, other researchers have focused on how employees' perception of their helping behavior can reduce negative outcomes such as burnout. Grant and Sonnentag (2010) suggest that employees who perceive their actions as contributing to the well-being of others are less likely to experience burnout. However, not all studies support the idea that OCB universally leads to reduced burnout. Research by Bolino et al. (2013) presents a different perspective, suggesting that OCB can sometimes result in negative outcomes such as role overload, increased stress, and burnout. They argue that when employees constantly engage in pro-social behaviors, it can create a feeling of being overextended and overwhelmed. This can leave employees struggling to meet all their obligations, both within their official

job duties and beyond. Over time, this continuous engagement in OCB, especially without enough support or recognition, can lead to increased burnout.

Given these conflicting results, it is crucial to conduct further studies to better understand the relationship between OCB and burnout. While much of the existing research has focused on how burnout affects OCB, fewer studies have explored how OCB itself might influence burnout. This gap in the literature calls for more research to clarify the conditions under which OCB may either alleviate or exacerbate burnout, as well as to identify the factors that mediate or moderate this relationship.

Furthermore, organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) was found to have a negative effect on employee turnover. This suggests that employees exhibiting lower levels of OCB are more likely to leave the organization compared to those who demonstrate higher levels of OCB (Becton et al., 2017). This finding aligns with the research of Worku and Debela (2024), who proposed that understanding and promoting OCB can lead to better workplace behaviors, which in turn influence lower turnover rates, reduced absenteeism, and higher workplace trust. These results are also consistent with Coyne & Ong (2007) and Manoppo (2020), who found an inverse relationship between OCB and turnover intention. This means that employees who engage in OCB tend to feel more connected to their colleagues and the organization, which enhances their overall work experience and reduces their likelihood of leaving. This suggests that creating an environment where employees feel valued and supported through OCB could be key in reducing turnover intentions.

In contrast, burnout dimensions such as emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment have consistently been shown to contribute to higher turnover intention (Choi, 2012; Montalbo, 2016; Adiguna & Suwandana, 2023; Chen et al., 2019; Zeng et al., 2023). High levels of burnout can leave employees feeling drained, detached from their work, and emotionally distant from colleagues and the organization, increasing their likelihood of seeking relief by exiting their roles. Specifically, emotional exhaustion and depersonalization are key predictors of turnover intention (Dall' Ora et al., 2015). Addressing burnout proactively is therefore crucial for improving employee well-being and retention. Organizations can achieve this by recognizing the early signs of burnout and implementing strategies such as providing mental health resources, fostering a supportive work environment, and promoting a healthy work-life balance. Conversely, lower levels of burnout are associated with a decreased desire to leave the organization, further emphasizing the importance of mitigating burnout to retain valuable employees.

Regarding mediation, this study found that job burnout fully mediates the relationship between organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) and turnover intention. This means that OCB influences turnover intention indirectly through its impact on job burnout. Specifically,

when employees engage in higher levels of OCB, it is likely to reduce their experience of job burnout, which, in turn, lowers their intention to leave the organization. The relationship between OCB and turnover intention through job burnout highlights the importance of fostering positive workplace behaviors that can alleviate stress and enhance job satisfaction.

These findings are consistent with the work of Podsakoff et al. (2009), who explored the effects of OCB on both individuals and organizations. They found that OCB is associated with positive outcomes, such as higher job satisfaction and reduced job burnout, which ultimately benefit both the employee and the organization. Employees who frequently engage in OCB, such as helping colleagues, volunteering for additional tasks, or contributing to a positive work environment, may experience lower levels of exhaustion and stress. This is because OCB fosters positive social interactions, increases feelings of support among colleagues, and contributes to a sense of belonging within the organization.

By creating a more supportive work atmosphere, OCB helps employees cope with the demands of their roles, reducing feelings of burnout and emotional strain. This suggests that the presence of OCB can play a crucial role in improving overall employee well-being. When employees feel supported and valued, they are more likely to experience job satisfaction and less likely to experience the emotional exhaustion and depersonalization that often lead to turnover. Consequently, employees who engage in OCB are more likely to stay with the organization, as their positive work environment helps buffer them from the negative effects of stress and burnout.

CONCLUSION

This research showed that job burnout fully mediates the relationship between organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) and turnover intention. Essentially, higher levels of OCB help reduce burnout, and when burnout is lower, employees are less likely to leave their jobs. However, OCB doesn't directly reduce turnover intention; rather, it works indirectly by alleviating burnout, which then reduces the desire to quit. Employees who engage in prosocial behaviors tend to feel less stress and exhaustion, and when they experience less burnout, they're less inclined to leave their positions. This highlights how OCB can play a key role in creating a more sustainable and positive work environment.

For organizations aiming to reduce turnover, fostering OCB can be a highly effective strategy. Encouraging employees to engage in pro-social behaviors not only reduces burnout but also lowers turnover intention. This shows how important it is to create a work environment that nurtures OCB, as it helps employees feel more connected to their organization and more likely to stay long-term. When employees feel valued and supported, they're more likely to remain committed to their roles and the organization.

To put these findings into practice, organizations should consider developing programs that promote OCB and help employees understand the value of these behaviors. Recognizing and rewarding employees who demonstrate positive behaviors can also go a long way in reinforcing their importance. Additionally, creating policies that support a healthy worklife balance can further reduce burnout, as employees who feel balanced and supported are less likely to experience the emotional exhaustion that often leads to turnover.

In summary, promoting OCB in an organization isn't just about encouraging positive behaviors; it's an effective way to reduce burnout and turnover intention. By creating a supportive and balanced work environment, organizations can improve employee well-being and overall stability. This research shows that focusing on pro-social behaviors can help create a healthier work culture, leading to higher employee retention and satisfaction. Ultimately, integrating OCB into the organization's practices helps build a more engaged, loyal, and productive workforce, contributing to long-term success.

RECOMMENDATION

For future research, it would be useful to explore other factors that might affect the relationship between OCB and turnover intention, such as work engagement, perceived organizational support, and leadership styles. These factors could provide a more detailed understanding of how the work environment influences employee retention. Additionally, examining how the impact of OCB on turnover intention differs across various industries or cultural contexts could give a broader perspective on the generalizability of these findings. This would help in understanding how OCB affects employee retention in different settings.

A longitudinal approach would also be valuable for future studies, as it could offer insights into how OCB and job burnout develop over time and their long-term effects on turnover intention. This would address the limitations of the current study's cross-sectional design and help clarify the causal relationships between these variables.

Moreover, future research could take a multidimensional approach to OCB by looking into how specific dimensions—such as altruism, conscientiousness, sportsmanship, civic virtue, and courtesy—interact with different aspects of burnout (like emotional exhaustion and depersonalization) and their unique impact on turnover intention. This would allow for a more tailored approach to addressing burnout and turnover.

Including qualitative methods, such as interviews or focus groups, could also provide a deeper understanding of call center agents' personal experiences and perceptions related to OCB, burnout, and turnover intention. These insights would complement the quantitative findings and help industry practitioners develop more effective strategies for improving

employee well-being and retention. By taking a more comprehensive approach, future studies can guide organizations in creating better support systems that ultimately help reduce burnout and improve retention.

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Babaeng Frontliner at General Community Quarantine sa Metro Manila: Batayan para sa Epektibong Tugon sa Pandemya na Nakatuon sa Gender

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study examined the experiences of eight female frontliners in Metro Manila during the General Community Quarantine. Using purposive sampling and semi-structured interviews, the data were analyzed through a phenomenological approach. Three central themes emerged: (1) safety and security, (2) occupational stress, and (3) future strategies and solutions. Participants reported emotional distress, particularly the fear of transmitting the virus to their families. The findings highlight the need for gender-sensitive pandemic responses that ensure safe working conditions, accessible transportation, adequate personal protective equipment (PPE), mental health support, and fair compensation. Furthermore, the collection of sex- and age-disaggregated data is essential to reinforce the study's findings and to guide the development of more equitable and effective interventions. The resilience demonstrated by female frontliners underscores their vital role in public health and the necessity of gender- and data-informed policies during times of crisis.

Keywords: female frontliners, gender, pandemic, Philippines, qualitative

ABSTRAK

Sinuri sa kwalitatibong pananaliksik na ito ang karanasan ng walong babaeng frontliner sa Metro Manila sa panahon ng General Community Quarantine. Gamit ang purposive sampling at semi-structured interview, ang mga datos ay sinuri sa pamamagitan ng phenomenological na lapit. Lumitaw ang tatlong pangunahing tema: (1) kaligtasan at seguridad, (2) stress sa paggawa ng trabaho; at (3) mga istratehiya at solusyon sa hinaharap. Nakaranas ang mga kalahok ng emosyonal na hirap, lalo na ang takot na makahawa sa pamilya. Ipinapakita ng mga natuklasan ang pangangailangan ng mga gender-sensitive na tugon sa pandemya na magtitiyak ng ligtas na kondisyon sa trabaho, maayos na transportasyon, sapat na PPE, mental health support, at makatarungang kompensasyon. Bukod dito,

ang pagkolekta ng sex- at age-disaggregated na datos ay mahalaga upang mapagtibay ang mga natuklasan ng pag-aaral at magsilbing gabay sa pagbuo ng mas makatarungan at epektibong interbensyon. Ipinapakita ng resiliency ng mga babaeng frontliner ang kanilang mahalagang papel sa pampublikong kalusugan at ang pangangailangan ng mga patakarang nakabatay sa kasarian at datos sa panahon ng krisis.

Susing-salita: babaeng frontliner, kasarian, gender, pandemya, Pilipinas

INTRODUKSIYON

Ang COVID-19 ay isang sakit na dulot ng SARS-CoV-2 na unang naitala sa Wuhan, China noong Disyembre 2019. Ito ay idineklara ng World Health Organization bilang isang pandaigdigang pandemya noong Marso 2020 (World Health Organization, 2020). Sa Pilipinas, iniulat ng Department of Health (2022) na milyon-milyong Pilipino ang naapektuhan, hindi lamang sa aspeto ng kalusugan kundi pati sa kabuhayan at ugnayang panlipunan.

Sa gitna ng krisis na ito, nanguna ang mga frontliner sa pagpapanatili ng mga serbisyong panlipunan at pangkalusugan. Kabilang sa kanila ang mga babaeng frontliner mga nars, healthcare worker, social worker, tagalinis, tagaluto, guro, at iba pa—na siyang humarap sa mas mataas na panganib ng exposure, ngunit madalas na kulang sa proteksiyon, representasyon sa paggawa ng desisyon, at sapat na suporta sa trabaho (Galler Rabinowitz & Galler Rabinowitz, 2021). Ayon kay Connor et al. (2020), mas mabigat ang epekto ng pandemya sa kababaihan dahil sa kasaysayang pagkakahati ng mga gampanin sa lipunan bilang tagapag-alaga sa tahanan at manggagawa sa frontline.

Bilang bahagi ng pagtugon sa pandemya, ipinatupad ng pamahalaan ang magkakaibang antas ng community quarantine. Unang isinabatas ang Enhanced Community Quarantine (ECQ), ang pinaka-estriktong klasipikasyon, kung saan ipinagbawal ang lahat ng hindi essential movement, isinara ang pampublikong transportasyon, at itinigil ang operasyon ng maraming negosyo.

Kasunod nito, ipinatupad ang Modified ECQ (MECQ) na bahagyang lumuwag, pinayagan ang ilang industriya, ngunit nanatiling limitado ang galaw ng mga tao. Ang General Community Quarantine (GCQ) naman ay isang transisyunal na yugto, kung saan muling binuksan ang mas maraming negosyo, pinayagan ang pampublikong transportasyon, ngunit may limitasyon sa kapasidad, at mahigpit na ipinatupad ang minimum public health standards tulad ng physical distancing, face mask, at hand hygiene (Inter-Agency Task Force, 2020).

Ang Modified GCQ (MGCQ) ay itinuturing na pinakamaluwag na uri ng quarantine status, kung saan pinayagan na ang mga pampublikong pagtitipon at mas pinalawak ang pagbubukas ng mga negosyo. Sa huli, ipinatupad ng pamahalaan ang Alert Level System, isang risk-based approach na may limang antas (Alert Level 1–5), kung saan binabatayan ang bilang ng kaso, healthcare utilization rate, at vaccination coverage ng isang lugar. Sa ilalim ng sistemang ito, ang mga restriksyon ay mas nakatutok sa *individual risk* kaysa blanket lockdowns, at maaaring mag-iba ayon sa establisyemento, aktibidad, at status ng pagbabakuna (National Economic and Development Authority [NEDA], 2022).

Partikular na tinutukan ng pananaliksik na ito ang panahon ng GCQ—isang yugto na tila bumabalik sa normal, ngunit nananatili ang panganib ng COVID-19. Sa panahong ito, kinaharap ng mga babaeng frontliner ang mga hamon tulad ng limitadong access sa personal protective equipment (PPE), hindi maaasahang transportasyon, emosyonal na stress, at takot na mahawa ang kanilang pamilya (Galler Rabinowitz & Galler Rabinowitz, 2021). Bagaman mas mataas ang case fatality rate sa kalalakihan, napatunayan sa mga pag-aaral na mas malaki ang psychosocial burden sa kababaihan dahil sa kanilang sabayang gampanin bilang manggagawa at pangunahing tagapag-alaga sa tahanan (Connor et al., 2020).

Sa kabila ng umiiral na mga pag-aaral sa ilalim ng ECQ, kapansin-pansin ang kakulangan pa ng maraming lokal na pananaliksik na tumutok sa karanasan ng mga babaeng frontliner sa panahon ng GCQ, partikular sa Metro Manila.

Ginamit sa pananaliksik ang Feminist Standpoint Theory ni Harding (2004), na nagpapalagay na ang kaalaman ay nakaugat sa posisyon o karanasan ng mga naisantabi sa lipunan. Sa panahon ng pandemya, mahalagang bigyang-pansin ang pananaw ng mga babaeng frontliner upang makabuo ng mas makatarungan at epektibong mga polisiya. Kasabay nito, isinasaalang-alang ng pananaliksik ang Resilience Theory (Masten, 2001) bilang balangkas na nagpapaliwanag kung paanong ang mga indibidwal ay nakakabawi at nakaaangkop sa kabila ng matinding krisis. Ayon kay Masten (2001), ang resilience ay hindi isang pambihirang katangian kundi isang proseso ng "ordinary magic," ang kakayahang nabubuo sa tulong ng personal na lakas, ugnayang panlipunan, at suportang institusyonal. Ang resilience ng mga babaeng frontliner ay nasuri hindi lamang sa antas ng indibidwal, kundi bilang bunga ng kolektibong karanasan sa gitna ng krisis.

Sa kabuuan, layunin ng pag-aaral na ito na:

- Magbigay-liwanag sa mga karanasan at mga problema na kinaharap ng mga babaeng frontliner sa ilalim ng GCQ
- Malaman ang mga solusyon sa mga naranasang problema ng mga babaeng frontliners, at gamitin ito sa pagsulong ng isang gender-effective response sa panahon ng pandemya

Sa pagbibigay-tinig sa kanilang karanasan, maaring makabuo ng mas inklusibo at responsableng mga tugon ng pamahalaan sa hinaharap.

METODOLOHIYA

Ang pananaliksik na ito ay gumamit ng kwalitatibong disenyo na nakabatay sa phenomenolohikal na lapit. Layunin nitong alamin at ilarawan ang esensyal na karanasan ng mga babaeng frontliner sa panahon ng General Community Quarantine (GCQ) sa Metro Manila. Ayon kina Taylor, et al. (2015), ang phenomenology ay akmang gamitin sa mga pananaliksik na nakatuon sa pag-unawa sa mga personal at kolektibong karanasan ng mga kalahok, upang mailahad ang kahulugan ng mga ito mula sa kanilang pananaw.

Upang maisagawa ang sistematikong pagsusuri sa mga salaysay, ginamit ang pitonghakbang na Collaizi's Descriptive Phenomenological Method (Morrow, et al., 2015). Binubuo ito ng mga sumusunod na hakbang: (1) paulit-ulit na pagbabasa sa bawat transkripsyon ng panayam upang lubos na maunawaan ang nilalaman, (2) pagtukoy sa mga makabuluhang pahayag, (3) pagbuo ng pansamantalang kahulugan sa bawat pahayag, (4) pag-uuri at pagoorganisa ng mga kahulugan sa temang may pagkakatulad, (5) pagbuo ng komprehensibong deskripsyon ng karanasan, (6) pagsasaayos ng esensyal na kahulugan ng mga karanasan, at (7) pagpapatunay ng datos mula sa kalahok sa pamamagitan ng member checking upang matiyak ang integridad ng interpretasyon.

Pagpili ng Kalahok at Demograpikong Propayl

Ang mga kalahok sa pananaliksik ay pinili gamit ang purposive sampling. Walong (8) babaeng frontliner ang lumahok sa pag-aaral batay sa mga sumusunod na pamantayan: (1) babae at nasa hustong gulang (18 taong gulang pataas), (2) aktibong nakapagsilbi sa alinmang lungsod ng Metro Manila sa panahon ng GCQ, (3) may hindi bababa sa dalawang taong karanasan sa pagtatrabaho, at (4) handang lumahok at magbahagi ng kanilang karanasan.

Sila ay nagmula sa iba't ibang lungsod ng Metro Manila tulad ng Caloocan, Quezon City, Manila, Pasig, Taguig, at Mandaluyong, at kumakatawan sa iba't ibang sektor ng serbisyo publiko at pribado. Kabilang sa mga trabahong kinatawan ng mga kalahok ay ang pagiging nars, medical technician, guro, mamamahayag, food service crew, social worker, janitress, at pulis.

Ang kanilang edad ay nasa pagitan ng 26 hanggang 45 taong gulang, at may haba ng serbisyo mula apat (4) hanggang labinlimang (15) taon. Ang ganitong uri ng komposisyon ng kalahok ay nagbibigay-daan upang makuha ang mas malawak na pananaw at karanasan mula sa iba't ibang propesyon at lungsod sa rehiyon.

Table 1

Demograpikong Propayl ng mga Kalahok

				:	
Pseudonym	Trabaho	Edad	Lungsod	Taon ng Serbisyo	Institusyon
Judy	Pulis	31	Caloocan	8 taon	Pampubliko
Marie	Medical Technician	26	Quezon City	5 taon	Pribado
lka	Food Service Crew	27	Manila	4 taon	Pribado
Flor	Guro (Elementary)	37	Pasig	15 taon	Pampubliko
Claire	Nars	28	Taguig	6 taon	Pampubliko
Juliet	Janitress	45	Mandaluyong	12 taon	Pribado (Contractual)
Erica	Mamamahayag	32	Quezon City	10 taon	Pribado
Melissa	Social Worker	35	Manila	11 taon	Pampubliko

Instrumento at Proseso ng Panayam

pamamagitan ng mensahe o tawag upang matiyak ang bukas na komunikasyon at kahandaang emosyonal ng mga kalahok. Ang Gumamit ng semi-structured interview guide na binuo batay sa mga pangunahing layunin ng pananaliksik. Kabilang sa umiiral na mga patakaran ng GCQ sa social distancing. Bawat panayam ay itinagal ng 30 hanggang 60 minuto, depende sa kaginhawaan at pagtanggap ng kalahok. Ang iskedyul ng panayam ay pinagkasunduan ng mananaliksik at ng kalahok sa dito ang mga tanong ukol sa kaligtasan, mga hamon sa trabaho, emosyonal na pagharap, at mekanismo ng pag-aangkop sa panahon ng pandemya. Ang panayam ay isinagawa sa pamamagitan ng video call gamit ang mga platform na *Zoom,* alinsunod oawat panayam ay naitala sa pahintulot ng kalahok para sa layunin ng transkripsyon at pagsusuri.

Etikal na Pagsasaalang-alang at Proteksyon ng Datos

Bago simulan ang panayam, ang mga kalahok ay binigyan ng informed consent form na nagpapaliwanag sa layunin ng pananaliksik, boluntaryong paglahok, karapatang umatras anumang oras, at garantiya ng pagiging kompidensiyal ng kanilang mga impormasyon. Upang mapanatili ang anonymity, lahat ng personal na impormasyon ay tinanggal sa transkripsyon at pinalitan ng mga pseudonym. Ang mga audio recording at transkripsyon ay ligtas na iniimbak sa password-protected Google Drive, at may access lamang ang pangunahing mananaliksik. Ang lahat ng datos ay itatago sa loob ng isang (1) taon matapos ang publikasyon ng pag-aaral at pagkatapos nito ay permanenteng buburahin. Ang prosesong ito ay isinagawa upang mapanatili ang integridad at seguridad ng datos, kasabay ng pagsunod sa etikal na pamantayan.

Pagsusuri ng Datos

Ang pagsusuri ng datos ay isinagawa sa pamamagitan ng Collaizi's phenomenological method, kung saan ang mga transkripsyon ng panayam ay paulit-ulit na binasa upang ganap na maunawaan ang konteksto ng mga salaysay. Ang bawat transkripsyon ay sinuri upang matukoy ang mga makabuluhang pahayag, na siyang binigyan ng pansamantalang kahulugan. Mula rito ay binuo ang mga temang may pagkakatulad, inorganisa sa lohikal na paraan, at ginamit upang makabuo ng komprehensibong deskripsyon ng karanasan ng mga kalahok. Ang pinakapayak ngunit pinakapuno't dulo ng karanasan o "essence" ay hinango mula sa mga temang ito. Sa huli, ang interpretasyon ng datos ay ipinasuri sa mga kalahok upang tiyakin na tama at tapat ang representasyon ng kanilang mga salaysay.

Saklaw at Limitasyon

Ang pananaliksik na ito ay nakatuon sa pag-unawa sa karanasan ng mga babaeng frontliner sa panahon ng General Community Quarantine (GCQ) sa Metro Manila. Bagaman sinikap ng mananaliksik na isama ang mga kalahok mula sa iba't ibang lungsod at propesyon upang makuha ang sari-saring perspektiba, may ilang limitasyon ang saklaw ng pag-aaral na dapat isaalang-alang sa pagbasa at interpretasyon ng resulta.

Una, ang mga kalahok ay walong (8) babae lamang mula sa mga piling lungsod sa Metro Manila. Dahil dito, hindi nito saklaw ang kabuuang karanasan ng mga babaeng frontliner mula sa mga probinsya o rural na lugar, kung saan maaaring iba ang konteksto ng serbisyo, kaligtasan, at akses sa mga batayang serbisyo gaya ng transportasyon at kalusugan.

Ikalawa, bagaman nagsama ng mga kalahok mula sa iba't ibang sektor gaya ng kalusugan (nars, medical technician), edukasyon (guro), media (mamamahayag), food service, sanitation (janitress), social work, at kapulisan, hindi pa rin nito lubos na kinakatawan ang lahat ng uri ng babaeng frontliner. Halimbawa, walang kinatawan sa pag-aaral mula sa mga barangay health workers, call center agents, delivery riders, emergency responders, at iba pang mahalagang manggagawang babae na may natatanging karanasan sa panahon ng pandemya.

Dahil dito, ang resulta ng pag-aaral ay hindi maaaring i-generalize sa lahat ng babaeng frontliner. Sa halip, layunin nitong ilahad ang esensyal na karanasan ng mga piling kalahok upang magbigay ng malalim na pag-unawa sa kanilang nararanasan. Ipinapayo ang pagsasagawa ng mas malawak at komprehensibong pag-aaral sa hinaharap na may mas malaki at representatibong bilang ng kalahok mula sa iba't ibang rehiyon at sektor. Ito ay iminumungkahi upang makuha ang mas inklusibong larawan ng karanasan ng mga Filipinang frontliner sa panahon ng pandemya.

MGA RESULTA AT TALAKAYAN

Ang pananaliksik ay nagresulta sa tatlong pangunahing tema. Ang mga ito ay lumitaw mula sa karanasan na ibinahagi ng mga babaeng frontliners. Upang sagutin ang unang layunin ng pag-aaral na ito, dalawang tema ang lumabas. Ang dalawang ito ay ang kaligtasan at seguridad, at stress sa paggawa ng trabaho. Upang sagutin ang pangalawang layunin ng pagaaral, lumitaw ang pangatlong tema na mga stratehiya at solusyon sa hinaharap.

 Table 2

 Mga Tema at Pangunahing Ideya Ukol sa mga Karanasan ng mga Babaeng Frontliner

 sa Panahon ng GCQ

Mga Pangunahing Tema	Pangunahing Ideya
Valistanan at Casuridad	Diskriminasyon at Verbal na Pang-aabuso
Kaligtasan at Seguridad	Limitadong Access sa Transportasyon
	Mga Multi Role at Pagbabago ng Mode sa Trabaho
Stress sa Paggawa ng Trabaho	Limitadong Suplay ng Personal na Kagamitan sa Proteksyon
	Kawalan ng Pagsasanay sa Kaligtasan
	Koneksyon sa Pamilya o Kaibigan
Mga Istratehiya at Solusyon sa Hinaharap	Katatagan at Personal na Relaksasyon
	Pagtugon sa Gender-Specific na Pangangailangan

1. KALIGTASAN AT SEGURIDAD

A. Diskriminasyon at Verbal na Pang-aabuso

Lumabas sa mga balita ang pagdami ng mga ulat mula sa health workers na nakaranas ng diskriminasyon, eviction, pangungutya, at harassment sa panahon ng pandemya. Bagamat kinikilala ng publiko ang kabayanihan ng mga frontliners, marami sa kanila ang natakot para sa kanilang kaligtasan, sapagkat ang panganib ng stigmatization ay naging halos kasingbigat ng banta ng sakit (Negarandeh, et al., 2024).

We are doing our very best, pero may mga tao pa rin na hindi nakakakuha. Imbes na ma-appreciate, nakaramdam ako ng diskriminasyon. Napilitan akong umalis sa apartment ko dahil nagtatrabaho ako sa ospital. – Marie, Medical Technician

Ang mga babaeng frontliners, partikular sa sektor ng kalusugan, ay naharap sa pagtaas ng berbal na pang-aabuso, pisikal na karahasan, at gender-based discrimination mga insidensiyang nagdulot ng matinding epekto sa kanilang mental na kalusugan at propesyonal na trabaho.

Sa isang cross-sectional study nina Labrague at De Los Santos (2021), natuklasan na ang mga frontline nurses ay nakaranas ng katamtamang antas ng COVID-19-associated discrimination. Gayunpaman, ang resilience ay napatunayan na may mediating effect, na nagbawas sa negatibong epekto ng diskriminasyon (Labrague & De Los Santos, 2021).

Bukod rito, isang sistematikong pagsusuri at meta-analisis ang nagpakita na 43% ng healthcare workers sa buong mundo ang nakaranas ng stigmatization, at 42% ang na-expose sa karahasan sa panahon ng pandemya. Lumilitaw na may mas mataas na banta mula sa komunidad at workplace violence sa sektor ng kalusugan (Saragih et al., 2022).

B. Limitadong Access sa Transportasyon

Dahil karamihan sa mga babaeng frontliners ay may limitadong access sa pampasaherong transportasyon, ang karamihan sa kanila ay walang ibang pagpipilian kundi maglakad, magbisikleta o maghintay ng mahabang pila para lamang makapasok sa trabaho (Sunio et al., 2023).

Sa panahon ng pandemya, ako ay nagigising nang mas maaga kaysa sa dati para hindi ako ma-late sa trabaho. Pagkatapos ng shift ko, ang haba ng pila bago ako makasakay, kaya late na rin akong nakakauwi. – Ika, Food Service Crew

Sa katunayan, ang isa sa pinakamatinding hamon na kinaharap ng mga babaeng frontliner sa panahon ng community quarantine ay ang kawalan ng maayos na transportasyong makapagdala sa kanila sa lugar ng trabaho. Ayon sa ulat ng ABS-CBN News noong Marso 17, 2020, maraming health workers ang napilitang maglakad nang kilometro-kilometro papuntang ospital matapos suspindihin ng gobyerno ang pampublikong transportasyon bilang bahagi ng Luzon-wide enhanced community quarantine (Merez, 2024). Sa panayam, sinabi ng isang nurse mula sa Lung Center of the Philippines na siya ay naglakad mula sa Quezon Avenue hanggang sa ospital dahil siya ay walang masakyan. Ibinahagi rin ng isang babaeng *medical technologist* mula sa San Lazaro Hospital na dalawa hanggang tatlong oras ang kanyang biyahe sa pamamagitan ng paglalakad, dahil walang tren, jeep, o bus na pinayagang bumiyahe sa ilalim ng *quarantine protocols*. Ang ganitong sitwasyon ay hindi lamang nagdulot ng matinding pisikal na pagod, kundi pati rin ng emosyonal na stress sa mga frontliner. Para naman sa mga babaeng manggagawa sa kalusugan na kadalasang may tungkulin din sa tahanan bilang ina o tagapag-alaga, lalong naging mahirap ang balanse sa pagitan ng propesyon at buhay-pamilya (Corrente et al., 2024).

Sa isa pang pag-aaral na isinagawa sa mga nars sa isang pambansang unibersidad na ospital sa Pilipinas, lumitaw na ang kakulangan sa transportasyon ay isa sa mga hamon na kanilang kinaharap (Gilo et al., 2024). Bagaman may mga inisyatiba ang ospital tulad ng pagbibigay ng shuttle services, may mga pagkakataon na hindi ito sapat upang matugunan ang pangangailangan ng lahat ng staff, lalo na sa mga oras ng kagipitan. Ang ganitong sitwasyon ay nagdulot ng karagdagang stress at pag-aalala sa mga nars, na maaaring makaapekto sa kanilang mental na kalusugan at kakayahang maglingkod ng maayos.

Ang limitadong access sa transportasyon ay hindi lamang pisikal na hamon kundi may malalim ding epekto sa emosyonal at mental na kalusugan ng mga babaeng frontliner. Ang kawalan ng katiyakan kung paano makararating sa trabaho o makauwi sa kanilang pamilya ay nagdudulot ng dagdag na *anxiety at stress*.

Sa kabuuan, ang limitadong access sa transportasyon ay isang seryosong isyu na kinaharap ng mga babaeng frontliner sa panahon ng pandemya. Mahalaga ang pagkakaroon ng maayos at sapat na serbisyong transportasyon upang matiyak ang kaligtasan, kalusugan, at kahusayan ng mga healthcare workers sa pagtupad ng kanilang tungkulin. Ang mga institusyon at pamahalaan ay dapat magpatupad ng mga konkretong hakbang upang tugunan ang problemang ito. Kasama rito ang pagbibigay ng libreng shuttle services, housing accommodations malapit sa ospital, at iba pang logistical support na makatutulong sa mga frontliner sa panahon ng krisis.

2. STRESS SA PAGGAWA NG TRABAHO

A. Mga Multi Role at Pagbabago ng Mode sa Trabaho

Karamihan sa mga guro ay stressed sa bagong normal. Ang ilan sa kanila ay karaniwang itinalaga upang gumawa ng isang module o materyal na pang-instruksyon, pagkatapos ay kailangan nilang personal na ipasa ito sa mga estudyante. Gayundin, napilitan silang matutong magturo online (Ramoso & Cruz, 2024).

Nagwoworry ako na ako ang magiging dahilan kung bakit magkakasakit ang pamilya ko, pero wala akong magagawa kundi ang magtrabaho dahil sa ngayon ang asawa ko ay walang trabaho. Talagang mahirap. Umaasa lang akong makakasabay ako. Mahirap din kasi bukod sa pandemic, andami rin naming adjustments ngayon sa pagtuturo. Kailangan gumawa ng module at saka mga bagong materials. – Flor, Guro sa Elementarya.

Ang pandemya ng COVID-19 ay nagdulot ng malalaking hamon sa sektor ng edukasyon. Ito ay partikular sa mga guro na nagsilbing frontliner sa pagpapatuloy ng pagkatuto sa kabila ng mga pagsubok. Ayon sa isang phenomenological na pag-aaral ni Noval (2021), ang mga guro sa Filipino ay nakaranas ng mga sumusunod na hamon. Una, kakulangan sa kagamitan at mapagkukunan. Maraming guro ang nahirapan sa pagbuo, pagkolekta, at pagwawasto ng mga modyul dahil sa kakulangan ng mga learning resources at gadgets. Pangalawa, ang mga guro ay namroblema sa usad-pagong na internet connection. Ang hindi matatag na koneksyon sa internet ay naging hadlang sa epektibong online na pagtuturo at komunikasyon sa mga magaaral. Ang pagtaas ng workload at ang pangambang dulot ng pandemya ay nagdulot ng stress at iba pang isyu sa kalusugan ng mga guro.

Ang mga isyung ito ay nagpapakita ng mga konkretong hamon na kinaharap ng mga guro sa panahon ng pandemia. Nagbigay liwanag ang mga ito sa mga aspeto ng kanilang trabaho na nangangailangan ng suporta at pagpapabuti.

Ayon kay Senator Win Gatchalian (Win Gatchalian, 2020), mahalaga ang pagbawas ng workload ng mga guro upang maiwasan ang burnout. Bago pa man ang pandemya, ang mga guro ay may mga tungkulin tulad ng pagba-budget, pagtugon sa mga sakuna, at pangangalaga sa kalusugan ng mga mag-aaral. Bilang sagot dito, ang pagbibigay kasiyahan at pagpapahalaga sa mga guro ay makakatulong upang mapanatili ang kanilang motibasyon at kalidad ng (Win Gatchalian, 2020).

Bilang karagdagan, ayon sa isang pag-aaral nina Kush et al. (2022), ang mga guro ay nakaranas ng mas mataas na antas ng mental health concerns kumpara sa ibang propesyon. Ang mga remote teachers ay nag-ulat ng mas mataas na levels ng distress kaysa sa mga

guro na nagtuturo ng personal. Ang mga resulta ng pag-aaral na ito ay nagbibigay-diin sa pangangailangan ng mga polisiya at suporta na nakatuon sa pagpapabuti ng kalusugan ng mga guro upang matiyak ang kanilang kapakanan at epektibong pagtuturo.

Ang mga guro ay patuloy na nagsisilbing frontliner sa edukasyon sa kabila ng mga hamon dulot ng pandemya. Ang kanilang mga karanasan ay nagsisilbing paalala sa kahalagahan ng pagbibigay-suporta sa kanilang mga pangangailangan, lalo na sa aspeto ng workload, kalusugan, at mental well-being. Ang pagtutok sa mga isyung ito ay makakatulong upang mapanatili ang kalidad ng edukasyon at ang kapakanan ng mga guro sa mga darating na taon.

B. Limitadong Suplay ng Personal na Kagamitan sa Proteksyon

Ang mga manggagawa sa pangangalagang pangkalusugan ay umaasa sa mga personal na kagamitan sa proteksyon upang maprotektahan ang kanilang sarili at ang kanilang mga pasyente. Sa kasamaang palad, ang mga kakulangan ng proteksyon ay nag-iiwan sa kanila ng mapanganib na sakit dahil sa limitadong access sa Personal Protective Equipment (Kim et al., 2021).

Limited lang talaga ang supply namin ng PPE. Kaya yung ilan talaga sa amin, nakakaawa kasi gumagamit na ng raincoat na pwede naming isanitize at uliting gamitin bilang kapalit na hazmat. – Claire, Nars

Ang kakulangan sa Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) ay isa sa mga pangunahing dahilan ng pangamba at pag-aalala sa hanay ng mga babaeng frontliner, partikular sa mga nars na direktang nakaharap sa mga pasyente ng COVID-19. Sa isang mixed-methods na pag-aaral nina Gilo et al. (2024) sa isang pambansang unibersidad na ospital sa Pilipinas, iniulat ng mga frontline nurses ang matinding antas ng takot at pangamba, na malaking bahagi ay may kaugnayan sa kakulangan at hindi palagiang suplay ng PPE.

Ang ganitong kalagayan ay nagpapalala ng emosyonal at mental na stress sa mga nars, na bukod sa pangambang mahawa ay may dagdag na tensyon sa ideyang maaaring mahawa ang kanilang pamilya. Bukod pa rito, binanggit din sa quantitative component ng pagaaral nina Gilo et al. (2024) na ang antas ng takot ay mas mataas sa mga nars na nakararanas ng irregular o hindi sapat na PPE supply, kung ihahambing sa mga nakatatanggap ng tuloytuloy at kumpletong gamit.

Ayon kay Gilo et al. (2024), ang kakulangan sa PPE ay hindi lamang usapin ng logistics kundi may direktang implikasyon sa *psychological well-being* ng mga *healthcare workers*. Ipinapakita sa kanilang pag-aaral na ang pisikal na proteksyon at mental na seguridad ay malapit na magkakaugnay, at ang pagkukulang sa una ay may malinaw na epekto sa huli.

Ayon kay Cordero (2023), ang kakulangan sa PPE sa Pilipinas ay nagdulot ng panganib sa kaligtasan ng mga healthcare workers. Binanggit niya ang mga ulat ng mga healthcare workers na gumagamit ng mga improvised na kagamitan tulad ng garbage bags bilang proteksyon, na nagpapakita ng matinding kakulangan sa PPE. Sinabi ni Cordero na ang gobyerno at mga pribadong sektor ay kailangang magtulungan upang matugunan ang mga isyung ito at tiyakin ang kaligtasan ng mga frontliner.

Sa isang pag-aaral naman ni Noval (2021), inilarawan rin ng mga guro sa Filipino ang kanilang mga karanasan bilang frontliner sa edukasyon. Bagamat hindi direktang konektado sa healthcare, ipinakita ng pag-aaral ang epekto ng kakulangan sa mga kagamitan at resources sa kanilang trabaho at kalusugan. Ayon sa mga guro, ang kakulangan ng mga resources at proteksyon ay nagdulot ng stress at emotional burdens na mahirap harapin.

Sa ibang bansa, makikita rin ang katulad na lagay ng mga frontliners. Sa isang pag-aaral sa isang pampublikong ospital sa West Shoa (Chaka et al., 2022), iniulat ng mga healthcare workers ang limitadong access sa PPE, tulad ng face shields at KN95 masks. Ayon sa mga kalahok, ang kakulangan sa PPE ay nagdulot ng takot at stress, na nakakaapekto sa kanilang trabaho at kalusugan (Chaka et al., 2022). Sa India, ang mga Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHAs), na karamihan ay kababaihan, ay nakaranas ng kakulangan sa proteksyon, sahod, at suporta mula sa pamahalaan, at maraming nagtatrabaho nang walang sapat na protective gear o life insurance (Phadke et al., 2024).

C. Kawalan ng Pagsasanay sa Kaligtasan

Kabilang ang mga janitors at cleaners sa mga nasa front line ng COVID 19 outbreak, na inilalagay ang kanilang sarili sa panganib sa tuwing pupunta sila sa trabaho. Habang patuloy na umaakyat ang bilang ng mga kaso, ang mga janitor ay nahaharap sa isang bilang ng mga panganib, mula sa kakulangan ng proteksiyon na gear hanggang sa kaunti hanggang sa walang impormasyon tungkol sa kung ano ang kanilang kinakalaban (Ducharme, 2020).

May gloves lang kami. Iniisip ko na mag resign dahil diabetic din ako at alam kong sobrang delikado nito para sa akin, pero iniisip ko yung mangyayari sa pamilya ko kung magreresign ako. Wala ka talagang choice. – Juliet, Janitress

Sa isang pag-aaral na isinagawa sa Bule Hora University sa Ethiopia nina Daba et al. (2022), lumabas na higit kalahati lamang ng mga janitor (53.9%) ang may maayos na kasanayan sa occupational safety, partikular sa panahon ng pandemya ng COVID-19. Natukoy sa pagaaral na ang kawalan ng sapat na pagsasanay hinggil sa paggamit ng personal protective equipment (PPE) at mga protokol sa sanitasyon ay may malaking epekto sa kaligtasan ng mga manggagawa. Ayon sa datos, mas mataas ang tsansa ng tamang pagsunod sa mga pamantayan ng kaligtasan kung ang isang manggagawa ay nakatanggap ng sapat na pagsasanay, at mas malaki pa ang posibilidad kung may malinaw na polisiya o patakaran ang lugar ng trabaho ukol sa occupational health and safety. Ipinapakita ng mga datos na ang kakulangan sa pagsasanay ay hindi lamang isyu ng kaalaman kundi may direktang epekto sa kakayahan ng mga janitor na protektahan ang kanilang sarili sa panahon ng krisis pangkalusugan, lalo na kung sila ay madalas nakalantad sa mga lugar na may mataas na panganib ng impeksyon.

Ayon din sa isang pag-aaral na isinagawa ni De Claro et al. (2023), isa sa mga pangunahing hamon ng mga frontliners sa mga ospital at mga pampublikong pasilidad ay ang kakulangan ng sapat na impormasyon at pagsasanay hinggil sa kalusugan at kaligtasan. Ayon sa pag-aaral nina De Claro et al. (2023) sa pagsusuri ng (Infection Prevention and Control) IPC sa 132 ICU at COVID19 treatment facilities sa Pilipinas, natuklasan na bagama't tumaas ang paggamit ng PPE (86.4% sa Phase 2 mula sa 53.7% sa Phase 1), ang pagsasanay sa tamang paggamit ng PPE—lalo na sa donning at doffing—ay bumaba mula 60.2% tungo sa 44.3%. Ipinapakita rin ng datos na hindi sapat ang formal protocols para sa tracheal intubation, intra-hospital transport, at tamang disposal ng infectious waste, na nagreresulta sa patuloy na panganib para sa kaligtasan ng mga support staff tulad ng janitors at cleaners (De Claro et al., 2023). Ang pagkukulang na ito ay nagpapahiwatig na ang investment sa PPE ay hindi sinasabayan ng robust training o protocol reinforcement, na nag-iiwan sa frontliners na kulang sa kakayahang protektahan ang kanilang sarili laban sa impeksyon sa gitna ng pandemya.

3. MGA ISTRATEHIYA AT SOLUSYON SA HINAHARAP

A. Koneksyon sa pamilya o kaibigan

Karamihan sa mga front liner ay humihingi ng emosyonal na suporta mula sa kanilang pamilya at mga kaibigan. Hindi madali ang maging frontliner, pero ang pag-alala sa mga tao na naniniwala sa kanila ay nagbibigay ng lakas sa kanila (Matalang, 2022).

"Dahil sa COVID, palagi akong malayo sa pamilya ko, nakakalungkot, minsan naiiyak ako, pero nakakaconnect pa rin ako dahil sa Messenger, Facebook, calls. Pinapaalala nila sa akin na alagaan ko ang sarili ko. Tuwing nakikipag-usap ako sa kanila, naaalala ko ang role ko bilang isang journalist - yung magbigay ng information sa mga tao at tulungan silang maging mas ligtas para makauwi sila sa mga pamilya nila." – Erica, Mamamahayag

Ang emotional support mula sa pamilya at mga kaibigan ay isang pangunahing coping strategy na ginagamit ng mga babaeng frontliner. Ayon sa pag-aaral ni Zhang et al. (2020), nakatutulong ang pagbibigay ng moral na suporta at pagkakaroon ng open communication

sa pamilya upang mapawi ang pakiramdam ng pagkabalisa at isolation. Ang mga nars ay nagpapatuloy sa kanilang tungkulin dahil sa lakas at suporta ng kanilang mga mahal sa buhay, na nagsisilbing isang pangunahing resource para sa kanilang mental at emosyonal na kalusugan.

B. Katatagan at Personal na Relaksasyon

Ang mga Pilipino ay kilala bilang matatag na tao (Callueng et al., 2020). Ganito rin ang kalagayan ng mga babaeng frontliner sa bansa. Sa kabila ng mga hamon na kanilang hinaharap habang pinupunan ang mga puwang ng mga nasa unahan na nagpoprotekta sa mga komunidad laban sa pandemya, sila ay nananatiling matatag at matibay. Ang kanilang positibong pananaw ay nagbibigay ng pag-asa sa bawat Pilipino, kasama na ang kanilang mga pamilya at komunidad (Camitan & Bajin, 2021).

Alam kong matatapos din 'to. Kailangan nating ikeep yung faith natin. Lahat naman ng problema ay may katapusan. Sigurado akong kaya nating tiisin ang kahit ano kung gagawin natin ang ating makakaya upang labanan ang COVID. Maraming pamilya ang apektado, ngunit nakikita ko pa rin ang ngiti sa kanilang mga mata tuwing binibisita namin sila. – Melissa, Social Worker

Bukod rito, ayon kay (Misra et al., 2023), ang paggamit ng mga relaxation techniques tulad ng meditation, yoga, at deep breathing exercises ay tumutulong sa mga frontliner upang mapamahalaan ang kanilang stress. Ang pagkakaroon ng oras para sa sarili, kahit na saglit lang, ay nagiging isang mahalagang bahagi ng kanilang coping strategy. Ang mga aktibidad na ito ay nagpapalakas sa kanilang pisikal at mental na kalusugan, kaya't nagiging mas handa sila sa patuloy na pagharap sa mga stressor ng araw-araw.

C. Pagtugon sa Gender-Specific na Pangangailangan

Sa gitna ng mga hamong kinaharap ng mga babaeng frontliner, lumitaw ang pangangailangan para sa mga makabuluhang solusyon at estratehiya mula sa iba't ibang institusyon at pamahalaan, partikular ang pagkakaroon ng gender-responsive policies (Krishnan, 2022).

Isa sa mga pangunahing mungkahi ng mga eksperto ay ang paglalagay ng flexible scheduling, psychosocial support, at childcare assistance para sa mga babaeng frontliner (Kirwin & Ettinger, 2022). Bukod dito, binigyang-diin din ni Morse (2021) na kailangang isama ang gender analysis sa bawat bahagi ng pandemic response upang matiyak na ang mga polisiya ay makatarungan at tumutugon sa tunay na karanasan ng mga kababaihan.

Sa panayam kay Judy, isang babaeng pulis at ina ng dalawang bata, ibinahagi niya ang kanyang karanasan:

Hindi ko na minsan alam kung saan ako kukuha ng lakas. Paggising pa lang, inaasikaso ko na ang mga anak ko, tapos diretso na ako sa duty. Pag-uwi, ako pa rin ang nagaayos sa bahay, nagluluto. Walang pahinga, pero hindi naman pwedeng hindi ako pumasok sa trabaho.

Ang sitwasyon ni Judy ay sumasalamin sa *global finding*s na nagsasabing ang mga babaeng manggagawa, lalo na sa sektor ng seguridad at kalusugan, ay pinakamalapit sa *burnout* at *psychological distress* kung walang sapat na suporta mula sa pamahalaan o institusyon (Dillon et al., 2021). Ipinapayo ng mga pag-aaral na dapat magkaroon ng *targeted mental health interventions* at access sa *childcare support* upang mapagaan ang *load* ng kababaihan sa panahon ng krisis (Harry et al., 2022).

Sa kabuuan, malinaw sa mga datos at testimonya na ang solusyon sa mga hamon ng babaeng frontliner ay hindi lamang nakasalalay sa kanilang personal na tibay, kundi sa isang sistemikong tugon na isinasaalang-alang ang kasarian, papel sa pamilya, at emosyonal na kapasidad. Ang pagbibigay ng makataong iskedyul, *access sa child care*, at aktibong partisipasyon sa pagbuo ng polisiya ay ilan lamang sa mga konkretong hakbang na maaaring magpagaan ng kanilang pagganap bilang tagapaglingkod at ina.

KONKLUSYON

Ang mga babaeng frontliner ay nagsilbing pangunahing tagapagtanggol ng kalusugan at kaayusan sa gitna ng pandemya ng COVID-19. Sa kabila ng matinding panganib, emosyonal na hirap, at kakulangan sa suporta, nagpakita sila ng pambihirang tibay ng loob, propesyonalismo, at dedikasyon sa serbisyo. Ang mga karanasang ito ay naglalantad hindi lamang ng mga hamon na dinaranas ng mga frontliner, kundi pati na rin ng mga istrukturang sistemiko na patuloy na nagpapahirap sa mga manggagawang kababaihan sa sektor ng frontline work.

Ilang praktikal na ambag ng pag-aaral na ito ay makikita sa mga rekomendasyong maaaring gamitin bilang batayan sa paggawa ng mas makatarungang polisiya para sa kapakanan ng mga babaeng manggagawa. Una, kailangang bigyang-pansin ng mga institusyon ang mental health support systems bilang bahagi ng standard na workplace benefits, hindi lamang sa panahon ng krisis kundi bilang pangmatagalang investment sa kapakanan ng manggagawa. Pangunahing dahilan ng stress ay ang takot na mahawa ng virus at mahawa ang kanilang pamilya, kakulangan sa PPE, at matagalang duty hours—mga stressor na napatunayan sa pandaigdigang literatura (Serrano-Ripoll et al., 2020; Zhang et al., 2020).

Pangalawa, ang pagbibigay ng makatarungang labor conditions, kabilang na ang sapat na rest hours, tamang suplay ng protective gear, at hazard pay, ay nararapat na ituring na karapatan at hindi insentibo. Pangatlo, sa usapin ng gender equity, kinakailangang kilalanin at itaguyod ang mga pangangailangan ng kababaihan sa workforce, lalo na ang mga may obligasyong pangpamilya, upang mapagaan ang kanilang dual burden bilang manggagawa at tagapagalaga ng pamilya.

Mula sa teoretikal na pananaw matapos ang pag-aaral, ipinapakita ng pananaliksik na ito ang pagsasanib ng resilience theory at feminist standpoint theory bilang lente ng pagsusuri. Ang resilience ng mga babaeng frontliner ay hindi lamang bunga ng indibidwal na lakas, kundi ng kolektibong suporta mula sa pamilya, kasamahan sa trabaho, at ilang mga institusyon. Gayundin, sa paggamit ng feminist standpoint, mas naging malinaw ang natatanging perspektibo ng mga kababaihan bilang mga tagapangalaga ng kalusugan sa gitna ng krisis—isang pananaw na madalas ay nasa laylayan ng diskurso sa paggawa at pampublikong kalusugan.

Hindi maikakaila na ang mga emosyonal na epekto, tulad ng takot, guilt, at anxiety, ay malalim ang epekto sa kabuuang well-being ng mga frontliner. Sa isang meta-analisis nina Pappa et al. (2020), tinatayang 23.2% ng healthcare workers sa panahon ng pandemya ang nakaranas ng depression, habang 38.9% ang nakaranas ng insomnia. Ngunit sa kabila nito, ipinakita ng kasalukuyang pag-aaral na may kakayahan silang bumuo ng adaptive coping strategies gaya ng social support, emotional regulation, at mindfulness practices, na nagsisilbing pananggalang sa patuloy na stress. Ang mga estratehiyang ito ay hindi lamang mekanismo ng pag-iwas sa burnout, kundi manipestasyon ng ahensiya ng kababaihan sa kabila ng sistemikong limitasyon.

Pinatotohanan din ng pag-aaral nina Zhang et al. (2020) na ang matagalang paggamit ng PPE at masinsinang oras ng trabaho ay nagdudulot ng matinding physical fatigue at skin injury sa mga frontline workers. Samantala, ayon sa sistematikong pagsusuri nina Serrano-Ripoll et al. (2020), malaki ang epekto ng kakulangan sa institutional support sa antas ng stress, anxiety, at depression ng mga manggagawa sa kalusugan.

Ang mga natuklasan sa pananaliksik na ito ay lumalampas sa simpleng pag-uulat ng karanasan. Ito ay panawagan para sa progresibong pagbabago sa polisiya, sistemang pangkalusugan, at mga kasanayang pamamahala. Sa pamamagitan ng pagkilala sa boses at karanasan ng mga babaeng frontliner, binibigyang-halaga ng pag-aaral na ito ang pangangailangang iangat ang antas ng pag-unawa at tugon ng lipunan sa kanilang kalagayan hindi lamang bilang manggagawa, kundi bilang mga taong may dignidad, karapatan, at nararapat na suporta.

MGA REKOMENDASYON

Upang mapabuti pa ang kalagayan ng mga babaeng frontliner sa hinaharap, mahalaga ang mga sumusunod na rekomendasyon:

- 1. Suporta sa Kalusugan ng Isipan at Emosyon. Ang mga institusyon at ahensiya ng pamahalaan ay dapat magpatuloy sa pagpapalakas ng mga programa para sa mental health at emotional support ng mga babaeng frontliner. Kabilang dito ang regular na psychological counseling, mga support group, at iba pang psychosocial interventions na makatutulong upang mapanatili ang emosyonal na katatagan sa gitna ng mga hamon ng trabaho.
- 2. Pagpapabuti ng Kalagayang Pisikal sa Trabaho. Mahalagang tiyakin ang ligtas na kondisyon sa trabaho para sa mga babaeng frontliner sa pamamagitan ng pagbibigay ng sapat na personal protective equipment (PPE), tamang pahinga, at hazard pay. Ang mga hakbang na ito ay makatutulong upang mabawasan ang pisikal na strain at maprotektahan ang kanilang kaligtasan habang ginagampanan ang kanilang tungkulin.
- 3. Patuloy na Edukasyon at Pagsasanay. Iminumungkahi ang pagpapalawak ng mga pagsasanay at edukasyon para sa mga babaeng frontliner, lalo na hinggil sa mga bagong protocols, teknolohiya, at kaligtasan. Makapagbibigay ito ng mas mataas na antas ng kumpiyansa, kaalaman, at kahandaan sa pagtugon sa mga pangangailangang medikal at pangkomunidad.
- 4. Gender-Sensitive na Interbensyon at Polisiya. Dapat tiyakin ang pagkakaroon nggender-sensitive policies sa mga programa at tugon ng gobyerno. Kinakailangan ang pagkolekta at pagsusuri ng datos na nakabatay sa kasarian at edad upang maunawaan kung paano naiiba ang epekto ng pandemya sa kababaihan at kalalakihan. Ang mga programang ito ay dapat sumasalamin sa aktwal na karanasan at pangangailangan ng mga babaeng frontliner.
- 5. Proteksyon at Suporta sa Natatanging Pangangailangan ng Kababaihan. Iminumungkahi ang masusing pag-aaral sa mga natatanging pangangailangan ng mga babaeng frontliner, kabilang ang kanilang reproductive health, kalusugan ng isip, at seguridad. Dapat isaalang-alang ang mga buntis, nagpapasuso, at may mahinang resistensya, upang matiyak ang kanilang proteksyon sa panahon ng pandemya. Ang pagsasanay sa self-defense, mga programa sa financial assistance, at reproductive health awareness ay makatutulong upang mapalakas ang kanilang kakayahan at kapakanan.
- 6. Paggamit ng Gender Lens sa Pagpaplano at Pagtugon sa Pandemya. Sa huli, mahalagang gamitin ang gender lens sa paglikha ng mga patakaran at programa na may kaugnayan sa pandemya. Sa ganitong paraan, matitiyak na ang

natatanging pangangailangan ng kababaihan ay hindi maiiwan kundi magiging sentro ng epektibong tugon — hindi lamang sa Pilipinas kundi sa pandaigdigang antas (UN Secretary-General's Policy Brief: The Impact of COVID-19 on Women, 2021).

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Profile, Trends, and Determinants of Pregnancy Termination Among Filipino Women

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ABSTRACT

Cultural and legal barriers force many Filipino women to undergo unsafe and secret abortions. This study examines the profile of women who terminated pregnancy among those who gave birth in the last five years according to selected independent variables, and the trends in pregnancy termination from 1992 to 2022 all National Demographic and Health Surveys. It also identified the determinants of pregnancy termination and estimated its likelihood. The analysis accounted for the complex survey design. Descriptive statistics, bivariate analysis, and multivariate logistic regression were employed. Results show that nearly 13% of women who gave birth in the last five years experienced pregnancy termination, and the distribution varies according to selected independent variables. Termination rates remained from 1997 to 2007 but declined in 2022. Logistic regression identified age as the strongest predictor, with odds rising sharply over time. Belonging to wealthier quintiles and having good self-rated health reduced the likelihood of termination, while education, marital status, religion, and residence showed no independent significance. Older, low-income, and poor health remain at higher risk, highlighting the need for targeted support. Expanding access to family planning, improving maternal healthcare, and addressing economic vulnerabilities can help reduce unintended pregnancies and unsafe abortions. Strengthening reproductive rights policies and ensuring access to safe abortion-related care and the legalization of abortion in the country are also crucial steps in promoting women's health and well-being.

Keywords: abortion, determinants, ecological model, pregnancy termination, trends

INTRODUCTION

Pregnancy termination includes induced abortion, miscarriage, and stillbirth. The 2022 Philippine National Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) revealed that 13% of reproductive- aged women had unplanned pregnancies and unintended births, and 12% of

women had terminated pregnancy in the last three years preceding the survey (PSA & ICF, 2023). This is a public health concern, as some of them perform unsafe abortions despite several health repercussions. Globally, 60% of unplanned pregnancies lead to abortion, and 45% of these abortions are unsafe (World Health Organization [WHO], 2024). Despite the declining maternal mortality ratio in recent decades in the country (World Bank, n.d.), the lack of proper medical intervention for those who had terminated pregnancies could lead to potentially fatal complications (Center for Reproductive Rights [CRR], 2024).

Spanish colonization imposed Catholic doctrines that stigmatized reproductive autonomy and institutionalized patriarchy. This continued during the American period, and even in the postwar period (Austria, 2004). As a result, societal stigma surrounded both miscarriage and abortion, the latter of which was particularly condemned. The country's legal framework is heavily influenced by its Catholic and Christian traditions. The Catholic Church and other religious groups significantly shape public discourse and policies regarding reproductive rights and healthcare (Human Rights Watch [HRW], 2023). The Penal Code of the Philippines (1930) criminalizes abortion and imposes penalties on both women who undergo the procedure and the medical practitioners who perform it. Such legal restrictions and societal stigma compel many women to reframe their experiences as miscarriages or stillbirths, similarly experienced by women in other countries (Onukwuga et al., 2020). This environment restricts access to safe abortion services, contributing to maternal morbidity and mortality, which are significant public health concerns (Kassa et al., 2024; Onukwuga et al., 2020). Without proper medical care, women who undergo unsafe procedures may suffer from not only the physical aspect but also the mental aspect (WHO, 2024). If unsafe abortion continues, this will be detrimental to the objective 3.1 of the Sustainable Development Goal of cutting the maternal mortality ratio to fewer than 7 deaths per 10,000 live births by 2030, and the years to come (WHO, n.d).

In recent years, the incidence of unplanned pregnancies has declined, yet the number remains substantial (PSA & ICF, 2023). Despite government efforts to expand access to contraceptives, many women remain hesitant due to the influence of religious beliefs. Cultural and legal barriers further push women toward unsafe abortion methods (CRR, 2024), while those who experience stillbirths or miscarriages often face social stigma and judgment. Addressing these challenges necessitates a comprehensive understanding of pregnancy termination and a research-based approach to inform policymakers. By highlighting the urgency of considering the legalization of abortion in special cases and combating stigma, we can establish a society that better supports women who have experienced pregnancy termination.

The incidence of pregnancy termination varies widely in many countries and regions, commonly shaped by legal frameworks, healthcare access, and sociocultural factors. Ba et al. (2023) reported that, across 36 countries analyzed in their study, the pooled weighted prevalence of pregnancy termination was 13.3% (95% CI: 13.2%–13.4%), although significant regional differences were observed. The lowest prevalence was recorded in Namibia at 7.8% (95% CI: 7.2%–8.4%), while Pakistan had the highest at 33.4% (95% CI: 32.0%–34.7%). A more recent study by Mbona et al. (2025) reported a pregnancy termination prevalence of 14.3%, reflecting an increase compared to Ba et al.'s (2023) findings. This rise may be attributed to Mbona et al.'s use of the latest DHS data, capturing more recent trends and updates in the reproductive health behavior of women in Tanzania. In the case of younger women in six countries, the percentage of termination varies from one country to another, with the highest prevalence in Tanzania (6.3%) and lowest in Ethiopia (4%).

South and Southeast Asia also exhibit notable variations in pregnancy termination prevalence. According to Ba et al. (2023), rates are highest in Pakistan (33.4%), followed by Afghanistan (19.5%), Bangladesh (19.2%), Nepal (20.1%), and Myanmar (9.4%). Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal reported similar prevalence levels, suggesting an ongoing need for comprehensive reproductive health services and family planning initiatives in their respective countries. In Nepal, Yogi et al. (2018) reported that 21.1% of women had terminated a pregnancy, which is slightly higher than Ba et al.'s (2023) report of 20.1%. The discrepancy may stem from differences in the data they used in their respective studies. Similar to the results in Zambia, the increase may be attributed to the changes in reproductive health behavior of women in Nepal. Meanwhile, in Sierra Leone, West Africa, only 9% of women terminated pregnancy (Sesay et al., 2023). These differences may also stem from the changes in the reporting of pregnancy termination incidences. In the Philippines, despite the stigma and negative connotation regarding abortion in the country, the 2022 NDHS reported that 12% of women had a terminated pregnancy.

Several factors have been identified as associated with pregnancy termination. Age strongly correlates with pregnancy termination, although high-risk groups vary geographically. In Tanzania, women aged 35–49 and 25–34 have over twice and nearly threefold higher odds, respectively (Mbona et al., 2025). Conversely, studies in Rwanda, Nigeria, Kenya, Burundi, Tanzania, and Ethiopia identify women aged 20–24 as the most likely to terminate a pregnancy (AORs: 1.69 in Ethiopia to 4.04 in Rwanda), followed by those aged 25–29, who have higher odds than women aged 15–19 (Kassa et al., 2024). Meanwhile, another study found that women aged 45-49 had the highest odds of pregnancy termination (Sesay et al., 2023). In contexts where abortion is perceived as unsafe, women aged ≥35 show reduced odds (Yogi et al., 2018).

Contraceptive use has been linked to lower odds of pregnancy termination. Mbona et al. (2025) reported that women who use contraceptives have a 16% lower probability of experiencing termination compared to those who do not use them. A machine learning study also identified contraceptive use as a predictor of pregnancy termination (Setegn & Dejene, 2024). Additionally, research indicates that women who express a desire for children within the next two years are significantly more inclined to terminate a pregnancy (Mbona et al., 2025). Self-rated health also correlates with pregnancy termination. Women who perceive their health as moderate have a higher likelihood of terminating a pregnancy compared to those who consider themselves in good health (Mbona et al., 2025).

Marital status is associated with pregnancy termination at the relational level. In two different studies, married women were more likely to terminate pregnancy compared to unmarried women (Mbona et al., 2025; Sesay et al., 2023). In the study of Kassa et al. (2024), pregnancy termination is less likely to happen to unmarried women compared to formerly married women in six out of six countries included in the study, while being married or being in cohabitation increases the odds of pregnancy termination by more than five times. The number of children a woman has is a significant factor influencing pregnancy termination. Women with one to five children have a 38% higher likelihood of terminating a pregnancy compared to those with no children. This likelihood increases to 58% among women with six or more children (Mbona et al., 2025). However, a contrasting finding from another study found that having six or more children decreases the likelihood of pregnancy termination by 60% (Sesay et al., 2025).

At the community level, place of residence is significantly associated with pregnancy termination, although which group has the higher likelihood varies by context. In Nepal, urban women are twice as likely to terminate a pregnancy compared to their rural counterparts (Yogi et al., 2018). In contrast, in Tanzania, rural women have significantly lower odds of pregnancy termination than those in urban areas (Mbona et al., 2025). Place of residence was one of the most crucial factors that predicted pregnancy termination in six African countries (Setegn & Dejene, 2024). The role of internet use in pregnancy termination has also been examined. Evidence suggests that women who use the internet have a 21% higher likelihood of terminating a pregnancy compared to non-users (Mbona et al., 2025).

At the societal level, education is a critical determinant of pregnancy termination, though findings vary across regions. Using machine learning, Setegn and Dejene (2014) were able to find women's educational attainment as a predictor of pregnancy termination. Studies in six sub-Saharan African countries link no formal education (or primary education only in Ethiopia) to higher rates of pregnancy termination versus higher educated women (Kassa et al., 2024). Conversely, in Tanzania, women with secondary education are more likely to terminate

pregnancies than those with no education (Mbona et al., 2025), while in Sierra Leone, women with primary education only had the highest likelihood of pregnancy termination (Sesay et al., 2023).

The wealth index of the woman is also crucial in determining pregnancy termination. Wealth index significantly predicted pregnancy termination in six African countries (Setegn & Dejene, 2024). Poorest women were less likely to terminate pregnancy compared to women in the richest quintile in Kenya and Burundi, while it was the richer women who were less likely to have pregnancy termination compared to the richest women (Kassa et al., 2024). Meanwhile, Tanzanian women in the middle and rich wealth quintiles have higher termination odds than poorer women (Mbona et al., 2024). In contrast, the poorest women have the highest odds of termination compared to poorer, middle, richer, and richest women in the case of Nepal (Yogi et al., 2023).

Employment status is a predictor of pregnancy termination (Setegn & Dejene, 2024). Employed women have a higher likelihood of pregnancy termination as compared to unemployed women (Sesay et al., 2023; Kassa et al., 2024). Religion influences pregnancy termination. In the context of Nepal, Buddhist women are two times more likely to terminate pregnancy compared to Muslim women and other religions (Yogi et al., 2018).

While existing studies highlight socio-demographic and geographic determinants of pregnancy termination, critical gaps remain. Several determinants like age, number of children, and wealth show conflicting findings across regions, suggesting context-specific dynamics that have not been explored in restrictive, Catholic-majority settings like the Philippines. Moreover, most of the studies conducted examining pregnancy termination included all women or all younger women who has ever had terminated a pregnancy. These studies failed to capture the timing of pregnancy termination as they did not take into account when termination actually occurred. While the 2022 Philippine NDHS also did not capture when the pregnancy termination happened, this study only included those who gave birth in the last five years. Considering the cross-sectional nature of the data used in the previous studies, capturing the approximate time of the event is crucial. In addition, there is a gap in analyzing the trends of pregnancy termination in a 20-year period. These are the gaps to be addressed in this study.

Conceptual Framework

Pregnancy termination is a complex reproductive health outcome and is likely shaped by dynamic interactions between individual agency, relational dynamics, community norms, and societal inequities. This conceptual framework adapts Heise's ecological model (Heise, 1998), originally designed to analyze violence against women, to systematically examine

how multi-level factors intersect to influence the likelihood of pregnancy termination. By categorizing predictors into individual, relationship, community, and societal levels, this model provides a holistic lens for understanding the interplay of factors across different layers in determining pregnancy termination among women who gave birth in the last five years in the Philippines. This framework acknowledges that decisions surrounding abortion or pregnancy termination are not simply individual decisions but are shaped by other forces. By applying the ecological model in this study, it allows for a more nuanced and deeper understanding of reproductive health decisions. Figure 1 presents the relationship of different factors in influencing an individual's action or an event. In this case, pregnancy termination.

Figure 1 Ecological Model of Factors Influencing Pregnancy Termination



At the individual level, age is presumed to influence pregnancy termination, as older women in some contexts face higher termination odds (Mbona et al., 2025), while younger women (e.g., 20–24 years) in other settings may terminate pregnancies due to social stigma or limited resources (Yogi et al., 2018; Kassa et al., 2024). Contraceptive use also plays a key role in influencing unintended pregnancies, with inconsistent or ineffective use raising the likelihood of termination. The desire for children is another important factor influencing pregnancy termination, as women who have achieved their fertility goals prioritize career or educational aspirations may seek termination to align with their life plans. Selfrated health reflects perceived physical and mental capacity to carry a pregnancy to term, influencing decisions among women with chronic illnesses or inadequate support. These individual factors, however, do not operate in isolation but are constrained or amplified by other factors.

Relationships also influence reproductive decisions. Married or cohabiting women often face pressures tied to partner preferences. For instance, studies show married women have significantly higher termination odds than unmarried women (Mbona et al., 2025; Kassa et al., 2024). Conversely, unmarried women may terminate pregnancies to evade the stigma associated with non-marital fertility. Formerly married women may face heightened vulnerability. These relational pressures emphasize how interpersonal hierarchies affect individual agency. The number of children a woman already has may shape her perception of whether they should have more children or not. Thus, it may influence whether to continue or terminate a pregnancy.

At the community level, place of residence (urban vs. rural) is also presumed to influence pregnancy termination, as it stratifies healthcare access. Urban women often benefit from proximity to clinics and relatively better social services. Meanwhile, rural women may encounter logistical barriers and entrenched stigma, particularly in the more conservative rural areas of the Philippines. Additionally, internet use expands access to reproductive health information and other healthcare options. Thus, those who have internet access in the Philippines may have access to how to access them discreetly, making them potentially more inclined toward pregnancy termination than women who do not use the internet.

At the societal level, education is a key structural determinant. Higher educational attainment is associated with greater health literacy and economic independence to navigate healthcare systems. However, disparities exist, as women with secondary education in some contexts (e.g., Tanzania) report higher termination rates (Mbona et al., 2025). This positively reflects the heightened awareness of legal options to delay or stop childbearing. Wealth further stratifies access as those relatively wealthier women often bypass legal restrictions through private care, while poverty worsens reliance on unsafe methods. Employment also plays a role in pregnancy termination. Employed women may have better access to healthcare services and knowledge about abortion than unemployed women. Religion shapes the opinion of women about the death of a fetus. Thus, religion is also considered as a factor that may influence pregnancy termination. Collectively, these factors contribute to shaping the outcome of pregnancy.

By applying Heise's ecological model, this framework explains the complexity of factors shaping pregnancy termination, ranging from intimate partner dynamics to systemic inequities. It challenges reductionist narratives that attribute pregnancy termination solely to

individual irresponsibility, instead positioning the outcome as a manifestation of intersecting factors across multiple ecological layers.

METHODOLOGY

The data for trend analysis were drawn from every demographic and health survey conducted in the Philippines from 1993 to 2022. It covers pregnancy termination in all women included in the survey. In the analysis of the profile of and identifying the correlates of women who had a terminated pregnancy, the most recent 2022 Philippine National Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) was utilized. The 2022 NDHS used a two-stage stratified sampling methodology based on the 2010 Census of Population and Housing, which was updated using the lists of households from the 2015 Census of Population (PSA & ICF, 2023). The data from the NHDS were weighted to account for probability selection differences and adjusted for non-response.

For this study, the sample was limited to women aged 15-49 who reported giving birth within the five years preceding the survey. Since the data do not capture the date of pregnancy termination in the Philippines, only the year of the most recent birth was considered. Having this in mind, those women who gave birth before 2018 were excluded.

The dependent variable was from the women's answer to the question of whether they had a terminated pregnancy or not. The variable of interest in this paper is the woman who has ever had a terminated pregnancy (1) compared to those who never had a terminated pregnancy (2) The time of pregnancy termination was not collected in this survey. Thus, it is impossible to examine the exact timing of pregnancy termination. However, since the focus of this study is the pregnancy termination of those who had given birth in the last five years, only the approximate timing was captured.

The selection of independent variables for this study was based on the conceptual framework used and the findings of studies reviewed to ensure the availability of the selected variables in the NDHS.

Age refers to the current age of the woman at the time of the survey, grouped into five-year intervals: 19-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, and 40-49 to capture variations across reproductive age groups, with 19-24 as the reference. Contraceptive refers to the type of contraceptive the woman is using. It is classified into not using, traditional method, and modern method. Desire for another child refers to the desire to have another child within 2 years or the next 2 years. It is categorized into with desire and without desire. Self-reported health serves as a measure of the woman's perceived health status. This is categorized into good health and otherwise.

Marital status refers to the current relationship status of the woman. It is categorized into *currently not married* (which includes never married, divorced, separated, and widowed women) and *married* (currently married). Meanwhile, the number of children refers to the woman's total number of living children. The number of children is grouped into *two or less* and *three or more* children to account for how the current number of children may affect pregnancy termination.

Place of residence is classified as either *rural* or *urban* based on the 2022 NDHS classification of living areas (PSA & ICF, 2023). Internet use refers to whether the respondent reported *using* or *not using* the internet in the past month. Education refers to the highest educational attainment of the respondents. It is categorized into three levels based on the highest educational attainment: *primary and below* (no education or primary education), *secondary* (some secondary or completed secondary education), and *tertiary or higher* (education beyond secondary level).

Meanwhile, wealth status follows the NDHS classification of wealth index quintiles. It is grouped into *very poor* (lowest quintile), *poor* (second quintile), *middle* (third quintile), *rich* (fourth quintile), and *very rich* (highest quintile). Employment was categorized into *employed* and *unemployed* (reference group). Religion is the woman's self-reported religious affiliation. It is classified into *Catholics* and *other religions*, which include Islam, Iglesia ni Cristo, and other religious groups. The rationale for these groupings is based on the predominance of Roman Catholicism in the Philippines.

Before performing the analysis, the data were organized by filtering out unselected cases, specifically omitting women who had never given birth and those who gave birth prior to 2018. Using Stata version 17, the SVYSET and SVY commands were employed to account for the complex sampling design employed in the NDHS. Since this includes all women who gave birth in the last five years, V005 was used as the weighting variable after dividing it by a million. It was then used as the probability weight, and used primary sampling unit (V021) as the PSU, and V022 as the sample strata for sampling errors. Descriptive statistics were used to present the profile of Filipino women who gave birth in the last five years according to selected independent variables. Bivariate analysis using a contingency table was also generated to examine the differences in pregnancy termination according to the selected independent variables. The chi-square test was used to measure the association of the independent variables and pregnancy termination. A p-value of less than .05 was considered to be associated with pregnancy termination.

Meanwhile, to present the prevalence of pregnancy termination from 1992 to 2022, the percentage of women who reported ever having terminated a pregnancy was obtained from every NDHS conducted. The trend analysis was descriptive and not weighted. In identifying

the determinants of pregnancy termination, binary logistic regression was used to generate crude odds ratio (COR) to capture the unadjusted associations between each category of independent variables and pregnancy termination. After this, multivariate logistic regression was performed. To facilitate the inclusion of more independent variables in multivariate analysis, all the independent variables at p < .20 in bivariate analysis were included in regression analysis. Multivariate logistic regression was utilized to identify the determinants of pregnancy termination in the adjusted model, after controlling for other covariates. Odds ratios in the adjusted model were reported as adjusted odds ratios (AORs). P-values < .05 were considered determinants of pregnancy termination.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Profile of Women Who Gave Birth in the Last Five Years

Table 1 shows the frequency (unweighted) and percent distribution (unweighted and weighted) of women who gave birth in the last five years prior to the survey. Pregnancy termination in the Philippines is nearly 13%, which is comparable to the global average of 13.3% (Ba et al., 2023), yet it remains significantly lower than in several South and Southeast Asian countries, such as Pakistan (33.4%), Nepal (20.1%), and Bangladesh (19.2%) (Ba et al., 2023). In contrast, the prevalence in the Philippines is higher than in Namibia (7.8%) and Myanmar (9.4%) (Ba et al., 2023), as well as in Sierra Leone, where Sesay et al. (2023) reported a termination rate of 9%.

Despite strong legal restrictions and persistent stigma surrounding abortion in the Philippines, the pregnancy termination rate remains similar to other countries where termination is more accessible. This suggests that unintended pregnancies and secret abortion methods may still be prevalent. In contrast, countries with more liberal abortion laws, such as Nepal, where abortion has been legal since 2002 and yet termination rates remain high (Yogi et al., 2018; Ba et al., 2023). This figure may be inherently good or bad, but it is concerning in terms of the issue about the safety of those who perform pregnancy termination. Data say less about the permissiveness in the Philippines but more about the urgency of expanding comprehensive reproductive health services.

 Table 1

 Profile of Women Who Gave Birth in the Last Five Years: Philippine NDHS, 2022

Independent Variables	f (unweighted)	% (unweighted)	% (weighted)
Pregnancy Termination			
No	5,385	87.04	87.36
Yes	802	12.96	12.64

Independent Variables	f (unweighted)	% (unweighted)	% (weighted)
Age			
19-24	1,306	21.11	20.82
25-29	1,610	26.02	26.50
30-34	1,455	23.52	24.10
35-39	1,070	17.29	17.11
40-49	746	12.06	11.47
Contraceptive Use			
Not using	2,299	37.16	34.57
Traditional Method	937	15.14	16.36
Modern Method	2,951	47.70	49.07
Desire for Children			
With Desire	2,111	34.13	34.56
No Desire	4,076	65.88	65.44
Self-Rated Health			
Otherwise	1,896	30.64	27.85
Good	4,291	69.36	72.15
Marital Status			
Currently not Married	2,814	45.48	50.59
Married	3,373	54.52	49.41
Number of Children			
2 or Less	3,358	54.28	56.72
3 or More	2,829	45.72	43.28
Place of Residence			
Rural	3,881	62.73	48.05
Urban	2,306	37.27	51.95
Internet Use			
Not Using	1,826	29.51	23.58
Using	4,361	70.49	76.42

Independent Variables	f (unweighted)	% (unweighted)	% (weighted)
Education			
Primary and Below	956	15.45	12.88
Secondary	3,024	48.88	50.62
Tertiary or Higher	2,207	35.67	36.50
Wealth			
Poorest	2,089	33.77	24.74
Poorer	1,426	23.05	21.35
Middle	1,068	17.27	20.58
Richer	823	13.30	16.92
Richest	781	12.62	16.42
Employment			
Unemployed	3,247	52.48	51.26
Employed	2,940	47.52	48.74
Religion			
Other Religions	2,075	33.54	25.53
Catholics	4,112	66.46	74.47
Total	6,187	100	100

Women aged 25-29 years accounted for the highest percent of recent births (26.50%), and nearly half (49.07%) use modern contraception. The majority (65.44%) do not want additional children, nearly three-fourths (72.15%) perceive their health as good, and around half of births occurred within marriage (50.59%). Moreover, more than half (56.72%) have two or fewer children, and slightly a higher proportion live in urban areas (51.95%) compared to rural areas (48.05%).

The vast majority (76.42%) have internet access. In terms of education, 12.88% have a primary education or below, half (50.62%) have at least a secondary education, and more than a third (36.50%) have a tertiary education or higher. Forty-six point zero nine percent (46.09%) belong to the poorest and poorer quintile, while 33.34% belong to the rich and richest categories. Employment status has a near-equal distribution, with 51.26% unemployed and 48.74% employed. With regard to religion, 74.47% identify as Catholic, while 25.53% belong to other religions, reflecting the dominant Catholic affiliation in the country. Women vary across diverse backgrounds. Overall, they are not confined to a specific factor but distributed across various age groups, education levels, residence, religion, and other socioeconomic and demographic backgrounds.

Variation in Pregnancy Termination According to Selected Independent Variables

Table 2 shows significant variations in pregnancy termination across individual, relational, community, and societal factors. Age had the strongest association (p < 0.001), with termination rates rising from 7.89% (95% CI: 6.06–10.21) among women aged 19–24 to 21.49% (95% CI: 17.58–26.01) among those aged 40–49. However, contraceptive use (p = 0.413) and fertility preference (p = .120) were not significant factors. Termination rates were similar among non-users (11.77%, 95% CI: 10.15–17.57), traditional method users (13.99%, 95% CI: 11.03–14.57), and modern method users (12.80%, 95% CI: 11.23–14.54). Likewise, women who did not desire more children (13.35%, 95% CI: 11.87–14.98) had non-significant slightly higher termination rates than those who did (11.29%, 95% CI: 9.43–13.46). Self-rated health was a significant factor in pregnancy termination (p = .008), with higher termination rates among those who perceive their health as otherwise (15.13% vs. 11.67%).

Table 2Percentage Distribution Pregnancy Termination Among Filipino Women Who Gave Birth in the Last Five Years: NDHS, 2022

Footors (% (weighted)) Confidence Interval (Professor				
Factors	% (weighted)	Confidence Interval	P values	
Age			.000	
19-24	07.89	06.06, 10.21		
25-29	10.33	08.33, 12.76		
30-34	12.99	10.42, 16.08		
35-39	15.55	12.82, 18.72		
40-49	21.49	17.58, 26.01		
Contraceptive Use				
Not using	11.77	10.15, 17.57	.413	
Traditional Method	13.99	11.03, 17.57		
Modern Method	12.80	11.23, 14.54		
Desire for Children			.120	
With Desire	11.29	09.43, 13.46		
No Desire	13.35	11.87, 14.98		
Self-Rated Health			.008	
Otherwise	15.13	12.96, 17.58		
Good	11.67	10.33, 13.17		

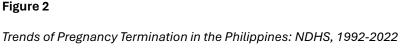
Factors	% (weighted)	Confidence Interval	P values
Marital Status			.249
Currently not Married	11.92	10.25, 13.83	
Married	13.37	11.78, 15.13	
Number of Children			.000
2 or Less	10.03	08.66, 11.60	
3 or More	16.05	14.18, 18.11	
Place of Residence			.532
Rural	13.05	11.59, 14.67	
Urban	12.25	10.44, 14.33	
Internet Use			.069
Not Using	14.66	12.33, 17.34	
Using	12.01	10.63, 13.55	
Education			.077
Primary and Below	15.44	12.16, 19.41	
Secondary	13.11	11.37, 15.08	
Tertiary or Higher	10.98	09.16, 13.12	
Wealth			.031
Poorest	16.29	14.14, 18.69	
Poorer	11.86	09.74, 14.37	
Middle	11.26	08.53, 14.73	
Richer	11.96	08.93, 15.85	
Richest	10.56	08.06, 13.72	
Employment			.050
Unemployed	11.57	10.08, 13.25	
Employed	13.76	12.13, 15.57	
Religion			.295
Other Religions	13.65	11.60, 15.99	
Catholics	12.29	10.91, 13.83	

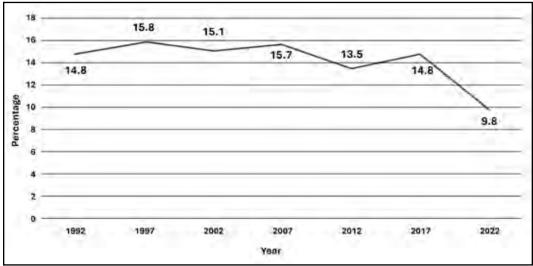
Among relationship variables, marital status was not a significant determinant of pregnancy termination (p = .249), with similar rates among married women (13.37%, 95% CI: 11.78–15.13) and those who were not currently married (11.92%, 95% CI: 10.25–13.83). However, the number of children a woman had showed a strong association with termination (p < 0.001), as women with three or more children had a significantly higher termination rate (16.05%, 95% CI: 14.18–18.11) compared to those with two or fewer (10.03%, 95% CI: 8.66–11.60). The place of residence is not significantly associated with pregnancy termination (p = .532). Termination rates were slightly higher among rural women (13.05%, 95% CI: 11.59–14.67) compared to urban women (12.25%, 95% CI: 10.44–14.33), but the difference is minimal. Internet use is also not significantly associated (p = .069), with non-users having a slightly higher termination rate (14.66%, 95% CI: 12.33–17.34) compared to internet users (12.01%, 95% CI: 10.63–13.55).

At the societal level, the education level is not a statistically significant determinant of pregnancy termination (p = .077), though a decreasing trend is observed with higher education. Women with primary education or below had the highest termination rate (15.44%, 95% CI: 12.16–19.41), followed by those with secondary education (13.11%, 95% CI: 11.37– 15.08). Women with tertiary education or higher had the lowest termination rate (10.98%, 95% CI: 9.16–13.12). Meanwhile, a significant association between wealth status and pregnancy termination was observed (p = .031), with termination rates decreasing as wealth increases. The highest rate was observed among the poorest women (16.29%, 95% CI: 14.14-18.69), while the lowest was among the richest (10.56%, 95% CI: 8.06–13.72). Women in the middle wealth quintiles had similar termination rates, ranging from 11.26% (95% CI: 8.53-14.73) to 11.96% (95% CI: 8.93–15.85). When it comes to employment, no statistical relationship was found (p = .050). Women who were employed had a slightly higher termination rate (13.76%, 95% CI: 12.13-15.57) than those who were unemployed (11.57%, 95% CI: 10.08-13.25). Similarly, religion was not a significant factor (p = .295), with termination rates slightly higher among women of other religions (13.65%, 95% CI: 11.60–15.99) compared to Catholics (12.29%, 95% CI: 10.91-13.83).

Trends of Pregnancy Termination

Figure 2 shows the trends in pregnancy termination in the Philippines over a 20-year period. The prevalence of women who terminated pregnancy differs. The percentage of women who had terminated a pregnancy from 1992 to 1997 does not have a significant difference. There was a small increase recorded in the percentage of women who terminated their pregnancy from 14.8% to 15.8%. This accounted for about a 1-point increase only (6.22% approximately). This suggests that while there was an increase, it is considerably small. Meanwhile, between 1997 to 2002, a slight decline happened, decreasing from 15.8% to 15.1%. However, a slight increase happened in 2007 by 15.7.





The period from 1997 to 2007 shows relative stability with minor fluctuations, indicating that while the percentage of pregnancy termination varied slightly, they remained within a narrow range, between 15.1% and 15.8%. But there was a decline that began in 2012, when the rate dropped to 13.5. This downward trend continued gradually, concluding at a rate of 9.8 in 2022. The decrease from 2012 to 2022 represents a decline of 3.7 points (approximately 27.4%), indicating a substantial reduction in pregnancy termination rates over this period.

Over the entire 20-year period, the data reflect a general decrease in pregnancy termination rates, particularly pronounced in the latter half of the analyzed timeframe. The highest recorded rate was 15.8 in 1997, while the lowest was 9.8 in 2022, marking a total decrease of 6.0 points (approximately 38%). Trends in pregnancy termination in the Philippines reveal periods of stability, slight fluctuations, and a notable decline in recent years. From 1992 to 2007, termination rates remained within a narrow range of 14.8% to 15.8%, indicating relative stability. However, a significant decline began in 2012, with the rate dropping from 13.5% to 9.8% in 2022, a 38% reduction over two decades. This downward trend may reflect improvements in contraceptive access, shifting reproductive behaviors, or policy interventions. However, the restrictive legal environment and abortion stigma likely contribute to underreporting and reliance on unsafe methods (CRR, 2024). While reductions in termination may suggest better family planning efforts, they also raise concerns about access to safe abortion in restrictive settings (HRW, 2023).

Results of Logistic Regression

The logistic regression analysis reveals significant individual, relational, and societal determinants of pregnancy termination among reproductive-aged women who gave birth in the last five years in the Philippines, presented in Table 3. At the individual level, age emerged as the strongest determinant. Compared to women aged 19–24, the adjusted odds of pregnancy termination increased progressively with age: nearly two times higher for those aged 30–34 (AOR = 1.77; 95% CI: 1.20–2.61, p < 0.01), more than two times for 35–39-year-olds (AOR = 2.20; CI: 1.47–3.30, p < 0.001), and more than three times for women aged 40–49 (AOR = 3.26; CI: 2.11–5.04, p < 0.001). Notably, the 25–29 age group showed no significant association in both models (COR = 1.35, ns and AOR = 1.37, ns).

Table 3

Logistic Regression Analysis Determining the Odds of Pregnancy Termination Among Reproductive-Aged Women: NDHS, 2022

Factors	COR	AOR	CI
Age			
19-24			
25-29	1.35ns	1.37ns	0.92, 2.05
30-34	1.74**	1.77**	1.20, 2.61
35-39	2.15***	2.20***	1.47, 3.30
40-49	3.20***	3.26***	2.11, 5.04
Contraceptive Use			
Not using			
Traditional Method	1.22ns		
Modern Method	1.10ns		
Desire for Children			
With Desire			
No Desire	1.21ns	0.82ns	0.62, 1.07
Self-Rated Health			
Otherwise			
Good	0.74**	0.78*	0.62, 0.97

Factors	COR	AOR	CI
Marital Status			
Currently not Married			
Married	1.14ns		
Number of Children			
2 or Less			
3 or More	1.71***	1.21ns	0.93, 1.58
Place of Residence			
Rural			
Urban	0.93ns		
Internet Use			
Not Using			
Using	0.79ns	1.07ns	0.87, 1.57
Education			
Primary and Below			
Secondary	0.83ns	1.11ns	0.79, 1.56
Tertiary or Higher	0.67***	0.92ns	0.60, 1.43
Wealth			
Poorest			
Poorer	0.69*	0.67**	0.50, 0.89
Middle	0.65*	0.65*	0.45, 0.94
Richer	0.70*	0.71ns	0.47, 1.08
Richest	0.61**	0.58*	0.39, 0.88
Employment			
Unemployed			
Employed	1.21ns	0.06ns	0.39, 0.88
Religion			
Other Religions			
Catholics	0.89ns		

^{*}p < .05 **p < .01 *** p < .001 ns = not significant

Self-rated health reduced pregnancy termination odds, as women who reported to having good health had 22% lower adjusted odds (AOR = 0.78; CI: 0.62-0.97, p < 0.05) in the adjusted model. Desire for additional children did not emerge as a significant factor in the binary logistic regression analysis and remained nonsignificant even after adjusting for other variables. Specifically, not wanting more children (AOR = 0.78, ns) was not associated with pregnancy termination. Similarly, contraceptive use, whether traditional (COR = 1.22, ns) or modern (COR = 1.10, ns), did not show a significant crude effect on pregnancy termination, with p-values exceeding .20. Given its lack of statistical significance, contraceptive use was excluded from the adjusted model.

At the relationship level, the number of children initially showed a significant crude association with pregnancy termination, with women having three or more children being more likely to terminate a pregnancy (COR = 1.71, p < 0.001). However, this association became nonsignificant after adjusting for other factors (AOR = 1.21, ns), suggesting that the relationship was likely confounded by additional variables. Meanwhile, marital status, specifically being married, was not significantly associated with pregnancy termination in the crude analysis (COR = 1.14, ns). Given its p-value exceeding .20, it was not included in the adjusted model, indicating that marital status does not play a determining role in pregnancy termination decisions.

At the community level, place of residence was not a determining factor. Women living in urban areas had a slightly lower crude odds ratio (COR = 0.93, ns) compared to those in rural areas, but the association was not statistically significant and was therefore not included in the adjusted model. Internet use was not a significant factor in determining pregnancy termination. Women who recently used the internet had a lower crude odds ratio (COR = 0.79, ns) compared to non-users or those who did not use the internet recently. This association remained non-significant after adjustment (AOR = 1.07, ns; 95% CI: 0.87–1.57), suggesting no meaningful impact on pregnancy termination.

Educational attainment showed contrasting crude and adjusted effects. While tertiary education initially appeared significant (COR = 0.67, p < 0.001), this association disappeared after adjustment (AOR = 0.92, ns). Having secondary education has a nonsignificant effect in the unadjusted and adjusted models (COR = 0.83 vs. AOR = 1.11, ns). Wealth status demonstrated a strong inverse effect. Compared to the poorest women, adjusted odds were significantly 33% lower among poorer (AOR = 0.67; CI: 0.50–0.89, p < 0.01), 35% lower among middle-income (AOR = 0.65; CI: 0.45–0.94, p < 0.05), and 38% lower among the richest quintiles (AOR = 0.58; CI: 0.39–0.88, p < 0.05), though the richer category lost significance after adjustment (AOR = 0.71, ns). Employment status did not exhibit a significant association with pregnancy termination. While employed women had a slightly higher crude odds ratio (COR = 1.21, ns) compared to unemployed women, the association remained nonsignificant after adjustment (AOR = 0.06, ns; 95% CI: 0.39–0.88), indicating no meaningful effect. Similarly, religious affiliation was not a significant factor. Catholics had a

slightly lower crude odds ratio (COR = 0.89, ns) compared to women of other religions, but this association was not statistically significant.

This study highlights key individual, relational, and societal factors influencing pregnancy termination in the Philippines, with some findings aligning with, and diverging from, existing literature. At the individual level, age was the strongest predictor, with odds of termination increasing significantly after 30. This supports studies from Tanzania and other African nations where pregnancy termination is more prevalent among older women (Mbona et al., 2025; Kassa et al., 2024). However, unlike findings from Rwanda and Nigeria (Kassa et al., 2024), younger women in the Philippines did not exhibit a higher likelihood of pregnancy termination. Self-rated health also emerged as a factor, with healthier women less likely to terminate pregnancies, which is different compared to Tanzania (Mbona et al., 2025). Conversely, contraceptive use and fertility preference were not significant, challenging prior findings that linked them to pregnancy termination (Mbona et al., 2025; Setegn & Dejene, 2024).

At the relational level, the initial association between a higher number of children and pregnancy termination disappeared after adjustment, differing from studies in which more children increased termination odds (Mbona et al., 2025). Similarly, marital status was not a significant factor, diverging from research in other countries where married women had higher termination odds (Mbona et al., 2025; Sesay et al., 2023).

At the community level, urban residence and internet use did not significantly influence pregnancy termination, contrasting with studies in Nepal and Tanzania (Yogi et al., 2018; Mbona et al., 2025). This may suggest more uniform healthcare access among rural and urban residents, and internet users or non-users in the Philippines.

At the societal level, wealth status emerged as a key determinant, with poorer women exhibiting higher odds of pregnancy termination. This contrasts with the findings from Tanzania and Nepal, where wealthier women had higher termination rates (Mbona et al., 2024; Yogi et al., 2023). Education and employment status were not significant predictors, diverging from studies in other countries (Kassa et al., 2024; Sesay et al., 2023).

This study provides a comprehensive analysis of pregnancy termination among reproductive-aged women in the Philippines, revealing significant trends, demographic profiles, and key determinants. While the overall termination rate (13%) aligns with global averages, it remains lower than in several South and Southeast Asian countries despite the Philippines' restrictive legal environment. Trends indicate a gradual decline in termination rates, possibly due to improved contraceptive access and shifting reproductive behaviors, though underreporting and reliance on unsafe methods remain concerns. Age emerged as the strongest determinant, with termination likelihood increasing significantly after 30. Economic vulnerability also played a crucial role, as poorer women faced higher termination odds. In contrast, other factors were not significant predictors, differing from findings in other countries.

To improve reproductive health outcomes, the Philippines must enhance family planning programs, expand access to contraception, and address socio-economic barriers through targeted support. Strengthening maternal healthcare, particularly for older and low-income women, is crucial. Public awareness campaigns and counseling services can help reduce stigma and support informed decision-making. Additionally, reviewing the existing legal framework in the country and considering the legalization of abortion in specific circumstances may ensure access to safe medical care and reduce the risk associated with unsafe abortion. Further research on pregnancy termination or abortion barriers will aid in developing evidence-based policies that promote reproductive rights, reduce unintended pregnancies, and improve maternal health.

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Pagsipat sa Kaisipan nina Orozco at Demeterio Hinggil sa Fertility Dance ng Obando, Bulacan Gamit ang Kasaysayang Pasalita

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ABSTRAK

Sinipat sa pananaliksik na ito ang papel nina Orozco at Demeterio hinggil sa pinagmulan ng Obando Fertility dance. May pagtatangka ang papel na sipatin ang pinagmulan nito sa pamamagitan ng isang preliminaryong pagtalunton sa kasaysayan mula sa isang partikular na perspektiba ng matatandang Obandenyo edad 60-90 na taon. Ninais na sagutin sa papel ang sumusunod na katanungan: (1) Ano ang kronolohikal na tala ng mga Patron sa Obando at ang aktwal na ritwal na isinasagawa para kina San Pascual Baylon, Santa Clara at Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao?; (2) Anong mga pagbabago sa mga imahen at ritwal ugnay ng kapistahan sa Obando, Bulacan tuwing Mayo?; at (3) Paano nagsimula ang ritwal na sayaw sa Obando, Bulacan at ang anyo nito?

Nasuri sa pananaliksik na ito na nagtutugma ang kaisipan nina Orozco at Demeterio sa mga kasaysayang pasalita na ibinahagi ng walong matatandang Obandenyo. Ang Obando fertility dance ay maaaring hindi produkto ng Kristiyanismo na mula sa bersyon ng isang ritwal ng mga Tagalog bago pa man dumating ang mga Espanyol. Ito ay posibleng nagsimula nang dumating ang mga Kastila at noong dumating ang mga patron. Wala ring natatandaan ang karamihan sa mga nakapanayam hinggil sa salitang Kasilonawan na maaaring pinagsimulan ng fertility dance na ang sayaw ay naging Christianized lamang.

Mga susing salita: Fertility dance, Nuestra Señora Inmaculada Concepcion de Salambao, San Pascual Baylon, Santa Clara ng Assisi, Obando Bulacan

ABSTRACT

This study examined Orozco and Demeterio's research work on the history of the Obando Fertility Dance. This research seeks to trace its origins through preliminary historical tracing from the perspective of the older Obandenyo, aged 60 to 90. The study attempts to answer the following questions: (1) What is the chronology of Obando's patrons, as well as the actual ritual performed for San Pascual Baylon, Santa Clara, and the Blessed Virgin of Salambao? (2) How do the images and rituals associated with the celebration in Obando,

Bulacan, transform each May? (3) What is the historical context and form of the ritual dance in Obando, Bulacan?

It was analyzed in this research that Orozco and Demeterio's thoughts coincide with oral histories shared by eight older Obandenyos. The Obando fertility dance may not be a product of Christianity, nor it was a version of a ritual by the Tagalogs even before the arrival of the Spanish. This may have started when the Spaniards arrived and when the patrons arrived. The majority of participants are unable to recall the term "Kasilonawan," which could be the origin of the fertility dance that has just become Christianized.

Keywords: Fertility dance, Nuestra Señora Inmaculada Concepcion de Salambao, San Pascual Baylon, Santa Clara ng Assisi, Obando Bulacan

INTRODUKSYON

Kilala ang Obando Bulacan sa natatangi nitong pamamanata sa tatlong patron, sina San Pascual Baylon, Santa Clara ng Assisi at Nuestra Seňora De La Inmaculada Concepcion De Salambao. Kaya, tuwing sasapit ang buwan ng Mayo, tatlong araw rin nagaganap ang Pista ng Obando bilang parangal sa bawat patron na mayroon sila. Unang nagaganap ang para kay San Pascual Baylon tuwing ika-17 ng Mayo, susundan naman ito kinabukasan ng para kay Santa Clara ng Assisi, at ang ika-19 ng Mayo naman ay para sa Nuestra Seňora De La Inmaculada Concepcion De Salambao.

Si Santa Clara ng Assisi ang pinakamatandang pintakasi ng bayan ng Obando. Nang dumating ang ika-18 siglo, matapos ang pagkakatatag ng Obando at pagpapagawa ng simbahan, idinagdag sa urna ng altar si San Pascual Baylon na hinirang na patron. Makalipas ang ilang taon, noong ika-19 ng Hunyo, 1763, isa na naman patron ang nadagdag sa simbahan ng Obando na siyang bumuo sa trianggulo ng mapagpala, at kinilalang ina ng Obando, ang Nuestra Seňora De La Inmaculada Concepcion De Salambao (Delos Reyes, 2005, pp. 2-3).

Isinasayaw ang mga panalangin sa Panginoon sa pamamagitan ng mga nabanggit na pintakasi. Kabilang sa pagsasayaw upang magkaanak na lalaki, magkaroon ng asawa, at bokasyon/buhay relihiyoso ang panalanging inilalapit kay San Pascual Baylon. Patrona ng mga naglilihing ina, magandang panahon, humihiling ng anak na babae, maginhawang pagbubuntis at panganganak naman si Santa Clara ng Assisi at nang lumaon ay naging patron din ng telebisyon at mass media. Patrona naman ng mga mangingisda, magbubukid at mabuting hanapbuhay ang Nuestra Seňora De La Inmaculada Concepcion De Salambao (National Shrine of Our Lady of Salambao - San Pascual Baylon Parish, 2018).

Nilayon sa pananaliksik na ito na sipatin ang pinagmulan ng Obando Fertility Dance. Sa official website ng pamahalaan ng Obando, mababasa roon na ang fertility dance ay nagsimula na bago pa man dumating ang mga mananakop na Espanyol, at sinasabing isa ito sa mga ginamit ng mananakop upang ma-convert sa pagiging Kristiyano ang mga katutubo. Ang pre-hispanic fertility ritual na ito ay tinatawag na Kasilonawan. Sa pagsangguni ng mananaliksik sa ilang diksyunaryo gaya ng Diksyunaryo Tesauro ni Panganiban (1972), walang naitalang salitang Kasilonawan ngunit mayroong salitang Kasilinawan na nangangahulugang "open-air celebration". Sa kahulugang mula rito, hindi rin malinaw na nasasagot ang maaaring pinagmulan ng tradisyon ng pagsasayaw sa Obando, Bulacan na iniuugnay sa pagsisimula ng fertility dance.

Sa ganoong punto, sinuri sa pananaliksik na ito ang pag-aaral nina Orozco at Demeterio na nagsasabing problematiko ang pinagmulan ng nasabing ritwal na iniuugnay sa salitang Kasilonawan. Una, sa Tagalog-Spanish dictionary ni Juan Noceda at Pedro de Sanlucar, ang casilonauan ay binigyang kahulugan lamang na "some old ceremonies". Pangalawa, walang anumang Spanish text ang nag-uugnay sa kasilonawan, at pangatlo, batay sa mga kaugnay na literatura katulad ng makikita sa Google books, nagsimula lamang ito noong 1981. Napakayaman ng mga datos ng pag-aaral na ito mula sa mga pinagsamang paggamit ng data bases, search engines at mga nalathalang dokumento mula sa panahon ng Espanyol, Amerikano at pagkatapos ng Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig upang maging matibay na tuntungan ng kasalukuyang pag-aaral. Ngunit dahil sa ang papel na ito ay naisulat sa panahon ng pandemic lockdown noong 2020, naging limitado lamang ang pag-akses sa ilan pang mga datos. Hindi sila nagkaroon ng pagkakataong sumangguni sa mga di-nailathalang mga archival materials at hindi rin nakapagsagawa ng anumang panayam sa mga taga-Obando, Bulacan, kaya ito naman ang naging tutok ng kasalukuyang pag-aaral. Sa ganitong anggulo, maaaring magkaron ng ibang paglalahad sa kasaysayan ng tanyag na relihiyosong assemblage ng Obando, sa pamamagitan ng mga nabanggit na pamamaraan.

Layunin at Suliranin ng Pag-Aaral

Mula sa mga natuklasan sa pag-aaral nina Orozco at Demeterio, may pagtatangka ang papel na ito na sipatin ang pinagmulan ng Obando Fertility Dance sa pamamagitan ng isang preliminaryong pagtalunton sa kasaysayan ng pinagmulan nito mula sa isang partikular na perspektiba ng matatandang Obandenyo edad 60-90 na taon. Nais sagutin sa papel na ito ang sumusunod na katanungan:

- Ano ang kronolohikal na tala ng mga Patron sa Obando at ang aktwal na ritwal na isinasagawa para kina San Pascual Baylon, Santa Clara ng Assisi at Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao?
- 2. Anong mga pagbabago sa mga imahen at ritwal ugnay ng kapistahan sa Obando, Bulacan tuwing Mayo?
- 3. Paano nagsimula ang ritwal na sayaw sa Obando, Bulacan at ang anyo nito?

METODOLOHIYA

Ang pangunahing batis na ginamit sa papel na ito ay ang mga panayam na isinagawa sa mga matatandang Obandenyo edad 60-90 na taon. Nirekord ang mga panayam gamit ang video camera at voice recorder. Ginamit din na batis ang mga dokumentong ibinahagi ng bawat Obandenyong nakapanayam at mga talang makikita sa Museo de la Parroquia.

Naging pangunahing pamamaraan sa pag-aaral na ito ang kasaysayang pasalita. Sa tradisyunal na pamamaraan, oral ang pagpapahayag at pagsasalin ng mga karanasan sa buhay. Subalit dahil sa limitasyon ng kakayahang umalala, maaaring maraming kulang na tala ang mapunan ng kasaysayang pasalita, na isang pamamaraan ng pagkuha ng hindi pa naisulat na batis ng kasaysayan, sa pamamagitan ng interbyu, nailalabas ang mga dating nakahimlay sa alaala na mga karanasang maaring magsilbing batis ng kasaysayan (Gripaldo, 2006).

Ang paggamit ng Deleuze-Guattarian assemblage bilang balangkas sa makasay sayang pagsusuri ng tatlong patron na santo ng Obando, at mga ritwal na isinasagawa kaugnay nito ay magreresulta ng ibang naratibo gaya ng paglalahad sa pinagmulan ng tanyag na Fertility dance. Sa konsepto ng assemblage, pinapanatili nito ang pagkakaiba-iba ng mga bagay na nagkakaroon ng ugnayan o interaksyon sa isa't isa. Ang mga ito ay hindi nagiging iisa sapagkat tinitingnan dito ang mga komponent at ang mga panlabas na kondisyon ay nagbabago. Ipapakita ang ugnayan ng bawat isa mula sa pagkakaiba-iba ng mga patron. Bukod sa ganitong balangkas, ang pagkalap ng mga di-nailathalang dokumento at mga panayam sa matatandang Obandenyo ang magiging kasangkapan upang mailahad ang makasaysayang naratibo sa bayan ng Obando, Bulacan.

Mga nakapanayam

Ang mga nakapanayam ay mga matatandang Obandenyo mula sa Barangay ng Hulo, San Pascual, Paliwas at Catanghalan na nasa edad animnapu't pito (67) ang pinakabata at edad siyamnapu't dalawa (92) naman ang pinakamatanda. Halos lahat ng nakapanayam ay naglilingkod sa simbahan kaya ang ilan sa kanila ay nakapanayam pagkatapos ng misa at sayaw sa Obando tuwing Linggo. Ang bawat isa sa kanila ay nakilala sa pamamagitan ni Brother Woody Rivera na namamahala at naglilingkod din sa simbahan ng Obando. Ang ilan din sa kanila ay mga miyembro ng Salambao dancers. Ang ibang nakapanayam ay sinadya at nakausap sa mismong kanilang tahanan. Lahat sila ay may asawa, may mga anak at ang relihiyon ay Katoliko.

Talahanayan 1. *Mga Nakapanayam na Obandenyo*

PROFAYL					
Pangalan	Katayuang Sibil	Trabaho noon	Relihiyon		
Corazon Sta. Ana Ramos	May asawa	Tindera ng isda sa Obando at Nepa Q Mart QC	Katoliko		
Teodora C. Coronel	May asawa	Grade 1 teacher	Katoliko		
Conchita P. Contreas	May asawa	Government employee - DENR QC	Katoliko		
Herminia C. De Jesus	May asawa	Factory Worker sa Malabon	Katoliko		
Isidro C. Manuel	May asawa	Teacher sa Valenzuela	Katoliko		
Mercedes R. Domingo	May asawa	Teacher sa Obando	Katoliko		
Germiniano G. Avendaño	May asawa	Empleyado sa PhilAm Life at sa Bangko	Katoliko		
Maria Teresa S. Bondoc	May asawa	Cataloger ng Batasang Pambansa, Archivist (Senate Archive) Museologist	Katoliko		

Nahati naman sa tatlong bahagi ang panayam upang tumugon sa tatlong ispesipikong tuon ng pag-aaral. Upang matunton ang unang katanungan hinggil sa kronolohikal na tala ng mga Patron sa Obando at ang aktwal na ritwal na isinasagawa para kina San Pascual Baylon, Santa Clara ng Assisi at Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao, ginabayan ang panayam ng sumusunod na paglalahad: (1) ang mga naaalalang kuwento tungkol sa mga patron, ritwal at sa mismong simbahan; (2) mga naranasan sa pagdalo tuwing Mayo sa pista ng Obando at paraan ng pagdiriwang; (3) mga karanasan sa pagsayaw at mga naobserbahan; (5) mga hindi malilimutang karanasan sa Pista ng Obando tuwing Mayo; at (6) mga kahilingang natupad dahil dito.

Upang masagot naman ang ikalawang katanungan sa pag-aaral hinggil sa pagbabago sa mga imahen at ritwal ugnay ng kapistahan sa Obando, Bulacan tuwing Mayo, ginabayan ito ng sumusunod na paglalahad: (1) mga pagbabagong nakita sa simbahan mula noon at sa kasalukuyan; (2) paglalarawan sa kinagisnang komunidad ng Obando, mga pagbabago at mga hindi nabago partikular sa tatlong patron; (3) mga naaalalang kuwento o karanasan ugnay ng Obando Fertility Dance; at (4) mga naaalalang mga kuwento o mga naipasang salaysay ng mga magulang hinggil sa Obando Fertility Dance.

Panghuli, upang masagot ang ikatlong katanungan hinggil sa pagsisimula ng ritwal na sayaw sa Obando, Bulacan at ang anyo nito, ginabayan naman ito ng sumusunod na paglalahad: (1) paano nagsimula ang tradisyon; (2) mga pagkakataon na nahinto ang pagdiriwang at pagsasagawa ng ritwal; (3) pagiging pamilyar sa Kasilonawan at kaugnayan

nito sa Obando Fertility dance; (4) ang Obando Fertility Dance at ugnayan nito sa pandanggo; (5) ang anyo/steps ng kasalukuyang fertility dance at kung nagbabago ba ito sa paglipas ng panahon; at (6) ang panahon ng pagsisimula o pagsibol ng Obando Fertility Dance sa Obando, Bulacan.

Mga tala nina Orozco at Demeterio

Mahalaga na matalakay muna ang nilalaman ng papel na ginamit bilang tuntungan ng kasalukuyang pag-aaral upang makita ang pagsusuri, pagkakaiba at pagkakatulad. Ang pananaliksik nina Dr. Feorillo Petronillo Demeterio III at Bb. Noella Ma-i Orozco na may pamagat na "The Sacred Images, Patronages and Rituals of Obando Church, Bulacan, Philippines: A Historical Investigation." Ginamit nila bilang teoretikal na balangkas ang assemblage nina Gilles Deleuze at Pierre-Felix Guattari (Deleuze-Guattarian assemblage) na iniangkop naman mula kay Thomas Andrew Nail. Sa konsepto ng assemblage, pinapanatili nito ang pagkakaibaiba ng mga bagay na nagkakaroon ng ugnayan o interaksyon sa isa't isa. Ang mga ito ay hindi nagiging iisa sapagkat tinitingnan dito ang mga komponent at ang mga panlabas na kondisyon ay nagbabago. Mahalagang tingnan ang tatlong aspekto gaya ng mga kondisyon, elemento at mga persona (Orozco at Demeterio 2023, pp. 327-329). Sinuri sa kanilang papel ang dalawang punto: una, ang kronolohikal na tala ng tatlong imahen ng simbahan ng Obando at ang pangalawa ay tinunton ang mga pagbabago sa pamamanata sa mga imahen at ritwal na isinasagawa rito.

Batay sa kanilang pananaliksik, matapos ang pagkakatatag ng Obando bilang isang bukod na pueblo/parish noong 1754, pinili ang imahen ni San Pascual Baylon bilang patron. Sa Kastila ang "baylon" ay nangangahulugang "dancer". May tradisyon din sa Espanya na tumutukoy kay San Pascual Baylon bilang imbentor ng fandango. Hindi malinaw kung bakit siya ang pinili ng mga Pransiskanong pari ng Bulakan at Obando. Sa pananaliksik, may hipotesis na kaya siya pinili ay una, bagong kanonisadong santo siya noong panahon na iyon, pangalawa, ang feast day niya ay ika-17 ng Mayo, at ang Obando ay isang agricultural pueblo na ugnay sa pag-aani tuwing tag-araw at panahon din ng pagtatanim, at pangatlo ay ang paguugnay sa kanya sa ritual dancing (Orozco at Demeterio 2023, pp. 334-335).

Ganito naman nila naitala ang pagkakakuha sa Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao. Sa kuwento ni Diego Pascual, dalawang mangingisda na sina Juan at Julian de la Cruz, ang nakalambat ng imahen ng isang birhen sa kanilang salambao sa may parteng Huling Doong sa nayon ng Binoangan, Tambobong (Malabon ngayon). Ayon sa alamat, nang ang imahen ay dadalhin sa Navotas, ang salambao ay bumigat at hindi makausad. Subalit nang ito ay dadalhin patungong Obando, ang salambao ay madaling naiusad. Kanilang nahanap na ang kwento na ito ay naitala lamang ng folklorist na si Damiana Eugenio ng UP Diliman, at hindi sinusuportahan ng anumang Spanish text (Orozco at Demeterio 2023, p. 336).

Sa tatlong imahen ng Obando, ang Santa Clara ng Assisi ang pinakamatanda na hindi na matunton kung anong eksaktong petsa ito dumating sa lugar. Maaaring sa pagitan ng 1578-1623. Ang kanyang kapistahan ay orihinal na ika-11 o 12 ng Agosto. Ngunit sa Obando, ipinagdiriwang ito tuwing ika-19 ng Mayo. Kung susumahin, higit sa isang siglo ang pagitan ng unang imahen sa huli. Ang dalawang babaeng patron ay nausog din ang araw ng kapistahan ng mga ito (Orozco at Demeterio 2023, pp. 337-339).

Sa bahaging ito, ipapakita ang mga pagbabago sa rituwal at pagtangkilik sa mga patron na ito mula ika-19 siglo hanggang ika-20 siglo.

Sa una hanggang kalahating ika-19 na siglo, nakita mula sa libro nina Buzeta at Bravo na dinadagsa ng tao ang simbahan sa Obando lalo higit sa buwan ng Mayo kung saan inilalapit nila ang kanilang mga panalangin sa Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao. Sa libro naman ni Huerta tinalakay si Santa Clara ng Assisi, kung saan kinikilalang pintakasi ng mga gustong magkaanak at tinalakay rin ang ritwal ng paggamit at pagtapat ng kanyang crozier sa tiyan ng mga manganganak. Hindi natalakay ni Huerta ang Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao kung saan siya pinipintakasi ngunit malinaw na tinukoy niya na milagroso ito. Hindi nakita o natalakay sa mga nailathalang dokumento ang San Pascual Baylon bilang patron at sa pagiging patron ng Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao. Wala ring pagtalakay sa fertility dance (Orozco at Demeterio 2023, pp. 342-344).

Naipakita naman sa huling bahagi ng ika-19 na siglo, sa libro nina Fernandez at Jerez, tinukoy nila na patron si San Pascual Baylon ng mga may sakit upang gumaling at isinasagawa sa pamamagitan ng pagsasayaw sa kalsada, sa loob at labas ng simbahan, tuwing pista sa Obando. Ganito rin ang sinabi ni Vidal sa kanyang mga koleksyon ng maikling kuwento na may pamagat na Enriqueta, na patron ng may sakit na nais gumaling si San Pascual Baylon, at proteksyon din sa anumang uri ng sakit, isinasagawa rin ang ritwal ng pagsasayaw habang hinahawakan ang bahagi ng kanilang katawan na nais gumaling. Katulad ng isinaad ni Vidal, ganoon din ang sinasabi ni Moya sa kanyang libro. Tinukoy rin ni Rizal na patron ng nais magkaanak na lalaki si San Pascual Baylon, at ang Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao at Santa Clara naman ay sa mga nais magkaroon ng anak na babae. Taliwas naman ang nakita sa libro ni Ruiz, tinukoy niya si San Pascual Baylon bilang patron ng nais magkaroon ng kasintahan, o sa mga biyuda na nais uli magkaroon ng bagong asawa, sa mga gustong magkaanak, at sa anumang mga kahilingan ng magandang pangyayari. Katulad din ng nabanggit kanina, isinasagawa ang ritwal ng pagsasayaw, ngunit kung ang hiling ay magkaroon ng anak, dapat siyang magpapahid ng langis sa kanyang tiyan mula sa lampara ng ilawan ni San Pascual Baylon. Hindi nabanggit ang anyo ng ritwal na sayaw. Wala ni isa mang dokumento ang nagpapakita na ito ay hango sa fandango. Inilarawan na ang sayaw ay mula sa pakilos ng pag-indayog at pagtalon (Orozco at Demeterio 2023, pp. 344-346).

Sa simula ng ika-20 siglo, nakita sa musical sheet ni Metzger na simpleng areglo ito ng tradisyunal na Obando folk song ugnay sa imahen ni Santa Clara. Sa folk song na ito, ang dance ritual ay sinasabing pandanggo, isang Philippine adaptation ng Spanish fandango. Sa artikulo naman ni Lyon, tinukoy ang mga patron ng Obando sa mga gustong magkaroon ng

anak kaya ang pista rito ay nakakaakit ng mga taga-Maynila, ngunit hindi tinukoy kung sinong santo/santa ito iniuugnay. Inulit din niya ang tinukoy ni Huerta tungkol kay Santa Clara ugnay sa mga nahihirapang manganak, ngunit hindi tinukoy ang paggamit ng crozier o baculo. Isa pa, binanggit din ang pagiging patron ng Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao sa mga nais magkaanak, na katulad ng binanggit sa mga nauna, sa pamamagitan ng pagsasayaw. Sa artikulo naman ni Garcia, tinukoy muli si San Pascual Baylon bilang patron ng mga maysakit at nais gumaling at sa mga hindi magkaanak, sa pamamagitan muli ng pagsasayaw. Ganito rin ang tinukoy ni Bañas sa kanyang libro ngunit hindi malinaw na tinukoy kung sinong santo/santa ito iniuugnay, binanggit din niya ang tungkol sa mga nais magkaroon ng asawa (Orozco at Demeterio 2023, pp. 346-348).

Sa huli, hanggang kalagitnaan ng ika-20 siglo naman, sa tala nina Guevarra, tinukoy muli si Santa Clara ng Assisi para sa mga nahihirapang magbuntis at manganak, katulad ng talakay ni Huerta, ngunit hindi nabanggit ang paggamit ng crozier. Sa artikulo ni Jocano tinalakay ang tatlong imahen: Si San Pascual Baylon para sa mga lalaking nais magkaroon ng kasintahan o asawa, ang Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao sa mga nais magkaroon ng anak, at si Santa Clara ng Assisi para naman sa mga kababaihan na nais magkaroon ng kasintahan o asawa. Tinalakay rin dito na hindi pandango ang dance ritual ng Obando kundi formless ng swaying, skipping at jumping lamang. Panghuli, sa artikulo ni Pottier, iba naman ang sinasabi tungkol kay San Pascual Baylon, iniugnay naman siya sa mga kalabaw o water buffalo at goat herders, si Santa Clara ng Assisi para sa mga nais magkaroon ng anak, ang Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao naman ay inugnay sa mga mangingisda upang maging mabiyaya ang kanilang huli, at iniugnay rin sa mga magsasaka (Orozco at Demeterio 2023, pp. 348-350).

Sa pagtatapos ng kanilang papel, nasuri na ang Obando fertility dance ay posibleng hindi produkto ng Kristiyanismo ng mga Pilipino na mula o bersyon ng isang ritwal ng mga Tagalog bago pa man dumating ang mga Espanyol. Ito ay maaaring nagmula sa pagsasayaw na ugnay kay San Pascual Baylon, na pinaniniwalaang sa fandango nagbuhat, at ang fandango sa Espanya ay kinikilalang fertility dance.

RESULTA NG PAG-AARAL

Mula sa mga natuklasan sa pag-aaral nina Orozco at Demeterio, tinangkang sipatin sa papel na ito ang pinagmulan ng Obando Fertility sa pamamagitan ng salaysay ng matatandang Obandenyo edad 60-90 na taon. Batay sa pakikipanayam at pakikipagkuwentuhan sa kanila, narito ang mga naitalang salaysay:

 Ang kronolohikal na tala ng mga Patron sa Obando at ang aktwal na ritwal na isinasagawa para kina San Pascual Baylon, Santa Clara ng Assisi at Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao

Si Santa Clara ang nauna sa Obando ngunit hindi mismo sa simbahan, may maliit na bisita para sa kanya. May stone chapel para kay Sta. Clara sa barangay ng Catanghalan. Ang Catanghalan ay galing sa salitang Tanghalan, ibig sabihin ay Moro-moro. Nang ang simbahan ay mabuo, hinirang si San Pascual Baylon bilang patron at nang lumaon ay kinilalang ina ng Obando ang Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao. Ika-29 ng Abril, 1754 noong nagkaroon ng Town Church ang Obando sa pamamagitan ni Fr. Manuel de Jesus Maria de Olivencia (Personal na panayam kay Gng. Bondoc Nobyembre 12, 2024).

Lahat sa walong nakapanayam ay laging dumadalo lalo higit tuwing sasapit ang kapistahan ng tatlong patron, tinukoy nila na walang palya ang kanilang pagdedeboto at pamamanata. Batay sa kanilang salaysay, ang Mahal na Birhen ay nalambat at gustong dalhin sa Malabon ngunit sa Obando ito napunta. May kuwento rin na nagpasalin-salin tungkol kay San Pascual Baylon. Ayon kay Gng. Ramos, "may nagpapagawa noon ng bahay, nagpapadala raw ng pawid at noong ito ay dinala sa bahay nagulat ang taong nag-deliver at sinabing ang umorder ng pawid ay kamukhang-kamukha ng San Pascual Baylon". May ganito ring kuwento si Gng. Domingo na nagtitinda raw ng pawid ang San Pascual Baylon at nag-iimbita sa mga tao na dumayo sa kanilang kapistahan. At kapag ang mga taong inimbitahan ay nagtungo sa pista nagugulat ang mga taong ito na ang nag-imbita sa kanila ay kamukhang-kamukha ng santo. May katulad ding salaysay tungkol kay Santa Clara ng Assisi sina Gng. Domingo at Gng. Ramos na "noong araw daw may isang babae na nagtitinda ng isda sa Hagonoy at Bocaue at nag-iimbita na dumayo sa kapistahan. Kapag pumunta ang mga tao ay magtataka sila na kamukha ng Santa Clara ang taong nag-imbita sa kanila na mamiyesta".

Katulad ng nabanggit sa pananaliksik nina Orozco at Demeterio, ang pamamanata sa tatlong patron ay sinasaliwan ng pagsasayaw upang lubos na maisakatupran ang anumang hiling. Batay sa mga panayam, ang mga naisalaysay na naaalalang kuwento tungkol sa mga patron at ritwal ay: (a) nagpapagoda dati at sayaw ng Santa Clara ito pati ang tugtog; (b) may nobenaryo; (c) ang Santa Clara ay para talaga sa gustong magkaanak; (d) nagsasayaw ang mga namamanata sa tatlong patron; at (e) bilang miyembro ng BISIG, namamanata sa San Pascual Baylon at dumadayo kung saan-saan.

Batay sa kanilang karanasan at obserbasyon, marami ang dumadayo tuwing pista ng tatlong santo na nanggagaling pa sa iba't ibang lugar pati pa sa ibang bansa. Ayon nga kay Gng. Ramos,

ang iba, magulang nila mismo ang sumasayaw para sa kanila dala-dala ang larawan ng kanilang mga anak na nasa ibang bansa. Tatlong araw na may prusisyon ito at umiindak sa labas ng simbahan. Lumalakas ang katawan ko kapag sumasayaw rito at laging pinagdadasal ang kalakasan ng katawan para makasama sa prusisyon at pagsasayaw. (Personal na panayam kay Gng. Contreras, Nobyembre 19, 2023)

May pagdalaw rin na nagaganap sa mga karatig lugar. Ang mga namamanata kay San Pascual Baylon ay ang mga gustong magkaroon ng partner. "Pinakarami ang nagbibigay ng patotoo kay Santa Clara na gustong magkaroon ng anak" (Personal na panayam kay Gng. Bondoc). Kadalasan ay nilalapit ang kahilingan ng mga mangingisda at kabuhayan sa Mahal na

Birhen. Nabanggit din nila ang iba pang kahilingan sa tatlong patron gaya ng pagkakaroon nang malakas na pangangatawan at pagpapagaling sa may sakit. Bukod sa mga kahilingan, nariyan din ang pagpupuri, pasasalamat at paghingi ng tawad sa Panginoon. Lahat ng mga kahilingan ay pagsasayaw ang ritwal na isinasagawa. Ngunit wala sa kanila ang nakapagbanggit ng paggamit ng crozier ng Santa Clara at ng pagpapahid ng langis sa tiyan mula sa lampara ng ilawan ni San Pascual Baylon gaya ng naitala nina Orozco at Demeterio.

2. Mga pagbabago sa mga imahen at ritwal na kaugnay ng kapistahan sa Obando, Bulacan tuwing Mayo

Ang ritwal batay sa kanilang mga salaysay, katulad pa rin ito ng dati at lahat ay sa pamamagitan ng pagsasayaw isinasagawa. Nagkaroon ng pagbabago sa mismong anyo ng sayaw, nagkaroon ito ng pormal na steps. "Sa mismong simbahan, nagkaroon lamang ng pagbabagong pisikal katulad ng kulay ng pintura" (Personal na panayam kay G. Manuel, Nobyembre 19, 2023). Gayundin, "ang mismong simbahan ay bumaba dahil malaki na ang itinaas ng tambak" (Personal na panayam kay G. Avendano, Nobyembre 12, 2023). "Nasira rin ang simbahan noon at muli itong ipinagawa" (Personal na panayam kay Gng. Coronel, Nobyembre 19, 2023). "Nilulubog at binabaha ang mismong simbahan kaya mapapansin na ang pinto sa entrada ay mababa na. Mula rin sa pagiging Diocese ay National Shrine na ito ngayon" (Personal na panayam kay Gng. Bondoc, Nobyembre 12, 2023).

Kung sa paligid naman nito, "ang iskwelahan, noong 1957 nagsama na ang babae at lalaki, dati itong magkahiwalay" (Personal na panayam kay G. Avendano, Nobyembre 12, 2023).

Sa pakikipanayam din kay Gng. Bondoc, natuklasan ang isang dokumento na nagpapatunay sa kwento kung paano nakarating sa bayan ng Obando ang Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao. Sa tala ng kasaysayan ng Obando, ang Nuestra Seňora De La Inmaculada Concepcion De Salambao ay nakuha ng magkapatid na Juan at Julian Dela Cruz. Noong madaling araw ng ika-19 ng Hunyo, 1763, habang sila ay nangingisda sa katubigan ng Hulingdoon (bahagi ng Malabon ngayon), sumabit sa kanilang lambat ang isang imahen ng Birheng Maria. Gamit nila ang lambat na tinatawag na salambaw, isang malaking panghuli ng isda na kadalasan ay ikinakabit sa kawayang balsa. Nang ito raw ay subukan ng mga mangingisda na dalhin ang imahen sa Navotas at Malabon, bumigat at naging mahirap daw isagwan ang kanilang bangka. Ngunit nang pagpasyahan nilang iuwi ito sa Obando, biglang gumaan ang bangka. Dinala nila ang imaheng ito sa kura paroko ng simbahan ng Obando makalipas ng dalawang araw, kung saan kinilala ito bilang isang imahen ng Inmaculada Concepcion. Mula noon, ang Nuestra Señora dela Inmaculada Concepcion de Salambao ay naging patron ng Obando. Sa ganitong kuwento nagpasalin-salin sa bibig ang pagkakakuha sa Mahal na Birhen na katulad ng mga naitala nina Orozco at Demeterio. Ngunit, sa tala mismo

ng Parokya, may isang dokumentong nagpapatunay sa kung paano ito talaga napunta sa Obando. Ang talang ito ay makikita rin sa mismong museo ng parokya.

Noong ika-19 ng Hunio, 1763, humigit kumulang sa ikaanim ng umaga, ang magkapatid na Julian de la Cruz (20 taon) at Juan de la Cruz (18 taon), na mga taga-Malabon, kasama ang kanilang katulong na si Diego de la Cruz (50 taon) na taga-Obando ay nangingisda sa sapang munti na ang tawag ay Holingdoong, sa pook ng Binuangan kanayon ng Bayang Tambobong na nasasakop ng Bulacan.

Sapagkat malakas ang hangin at lumalaki ang tubig, sila ay kailangang magkalag ng salambao. Nang kanilang tanggalin ang naturang lambat, siyang pagkakita nila sa larawan (imahen) ng Mahal na Birhen ng NUESTRA SEŇORA DE LA CONCEPCION. Ang piaña (paanan) nito ay nakasabit sa dakong labas ng lambat.

Ang imahen ay kanilang dinala sa bahay ni Diego. Pagkalipas ng dalawang araw, ito ay kinuha ng Padre Guardian sa Bayan ng Obando na si Padre Fray Jose Martinez de la Hinojosa at inilagay sa altar ng simbahan ng mahal na Poong San Pascual Baylon. Ang Birhen ay tinawag na Milagrosa Ymahen de Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion o de Sarambao.

(Ang mga dokumentong nagpapatunay sa kasaysayan ng pagkakuha sa Mahal na Imahen ng Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion o de Sarambao ay ang mga salaysay nina Diego de la Cruz, Julian de la Cruz at Juan de la Cruz na sinumpaan nila noong ika-20 ng Pebrero, 1764, Coronacion Solemne ng Nuestra Señora Inmaculada Concepcion de Salambao, 2004).

Sadyang may pagkakaiba ang kuwentong nagpasalin-salin sa mga taga-Obando sa dokumentong nagsasalaysay kung paano talaga ito nakuha nina Diego, Juan at Julian de la Cruz. Gayunpaman, ang hindi nito mababago ay ang pangyayari na ang Mahal na Birhen na ito ay sadyang para sa Obando, Bulacan.

Mga mahahalagang pangyayaring naganap sa simbahan ng Obando

Sa bahaging ito naman makikita ang ilang mahahalagang talang ibinahagi ni Gng. Bondoc, ang mismong archivist at museologist ng National Shrine of Our Lady of Salambao na naganap sa nasabing simbahan (Panayam at mensahe sa email, Nobyembre 18, 2023).

Noong ika-29 ng Abril, 1754, ipinatayo ng mga pransiskanong pari sa pangunguna ni Reb. P. Manuel de Jesus Maria de Olivencia, bilang unang kura ang simbahan ng Obando. Mayroon ding *stone chapel* para kay Santa Clara na matatagpuan naman sa barangay ng Catañgalan na itinuring na "interim church". Sumunod na buwan, ika-13 ng Mayo hinirang na "*Ministro de la Doctrina*" (Parish Priest) at "*Guardian*" ng bayan ng Obando si Fr. Francisco Migenes. Tinawag namang "*Iglesia de San Pasqual Baylon del Pueblo de Ovando*" ang simbahan noong Mayo 20. Ginanap naman noong ika-31 ng Mayo ang kauna-unahang "Holy

Sacrifice of the Mass". Sumunod na buwan, ika-1 ng Hunyo, ginanap ang unang solemn mass at pagbibinyag. Sumunod na araw, ika-2 ng Hunyo ay isinagawa naman ang kauna-unahang kasal na pinangunahan ni Fr. Francisco Migenes. Ika-2 ng Setyembre ang banal na sakramento ay nailagay sa altar ng simbahan.

Noong ika-19 ng Hunyo taong 1763, ang milagrosang imahen ng *Nuestra Señora Inmaculada Concepcion de Salambao* ay natagpuan sa ilog ng Binuangan at Tambobong at makalipas ang dalawang araw, ito ay inilagak sa altar ng Obando sa tulong ni Fr. Jose Martinez de la Hinoj.

Nasira ang simbahan nang dahil sa giyera taong 1945 at nagkaroon ng rekonstruksyon sa pangunguna ni Rev. Fr. Marcos Punzal noon lamang taong 1947. Nagkaroon ng inagurasyon ng simbahan at pagbabasbas sa pangunguna ni Rev. Fr. Rome Fernandez sa taong 1981. Nagkaroon naman ng historical marker sa façade ng simbahan sa pangunguna ng National Historical Institute noong ika-28 ng Abril, 1984.

Naisama ng Department of Tourism ang simbahan ng Obando sa kanilang mga aktibidad bilang isa sa mahahalagang lugar sa Bulacan na maaaring bisitahin ng mga lokal at dayuhang turista sa selebrasyon ng Philippine Centennial noong 1998. Sa pagdiriwang naman ng 2000 Jubilee Year ng simbahang Katoliko, ang simbahan ng Obando ay isa sa limang simbahan sa ilalim ng Diocese ng Malolos na idineklarang "pilgrim church". Mula sa taong ito, naging sunod-sunod ang mga pangyayari alinsunod sa layon at pangarap ng mga taga-Obando para sa simbahan. Katulad ng:

2002

Muling isinaayos ang simbahan upang makaiwas sa anumang pinsala ng baha at high tide sa pangunguna ni Rev. Fr. Danilo G. de los Reyes.

2004

Noong ika-29 ng Abril ay ipinagdiwang ang 250th Year Foundation Anniversary ng simbahan ng Obando. Inilibot sa iba't ibang bahagi ng Bulacan ang tatlong patron. Bilang pagkilala sa kaparian at mga madre na mga naninirahan at lumaki sa Obando ay nagkaroon naman ng tinatawag na "Festival of Religious" noong ika-29 ng Mayo. Ang Solemn Coronation ng *Nuestra Señora Inmaculada Concepcion de Salambao* ay ginanap naman noong Disyembre 12.

2005

Nagkaroon ng Pastoral Planning Workshop noong ika-11 hanggang 12 ng Marso at binigyang-pansin ang pagbuo ng bisyon at misyon ng parokya. Sinimulan din sa taong ito ang pagkalap at pagsasaayos ng mga dokumento na kakailanganin upang maging National Shrine.

2006

Naisagawa ang pagbabasbas at inagurasyon ng museo ng simbahan noong ika-15 ng Mayo. Sa pamamagitan ng Parish Pastoral Council Resolution No. 2006 – 01, inilapit kay Most Rev. Jose F. Oliveros, DD, Obispo ng Malolos na ideklara ang simbahan ng Obando, ang Parish of San Pascual Baylon, Obando, Bulacan bilang isang Diocesan Shrine bilang pagkilala sa tatlong patron- San Pascual Baylon, Santa Clara ng Assisi at Nuestra Seňora de Salambao noong ika-4 ng Hunyo. Noong Disyembre ng taong ito ay idineklara ang simbahan ng Obando bilang isang Diocesan Shrine. Tinawag ang simbahan bilang *Diocesan Shrine of Nuestra Seňora Inmaculada Concepcion de Salambao*.

2007

Isinagawa noong ika-1 ng Disyembre ang Solemn Consecration of the Altar, Dedication of the Church to God at ang opisyal na proklamasyon ng *Diocesan Shrine* ng *Nuestra Seňora Inmaculada Concepcion de Salambao* sa pangunguna ni Most Rev. Jose F. Oliveros, DD, obispo ng Malolos.

2009

Nagkaroon ng Ground-breaking ceremony sa pagtatayo ng *Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Salambao* noong ika-19 ng Abril.

2010

Noong ika-8 ng Setyembre, kinumpirma ni Fr. Cayetano Sanchez, OFM ng *Archivo Franciscano Ibero Oriental* sa Madrid, Spain na ang lumang manuskrito ng kasaysayan ng Obando at ang dokumento sa pagkakakuha sa imahen ng *Nstra. Sra. de la Concepcion or Salambao* ay nasa kanilang pangangalaga. Sa katulad din na buwan ng taong ito, inorganisa ang *Kapatiran ng Nstra. Sra. de Salambao*. Ang *Kapatiran*, kasama ang Parish Pastoral Council, ang nangunguna sa pamamahala ng mga kakailanganing dokumento sa paglahok ng imahen ng *NSICdSalambao* tuwing magkakaroon ng Annual Grand Marian Procession sa Intramuros, Manila at sa taunang paglahok sa Pista ng Krus sa Ilog. Noong ika-12 ng Disyembre ay binasbasan at nagkaroon ng inagurasyon ng *Santuario de Nuestra Seňora de Salambao* sa pangunguna ni Most Rev. Bishop Rolando Tria Tirona, DD, Obispo ng Quezon.

2011

Pinangunahan ang adbokasiya laban sa konstruksyon ng Obando Sanitary Landfill, nasasakupan ng barangay ng Salambao kung saan natagpuan ang imahen ng *NSICdSalamabao* sa pamamagitan ng mga miyembro ng mga samahan ng simbahan, sinuportahan ni Most Rev. Bishop Jose F. Oliveros, D.D. kasama ang mga kaparian at Diocesan Commission on Social Action at ng Diocesan Environmental and Ecological Program (DEEP) noong Hunyo. Buwan ng Oktubre ay nagsagawa naman ng pagtitipon, misa, community prayers, motorcades upang hindi matuloy ang landfill sa barangay ng Salambao.

2012

Noong ika-11 ng Marso, binuksan ang Jubilee door ng simbahan bilang bahagi ng selebrasyon ng 50th Year Anniversary ng Diocese ng Malolos, sa pangunguna ni Rev. Fr. Albert Suatengco, Rev. Fr. Avelino A. Sampana, at Rev. Fr. Irvin I. Hizon. Sa pagsapit naman ng ika-19 ng Hunyo hanggang sumunod na taon ng Hunyo 19, ginunita at ipinagdiwang ang 250th Year sa pagkakakuha ng imahen ng *NSICdSalambao*. Nagkaroon ng Mariology, healing mass at prusisyon tuwing sasapit ang araw ng 19 sa bawat buwan. Nagkaroon din *Paglalakbay* ng imahen sa iba't ibang lugar ng Bulacan. Nagsagawa rin ng fluvial parade, concelebrated mass at grand motorcade sa buong taong selebrasyon.

2016

Nagkaroon ng audio-visual materials sa *Katesismo ng Sayaw sa Obando, Sayaw kay Santa Clara* at *Sayaw sa Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao*.

2019

Binalangkas ang PPC Resolution para sa deklarasyon ng Diocesan Shrine of *Nstra. Sra. Inmaculada Concepcion de Salamba*o bilang National Shrine at ang Canonical Coronation ng miraculous image ng *Nstra. Sra. Inmaculada Concepcion de Salambao* noong ika-1 ng Setyembre. Iminungkahi rin ang Statutes of the National Shrine of *Nsta. Sra. Inmaculada Conception de Salambao*. Nagkaroon ng PPC Execom Meeting noong ika-15 ng Setyembre kasama si Bro. Kendrick Ivan Panganiban para sa paghahanda at pagpapasa ng mga dokumento para sa aplikasyon ng National Shrine at Canonical Coronation. Naipasa ang mga nasabing dokumento noong ika-18 ng Nobyembre sa Opisina ng Mahal na Obispo ng Malolos.

2021

Idineklara ng Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) noong ika-27 ng Enero na ang simbahan ng Obando ay maging National Shrine, ikaapat sa ilalim ng Diocese ng Malolos at ika-27 sa buong bansa.

2022

Ika-25 ng Marso ng magkaroon ng Solemn Declaration ng National Shrine of *Nstra Sra. de la Inmaculada Concepcion de Salambao* sa pangunguna ng Lubhang Kagalang-galang na Jose F. Advincula, D.D., Arsobipo ng Maynila.

Mula sa mga talang ito, masasabing tuloy-tuloy ang paglaganap ng pananampalataya simula ng magkaroon ng parokya sa Obando sa ika-17 siglo. Nagkaroon din ng samot-saring pagdiriwang gaya ng misa, pagbibinyag at kasal. Ngunit nang sumunod na siglo, mapapansin na walang gaanong naitalang mahahalagang pangyayari na naidokumento o naitabi ang

bayan. Ang naitala lamang ay sa kung paano natagpuan at nakarating ang Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao sa Obando, Bulacan. Maaaring bunsod ito ng pagbabago sa pamamahala, bagong pananakop, mga kalamidad gaya ng malawakang pagbaha at Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig. Ngunit magkagayunman, makikita ang pagsulong ng pananampalataya ng mga taga-Obando mula ika-20 hanggang sa kasalukuyan na maisakatuparan nilang hirangin na National Shrine.

3. Pagsisimula ng ritwal na sayaw sa Obando, Bulacan at anyo nito

Lahat ng nakapanayam ay nakamulatan at nakagisnan na ang pagsasayaw sa Obando mula noong bata pa sila. May mga pagkakataon din na nahinto ang pagdiriwang at pagsasagawa ng ritwal nang dahil sa pandemya.

Ang pagdadasal ay sisimulan sa pagpuri sa Panginoon, paghingi ng tawad, pasasalamat at kahilingan. Tuwing sumasayaw ay binibigkas din ang mga kahilingan.

Sa panayam at pakikipagkuwentuhan ng mananaliksik sa mga matatandang Obandenyo, noong binanggit ang salitang kasilonawan, apat sa kanila ang sumagot na sila ay hindi pamilyar, isa ang sumagot ng hindi sigurado at hindi matandaan. Batay kay G. Avendano, ang salitang ito ay "nagmula sa Laguna at hindi sa Obando o Bulacan, ito ay sayaw ng Laguna". Ayon naman kay Gng. Bondoc, ang kahulugan ng Kasilonawan ay "dating uri ng kasiyahan at lasingan" kaya noong bumuo ng executive committee ang kasalukuyang Mayor ng Obando at tinawag na Kasilonawan Festival ay hindi sila pumayag. Dahil nangangahulugan ito ng pagdiriwang na may lasingan na hindi akma sa pamamanata. Kaya sumulat sila at sinabi na dapat tawagin ang Obando Fertility Dance na "Sayaw Panalangin", at noong taong 2022 ito nagsimula.

May kuwento rin si G. Avendano na ang tawag dito ay "Mga Namamanata/Mga Deboto ng Santa Clara, Salambao at Baylon", hindi Obando Fertility Dance. Aniya, naging ganito na lamang ang tawag noong nagkaroon ng aktibidad ang Tourism Office.

Samantala, anim sa kanila ang tumugon na ang Obando Fertility Dance ay nagmula sa pandanggo. Dagdag pa niya, ang pangalang baile ni San Pascual ay nangangahulugang sayaw. Sa mga nakapanayam, isa lamang ang sumagot na ito ay hindi pandanggo sapagkat ayon sa kanya, panata na talaga ito sa tatlong patron.

Anim din sa kanila ang nagsabing ang Obando Fertility Dance ay nagsimula nang dumating ang mga Kastila at noong dumating ang mga patron. Isa lamang ang nagsabing hindi siya sigurado dahil maaaring baka mula ito sa mga ninuno. Ganito rin ang salaysay ng isa pa, na maaari na mula ito sa mga ninuno pa natin dahil may mga Babaylan tayo noon na sinasamba ay mga anito at isinasagawa ito sa pamamagitan ng pagsasayaw. Aniya, "walang nakasulat na ganito sa mga dokumento pero maaari ang sayaw ay naging Christianized".

Sa kasalukuyan, mayroon na itong pormal na anyo ng hakbang at galaw ng mga paa at kamay sa tuwing isinasayaw ang ritwal para sa tatlong santo, ito ay sa pangunguna ni Gng. Mercedes R. Domingo. Ayon sa dating guro na si Gng. Domingo o mas kilala sa tawag na Sister Ched, ang Sayaw Obando ay isang madamdamin at sinaunang sayaw sa tiyempong balse. Ito ay isinasayaw lalo kung sasapit ang pista ng Obando na dinarayo ng mga deboto lalo na ng mga gustong magkaanak. Ang awit na Santang Clarang Pinung-pino ay awiting tinutugtog habang sumasayaw kasabay ng mataimtim na panalanging hinihiling. Ang bawat kumpas ng kamay pataas at pababa, paghimas sa sinapupunan ay may kahulugan. May awit at musika na ring sinasabayan para kina San Pascual Baylon at Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao.

Mahigpit ang bilin ni Sister Ched sa kasuotan kapag ito ay isinasayaw. Ang mga babae ay dapat nakasuot ng sinaunang balintawak, tapis at panuelo na nakasampay sa balikat o nakasalalay sa batok at ang sapin sa paa ay cocho o bakya. Ang mga lalaki naman ay nakasuot ng Camisa de chino, kundimang salawal o ibang kulay at sa paa ay nakasuot ng tsinelas na buo o sarado ang dulo. Ang bilang ng mga bawat kumpas ay isa-dalawa-tatlo at ang kaayusan ay dalawang hanay kung sa prusisyon at malayang pag-aayos kung sa tanghalan. (Personal na panayam kay Gng. Mercedes, Nobyembre 12, 2023)

Ang ganitong pagsasayaw ay patuloy na isinasagawa hanggang sa pumasok sa simbahan. Umiindayog ang mga deboto sa himig ng Santa Clara Pinung-pino sa saliw ng musikong bumbong tuwing kapistahan ng Obando.

Sa kasalukuyan dahil sa ang simbahan ng Obando ay isa na ngayong National Shrine, ang pagsasayaw ay tuwinang isinasagawa na matapos ang banal na misa sa araw ng Linggo, alas otso ng umaga. Matapos ang misa ng alas otso ng umaga ay pumupunta sa harapan ang mga deboto upang makiisa sa pagsasayaw. Sisimulan ito ng pagbabasbas ng pari, oryentasyon sa kung paano isinasagawa ang sayaw at saka pa lamang mismo ang pagsasayaw ng mga debotong nagmula sa loob at labas ng bayan ng Obando. Ang unang awit at sayaw ay para sa Santa Clara ng Assisi, susundan ng para sa San Pascual Baylon at panghuli ay para sa Mahal na Birhen ng Salambao.

KONGKLUSYON

Bilang pagtatapos, nasuri sa pananaliksik na ito na nagtutugma ang kaisipan nina Orozco at Demeterio sa mga kasaysayang pasalita na ibinahagi ng walong matatandang Obandenyo. Ang Obando fertility dance ay maaaring hindi produkto ng Kristiyanismo na mula sa bersyon ng isang ritwal ng mga Tagalog bago pa man dumating ang mga Espanyol. Ito ay posibleng nagsimula nang dumating ang mga Kastila at noong dumating ang mga patron. Wala ring nakita mismo ang mga nakapanayam o natatandaang nakasulat na mga dokumento na ito ay bago pa dumating ang mga Kastila na ang sayaw ay naging Christianized lamang. Kung pag-uusapan ang salitang Kasilonawan, mayorya sa kanila ang hindi pamilyar sa salitang ito.

May nagtukoy na ang salitang ito ay nagmula sa Laguna, at ito ay sayaw ng Laguna. Isa naman ang nagtukoy na ang kahulugan ng Kasilonawan ay "dating uri ng kasiyahan at lasingan" kaya hindi rin sila pumabor na tawagin itong Kasilonawan Festival. Dahil nangangahulugan ito ng pagdiriwang na may lasingan na hindi akma sa pamamanata at nararapat na tawagin ang Obando Fertility Dance na "Sayaw Panalangin". Anim sa walong nakapanayam ang tumugon na ang Obando Fertility Dance ay nagmula sa pandanggo. Sa kasalukuyan, ang sayaw ng pamamanata sa tatlong patron ay mayroon nang pormal na anyo ng hakbang at galaw ng mga paa at kamay sa tuwing isinasayaw ang ritwal para sa tatlong santo. Sa patuloy na pagdami ng deboto mula sa loob at labas ng bayan, tunay na nagpapakita ito ng matatag na pananampalataya ng mga tao at ang pagsasayaw sa Obando kasabay ng mga kahilingan at pasasalamat ay tanda rin ng mga panalanging tinutugon ng Panginoon sa pamamagitan ng pamimintuho sa tatlong patron ng Obando, lalo na sa pagkakaroon ng anak.

Sa kabuoan, ang natuklasan sa pag-aaral na ito ay isang pagtatangka na sipatin ang pinagmulan ng Obando Fertility Dance sa pamamagitan ng isang preliminaryong pagtalunton sa kasaysayan ng pinagmulan nito mula sa isang partikular na perspektiba ng matatandang Obandenyo, kaya masasabing ito ay hindi komprehensibo at pinal kundi may limitasyon ang kasaysayang naihandog ng papel. Katulad ng natuklasan nina Orozco at Demeterio, ito ay isang alternatibong haka na bukas sa rebisyon. Hindi pangkumpirma ng historical accuracy ng pag-aaral nina Orozco at Demeterio ang kasaysayang pasalita ng matatandang Obandenyo sapagkat hindi sila eyewitnesses sa pagsisimula ng fertility dance, kundi, ito ay pansuporta sa alternatibong haka nina Orozco at Demeterio. Kaya iminumungkahi na magkaroon pa nang mga kasunod na pag-aaral kaugnay nito at magkaroon nang mas malawak na sakop at mas maraming panayam sa buong Obando, Bulacan.

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TUNGKOL SA MAY-AKDA

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Para Lang po sa Tabi: Maka-Pilipinong Katangian ng Lalabintaunin sa Pagbubuo ng Kápwa sa Kapwa Pasahero ng Dyip

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ABSTRAK

Tinaguriang "hari ng kalsada" ang dyip. Makulay, maburloloy, at magarbo ang karaniwang bihis ng haring ito sa mga kalsada sa bansa. Isa itong hindi pansining bahagi ng ating lipunan na may bitbit na mahalagang pagkilala sa ating pagka-Pilipino. Sa dyip ay lutang ang pag-uugaling pakikipagkapwa na itinuturing na sentro o pinakamahalaga sa mga pagpapahalaga ng mga Pilipino ayon kay Virgilio Enriquez sa perspektiba ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino. Mula rito ay inalam kung paano nabubuo sa mga pasahero ang konsepto ng kapwa sa kapwa nila pasahero na nakasasalamuha sa araw-araw. Gamit ang inilatag na maka-Pilipinong metodo ni Javier na pagtatanongtanong at pakikipagkuwentuhan, nakalap ang mga naratibo ng sampung lalabintaunin na kinasangkapan sa pagsusuri. Ibinatay ang nakalap na naratibo sa Antasan ng Pagtutunguhan ni Enriquez upang malinaw at malalim na ilahad ang pagbubuo sa konsepto ng kapwa. Ang mga maka-Pilipinong katangiang nabuo sa konsepto ng kapwa sa kapwa pasahero sa dyip ng mga lalabintaunin ay ang mga sumusunod: a. bayad po; b. pára po sa tabi; c. tinginan at pakiramdaman; d. kuwentuhan; e. limos at malasakit; at f. punuan at bigayan. Sa kabilang banda, lumabas din ang ilang negatibong maka-Pilipinong katangian ng mga pasahero tulad ng: a. pagwawalang bahala o walang pakialam; b. pagkagalit at pagdadabog; c. tsismisan; d. siksikan at singitan; e. budol; f. lamangan; at g. pakutuban.

Susing Salita: dyip, kápwa, lalabintaunin, maka-Pilipinong katangian, pasahero, Sikolohiyang Pilipino

ABSTRACT

The jeepney is hailed as the "king of the road." This monarch of the streets is often adorned with vibrant colors, intricate decorations, and an extravagant design. Though an unseen part of our daily lives yet, it carries profound cultural significance symbolizing our Filipino identity. Within the jeepney the Filipino value of pakikipagkapwa is strongly manifested as the heart or most important among our Filipino values according to Virgilio Enriquez from the

perspective of Sikolohiyang Pilipino. This study sought to explore how the concept of kapwa is formed among passengers who interact daily within this shared space. Employing the indigenous Filipino research methods of pagtatanong-tanong and pakikipagkuwentuhan by Javier, narratives were gathered and analyzed from ten lalabintaunin (adolescents). These narratives were interpreted using Enriquez's Antasan ng Pagtutunguhan to provide a clear and in-depth discussion of how the concept of kapwa is developed. The study identified the following positive Filipino traits that emerge from this sense of shared identity among jeepney passengers: a. bayad po; b. pára po sa tabi; c. tinginan at pakiramdaman; d. kuwentuhan; e. limos at malasakit; and f. punuan at bigayan. On the other hand, certain negative Filipino traits among passengers also surfaced such as: a. pagwawalang bahala o walang pakialam; b. pagkagalit at pagdadabog; c. tsismisan; d. siksikan at singitan; e. budol; f. lamangan; and g. pakutuban.

Keywords: jeepney, kápwa, lalabintaunin, Filipino traits, passengers, Filipino Psychology

INTRODUKSYON

Bahagi ng buhay nating mga Pilipino ang dyip. Maaaring buong buhay ng isang pasahero ay gumagamit nito sa pagpasok at sa pag-uwi bilang transportasyon. Sa pagtuntong sa istribo ng dyip ay nakahahalubilo ng bawat isang pasahero ang kapwa niya pasahero. Mayroong simpleng tinginan, pag-abot ng bayad o kaya ay pagpara ng iba para sa kapwa niya pasahero. Hindi natin napapansin subalit mayroong naratibo ang bawat pagsakay ng isang pasahero sa dyip kasama ang kapwa niya pasahero.

Sa dyip ay lutang ang pag-uugaling pakikipagkapwa na itinuturing na sentro o pinakamahalaga sa mga pagpapahalaga ng mga Pilipino sa perspektiba ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino. Pinasinayaan ang larang na ito ni Virgilio Enriquez noong unang bahagi ng 1970 upang isulong ang pag-aaral sa sikolohiyang bunga ng karanasan, kaisipan at oryentasyong Pilipino sa gitna ng kaisipang nalulukuban ng pananaw na Kanluranin sa bansa (Enriquez, 2015). Idinagdag pa ni Pe-pua at Protacio-Marcelino (2000) na binibigyang tuon nito ang pagbuo ng pambansang kaakuhan at kamalayan, panlipunang pakikiisa, at sikolohiya ng wika at kultura sa pang araw-araw na buhay ng mga Pilipino gaya sa kalusugan, agrikultura, sining, mass midya, relihiyon at iba pa. Samakatuwid, sentro ng larang na ito ang pagpapayaman ng diwa (psyche) ng Pilipino na may pagkiling sa konsepto ng kapwa. Ang kapwa ay ang pagsasama ng "sarili" at "iba" sapagkat mayroong pagkilala ito sa pagbabahagi ng pagkakakilanlan. Kilala man o hindi ay nabubuo ang rekognisyon nito sa kapwa bilang isang tao na kagaya niya (Enriquez, 1986). Ang konsepto ng kapwa ay hindi usaping pansarili lamang, ito rin ay pakikipag-ugnayan at pakikipagdamayan. Ayon kay Dagmang (1996), ang Pinoy kapag may gustong sabihin ay nagpapadama; kapag may gustong malaman ay nakikiramdam. Sa diskurso naman gamit ang lente ng pilosopiya tungkol sa kapwa, tiningnan ito bilang kaugnay at hindi maaaring ilayo sa higit na pagkaunawa hinggil sa tao (Mabaquiao, 2018). Hinati sa dalawa ang pilosopikal na pagtingin tungkol sa pakikipagkapwa-tao, ang metapisika kung saan ay tiningnan ang kaganapan nito at etika na nakabatay sa kahalagahang pang-etika o kabutihan. Lumabas sa pag-aaral na isang sabjek ang kapwa-tao na malaya, may kamalayan at may di-tapos na identidad at hindi isang objek lamang. May pagtrato sa kapwa-tao bilang isang tunguhing sang-ayon sa kung paano dapat tratuhin ang isang kapwa-tao at hindi bilang isang kaparaanan o kasangkapan lamang.

Kung mayroong ituturing na pinakamahalagang elemento sa dyip, ito ay walang iba kung hindi ang tao na pasahero nito. Sa kanya nag-ugat ang dahilan kung bakit nabuo ang dyip at bakit nagkaroon ng iba pang elemento kagaya ng drayber at mga panuntunan sa loob at labas nito. Masasalamin na ang pasahero ay sabjek kung saan alam niya ang kanyang patutunguhan at dahilan kung bakit siya sumakay sa dyip. Mayroon siyang direksyon at layuning binubuo habang pinagmamasdan ang mga kaganapan sa loob at labas ng dyip. Bahagi ng direksyon niya ay magpamalas ng etika sa kapwa pasahero at drayber kagaya ng pag-aabot ng pamasahe, ang magalang na pagsasabi ng "po" at kung papara para bumaba. Isa itong malinaw na pagpapamalas ng pakikipagkapwa-tao.

Sa kabilang banda, isinalaysay ni Javier (2018) kung paanong kakabit sa konsepto ng pakikipagkapwa ang unawa. Bahagi ang unawa sa pagpapamalas ng pasahero sa kapwa nito pasahero sa maraming pagkakataon. Ang pang-unawa ay may pagsasanib ng pakiramdam at pag-iisip (affective-emotive, cognitive). Ito ay tumutukoy sa kabuluhan (relevance) na malapit din sa mga salitang Ingles na compassion, mercy, at empathy. Kung kapwa-tao ang turing ay dahil mayroong pang-unawang nakatatalos sa pag-iisip na ito. Nalalampasan ng tanaw ang turingang 'ibang-tao' sa 'hindi ibang-tao' lalo na kapag ang kapwa ay dumaranas ng dusa, dumadaing kayâ dinirinig at dinaramdam din.

Taal sa tao ang bigkis ng unawa kaya sa bawat pang-unawa ay siyang pakikipagkapwatao. Inaarok ng tao sa kanyang pang-unawa hindi lamang ang pag-iisip ngunit ang damdaming maaaring maramdaman niya kaya magkasama ang dalawang ito sa malalim na pagtingin upang maunawaan ang isang konsepto o bagay. Bahagi ng pang-unawa ang saya o lungkot na taglay ng pagiging ibang-tao o hindi ibang-tao na pinaiimbabawan ng unawa upang makita at madama ito bilang isang tao.

Mahalagang sangkap ang unawa sa pagpapanatili ng kaayusan at ugnayang nabubuo sa bawat isang kabahagi ng dyip. Bunga ito ng pagiging likas sa pakikipagkapwa-tao ng mga Pilipino sa ibang-tao o hindi ibang-tao. Isang patunay ang pag-usog sa upuan upang bigyang espasyo ang iba sa pag-upo. Idagdag pang hinihinaan ng drayber ang kanyang radyo sa tuwing may nakikita at nadidinig siyang pasaherong seryosong nakikipag-usap sa telepono. Sa mga

ganitong halimbawa, kitang-kita kung paanong ang unawa ay normal at hindi madalas na kailanganing ipaalala pa para ito ay ipakita at ipadama. Sa dyip ay mailalarawan ang mga pagpapahalagang Pilipino mula sa pag-unawa sa konsepto ng pakikipagkapwa-tao.

Mula rito, nais alamin ng mga mananaliksik kung paanong nabubuo sa kanila ang konsepto ng kápwa sa kapwa nila pasahero na nakasasalamuha araw-araw. Sa pag-aaral na ito, ang mga lalabintaunin ang kinasangkap bilang ispesipikong pasahero. Unang ipinantukoy ni Virgilio G. Enriquez, Ama ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino, ang lalabintaunin sa mga babae at lalaking nasa yugto ng pag-unlad ng buhay na maaaring adolescent ang katumbas sa kanluraning literatura. Samakatuwid, may muwang na ang mga kinasangkapan sa pag-aaral.

Hinango sa mga naratibo ng lalabintaunin bilang pasahero ang konsepto ng kapwa. Mahalaga ang ginawang pagsusuri sa mga naratibo ng kanilang danas upang malinaw na mabuo ang konsepto ng kapwa mula sa positibo at negatibong pagtingin ng mga pasahero. Masinop na sinuri ang mga maka-Pilipinong katangian sa bawat naratibo at danas upang buo na maipakita ang konsepto ng kápwa sa kapwa nila pasahero. Tiningnan ang antasan ng pagtutunguhan ni Enriquez upang maiugnay ang mga maka-Pilipinong katangian batay sa naratibo ng lalabintaunin upang malalim ang pagbubuo sa konsepto ng kápwa mula sa kanilang kapwa pasahero.

Ayon kay Timbreza mula sa panayam nina Villejo at Liwanag (2019): Sa pamamagitan ng 'ika nga'y pagninilay tungkol sa negatibong pag-uugali ng mga Pilipino, naunawaan din natin ang pagkataong Pilipino. Naipalalabas at napauunawa natin ang iba't ibang pag-uugali ng mga Pilipino, maging positibo man o negatibo – nabubuksan ang pagkatao ng taumbayan. Naipapakita ang kahinaan at kakulangan hindi para siraan sa ibang tao, kundi para mapaunawa ang mga kahinaan at kakulangan bilang tao at ang mga positibo at mabubuting kalooban na mas kinakailangan mapalakas at mapaunlad. Ang puntong ito ay pinahalagahan sa pag-aaral upang lubos na maipahayag ang parehas na positibo at negatibong ugali ng mga pasahero sa loob ng dyip na mas lalong nagpalutang sa pagbubuo ng kapwa sa kapwa pasahero ng dyip.

METODOLOHIYA

Maraming karanasan ang masasaksihan sa loob ng dyip. Ayon kay Matienzo (2021), ang karanasang ito ay sumasalamin sa panlipunang ugnayan, pagpapahalaga sa pagpapakatao at mga aral na natatangi lamang sa transportasyong ito. Ang dyip ay isang behikulo para personal na makita ang panlipunang ugnayan hindi lamang ng drayber sa kapwa niya drayber, ang drayber at ang pasahero, kung hindi lalo na ang pasahero sa kapwa niya pasahero. Tao ang pinakasentro ng pag-aaral na ito sapagkat berbal man o di-berbal ay mababakas sa tao ang konkretong mundong kanyang nararamdaman sa kanyang kapwa tao. Kung mayroong pinakamahalagang elemento sa dyip, ito ay tao na pasahero nito. Siya ay kasangkot bilang isang reaktibong nilikha na hindi hiwalay sa kanyang karanasan, kapaligiran at kalikasan.

Ang mga kasangkot sa pag-aaral na ito ay sampung lalabintaunin. Ayon kay Javier (2007), ang lalabintaunin ay tamang pantukoy sa mga kabataaang nasa kanilang panahon na kapansin-pansin ang mga pagbabagong pampisikal at sekswal dahil ito ay mga pagiiba sa mga babae at lalaking nasa pag-itan ng edad na labing-isa hanggang labing-siyam. Pormal na pinadalhan ng liham ang sampung lalabintaunin para sa isinagawang pag-aaral. Kinuha ang kanilang konsent na maging kaisa sa pag-aaral nang walang pagkakakilanlan ayon na rin sa kanilang kahilingan. Ispesipikong may katangian ang sampung lalabintaunin bilang nasa edad labing-walong taong gulang, nasa antas andergradweyt, at gumagamit ng dyip sa araw-araw. Gamit ang maka-Pilipinong metodo ni Javier (2016) na pagtatanongtanong at pakikipagkuwentuhan bilang mga pamamaraan ng pagkalap ng datos na may pakikipagkapuwa, nakausap ng mga mananaliksik ang mga lalabintaunin kaya nagkaroon ng paglalapit sa layuning dalumatin ang konsepto ng kápwa sa kapwa pasahero. Esensyal sa bawat tanungan at kuwentuhan ang pagkakaroon ng koneksyon at unawa sa parehas na kapwa upang ang kalalabasan ay sama-samang pagbubuo ng kaalaman. Naghanda rin ang mga mananaliksik ng mga gabay na tanong upang makalap ang datos na kailangan sa pagsagot ng layunin ng pag-aaral.

Ang mga nabanggit na katangian ng lalabintaunin ay naging tuntungan ngayon sa paglalahad ng makabuluhang pananaw mula sa nahubog nilang kaalaman. Kasabay ng pagbabagong kanilang nararanasan ay ang pagbabagong sikolohikal dulot ng mga emosyong nabubuo gaya sa pakikipag-ugnayan sa kapwa lalabintaunin o mas matanda sa kanila. Nasusubok ang kanilang pakikipag-ugnayan bunga ng pagkatuto at danas sa mga kaalaman mula sa patuloy na pag-iral sa araw-araw. Pawang gumagamit sila ng dyip sa araw-araw na pagpasok at pag-uwi kaya may kahandaan sila sa pag-iisa sa bawat byahe at pagkakaroon ng pagkakataon para sa obserbasyon at pagkilala sa bawat kapwa pasahero na nakasasabay o nakasasalamuha sa dyip. Dahilan din sa pagpili sa mga lalabintaunin ang bitbit nitong makabagong pananaw buhat sa iba't ibang puwersa ng makabagong panahon gaya ng pagkababad sa internet, nagbabagong sosyal at kultural na gawain ng lipunang Pilipino, at kontemporaryong isyu na kinakaharap ng bansa. Ang datos na nakuha sa mga lalabintaunin ay may implikasyon sa pagbubuo ng pananaw para sa hinaharap gaya ng pagsasagawa ng desisyon at pakikilahok sa mga isyung panlipunan, pag-unawa sa papel at gampanin, at pagpapanatili sa tradisyonal na kalikasan ng kulturang Pilipino gaya ng pagtingin sa konsepto ng kapwa sa kapwa pasahero sa dyip.

Ang mga naisa-isang konsepto mula sa lalabintaunin ay naging batayan ng mga maka-Pilipinong katangian na nagpapakita ng kápwa sa kapwa pasahero sa dyip. Sinuri gamit ang Antasan ng Pagtutunguhan mula sa pag-aaral ni Enriquez (1986) sa pagbuo ng konsepto ng kapwa batay sa positibo at negatibong pag-uugali ng mga Pilipino sa loob ng dyip. Saklaw ng mga naratibo ang personal na danas sa pagsakay ng dyip kasama ang ibang-tao o hindibang tao. Nakakonteksto ang isinagawang kuwentuhan bilang pangangalap ng datos tungkol

sa kultural na gawain sa loob ng dyip gaya ng pagbibigay-bayad, pagpára, kuwentuhan, mga taong sumasakay at bumababa at iba pa. Tinalakay rin ang bitbit na danas mula sa istruktura ng dyip na naging punto sa pagbabahagi ng ilan pang naratibo. Sa iba't ibang danas na ito ay pinaghugutan ang mga maka-Pilipinong katangian ng mga lalabintaunin at sinuri para sa tematisasyon upang lubos na makabuo ng konsepto ng kápwa mula sa kapwa pasahero. Sa pamamagitan nito ay madaling nakita ang antasan ng pakikitunguhan mula sa mga naging danas ng lalabintaunin maging ito man ay positibo o negatibo.

TEORETIKAL NA BATAYAN SA PAGSUSURI

Ang konsepto ng kapwa ay bubuuin mula sa mga naratibo ng lalabintaunin bilang pasahero mula sa kapwa pasahero sa dyip. Gamit ang Antasan ng Pagtutunguhan ni Virgilio G. Enriquez ay ituturing ang kapwa pasahero bilang ibang-tao at hindi ibang-tao sa dyip. Ibangtao sila sa kapwa pasahero sapagkat hindi sila magkakilala samantalang hindi ibang-tao sapagkat pare-parehas silang pasahero sa dyip. Pagsakay sa dyip, ang ibang tao ay hindi na ibang-tao sa kapwa pasahero dahil nagkakaroon na sila ng ugnayan sa isa't isa kahit unang pagkikita pa lamang. Sa kabila nito ay isasaalang-alang pa rin ang mga salik tulad ng mga negatibong pag-uugali ng mga Pilipino na likas na sa tao. Ito ang magiging batayan upang mas lalong maunawaan at maliwanag na makita ang pakikipagkapwa sa kapwa pasahero sa dyip.

Pigura 1 Batayang Konsepto ng Pag-aaral



Ayon kay Javier (2018), sa pakikipagkapwa nangyayaring natutuklasan ang loob (maaaring sarili) na kasalo at hindi sinosolo itong loob (kaya 'ipinapalagay' pa muna ito sa simula ng pagtutunguhan). Ang ako at ang iba sa akin ay kapuwa, iyon nga'y iisa manapa'y magkabahagi ang mga loob tulad nga sa pakikipagpalagayang-loob/pakikiisang-loob

(iisa ang loob). Ang ibang-tao ay hindi na nagiging ibang-tao dahil pinagbigkis na sila ng pakikipagkapwa na pinagsamahan nila sa dyip sa pamamagitan ng iba't ibang karanasan na kanilang pinagdaanan bilang pasahero.

Batay sa Antasan ng Pagtutunguhan ni Virgilio G. Enriquez, ang ibang tao bilang indibidwal, ang kaantasan ng kanyang pag-iisa ay pagsasarili na katumbas naman sa pakikipagkapwa ng pakikitungo, ang pag-iiwas ay pakikisalamuha, ang paghiwalay ay pakikilahok, ang pagmamalaki ay pakikibagay, at ang pakikinabang ay pakikisama (Javier, 2018). Kapag ang ibang tao ay lumalim na at may pagpapahalaga sa pakikipagkapwa at siya ay hindi na ibang-tao, ang kaantasan din ng kanyang pakikipagtunguhan sa iba ay nababago. Ang pag-iisa niya na pagkukubli ay nagiging pakikipagpalagayang-loob, ang pagwawalang bahala ay nagiging pakikisangkot; at ang pagsalungat ay nagiging pakikiisa sa kapwa. Ang tao na dating nag-iisa ay may malawak ng pang-unawa sa kanyang sarili at sa kanyang kapwa dahil sa kanyang iba't ibang danas ng pakikipagkapwa. Wika nga ni Timbreza, ako ay ako sapagkat ikaw ay ikaw, kung wala ang ikaw ay wala rin ako, at kung wala ako ay wala rin ikaw (Villejo at Liwanag, 2019). Samakatuwid, ang kapwa ang nagpapayaman at nagbibigay-kabuluhan sa ating pagkatao.

Maka-pilipinong katangian sa pagbuo ng kápwa sa kapwa pasahero

Nagsagawa ng pagsasatema ang mga mananaliksik upang maayos na masuri at matalakay ang mga lumabas na maka-Pilipinong katangian sa pagbuo ng kápwa sa kapwa pasahero sa dyip mula sa nakalap na datos sa pagtatanong-tanong at kuwentuhan na isinagawa sa sampung lalabintaunin. Narito ang mga positibong maka-Pilipinong katangian: a. bayad po; b. pára po sa tabi; c. tinginan at pakiramdaman; d. kuwentuhan; e. limos at malasakit; at f. punuan at bigayan sa dyip. Samantalang hindi maitatanggi ang mga negatibong maka-Pilipinong katangian tulad ng: a. pagsasawalang bahala o walang pakialam; b. pagkagalit at pagdadabog; c. tsismisan; d. siksikan at singitan; e. budol; f. lamangan; at g. pakutuban.

I. Positibong Maka-Pilipinong Katangian ng Pasahero sa Dyip

A. "Bayad po"

Karaniwan sa naitalang mga datos na ibinigay ng mga lalabintaunin ang pag-aabot ng bayad papunta sa drayber mula sa sino mang kapwa pasahero sa dyip. Tinawag nila itong "normal" na gawain ng mga Pilipino sa dyip dahil tila wala namang pagpipilian ang sino man na malapit sa drayber upang mag-abot ng bayad. Wala namang nakapaskil o nag-uutos sa kanila upang iabot ang bayad subalit likas na ito sa pag-uugaling Pilipino. Sa aksyon ng pagbabayad hawak ang pera ay tanda at alam na ng kapwa pasahero kung para saan at ano ang gagawin sa iniaabot kasabay ng "makikisuyo o pakisuyo", "po", at "salamat po" na tanda ng paggalang.

Ang pagkuha o pagtanggap ng bayad mula sa kapwa pasahero ay tanda ng kanilang pagrespeto, matanda man o bata. Mayroong koneksyong nabubuo ang nagbabayad at tumatanggap kahit may pagkakataong mayroong ibang ginagawa ang pinag-aabutan ng bayad tulad kung may kausap na iba, nakatingin sa ibang anggulo, nakapikit o nakikinig ng musika. Itinuturing na isang unspoken language o wikang hindi na dapat sambitin ang gawain ng pagaabot ng bayad sa dyip ayon sa isang lalabintaunin. Ang pag-unawa sa wika at kulturang Pilipino gaya ng dyip ay mayroong pagkakatulad at pagkakaiba, kasaklawan at kalaliman sa mga salita, kilos, at galaw ng kapwa na naisabuhay bunga ng paggalang na inklusibong isinasabuhay ng Pilipino. Bilang mga lalabintaunin, mahalagang mabitbit at maibahagi nila ito sa ibang-tao o hindi-ibang tao bilang pagpapahalaga na nagpapatunay sa kabutihang taal sa atin.

Inobserbahan din ang katapatan ng bawat isang kapwa pasahero sa dyip lalo na sa halaga ng ibabayad at ibabalik na sukli. Ayon sa mga lalabintauning nakausap ay wala pa silang karanasan na hindi nagbayad ng tapat at tumanggap ng kulang na sukli. Mayroong dalawang galawan ng perang pambayad sa dyip: una, mula sa pasahero na hindi palaging sakto ang bitbit na bayad, walang barya o buo ang pera kahit pa may malaking karatulang "barya lang po sa umaga"; ikalawa, ang sukli ng pasahero mula sa drayber. Sa parehas na galaw ay pinagpapasa-pasahan ito ng mga kapwa pasahero lalo na kung marami ang nakasakay. Sa huli, wasto ang kanilang bayad at nakukuhang sukli. Ipinapamalas ng ganitong gawain ang katapatan ng bawat isang kapwa pasahero sa dyip. Barya man kung titingnan ang nasasalat na pera sa tuwing nag-aabot ng bayad, pinatutunayan pa rin ang likas na kabutihan at katapatan ng mga Pilipino lalo na sa kapwa nito.

B. "Pára po sa tabi"

Parehas sa pag-aabot ng bayad na ginagamitan ng pasalita at pakilos na paraan ang isa pang maka-Pilipinong katangian ng pakikipagkapwa sa dyip, ang pagpára tuwing sasakay at/o bababa ng dyip. Ang salitang pára ay paghinto sa paggalaw ng isang sasakyan gaya ng dyip. Sa pagsasabi ng pára ay itatabi ng drayber ang dyip sa gilid upang bumaba o sumakay rito ang pasahero. Nakukuha agad ng drayber ang mensahe ng pagpára sa tuwing malakas at malinaw na sinasabi ito.

Sa di-berbal na pagpára naman ay nakita ito ng mga lalabintauning sa porma ng pagtapik sa bubong ng dyip upang makabuo ng tunog. Isang senyales ang nabubuong tunog para sa drayber na mayroong bababa ng dyip. Isinasagawa ito gamit ang daliri o kaya ay barya sabay itinutuktok ito sa bakal na hawakan upang makabuo ng tunog-senyales. Isa pang diberbal ay ang paghatak ng tali sabay pag-ilaw naman ng bombilya katapat ng drayber. Sa kabila nito, karaniwan pa ring ginagamit ang pagsasabi ng "pára po sa tabi" at ang paggawa ng tunog-senyales.

Masasalamin sa dalawang maka-Pilipinong katangian ang pagtutunguhan ng bawat isa sa dyip. Espesipikong nabubuo ang konsepto ng kapwa sa pakikitungong ginagawa tuwing nag-aabot ng bayad at sukli gayundin ang pagtulong sa pagpára. May mga pagkakataong nagsasarili ang isa subalit hindi maiwasan ng kapwa pasahero na makialam bilang pagtulong sa kapwa pasahero. Makikita sa pagtulong ang pakikisalamuha ng pasahero sa kapwa pasahero.

C. "Tinginan at pakiramdaman"

Ang mata ay bahagi ng katawan na para sa paningin, isa sa limang pandama ng tao. Subalit, hindi ito maaaring ihiwalay sa iba pang kaugnay nitong pandama – pang-amoy, pandinig at panlasa. Kaya sa tuwing sasakay sa dyip, sabay-sabay na ginagamit at gumagana ang mga ito. Para sa mga nakakuwentuhang lalabintaunin, pare-parehas silang nagiging mapagmatyag sa kanilang paligid sa dyip. Tinitingnan ang mga taong nakasakay o sasakay sa dyip kung kanilang kakilala o hindi.

Karaniwan ang eksena na may natutulog sa dyip tuwing gabi lalo na kapag rush hour o oras ng uwian ng mga nag-oopisina at estudyante. Ang pagtulog o pag-idlip ay tanda ng kanilang pagod sa gawain sa buong araw. Sa ganitong mga pagkakataon, matinding makiramdam ang maraming kapwa nila pasahero batay sa obserbasyon ng mga lalabintaunin. Ipinapamalas ito sa hindi masyadong paggalaw, paghina ng boses kung may kausap at paggising sa kapwa pasaherong napasarap ng tulog subalit kailangan ng bumaba. May mga hindi rin nakaiwas na sumandal sa katabi habang natutulog at pinapabayaan na lamang.

Sa mga pasaherong maraming bitbit o dalahin, may akay na mga bata, at sa mga matatanda o *persons with disability (PWD)* ay may nagbibigay agad ng espasyo para makaupo at makatulong sa kanyang kapwa pasahero. Karaniwang sa unahang bahagi sa pag-akyat sila pinauupo o malapit sa drayber. Wala pang naging danas ang mga lalabintaunin na pasaherong hindi nagbigay ng tulong sa kapwa nila pasahero na nasa ganitong sitwasyon. Naobserbahan din ng mga lalabintaunin ang bilis ng pakiramdam ng drayber sa loob ng dyip. Halimbawa kapag may kausap ang isang pasahero sa dyip, agarang hinihinaan ng drayber ang kanyang radyo tanda ng kanyang pakikiramdam at pag-unawa sa sitwasyon.

Tulad ng maka-Pilipinong katangian na pagbabayad at pagpára sa dyip ay makikita ang antasan ng pagtutunguhan na pakikitungo, pakikisalamuha, at pakikilahok. Ang mga ito ay karaniwang ginagamitan muna ng tinginan at pakiramdaman hanggang sa matarok ang ganoong klase ng pagtutunguhan. Maituturing ngayon na unang bahagi ang maka-Pilipinong katangian na tinginan at pakiramdaman upang maisakatuparan ang nasabing tatlong antasan ng pagtutunguhan. Ayon kay Javier (2016), ibinabadya na may mga pandama upang maranasan ang kalooban, ang sarili, ang sa kapuwa o sa itinatangi nito. Kaya hanggang maaari ay naisasantabi ang pag-iisa (individuation) gaya ng pagsasarili, pag-iwas, at paghiwalay.

D. "Kuwentuhan"

Ang bawat tinginan at pakiramdaman ng mga pasahero sa dyip ay nagbubunsod ng aksyon upang kumonekta sa kapwa pasahero gaya ng kuwentuhan o usapan. Ang kuwentuhan ay likas sa mga Pilipino sapagkat hilig natin ang pakikialam at pakikisangkot. Dito nagsisimula ang relasyon na kalaunan ay maaaring lumalim o agad ding mawala. Pansin ng mga lalabintaunin na isang espasyo ang dyip para sa pagbubukas ng kuwentuhan. Ayon kay Jumaquio-Ardales (2024), may dalawang bahagi ang pagbubukas ng isang usapan, ito ang pagkuha ng atensyon bago ang paghahain ng paksa; kasunod ang pagdebelop kung saan mayroong dugtungan ng impormasyon/komentaryo/reaksyon at/o pagdami ng mga paksang pinag-uusapan (na tila sapot ng gagamba) na maaaring malapit o malayo sa tema ng sinundan; panghuli, ang pagsasara kung kailan paalis sa espasyo ng umpukan ang isa o higit pang kalahok sa usapan.

Ganitong-ganito napansin ng mga lalabitaunin nagsisimula ang kuwentuhan sa dyip lalo na sa mga matatanda. Ayon sa kanila ay mayroong taglay na awtoridad ang matatanda kaya patuloy lang sila sa pagsasalita o pagkukuwento ng kanilang saloobin hinggil sa isang paksa. Pagbabahagi ng isang lalabintaunin, karaniwang paksa na naririnig niya ay tungkol sa napapanahong usapin ng bansa lalo sa politika at ekonomiya. Isang halimbawa ng paksa ay tungkol sa patuloy na pagtaas ng presyo ng bilihin na iniugnay sa kanyang nararanasang hirap pampinansyal; at hirap pisikal na iniinda dahil sa edad ng mga matatandang pasahero na nagkukuwentuhan. Nagsimula ito bilang isang komento mula sa napakinggang balita sa radyo na sinundan pa ng isang komento mula sa kapwa pasahero. Ang palitan ng kanilang komento ay may kalakasan ng kanilang boses kaya naengganyo ang iba pang kapwa pasahero na makisali sa naging kuwentuhan. Sabi ng lalabintaunin, hindi siya nakisali sa usapan dahil sa hiya subalit tahimik siyang nakikinig at nagmamasid sa naging daloy ng kuwentuhan. Anya ng lalabintaunin ay natutuwa siya sa ganitong kuwentuhan sapagkat nagiging mulat siya sa nangyayari sa paligid na nakapagpapalago sa kanya bilang kabataan at mag-aaral.

Masasalamin sa pagsasahalimbawa na ibinahagi ng lalabintaunin kung paanong ang danas ng isa ay maaaring maging danas din ng iba. Isang pagkakataon ito para sa kolektibong pagsang-ayon o maaaring pagsalungat na naging punto ng paksa para sa kuwentuhan. Natigil lamang ang kuwentuhan nang bumaba na ang matandang pasahero sa dyip. Ang saglit na kuwentuhan ay may mahaba nang nilakbay na konsepto sa pagbubuo ng kapwa mula sa kapwa pasahero. Ang pagiging ibang-tao nito ay sumalamin sa pakikibagay mula sa danas na pinagdadaanan ng matanda. Hindi man parehas ang estado, edad, at danas ng bawat isang nagkukwentuhan; naroon pa rin ang pagiging isa ng bawat isa dahil sa pakikipagkapwa. Ang kuwentuhan ay nagiging tulay sa pagpasok ng iba sa buhay ng iba kaya nakikita ang unawa sa isa't isa.

Nakakikilig namang ibinahagi ng isa pang lalabintaunin ang kanyang danas ng pakikipagkuwentuhan sa dating kaklase noong senior hayskul na muling nagkita sa dyip habang pauwi mula sa España sa Maynila. Ang tagal ng kanilang byahe at kuwentuhan sa dyip ay simula na pala ng kanilang pag-iibigan. Hindi lubos maisip ng nagbahaging lalabintaunin na sa dyip niya muling matatagpuan ang dating kaklase at mabubuo ang kanilang relasyon. Mula sa dulong bahagi ng dyip malapit sa drayber ay lumipat ito sa kanyang tabi at nagsimulang bumati at makipagkumustahan. Lumalim ang usapan tungkol sa kasalukuyang pinagkakaabalahan at gawain sa eksuwelahan. Nagtapos din ang kanilang relasyon ng halos isa at kalahating taon.

Naging kuwentuhan din ang mga alagang hayop na ibinahagi ng isa pang lalabintaunin. Nagpapalitan sila ng mga impormasyon tungkol sa murang bilihan ng pagkain at gamit, mga paunang lunas kapag may sakit, at karanasan sa kanilang pag-aalaga. Saglit man ang nagiging kuwentuhan, naging interesante naman ito para sa kapwa pasahero sapagkat kitang kita nila ang hilig at ugnayan nila sa isa't isa dahil sa gawaing pag-aalaga ng hayop.

Sa mga naratibong ito ng lalabintaunin masasalamin kung paanong nailuwal ang kuwento sa kuwentuhan bilang isang maka-Pilipinong katangian sa pagbubuo ng kapwa sa kapwa pasahero. Parehas na para sa ibang-tao at hindi ibang-tao ang gawaing kuwentuhan sa loob ng dyip. Nagiging inklusibong gawain ito para sa lahat depende sa kagustuhan na maging bahagi ng usapan. Danas ang antasan ng pagtutunguhan gaya ng pakikiisa, pakikisangkot at pakikipagpalagayang-loob. Maliit man ang espasyo at oras sa tagpuan ng mga lalabintaunin, naging baon naman nila ang indikasyong nagpalapot sa kanilang pagkaunawa sa konsepto ng kapwa mula sa kapwa pasahero.

E. "Limos at malasakit"

Madaming pagpapakahulugan ang salitang limos. Ito ay maaaring abuloy, tulong o pagkakawanggawa na ibinibigay sa sinumang nangangailangan mula sa kalooban ng awa o pagkahabag sa taong humihingi ng tulong, maging ito man ay pera, bagay, o serbisyo. Mula sa kalooban ng pagkahabag ay nakararamdam ng kasiyahan ang taong nagbibigay. Naibahagi ng mga lalabintaunin na mayroon pa ring pakikipagkapwa kahit sa maliit na paraan. Mas nagkaroon ng dating sa kanya ang pagbibigay ng limos sa dyip kumpara sa mga pulubing nabibigyan niya sa kalsada. Nagkaroon siya ng mas malalim na pagtingin sa halaga ng pagabot tulong dahil nasaksihan niya rin sa kapwa pasahero ang pakikipagkapwa.

Ang pagiging malapit sa isa't isa ng mga pasahero sa kapwa pasahero ay dulot na rin ng istruktura ng dyip na may maliit na espasyo sa gitna at magkakaharap na upuan na nagpapalalim ng pagtingin ng bawat isa upang mabuo ang pakikipagkapwa. Kaya ang pagtulong sa kapwa ay nakahahawa sa loob ng dyip na nag-uugat sa maka-Pilipinong kaugalian ng hiya at pakikisama. Ayon kay Dagmang (2014), ang hiya ay isang kalugod-lugod na daan at kakayahan sa larangan ng pagpapakatao o pakikipagkapwa-tao. Naniniwala ang Pilipino na dapat kumikilos siya batay sa kung ano ang mga katanggap-tanggap na kaugalian ng lipunan. Lumilitaw rito ang damdamin ng pagkahiya sa mga katapat at katabing kapwa pasahero na

nag-abot ng limos kung magsasawalang kibo na lamang siya gayong dumaan pa sa harapan ng mukha niya o ipinaabot sa kanya ang limos, pagtatapat ng isa sa mga lalabintaunin. Mula sa hiya ay nabubuo sa kanyang pagkatao ang ugali ng pakikisama sapagkat gusto niyang magkaroon ng maganda at mabuting pakikitungo sa iba. Dahil nagbigay ang iba, makikisama na rin siyang mag-abot ng barya. Masasabing totoong may nagaganap na bayanihan sa loob ng dyip hindi lamang sa paabot-abot o pagpapasa ng bayad mula sa hulihan ng dyip papunta sa drayber kundi may bayanihan din sa pagbibigay-limos sapagkat nagkakasama-sama ang mga pasahero sa pagtulong sa nangangailangan. Hindi na siya nagiging ibang tao sa loob ng dyip kundi kapwa tao na nakikiisa at nakikisama sa kapwa pasahero.

Mula sa hiya, pakikisama, at bayanihan ay nabubuo ang pagmamalasakit sa kapwa na nagpapalalim sa kaantasan ng pagtutunguhan mula sa kapwa pasahero na ibang tao. Ngayon ay nagiging kapwa pasahero na hindi ibang-tao sapagkat makikita na sa kanya ang kabaitan, pagkakawanggawa, at pagiging handa sa pagtulong sa iba na likas sa Pilipino. Bukod sa pakikiabot ng bayad, may ilang pagkakataon din na naranasan ng lalabintaunin na may nagtanong sa kanya na kapwa pasahero kung magkano ang tamang pamasahe papunta sa isang lugar, kung madadaanan ng dyip ang kanilang pupuntahan o mga saglitang kuwentuhan at palitan ng opinyon. Ayon sa lalabintaunin, masaya sa pakiramdam na nagkakaunawaan sila ng pasahero o nagkakapareho ang kanilang pananaw. Ikinatutuwa rin niya na nakatutulong siya sa kanyang kapwa, anya:

Ako ay natutuwa kapag nakikita ko o nararamdaman na nagkakaunawaan kami ng mga pasahero o kung nagtutugma ang aming mga pananaw. Bukod doon, natutuwa rin ako kapag nakakatulong ako sa mga kapwa pasahero. Nakakaramdam ako ng tuwa sapagkat sa aking isip ay pare-pareho lamang naman kaming mga karaniwang komyuter na malimit ay may kanya-kanyang buhay, kaya't kapag nakakausap ko ang ilan sa kanila nararamdaman ko ang pagiging tao. Bukod sa malalim na dahilan, ang simpleng pagtulong sa kapwa ay nakakapagbigay na sa akin ng kasiyahan.

Nandoon ang pantay na pagtingin niya sa kapwa pasahero na pareho silang mga karaniwang komyuter kahit na magkakaiba sila ng estado sa buhay. Para sa kanya, kapag may nakakausap siyang kapwa pasahero ay ramdam niya ang kanyang pagiging normal na tao sapagkat unti-unti na siyang bumubuo ng pagtitiwala sa kapwa dahil sa pakikipagpalagayang loob niya sa kapwa pasahero sa dyip.

Ito ay pagpapatotoo na walang "ako" sa daigdig, pero mayroong "tayo". Sa mga ganitong danas, naniniwala ang lalabintaunin na nagpakita siya ng malasakit at pakikipagkapwa. Para sa kanya, magaan sa kalooban at isang kasiyahan ang pakikipagkapwa sapagkat ang mumunting nagagawa para sa ibang tao ay nakapagpapatibay ng samahan ng kapwa pasahero kahit panandalian lamang. Ang pakikisalamuha sa dyip ay nagturo sa lalabintaunin na maging mabuti para maging magaan at maganda ang pakikitungo o pakikisama niya sa iba at ganun din ng ibang tao naman sa kanya.

Ang antas ng pagtutunguhan ng pasahero sa kapwa pasahero mula sa pagiging ibang tao ay hindi na ibangtao dahil sa karanasan ng pakikisalamuha na nag-ugat sa pakikipagkapwatao. Mula sa pakikipagkapwa-tao, ito ay nagbunga ng paglilingkod. Naging bukal sa kalooban ng lalabintaunin ang paglilingkod, dahil nagkaroon siya ng pagmamalasakit sa kanyang kapwa. Ang konsepto ng kapwa ay hindi usaping pansarili lamang kundi ito ay pakikipag-ugnayan, pakikipagdamayan at pagpapakita ng malasakit sa ibang tao. May pagsasaalang-alang sa damdamin ng iba.

F. "Punuan at bigayan"

Sa puwesto ng upuan sa dyip ng mga pasaherong lalabintaunin ay kakikitaan pa rin ito ng bigayan na walang hinihinging kapalit. Ito ay patunay na likas sa Pilipino ang pakikipagkapwa kahit hindi ito idikta. Sa simpleng pagkilos ng pasahero ay kakikitaan pa rin ng pakikipagkapwa sa pamamagitan ng pagbibigayan kahit na sa tagpuan ng punuan sa dyip. Mapatutunayan sa naging danas na sa pamamagitan ng pakikiramdam sa kapwa nila pasahero ay may pangangailangan na sila ay magbigay at ang pagbibigay sa kapwa ay malinaw na indikasyon ng pakikipagkapwa.

Pinatunayan din ito sa pag-aaral ni Galano (2016) na ang kagandahang-loob na taal sa pakikipagkapwa ay isang pagpapahalagang nakasentro sa pagkilala at pagsusulong sa kapakanan ng kapwa. Ang pagkakaroon ng ugnayan nito sa *universalism* at *benevolence* na mga pagpapahalaga ay nagpapahiwatig na sinasaklaw nito ang parehong malawak na relasyon sa tao at sa mas maliit na grupo tulad ng kapwa pasahero sa dyip. Mula rito ay maitatakda na ang ibang tao ay hindi ibang tao dahil ipinapakita rito na ang kapwa ay ang pakikipagkaisa ng sarili sa iba. Naniniwala ang lalabintaunin na ang pagbibigay niya ng kabutihang loob ay magbubunga pa ulit nang marami pang kabutihan tulad ng kung paano niya ito natutunan sa loob ng kanyang pamilya. Ang konsepto ng pakikipagkapwa mula sa pagbibigay para muling umanak ng pagbibigay o *pay it forward* ay isa na namang maka-Pilipinong katangian sa antas ng pagtutunguhan.

II. Negatibong Maka-Pilipinong Katangian ng Pasahero sa Dyip

A. "Pagwawalang bahala o walang pakialam"

Likas na sa mga Pilipino ang ugaling walang pakialam na nag-ugat sa pagsasawalang bahala sa kanilang kapwa at kitang kita ito sa mga ilang eksena sa loob ng dyip ayon sa obserbasyon ng mga lalabintaunin. Wala sa edad ayon sa mga lalabintaunin ang pagsasawalang bahala sa loob ng dyip. Karaniwan dito ay ang nakikitang madalas na pagbibingi-bingihan o walang pakialam sa kapwa pasaherong nakikitang na maibigay ang kanyang bayad sa drayber ng dyip na malayo sa kanyang kinauupuan. Ganito ang senaryo kapag ang mga kapwa pasahero ay walang pakialam o tinatamad mag-abot ng bayad. May hindi marunong umusog at hindi pagpansin sa mga nanghihingi ng limos. Binabaling ang

kanilang tingin sa iba o kaya ay nagsasagawa ng ilang bagay kagaya ng pagseselpon. Isa pang sitwasyon ng walang pakialam ay sa mga drayber na napakabilis magpatakbo ng dyip kaya may mga pasaherong hindi nahihiyang magsalita para paalalahanan ang drayber na magdahandahan sa pagmamaneho. Naibahagi pa nga ng isa na mayroon siyang karanasan na hindi pa nakakababa ang pasahero ay pinaandar na kaagad ng drayber ang dyip kaya nahulog ito. Sa ganitong eksena, wala talagang pakundangan at kulang na kulang sa malasakit ang drayber sa kanyang pasahero.

Mula sa walang pakialam ay nagbunga ang negatibong katangian tulad ng kawalan ng malasakit sa kapwa ng drayber at pasahero sa kapwa pasahero na nagugat sa pagsasawawalang bahala. Mahalaga ang presensya ng malasakit sa pagbuo ng pakikipagkapwa sa isa't isa. Isa itong lutang na ugali ng mga Filipino lalo't higit sa mga sitwasyong kinakailangan ng pagtulong, hindi sa humingi nito (Erasga, 2015).

B. "Pagkagalit at pagdadabog"

Obserbasyon ng isa sa mga lalabintaunin na may ilang nagagalit na pasahero kung hindi agad nasusunod ang isinagawang pagpára lalo na kung may kalayuan ito mula sa kanyang dapat na babaan. Pinapatulan din ng drayber kung minsan ang mga pasaherong mainit ang ulo sa pagbababa sa kanila sa alanganing daan o lugar o hindi itinatabi at kung saan na lang abutin ng pagpara. Hindi alintana ang aksidente na maaaring kaharapin ng kanilang pasahero. Makikita rin sa mukha ng drayber mula sa repleksyon ng salamin ang pagka-inis o pagkayamot sa pasaherong hindi agad nakabababa ng dyip. Kung hindi naman narinig agad ng drayber ang pagpára, padabog na tinutuktok ng pasahero ang bubong ng dyip at nagsasalita ng pára. Madalas na makita ang ganitong sitwasyon sa mga drayber at pasaherong maikli ang pasensya na nagbubunga ng pagkagalit at pagdadabog.

C. "Tsismisan"

Madalas ay nadadala ng mga pasahero ang kuwento ng buhay nang may buhay sa loob ng dyip. Batay sa sariling karanasan ng lalabintaunin ay minsan nilang napag-tsismisan ng kanyang kaklase ang isa pang kaklase sa loob ng dyip na hindi nila namalayan ay nasa unahan nakapuwesto malapit sa drayber. Bumati pa ito sa kanila sa pagbaba nila pareparehas ng dyip. Sabi ng lalabintaunin ay para silang binuhusan ng malamig na tubig dahil sa hiya sa kanilang kaklase na pinagtsismisan. Alam nila ang posibilidad na narinig ito sapagkat may kalakasan ang boses nila habang sila ay nagkukuwentuhan. Nagkaroon tuloy siya ng realisasyon na hangga't maaari ay iwasan sana ng mga pasahero sa dyip ang pag-usapan ang buhay ng ibang tao dahil huli na rin nilang napagtantong mali ito. Noong una ay makikita sa sitwasyon na ito ang kawalan ng malasakit sa kapwa dahil sa tsismisan na hindi naman alam kung totoo o hindi ngunit nagbunga pa rin ng malasakit sa kapwa mula sa hiya na nagdulot sa realisasyon ng lalabintaunin na hindi dapat magtsismisan sa loob ng dyip sapagkat ito ay isang pampublikong espasyo.

Dagdag pa rin sa tsismisan ang malakas na boses na nakagagambala sa katahimikan o saglit na pamamahinga ng ibang pasahero habang bumabyahe. Ang saglit na kuwentuhan ng drayber sa kapwa drayber kapag nagkatapat sila sa kahabaan ng trapik tungkol sa matumal na pasahero, tinitimbreng enforcer, trapik, at mga nagpapabarya ay nakaaabala rin sa pasahero. Dahil sa napapatagal ang tsismisan nila ay bumabagal ang kanilang takbo o kaya naman ay hindi napapansin "go" na pala kaya pinagmumulan ng panibagong trapik. Muli, nawawalan ng hiya ang drayber sa kanyang mga pasahero dahil sa tsismis. Nawalan din siya ng malasakit sa mga ito na maaaring nagmamadali o kaya naman ay may hinahabol na oras.

D. "Siksikan at singitan"

Ordinaryong tagpuan na sa paradahan ng dyip ang pakiusap ng barker sa pag-usog para ipilit na pagkasyahin ang mga pasahero na wawaluhin lamang sa upuan ay nagiging siyaman o sampuan lalo na kung maninipis ang kanilang katawan. Ginagawan ng paraan ng drayber at barker na mapagkasya at mapalabisan pa ng bilang ang kanyang sakay kahit puno na ang dyip. Para sa mga drayber, ito ay dagdag kita sa kanila lalo na kung nakapila at nagbabayad sila ng butaw kahit pa magsiksikan na parang isang lata ng sardinas ang kanyang mga pasahero. Normal na pangitain na ito sa loob ng dyip, ang mga pasaherong siksikan sa upuan. Kaya may pasaherong iuurong ng konti palabas ang kanyang likod para makaupo nang maayos ang katabing kapwa pasahero. Ganito ang karanasan ng isa sa lalabintaunin, dahil sa malimit nga ay huli na siyang gumising sa umaga ay pagpipilitan na niyang pagkasyahin ang kanyang sarili sa dyip para makarating ng wasto sa oras sa klase. Hindi naman uso ang diskuwento sa dyip kahit kalahati na lamang ang nakaupo. Kapag ikaw naman ay nagmamadali ay hindi mo na alintana kung nakaupo ka nang maayos o hindi. Marami ring mapagsamantala sa pagsakay sa dyip. Pinagsasamantalahan ang gipit na sitwasyong pinagdadaanan ng pasahero.

Sa siksikan at singitan lumalabas din ang pagsasamantala ng mga malalakas sa mahihinang pasahero. Mabilis na nakauupo ang malalaki at malalakas ang katawan na kadalasan ay mga lalaki. Malimit na dehado naman ang mga senior citizen, PWD, buntis, mga magulang na may bitbit na sanggol o may mga hawak na bata, at mga mag-aaral na hindi marunong makipagsiksikan. Kaya kung minsan ay nagiging mapagsamantala na rin ang iba.

E. "Budol"

Umaakyat din sa dyip ang mga batang pulubi na may panlinis ng sapatos pagkatapos ay hihingi na ng limos kapalit ang maikling serbisyo mula sa pakunwaring pagpupunas ng sapatos. Si ate naman na nakadamit ng puti at biglang sisingit sa upuan, may dala-dalang bibliya, magbabasa ng berso at magbabahagi ng salita ng Diyos kasabay ang pagpapasa ng maliliit na sobre para sa abuloy. Si kuya naman na may kuwentong pang "Maalala Mo Kaya"

tungkol sa kapamilyang nasa ospital at magpapakita ng bayarin upang makahingi ng limos. Ilan lamang ito sa mga personal na karanasan sa dyip na naikuwento ng lalabintaunin. Ayon sa mga lalabintaunin ay modus operandi na ito kung tutuusin na mahirap paniwalaan dahil sa ilang beses nilang karanasan ay nakikita na nila itong panlalamang sa kapwa. Ito ang iba't ibang uri ng pambubudol o panloloko sa kapwa na nagdudulot ng pananamlay sa pagtulong sa kapwa dahil sa pagdududa kung totoo ba ang sinasabi ng mga nanlilimos o hindi.

F. "Lamangan"

Sa kabila ng bigayan ay kapansin-pansin din ang eksena ng lamangan sa loob ng dyip tulad ng "123" na ibig sabihin ay pagtakbo sa pagbabayad. May pasaherong kunwaring nagabot ng bayad pero kulang naman at sasabayan nang mabilis na pagbaba sa dyip. Ganun din ang drayber na napakatagal magsukli hanggang sa makalimutan na ito ng pasahero. Sa kapwa drayber din na kukunin ang pasahero o kaya ay may cut ng trip para iwas sa trapik. Ilan lamang ito sa mga naikuwento ng mga lalabintaunin na kanilang danas at nasaksihan sa pagsakay nila ng dyip. Ang mga senaryong ito ay nakatulong naman para sa matalinong pagmamasid at repleksyon kung tama ba o mali ang ginawa ng drayber o ng kapwa pasahero. Para sa kanila, ang lamangan sa dyip ay oportunidad upang maging mapanuri sa iba't ibang karanasang ito na realidad ng buhay sa lipunang Pilipino. Pagbabahagi ng isang lalabintaunin na nasa kanila na kung paano nila ipoproseso sa sarili ang kanilang danas. Nagkomento naman ang iba na mahalagang manaig pa rin ang pagiging mabuting tao lalo na sa kanyang kapwa pasahero sa lahat ng pagkakataon.

G. "Pakutuban"

Nabanggit nilang may halong pangambang nabubuo kaya hindi nila maialis na maging mapagmatyag sa kanilang paligid lalo na kung gabi at madalang na ang tao sa kalsada habang sila ay nakasakay sa dyip. Bunga ito ng mga napapanood sa balita o kaya ay mga itinatampok na eksena sa mga pelikula kagaya ng panghoholdap. Nilinaw naman ng mga lalabintauning hindi naman ito palagian, subalit mainam nang maging mapagmatyag at palagiang handa kung may mga ganitong hindi inaasahang pangyayari. Dagdag pa nila na sa panahon ngayon, mahirap husgahan kung sino ang may masamang balak sa mga taong nakakasama sa dyip sapagkat maging bata, matanda, babae o lalaki man ay napababalitang nagiging biktima ng mga ganitong insidente sa dyip. Sa mga ganitong pagkilos ay nanlalamig ang usapin ng pakikipagkapwa sa loob ng dyip dahil nagiging salik ito upang hindi makita ang pagkalinga sa kapwa.

KONGKLUSYON

Maituturing na mahalagang sangkap ang dyip partikular yaong tradisyonal na dyip sa bansa sa patuloy na paghahabi ng pagkatao at pagkakakilanlang Pilipino. Hindi lang ito dapat tingnan bilang isang moda ng transportasyon kung hindi isang buhay na piraso ng ating makulay na kasaysayan at malikhaing identidad. Nanganganib sa kasalukuyan ang mga tradisyonal na dyip na tuluyan nang mawala sa lansangan dahil sa kautusan na *Jeepney Phaseout* subalit sa kabila nito ay nagluwal naman para sa sampung natanong at nakakuwentuhang lalabintaunin hinggil sa kanilang danas sa bawat pagsakay rito na may tuon sa naratibo ng pakikipagkápwa sa kapwa pasahero sa dyip.

Pinagbibigkis ng kaasalan at pagpapahalaga sa kapwa ang pagkataong Pilipino na nangibabaw sa murang edad ng lalabintaunin kaya nasaluysoy sa mga naratibo nila ang mga positibong maka-Pilipinong konsepto ng kápwa sa kapwa pasahero sa dyip. Nakabubuo ng antasan ng pagtutunguhan ayon sa disenyo ni Enriquez ang maliit na espasyo ng dyip mula sa abutan ng bayad at sukli, pagiging boses sa bawat pagpára at pagsakay sa tabi, at ang paglalapit ng sarili mula ibang-tao sa hindi ibang-tao sa pamamagitan ng tinginan, pakiramdaman, at kuwentuhan. Napagtanto rin ng mga lalabintaunin kung paanong sa loob ng dyip ay naitataguyod ng mga kapwa nila pasahero ang konsepto ng pagbibigay-limos at malasakit sa gitna ng pagiging ibang-tao ng marami sa araw-araw nilang pagbiyahe sa dyip. Konkreto itong ipinamamalas sa paulit-ulit nilang pagsakay sa pamamagitan ng pagbibigay espasyo sa upuan lalo na tuwing punuan.

Sa kabilang banda, hindi maitatatwang may mga negatibong maka-Pilipinong katangian ang naobserbahan at naranasan ng mga lalabintaunin sa loob ng dyip. Maaaring nauugat ito sa sirkumstansya ng panahon kaya nagagawa ng kapwa pasahero ang pagsasawalang bahala o walang pakialam sa kapwa nila na sa ilang pagkakataon ay mas malala ang nagiging reaksyon dahil may pagkagalit at pagdadabog bilang aksyon. Lumabas na nagiging espasyo rin ang dyip para sa palitan ng kuwento mula sa mga lalabintaunin. Naging punto naman ito ng negatibong aksyon kaya nagagawa ang tsismisan na madalas ay buhay ng ibang tao ang nagiging paksa. Normal man na senaryo ang punuan sa dyip ay hindi naman maialis na nagagawa pa rin ng ibang kapwa pasahero ang singitan sa upuan, pambubudol, panlalamang, kaya madalas ay umiiwas na lang ang mga lalabintaunin at ginagamit ang kanilang kutob bilang paraan upang alpasan ang mga hindi inaasahang insidente. Lahat ng ito ay buhat sa mayamang naratibo ng mga lalabintaunin na naging punto ng realisasyon naman sa kanila na tingnan sa kabilang anggulo ang mga negatibong maka-Pilipinong pagpapahalaga para sa kapwa pasahero tulad ng pagmamalasakit, malawak na pang-unawa, at pagiging tapat sa kapwa.

Ang nabuong konsepto ng kápwa sa kapwa pasahero sa dyip na mula ibang-tao ay nagiging hindi na ibang-tao sapagkat kapwa nakikiisa at nakikisama ang lahat. Nagkaroon ng kapasidad ang mga lalabintaunin na matuto, magbigay, magpahalaga, makisama,

makipag-ugnayan, magmalasakit, dumamay, at umunawa sa kapwa. Lumabas sa kabuuan na ang konsepto ng kapwa ay hindi usaping pansarili lamang kung hindi pakikipagugnayan o pakikipagrelasyon sa kapwa para maabot ang pinakamataas na kaantasan ng pakikipagtunguhan, ang pakikipagkapwa-tao. Hamon ngayon para sa mga susunod na lalabintaunin ng panahon na galugarin at/o ipagpatuloy partikular ang positibong maka-Pilipinong pagpapahalaga na mayroon sa bawat interaksyon o pakikipagkapwa ng bawat pasahero sa kápwa nila pasahero sa dyip. Ang mga ito ay kakintalan na nakuha ng mga lalabintaunin sa dyip sapagkat isa itong kultural na simbolo at espasyo ng lipunang Pilipino.

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Ritwal at Banal na Espasyo: Ang Papel ng Ritwal sa Paghubog ng Komunidad ng El Shaddai

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ABSTRAK

Ang pananaliksik na ito ay naglalayong suriin ang papel ng ritwal sa paghubog ng banal na espasyo at komunidad sa samahang El Shaddai. Gamit ang etnograpikong pamamaraan, isinagawa ang obserbasyon sa loob ng limang magkakasunod na Sabado sa Amvel City, Lungsod ng Parañaque upang matukoy at mailarawan ang mga ritwal na isinasagawa sa lingguhang pagtitipon. Natuklasan na may pitong pangunahing ritwal na tinatawag na "gawaing pangkabanalan," na nagsisilbing mahalagang bahagi ng espiritwal na buhay ng mga kasapi. Bukod dito, itinampok ng pag-aaral ang papel ng entablado bilang isang "banal na espasyo" na nagsisilbing sentro ng ritwalistikong pagtatanghal. Ipinapakita ng pagsusuri na ang ritwal ay hindi lamang isang espiritwal na gawain kung 'di isang anyo ng komunikasyong nagpapatibay ng kolektibong identidad at pagkakaisa sa loob ng komunidad. Ang pananaw na ito ay kaayon ng teorya ni James Carey tungkol sa Ritual Communication, na nagsasaad na ang komunikasyon ay isang paraan ng pagbubuo ng kahulugan at pagiging bahagi ng isang pananampalatayang pamayanan. Sa kabuuan, ipinapakita ng pananaliksik na ang pagsasagawa ng ritwal at ang sagradong espasyo ay kapwa nag-aambag sa espiritwal na pag-unlad at panlipunang ugnayan ng mga kasapi ng El Shaddai. Ang pagaaral na ito ay maaaring magsilbing batayan sa mas malalim pang pagsusuri sa papel ng ritwal sa iba't ibang relihiyosong samahan sa Pilipinas.

Mga Susing Salita: Banal na espasyo, komunidad, El Shaddai, ritwal, Ritual Communication Theory

ABSTRACT

This study aims to examine the role of ritual in shaping sacred space and community within the El Shaddai fellowship. Using an ethnographic approach, observations were conducted over five consecutive Saturdays at Amvel City, Parañaque City, to identify and describe the rituals performed during the group's weekly gatherings. The research found seven primary rituals, referred to as "spiritual activities," which serve as essential components of the members' spiritual lives. Additionally, the study highlights the role of the stage as a "sacred space" that functions as the focal point of ritual

performance. The analysis reveals that ritual is not only a spiritual practice but also a form of communication that strengthens collective identity and unity within the community. This perspective aligns with James Carey's Ritual Communication Theory, which posits that communication is a means of meaning-making and fostering participation in a faith-based community. Overall, the research demonstrates that both the performance of rituals and the presence of sacred space contribute to the spiritual development and social connection of El Shaddai members. This study may serve as a foundation for deeper analysis of the role of ritual in various religious communities in the Philippines.

Keywords: Community, El Shaddai, Rituals, Ritual Communication Theory, Sacred space

INTRODUKSYON

Sa loob ng apat na dekada, ang samahang El Shaddai¹ ay naging isang mahalagang bahagi ng buhay panrelihiyon ng milyon-milyong Pilipino. Bilang isang makapangyarihang *Charismatic Renewal Movement*,² hindi lamang nito hinubog ang pananampalataya ng mga kasapi kung 'di pati na rin ang kanilang kolektibong identidad bilang isang espiritwal na komunidad. Sa kabila ng modernisasyon at patuloy na pagbabago sa relihiyosong praktika, nananatiling buhay at dinamiko ang ritwal ng El Shaddai, isang patunay ng kakayahan nitong lumikha ng espiritwal na espasyo at magpapalalim ng ugnayan sa Diyos at sa kapwa mananampalataya.

Itinatag noong 1984 ni Engr. Mariano "Bro. Mike" Z. Velarde ang El Shaddai ay naglalayong muling pag-alabin ang pananampalataya ng mga Katolikong Pilipino sa pamamagitan ng masiglang pagsamba, panalangin, at pakikinig sa Salita ng Diyos. Binibigyangdiin ng kapatiran ang panalangin para sa kagalingan, kasaganahan, at pag-asa. Kilala rin ito sa mga ritwal na may partikular na simbolismo: ang pagbabaligtad ng payong bilang anyo ng pagsalo sa pagpapala, pagwawagayway ng puting panyo bilang tanda ng pagpupuri, pagtataas ng bote ng tubig, itlog, at pasaporte, larawan ng mga kaanak, pagkain bilang panalangin para sa kabuhayan, at sabay-sabay na pagsigaw ng "AMEN!" bilang ekspresyon ng pananampalataya. Sa entablado, isang lalaking tinatawag na "Bro. Mike" ang sumisigaw ng mga katagang gaya

¹ Mula sa salitang Hebreo na nangangahulugang "Diyos na higit sa sapat".

² Samahan sa loob at kasapi ng simbahang Katolika kung saan ang mga Katoliko ay mas aktibong ipinapahayag ang kanilang pananampalataya sa pamamagitan ng masiglang pagdarasal, awitan, at paniniwala sa kapangyarihan ng Banal na Espiritu, tulad ng pagsasalita sa ibang wika, paggaling, at pagbabahagi ng mga mensahe mula sa Diyos

ng "hustong takal, siksik, liglig, at umaapaw," na siyang naging muhon ng pagpapala para sa marami.

Mula sa isang maliit na istasyon sa radyo DWXI at sa programang *To God Be the Glory*, lumawak ang kapatiran upang mapuno ang Quirino Grandstand, PICC Grounds, at sa kasalukuyan, ang Amvel City sa Parañaque, kung saan ginaganap tuwing Sabado ang kanilang lingguhang *gawain* mula ika-3 ng hapon hanggang ika-9 ng gabi. Sa ngayon, tinatayang milyonmilyon na ang kasapi ng El Shaddai sa buong bansa at sa diaspora. Tanyag din ito sa paggamit ng media, partikular sa radio, telebisyon at internet, bilang midyum sa pagpapalaganap ng ebanghelyo.

Bagama't may ilang pag-aaral sa mga Charismatic Renewal Movements sa Pilipinas, kulang pa rin ang pagsusuri sa ritwal ng El Shaddai bilang komunikatibong proseso. Sa larangan ng komunikasyon, inilahad ni James Carey (1989) ang dalawang pangunahing pananaw: ang transmission view, na nakatuon sa paglipat ng impormasyon, at ang ritual view, na sumusuri sa komunikasyon bilang kolektibong pagsasanay ng kahulugan at ugnayan. Sa kanyang pananaw, ang ritwal ay hindi lamang seremonyal na kilos kung 'di isang komunikatibong gawi na lumilikha ng espiritwal na pagbubuklod, kolektibong identidad, at muling pagpapahayag ng kahulugan. Sa kontekstong ito, maaaring unawain ang mga gawain ng El Shaddai bilang ritwal na komunikasyon, isang pagtatanghal ng pananampalataya na ginaganap sa banal na espasyong entablado, kung saan ang katawan, salita, at simbolo ay nagkakaugnay sa iisang daloy ng espiritwalidad.

Ayon kay Prospero Covar (1998), ang ritwal ay bunga ng paniniwala at maisasakatuparan lamang sa konteksto ng kolektibong lohika ng pananampalataya. Sa kaniyang pag-aaral sa Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, ipinakilala niya ang "Social Movement Theory" na sinalin niya bilang Kilusang Bayan dahil ang mga kilusang ito ay naglalayong bumuo ng bagong "social order". Sa katunayan, tinuligsa niya ang Kanluraning pagbasa sa mga katutubong kilusang panrelihiyon bilang "cult", "messianic", "millenarian", "reformative" at iminungkahi ang paggamit ng **kapatiran** bilang mas angkop na balangkas sa pag-unawa sa panlipunang pananampalataya ng mga Pilipino. Ayon kay Clemen Aquino (2004), ang pagsasakatutubo ng konsepto ng social movement ay hindi lamang reaktibo, kung 'di nagpapakita ng mayamang lohika ng sariling espiritwalidad, pagbubuo ng pamayanan, at kolektibong paniniwala.

Sa kontekstong ito, mahalagang banggitin ang pag-aaral ni Nilo Ocampo (2011) na tumalakay sa mga kilusang Rizalista sa kanyang aklat na *Kristong Pilipino*. Dito, kanyang pinatunayan na ang mga samahang gaya ng Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi, Bathalismo, at La Iglesia Catolica Filipina ay mga kapatirang may sariling teolohiya, ritwal, at pagkilala sa mga pinunong

tagapagligtas. Makikita rito na ang ritwal ay hindi lamang panlabas na kilos kundi daluyan ng panloob na lohika ng pananampalataya.

Mahalaga ring mabanggit ang pag-iral ng kapatiran sa kasaysayan ng mga katutubong kilusan gaya ng kay Papa Isio, Dios Buhawi, at Dios Gregorio. Ayon kina Lopez-Gonzaga at Decena (1990), nabuo ang kapatiran ni Papa Isio bilang alternatibong pwersa laban sa kolonyal na kaayusan—hindi lamang bilang anyo ng armadong paglaban kundi bilang espiritwal na pamayanan. Ang mga kilusan nina Dios Buhawi sa Negros (Madrid, 2019) at Gregorio Dios sa Antique (Marco, 2001) ay maaaring ituring na anyo ng katutubong kapatiran. Sa pamumuno ng mga lider na may karismatikong awtoridad, nabuo ang mga pamayanang nagsilbing alternatibo sa kolonyal na kaayusan. Ang ganitong mga samahan ay nagpapakita ng kapatiran bilang daluyan ng kolektibong paglaban at panloob na paghubog ng espiritwalidad sa gitna ng kolonyal na paniniil. Gaya ng isinagawa ni Paluga (2000) sa kanyang pag-aaral sa Moncadismo, layunin din ng pag-aaral na ito na lumampas sa Kanluraning lente at unawain ang ritwal at espasyo ng El Shaddai batay sa panloob nitong lohika bilang kapatiran. Sa halip na ituring ito bilang simpleng reaksyon sa kahirapan o kultong panrelihiyon, binubuksan ng pagaaral ang posibilidad na ang El Shaddai ay isang kontemporanyong pahayag ng panlipunang pananampalataya ng sambayanang Pilipino, na may sariling naratibo, lohika ng ritwal, at espiritwal na pagbubuo ng komunidad.

Sa pagtanaw mula sa lente ni Carey (1989), ang mga ritwal na ito ay maaaring ituring na aktong komunikatibo na lumilikha ng "shared world"—isang mundo ng kolektibong kahulugan. Sa halip na ituring ang El Shaddai bilang simpleng reaksyon sa kahirapan o isang karismatikong kilusan na walang lohika, o ang iba pa nga ay itinuturing itong kulto (Balajadia, 2001) inihahain ng pananaliksik na ito ang pananaw na ang El Shaddai ay isang kapatiran kung saan nagiging daluyan ng espiritwal na pag-asa, panlipunang ugnayan, at pagbubuo ng komunidad ng pananampalataya ang ritwal. Sabi nga ni Peregrino (2001), ang bawat relihiyon ay may ritwal. Sa pamamagitan ng mga ritwal, nababahagi at naipapahayag nito ang isang paniniwala, saloobin, ideolohiya at nagiging daan para maunawaan ang relihiyon.

Sa pananaliksik na ito, ang ritwal ay itinuturing na paulit-ulit, makahulugan, at samasamang pagkilos ng mga kasapi ng El Shaddai na kalauna'y nagiging pangunahing kasangkapan ng kanilang pagkakakilanlan bilang isang komunidad at kapatiran sa pananampalataya. Kaugnay nito, hangarin ng papel na masusing sagutin ang sumusunod na tanong:

- 1. Ano-ano ang mga ritwal na isinasagawa ng kapatirang El Shaddai sa kanilang lingguhang gawain, at anu-ano ang mga kasangkapang ginagamit sa mga ito?
- 2. Paano nagiging banal na espasyo ang entablado sa pamamagitan ng pagtatanghal ng mga ritwal?

3. Paano nabubuo ang konsepto ng komunidad sa samahang El Shaddai kapag pagbabatayan ang kanilang ritwal?

Mahalaga ang pananaliksik na ito sa tatlong kadahilanan: una, bilang isa sa pinakamalalaking kilusang karismatiko sa bansa, nananatiling kulang ang masinsing pagsusuri sa El Shaddai mula sa perspektiba ng komunikasyon at ritwal. Ikalawa, ang pagsusuri sa ritwal bilang komunikatibong gawi ay nagbibigay-linaw sa proseso ng pagbubuo ng espiritwal na identidad, kolektibong kamalayan, at panlipunang ugnayan. Ikatlo, ang pagbibigay-diin sa espasyong banal ay nagpapakita kung paanong ang komunikasyon ay hindi lamang berbal kung 'di nasasakatawan, nakaugat sa lugar, at nakapaloob sa espiritwal na topograpiya ng sambayanang Pilipino. Sa ganitong paraan, ang pananaliksik na ito ay ambag sa mas malalim na pag-unawa sa ugnayan ng ritwal, komunikasyon, kapatiran, at sagradong espasyo sa konteksto ng kontemporanyong pananampalatayang Pilipino.

Mga Lokal na Pag-aaral Tungkol sa Ritwal bilang Pagtatanghal

Sa mga kontemporaryong pananaliksik, ang ritwal ay hindi itinuturing na simpleng panrelihiyong aktibidad lamang, kung 'di isa ring masalimuot na praktika ng komunikasyon, katawan, espasyo, at simbolismo. Paliwanag ni Tiatco (2019), ang ritwal ay maaaring basahin bilang isang uri ng *performance*, na gumagamit ng katawan bilang daluyan ng paniniwala at kolektibong pagkilos. Sa ganitong lente, ang ritwal ay isang masining na pagtatanghal ng pananampalataya na nakaugat sa lokal na kultura.

Sa pag-aaral naman ni Salonga (2007), binigyang-diin ang papel ng wika at galaw sa konstruksyon ng ritwal bilang komunikatibong anyo. Ang bawat salita, kilos, at ayos ng katawan sa isang ritwal ay may dalang mensahe, hindi lamang para sa Diyos, kung 'di pati sa komunidad na nakikibahagi rito. Ganito rin ang inilatag ni De Leon (2024) sa kaniyang pagsusuri sa debosyon sa Birheng Maria, kung saan ang mga gawi ng pamamanata ay nagsisilbing anyo ng kolektibong pagkakakilanlan ng komunidad. Sa kabilang banda, binigyang-pansin ni Reyes (2022) ang *Sayaw sa Obando* bilang isang pagsasanib ng pananampalataya at tradisyong kultural. Ang ritwal ay hindi lamang espiritwal na gawain kung 'di isang pampamayanang akto ng panata, aliw, at pag-asa. Ganito rin ang pinalutang nina Demeterio at Orozco (2023), na nagsuri sa kasaysayang nakapaloob sa mga ritwal ng mga santo sa Obando, na anila ay nagsisilbing tagapadala ng lokal na kasaysayan at pagkakakilanlan.

Sa rehiyonal na konteksto, isinalarawan nina Langahid at Catibay (2022) kung paanong ang ritwal ay nakaugat sa moralidad, kabuhayan, at bayanihan. Samantala, sa mga pag-aaral ng *Sinulog* bilang panata at prusisyon (Alcedo, 2007; Bautista at Braulein, 2014; Llana, 2011; Dela Paz, 2012; Peterson, 2011), muling lumitaw ang ritwal bilang *buhay na*

naratibo ng pananampalataya, isang pagsasanib ng musika, katawan, at pananampalatayang kolektibo.

Bagaman iba-iba ang naging pagtututok ng mga iskolar sa debosyon, nagkakapareho sila sa diskursong ang mga ritwal na itinatanghal ay nagiging daan para mabuo ang isang pamayanang may layuning magpakilala sa kanilang identidad. Kaugnay nito, ang ganitong pagtingin sa ritwal ay mahalaga sa konteksto ng El Shaddai, kung saan ang pagtitipon ay hindi lamang pagbasa ng dasal o pakikinig sa pangangaral, kung 'di isang aktibong pagganap ng pananampalataya, sa awitin, sayaw, pagsigaw, at paggamit ng espasyo.

Mga Pag-aaral sa Filipino Tungkol sa Relihiyon

Sa mga lokal na pananaliksik na nakasulat sa wikang Filipino, binibigyang-diin ang relihiyon hindi lamang bilang espiritwal na paniniwala, kung 'di bilang karanasang nakaugat sa kasaysayan, kapatiran, espasyo, at panlipunang ugnayan. Sa kaniyang pag-aaral sa sektang Moncado Alpha and Omega, inilatag ni Paluga (2000) ang lohika ng alternatibong kapatiran, na isang porma ng pananampalatayang may sariling ritwal, naratibo, at espiritwal na kosmolohiya na humuhugot sa kolektibong pag-iral ng mamamayan.

Katulad nito, ang kilusan ni Papa Isio na tinalakay nina Lopez-Gonzaga at Decena (1990) ay maituturing na kapatirang mistikal at politikal sa gitna ng kolonyal na transisyon. Ayon kay Larkin (2001), ang pamumunong ito ay nakaangkla sa tradisyon ng babaylan at panlipunang hustisya. Sa Kabisayaan naman, inilarawan ni Marco (2001) ang Dios-Dios bilang espiritwal na kilusan na pinangungunahan ng isang indbidwal na itinuturing bilang Diyos sa mundo. Nahagip ng talakay niya si Dios Buhawi ng Negros Oriental at si Dios Gregorio ng Antique. Makabuluhan din ang aklat ni Nilo Ocampo (2011) na isa sa mga unang naglatag ng pagsusuri sa mga kapatirang Rizalista sa kaniyang aklat na Kristong Pilipino. Sa pamamagitan ng dokumentasyon at fieldwork sa Bundok Banahaw, pinatampok niya ang pananampalatayang nakaugat sa lokal na imahinasyon, kolektibong alaala, at panitikang panrelihiyon. Lutang sa mga pag-aaral na ito ang konsepto ng kapatiran na inihahain ni Covar (sa Aquino 2004).

Sa Timog-Silangang Asya, ipinamalas ni Tugano (2022) sa kanyang anekdotal na sanaysay ang ugnayan ng relihiyon sa identidad at pamumuhay sa Thailand, Myanmar, at Indonesia. Aniya, ang relihiyon ay hindi lamang tagapagdikit ng komunidad kundi maaari ring magsilbing salik ng pagkakahati, lalo na kung ito ay ginagamit sa kapangyarihan at politika. Sa kanyang mga pananaliksik sa Australia (2021; 2023), ipinakita rin niya kung paano ang mga ritwal ng mga migrante—gaya ng fluvial parade ng Our Lady of Penafrencia at Sinulog Festival bilang mga halimbawang ritwal na isinasabuhay ng mga migrante sa ibayong dagat at ang pang-araw araw na gawi tulad ng pagkain ay lumilikha ng espayong may kultural at emosyonal na saysay sa banyagang lupain. Mahalaga ring banggitin na si Tugano (2021) ay gumamit ng maka-Pilipinong metodolohiya tulad ng pagtatanong-tanong, pagsuroy-suroy, at pagmamasid—mga paraang nagpapalutang sa karanasang Pilipino na batayan din ng kasalukuyang papel na ito. Sa rehiyonal na antas, sina Garcia-Castro at Yabut (2015) ay nagbigay-diin sa ispiritwalidad ng mga Thai, na sa kabila ng modernisasyon ay patuloy na nagsisilbing gabay sa moralidad, ugnayang panlipunan, at personal na kaginhawaan.

Sa kabuuan, ipinapakita ng mga pag-aaral na ito na ang relihiyon ay hindi hiwalay sa buhay-panlipunan, kundi isa sa mga sentrong paraan ng pagbubuo ng kolektibong pagkatao at paniniwala. Sa pamamagitan ng maka-Pilipinong pananaw at metodo—gaya ng ipinamalas nina Ocampo (2011), Paluga (2000), at Tugano (2021), masusukat ang halaga ng pananampalataya bilang praktika ng kapatiran, espasyo, at pagbabagong espiritwal. Ang ganitong lente ay mahalagang sandigan sa pagsusuri sa El Shaddai bilang kontemporanyong kilusan ng panlipunang pananampalataya ng sambayanang Pilipino.

Mga Pag-aaral sa Kapatirang El Shaddai

Ang mga naunang pag-aaral sa El Shaddai ay nagpapakita ng matatag na interes mula sa iba't ibang disiplina—mula sa etnograpiya at penomenolohiya hanggang sa diskursongteolohikal at sosyo-politikal na pagsusuri. Sa akda ni Wiegele (2007), nailarawan ang El Shaddai bilang isang anyo ng *lay spirituality* na nagbibigay-ginhawa sa mga maralita sa gitna ng personal na krisis. Kaugnay nito, ipinakita sa kaniyang naunang artikulo na ang samahan ay bumubuo ng isang espiritwal na diskursong nagtatatanggol sa deterministikong pagbasa ng kahirapan habang niyayakap ang modernong aspirasyon para sa pag-angat (Wiegele, 2006). Nakaugat din dito ang pananaw ni Araw (1999) na ang mensahe ng pag-asa ni Bro. Mike Velarde ang naging sentral na puwersa sa popularisasyon ng kilusan.

Samantala, ang penomenolohikal na pag-aaral ni Fortunado-Sanchez (2002) ay naglantad ng mga karanasan ng mga kasapi bilang daluyan ng espiritwal at personal na pagbubuo ng sarili. Sa ganitong paraan, binigyang-lalim ng mga pag-aaral nina Demeterio (2010) at Francisco (2010) ang ugnayan ng doktrinang *prosperity theology*, pamumuno, at media, habang sinuri naman nina Kessler at Ruland (2007) ang retorika ni Bro. Mike bilang aspekto ng ritwal na humuhubog sa espiritwalidad ng mga tagasunod. Lumawak pa ito sa mga pag-aaral nina Gorospe (1999), Mercado (2001), at Makiling (2025) na tumalakay sa papel ng kilusan sa eleksyon, pamumuno, at estratehikong pamamahala.

Sa kabila ng lawak ng mga literaturang ito, mapapansing karamihan ay mula sa panlabas na pananaw, mga dayuhang iskolar o obhetibong tagamasid na nagsusuri sa El Shaddai bilang panlipunang penomenon. Sa ganitong konteksto, inilulugar ng kasalukuyang pag-aaral ang sarili bilang isang *insider* na nagsisikap lumampas sa dayuhang lente, at humuhugot sa mga maka-Pilipinong metodo ng pananaliksik upang mailantad ang panloob na lohika ng kapatiran, pananampalataya, at ritwal sa El Shaddai. Kaugnay nito, nakapook muna ang papel na ito sa deskriptibong pagtingin sa mga ritwal ng El Shaddai, at anumang kahihinatnang pagbasa ay magagamit sa mga susunod na pag-aaral bilang basehan ng analitikal na pagsipat.

Ang Ritwal na Komunikasyon ni James Carey bilang Batayang Teoretikal ng Pag-aaral

Nakasalig sa *Ritual Communication Theory* ni James Carey ang pananaliksik na ito. Ang ritwal na komunikasyon ay hindi lamang tumutukoy sa pagpapadala ng impormasyon kungʻdi sa pagbabahagi, pakikilahok, at pagdiriwang ng mga kolektibong kahulugan. Ayon kay Carey (1992), ang komunikasyon ay isang simbolikong proseso na nagpapanatili sa lipunan sa paglipas ng panahon, at hindi lamang simpleng pagpapalawak ng mensahe sa espasyo. Aniya, "a ritual view of communication is not directed toward the extension of messages in space, but the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information or influence, but the creation, representation, and celebration of shared beliefs".

Sa sanaysay niyang *Communication as Culture*, ipinakita ni Carey (1989) ang pagkakaiba ng transmisyon at ritwal bilang dalawang pananaw sa komunikasyon. Ang una ay nakatuon sa pagdadala ng mensahe mula sa pinagmulan patungo sa tagatanggap. Sa kabilang banda, ang ritwal na pananaw ay nakatuon sa pagbabahagi ng karanasan, isang simbolikong gawaing bumubuo at nagpapatatag sa komunidad. Halimbawa, ang pagsisimba ay maaaring ituring na daluyan ng impormasyon sa transmisyong pananaw, kung saan ang pari ay nagsesermon at ang mga tao ay nakikinig. Sa ritwal na pananaw, ang pagsisimba ay isang seremonyal na karanasan ng sabayang pananalangin at pag-awit, isang anyo ng kolektibong paglahok sa pananampalataya na nagpapatibay sa ugnayan ng pamayanan. Sa ganitong pagbasa, ang komunikasyon ay hindi lamang paglilipat ng mensahe, kung 'di ritwal ng pagdaramdam at pagdalo sa isang kolektibong mundong makahulugan.

May tatlong pangunahing palagay ang Ritual Communication Theory:

- 1. Hindi likas o ibinibigay ang realidad;
- 2. Ang realidad ay nililikha sa pamamagitan ng simbolo; at
- 3. Ang tao ang gumagawa ng realidad.

Pinagsama ni Carey ang mga ideya ng commonness, community, at communication sa pamamagitan ng dalawang metapora: space-based at time-based. Ang una ay tumutukoy sa komunikasyon bilang daluyan habang ang ikalawa ay nakaugat sa seremonya—isang shared experience.

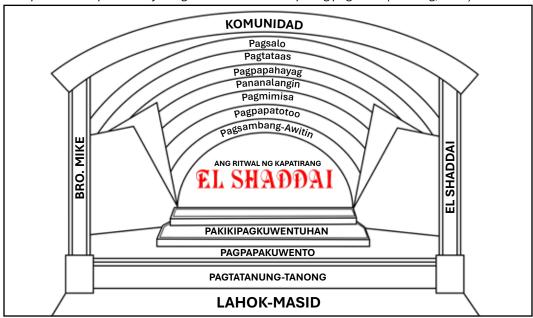
Sa konteksto ng El Shaddai, ang ritwal ay hindi lamang pagbibigay ng impormasyon kundi isang simbolikong kilos na nagpapahayag ng pananampalataya at nagbubuklod sa mga miyembro. Ang mga kilos tulad ng pagtaas ng panyo o pitaka ay may partikular na kahulugan na nauunawaan ng mga deboto. Sa paggamit ng *Ritual Communication Theory*, naipapakita kung paanong ang kahulugan ay nalilikha at naipapasa sa pamamagitan ng sama-samang ritwal na nagbibigay-buhay sa espiritwal at panlipunang ugnayan ng komunidad.

Bagama't ang teoryang *Ritual Communication Theory* (RCT) ni James Carey ay mula sa Kanluran, may mga pag-aaral na nagpapakita ng bisa nito sa mas malawak na konteksto. Sa pagsusuri ni Costa (2020), nakatutulong ang RCT sa pagpapanatili ng kolektibong identidad sa isang lipunan. Ganito rin ang pahiwatig ni Pauly (1997) na nagsabing imposible ang buhay kung walang ritwal sa komunikasyon. Para naman kay Sen (2017), ang mismong impormasyon ay maaaring gamiting ritwal. Lumawak pa ang aplikasyon ng RCT sa larang ng teknolohiya at midya. Sina Anderson (2011), Pauly (2014), Foucault at McLuhan (2007) ay nagpakita kung paano nagiging ritwal ang komunikasyon sa digital na panahon—isang pananaw na may kaugnayan sa paggamit ng radyo, telebisyon, at livestream ng mga grupong tulad ng El Shaddai. Bagaman manipis pa ang mga pananaliksik na gumagamit ng RCT sa kontekstong Pilipino, ipinakita ni Reynon (2020) ang potensyal ng teoryang ito sa kanyang pag-aaral sa Day by Day Ministries—na halos kahawig ng saliksik na ito.

Konseptuwal na Balangkas: Ang Entablado bilang Banal na Espasyo

Pigura 1

Metaporikal na representasyon ng entablado sa konsepto ng pag-aaral (Makiling, 2025)



Sa pag-aaral na ito, ginamit ang estruktura ng entablado ng El Shaddai bilang metaporikal na representasyon ng banal na espasyo at daluyan ng ritwal na komunikasyon. Sa disenyo, makikita ang dalawang haligi na sumasagisag kay Bro. Mike bilang tagapagtatag at sa kapatirang El Shaddai bilang institusyon, na parehong nagsisilbing pundasyon ng espiritwal at organisasyonal na buhay ng komunidad.

Angentablado ay may tatlong baitang na sa pananaliksik na ito ay ginamit bilang muhon ng maka-Pilipinong metodo: pagtatanong-tanong, pagpapakuwento at pakikipagkuwentuhan. Ito rin ang naging hakbang ng mananaliksik upang maaabot niya ang rurok ng kaisipan ng ritual view of communication ni James Carey, kung saan ang komunikasyon ay hindi lamang paghahatid ng impormasyon kundi paglikha at pagpapanatili ng panlipunang realidad.

Sa backdrop ng entablado, inilarawan ang pitong pangunahing ritwal ng El Shaddai na nadalumat sa isang bahaghari na sumasagisag sa espiritwal na biyaya at kolektibong paglalakbay ng mga kasapi—mula pagsambang-awitin hanggang pagsalo. Ang pag-angat patungo sa komunidad, na siyang bubong ng entablado ay nagpapakita ng layunin ng ritwal: ang pagbubuo ng isang bayan ng Diyos.

Sa ibaba ng entablado, nakaposisyon ang lahok-masid na metodo na sumasagisag sa naging fieldwork ng mananaliksik. Ibig sabihin, sa pagbabad sa mismong espasyo ng mga deboto—kung saan sila nananalangin, nagtataas ng mga dala-dalahan at nag-aalay ng mga pasasalamat—naisakatuparan niya ang masinsin at makabuluhang pakikilahok sa buhay-relihiyoso ng komunidad. Sa ganitong paraan, naunawaan niya hindi lamang ang anyo ng mga ritwal kung 'di ang mismong danas ng mga kasapi ng El Shaddai.

METODOLOHIYA

Ginamit ang kwalitatibong pamamaraan sa pananaliksik na ito, partikular ang etnograpikong lapit, upang masusing mailarawan at masuri ang mga ritwalistikong gawain ng kapatirang El Shaddai. Pinagsanib ng mananaliksik ang Lahok-masid at pagsuroy-suroy, kung saan ang mananaliksik ay aktibong lumahok at nagmasid sa mga ritwal. Ang uri ng lahok-masid ay maaaring ituring na *moderate participation* dahil ang mananaliksik ay nakiisa sa mga gawain ng komunidad habang pinanatili ang akademikong distansya sa analisis.

Ginamit din sa papel ang Sikolohiyang Pilipino nina Enriquez at Santiago (1982) partikular ang pagtatanong- tanong, pagpapakuwento, at pakikipagkuwentuhan (Santiago at Enriquez 1982; de Vera 1982; Orteza 1997; Aquino 2006; at Tugano 2021) na akma sa karanasang Pilipino. Ayon kay Lydia Gonzales (2011) ang pagtatanong-tanong ay mabisang pamamaraan ng pananaliksik dahil bukod sa naglalayon na malaman ang eksternal na pangyayari, naglalayon din ito na masiyasat ang saloobin ng mga kalahok. Sa madaling salita, ang pangkalahatang

layunin ng pagtatanung-tanong ay hindi lamang para makakuha ng impormasyon kundi upang malinawan, matiyak, at mapagtibay ang mga naunang inpormasyon, nang sa gayon ay maging tama at mabisa ang bunga ng pananaliksik na isinasagawa. Sinasaklaw naman ng pagpapakuwento ang pagiging pangunahing batis ng mga impormasyong ibinabahagi ng nagkukwento samantalang sa pakikipagkuwentuhan ay nagkakaroon ng palitan ng kuro-kuro, karanasan, at kaalamang namamagitan sa mananaliksik at sinasalisik (Tugano, 2021).

Sa pagasasakatuparan ng mga hangarin ng pag-aaral, sumulat muna ang mananaliksik at personal na nakipag-usap kay Bro. Michael Velarde, Jr., ang assistant servant-leader ng kapatiran upang ipaliwanag at ihain ang layunin ng pag-aaral, at humingi na rin ng pahintulot sa isasagawang pananaliksik. Inihingi rin ng pahintulot ang paggamit ng mga kuhang larawan sa pagtitipon, at pagkalkal sa arkibo ng El Shaddai upang mas lalong maunawaan ng mga mambabasa ang nagaganap sa kanilang gawain. Nang pumayag si Bro. Michael, isinagawa na ang fieldwork sa loob ng limang magkakasunod na Sabado mula Enero 1 hanggang Pebrero 1, 2025, sa El Shaddai International House of Prayer sa Parañaque; mula ika-3 ng hapon hanggang ika-9 ng gabi, na sumasaklaw sa buong daloy ng programa mula sa Praise and Worship hanggang sa Healing Message. Pinili ang mga nasabing araw dahil para sa mananaliksik, ito ang unang limang Sabado ng gawain ng samahan para sa taong 2025, na sumasagisag sa bagong simula at pagbabalik ng mga kasapi mula sa kapaskuhan. Sa panahong ito, karaniwang ibinabalik ng samahan ang kanilang mga taunang ritwal, kabilang na ang mga pangakong panalangin, mga patotoo ng bagong biyaya, at ang pagpapahayag ng layunin ng samahan para sa bagong taon. Sa ganitong paraan, namapa ng mananaliksik ang anyo ng mga ritwal na siyang pinagtuunan ng pag-aaral.

Sa panahon ng pagmamasid, lahat ng obserbasyon ay idinokumento sa pamamagitan ng *field notes*, na nagsilbing batayan sa pagsusuri. Mahalagang banggitin na ang mananaliksik ay isang tagaloob *(insider)* sa samahang El Shaddai—aktibong miyembro at kalahok sa mga gawain sa loob ng mahigit labinlimang (15) taon. Ang personal na kaalaman at karanasan ay naging bentahe sa pagbibigay ng kontekstuwalisadong interpretasyon sa mga nakalap na datos. Gayunpaman, kinilala rin ng mananaliksik ang posibleng hamon ng pagiging tagaloob, kaya isinagawa ang mga sumusunod na hakbang upang mapanatili ang balanse sa pagitan ng personal na pananampalataya at layuning akademiko:

- 1. Sistematikong dokumentasyon ng obserbasyon sa pamamagitan ng detalyadong field notes;
- 2. Reflexive journaling upang matukoy ang mga personal na reaksiyon, interpretasyon, at mga potensyal na bias;
- 3. Maingat na pagtatangi ng sariling paniniwala mula sa analitikal na pagsusuri.

Ayon kay Rabe (2003), ang pagiging insider at outsider ay hindi statikong kategorya sa halip ay isang fluid positionality sa proseso ng pananaliksik. Maaaring maging insider ang mananaliksik sa ilang aspekto (gaya ng pananampalataya at karanasan), ngunit nananatiling outsider sa iba (gaya ng layuning teoretikal at metodolohikal). Sa ganitong diwa, sinikap ng mananaliksik na balansehin ang emic (panloob) at etic (panlabas) na pananaw, alinsunod sa mungkahi nina Pike at Harris (sa Rabe, 2003), upang higit na maunawaan ang panlipunang katotohanang nakapaloob sa mga ritwal ng kapatiran.

Matapos ang lahok-masid, ang lahat ng datos ay isinailalim sa thematic analysis. Isinagawa ang inductive coding upang tukuyin ang mga lumilitaw na tema mula sa obserbasyon, na sinundan ng interpretasyong batay sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino at ritwal bilang komunikasyon. Bilang karagdagang sanggunian, gumamit din ang mananaliksik ng mga opisyal na dokumento ng El Shaddai (gaya ng prayer booklets, printed programs, at archival video recordings) upang mas mapalalim ang pag-unawa sa istruktura, layunin, at konteksto ng mga ritwalistikong gawain.

Sa kabuuan, ang metodolohiyang ito ay naging daan sa makatao, lokal, at kontekstuwalisadong pagbasa sa mga ritwal ng El Shaddai, alinsunod sa layunin ng pag-aaral na pagtukoy sa ginagampanan ng ritwal sa pagbuo ng kanilang pagkakakilanlan.

RESULTA AT DISKUSYON

Ang Pitong Ritwal Pangkabanalan ng Samahang El Shaddai

Ang isang malinaw na salik ng ritwal ay ang kolektibong kilos ng pamayanan tungo sa iisang payak na layunin. Sa konteksto ng El Shaddai ito ay para maging patotoo at ibahagi ang kagalingan, kaligtasan, at kapangyarihang taglay ng salita ng Diyos (Velarde, 2007). Inaasahang sa bahaging ito na mabasa ang mga ritwal at kasangkapang kanilang ginagamit para magkaroon ang mga mambabasa ng kislap-diwa tungkol sa kanilang ritwal. Sa ginawang pagsusuruy-suroy at pagmamasid sa limang Sabadong fieldwork sa Amvel City, naimapa ng mananaliksik ang pitong ritwal na kanilang isinasagawa: Pagsambang-Awitin, Pagpapatoo, Pagmimisa, Pananalangin, Pagpapahayag, Pagtataas, Pagsalo.

Pagsambang Awitin³

Nagsisimula ang lingguhang pagtitipon ng El Shaddai sa pagsambang-awitin na pinangungunahan ng choir mula sa isponsor na PFCC⁴ (Provincial Formation Coordinating Council). Karaniwang binubuo ito ng tatlong bahagi: *call to worship* na patungkol sa Banal na Espiritu, *prais*e na masigla at may indayog, at *worship* na mabagal at mapagmuni-muni. Salit-salit na nangunguna ang PFCC Choir, Youth Choir, Children's Choir, at El Shaddai Gospel Music Ministry. Ang tagapanguna ang pumipili ng mga awitin batay sa temang nais ipaabot sa mga mananampalataya.

Bagaman pangunahing ginagamit ang Wikang Filipino sa panalangin at patotoo, ang ilang awitin ay nasa Ingles. Gayunman, hindi ito hadlang sa aktibong pakikilahok. Sa bahagi ng worship, karaniwang nakataas-kamay, nakapikit ang mata habang umaawit na isang karanasang tinutukoy ng samahan bilang pagkapuspos. Sa praise, mapapansing sinasabayan ng mga miyembro ang mga galaw ng mga mananayaw sa entablado, isang ekspresyon ng pagkakaisa sa katawan. Mapapansin din na ang mga nasa taas ng entablado ang tagapaghatid ng ritwal na isinasagawa ng mga kasapi sa ibaba ng entablado. Nagkakaunawaan ang mga kasapi dahil nagiging lundayan ang mga awitin para mabatid nila ang presensiya ng Diyos. Umiikot ang kanilang diskurso sa pasasalamat at pagpupuri sa paraan ng pagsayaw, pagsisigawan at palakpakan na sa konteksto ng kapatiran ay mga makalangit na awitin.

Sa ritwal na ito, ang puting panyo na may nakaimprentang Salmo 91⁵ ang pangunahing kasangkapan ng pagsambang-awitin. Sa limang Sabadong pagmamasid, konsistent ang samahan sa pagwawagayway ng kanilang panyo bilang kilos ng papuri. Itinuturing itong sagrado, isang kasangkapang ritwal na nagsisilbing daluyan ng panalangin at biyaya. Sa ganitong ritwal, ang musika at galaw ay nagiging midyum ng pananalig na sa lenteng pangwika ay komunikasyong higit sa salita.

³ Sa ibang mga karismatikong kilusan at/o ibang denominasyon, katumbas ito ng praise ang worship.

⁴ Sa estruktura ng organisasyon ng samahan, tumutukoy ito sa hatian ng mga chapters sa bawat probinsiya.

⁵ Kinikilala bilang sentral na panalangin ng kapatiran. Kung minsan, tinatawag din nila itong tipanang panalangin.

Larawan 1

Ang Ritwal ng Pagsambang-awitin



Pagpapatotoo⁶

Nagsimula ang ritwal ng pagpapatotoo noong 1992 upang iparinig sa madla ang bunga ng mga pangaral ni Bro. Mike Velarde. Ayon kay Bro. Ranilo Limbo⁷, na mula pa 1996 ay nakatalaga sa *screening committee*, sinasalang muna ang mga nais magbahagi upang matiyak na ang patotoo ay kaugnay ng kilos ng Diyos at hindi lamang personal na salaysay. Sa kabuoan ng gawain, may tatlong sets ang ritwal na ito: sampu sa unang hanay, lima sa ikalawa, at tatlo sa huli—nakabatay sa bigat at lalim ng karanasang ibinabahagi kung saang *set* ilalagay. Kabilang sa mga karaniwang tema ang kagalingan mula sa karamdaman, pagbabalikloob, pagkakaayos ng pamilya, at paglaya mula sa bisyo o pagkakautang. Sa ilang Sabadong pagmamasid, napansing ang mga ganitong paksang espiritwal ay patuloy na umuukit sa atensiyon ng mga tagapakinig.

May sinusundang daloy ang ritwal na ito: nagsisimula ito sa pagbati kay El Shaddai, kay Bro. Mike at sa kaniyang maybahay, at sa mga kapatid sa pananampalataya. Inilalahad ang dati nilang pamumuhay, kung paano sila tinawag sa gawain, at kung anong himala o

⁶ Sa ibang samahang panrelihiyon, tinatawag itong "testimony" o testimonya, kung saan ang isang kapatiran ay magsasalita sa entablado para ibahagi ang himalang natanggap. Sa kontekstong El Shaddai, paminsan-minsan pagbabahagi o mula sa *sharing* taguri nila rito.

⁷ Isa sa mga manggagawa ng kapatiran na nag-iinterbyu sa mga nais magpatotoo.

biyaya ang natanggap. Karaniwang nagtatapos ito sa katagang, "To God be the Glory." Kapag tiningnang mabuti, ang nagpapatotoo ang gumaganap bilang tagapagpadala ng mensahe habang ang mga nakikinig naman na kasapi ang tagatanggap nito. Nabubuo ang diskurso dahil bukod sa wikang Filipino ang nilalaman, makikita ang pakikisangkot ng madla, pumapalakpak ang mga nakakaugnay, nagbubulungan ang iba, at kapag trahedya ang salaysay, maririnig ang mahinang "Praise the Lord" o "Oh my God."

Bagaman walang pisikal na kasangkapan sa ritwal na ito, mahigpit na sinusunod ang itinakdang pananamit sa mga magbabahagi: nakapalda at may kuwelyo ang kababaihan; pantalon at polo shirt naman ang kalalakihan. Ang ganitong kaayusan ay nagsisilbing sagisag ng paggalang at paghahanda para sa banal na pagbabahagi. Sa madaling salita, ang katawan, tinig, at pananalita ng nagpapatotoo ang nagsisilbing pangunahing kasangkapan ng ritwal. Ang patotoo ay hindi lamang isang akto ng pagsasalita; ito ay banal na paglalantad ng isang ritwal na komunikasyong humuhubog sa sama-samang pananampalataya.

Larawan 2Ang Ritwal ng Pagpapatotoo



Pagmimisa⁸

Itinuturing ng kapatiran ang Banal na Misa bilang "pinakamataas at karapat-dapat na anyo ng pagsamba". Sapol pa noong itinatag ang samahan, bahagi na ng lingguhang pagtitipon ang pagdiriwang ng Eukaristiya. Pinatitibay ng ritwal na ito na ang El Shaddai ay hindi isang hiwalay na sekta, kung 'di nananatiling nasa loob ng pananampalatayang Katoliko patunay rito ang presensiya ng mga pari, obispo, at maging mga kardinal sa pagdiriwang. Hindi naiiba

⁸ Katulad din sa Simbahang Katolika ang misa ng kapatirang El Shaddai. Sa Ingles, tinatawag itong Holy Eucharist.

ang daloy ng liturhiya sa karaniwang misa ng Simbahang Katolika. Subalit dahil ito'y nasa konteksto ng isang karismatikong pagtitipon, kapansin-pansin ang masiglang ekspresyon ng katawan: palakpakan tuwing matatapos ang mga awit, nakataas ang kamay habang umaawit, at masiglang tugon sa mga bahagi ng misa na tumatama sa damdamin ng mga dumadalo. Katulad sa naunang dalawang ritwal, may komponent ito ng wika dahil mula sa simula hanggang sa wakas, nabubuo ang diskurso na bahagi pa rin sila ng Simbahang Katolika.

Ang entablado ang nagsisilbing altar ng Misa. Ang mga kasangkapang ginagamit o mga tinatawag na sacramentals ay karaniwan ding ginagamit sa liturhiya ng Simbahan. Para sa mga babae, kapansin-pansin ang pagsusuot ng puting belo sa ulo, habang ang iba nama'y puting panyo bilang alternatibo. Wala namang partikular na kasangkapang pansarili ang kalalakihan. Sa kabuuan, ang pagkilos, pananamit, at pakikilahok ay tila pinag-isang dasal, isang pagsamba na hindi lamang naririnig bagkus ay nararamdaman din sa gitna ng komunidad.

Larawan 3 Ang Ritwal ng Pagmimisa



Pananalangin9

Sa masusing pagmamasid at pakikipagkuwentuhan ng mananaliksik, malinaw na ang panalangin ay mahalagang sangkap ng ritwal ng El Shaddai. Bagaman maraming uri nito ang isinasagawa, matingkad ang Salmo 91, bilang pinakatinatanging panalangin ng kapatiran. Inuusal ito ng sabay-sabay, malakas, may pagtaas ng kamay, at may paniniwalang taglay nito ang proteksiyon at kapangyarihan ng Diyos. May apat na anyo ng panalangin sa ritwal: (1) Panalangin ng Tagapagpakilala, bilang pambungad na pagdulog; (2) Panalangin bago ang Mensaheng Nagpapagaling; (3) Panalangin ng Santo Rosaryo, gamit ang rosaryong bato na

⁹ Sa kontektso ng El Shaddai, ang mga malalaking bahagi ng pagtitipon ay may panalangin o prayer na kaakibat.

sumasagisag sa tibay ng pananampalataya; at (4) Tipanang Panalangin—ang sabayang pagawit ng The Lord's Prayer at Salmo 91.

Walang pisikal na kasangkapan sa unang dalawang panalangin, kundi ang katawan mismo: pagtaas ng kamay, pagpikit ng mata, at sabayang tugon na nagsisilbing daluyan ng taos-pusong pagsamba. Samantala, ang rosaryo at puting panyo ay hindi lamang gamit kung 'di ritwal na simbolo: ang una ay debosyonal na kasangkapan, ang ikalawa ay personal na tipan. Sa ganitong pananaw, ang bawat panalangin sa El Shaddai ay ritwal na komunikasyon—isang akto ng pananampalatayang may kilos, alaala, at kolektibong pagsuko sa Diyos.

Larawan 4Ang Ritwal ng Pananalangin



Pangangaral¹⁰

Itinuturing ng mga kasapi ng El Shaddai na ang *Healing Message*¹¹ ni Bro. Mike Velarde ang pinakapuso ng kabuuang gawain. Nagsisimula ito sa pag-awit ng mga covenant songs

¹⁰ Sa ibang sekta, katumbas ito ng "sermon", "homiliya", "preaching". Sa ritwal na ito napapakinggan ang mensahe ni Bro. Mike Velarde na nagtatagal ng isang oras.

¹¹ Tawag sa bahagi ng ritwal dahil pinaniniwalaan ng kapatiran na ang salita ng Diyos ay nagpapagaling.

tulad ng "Bless the Lord," "El Shaddai" (Amy Grant), at "Purihin ang Panginoon", mga kantang tumatampok sa tema ng pakikipagtipan sa Diyos. Sa kasalukuyan, umiikot ang mensahe ni Bro. Mike sa tinatawag niyang *Healing Password*¹²—isang salita mula sa Biblia na binibigyang-kahulugan batay sa bawat titik, na isinasangkot ang apat na kanta at apat na personal na patotoo. Matapos ang patotoo, inilalahad niya ang kabuuang mensahe at pinagmulan nitong kasulatan. Sa limang Sabado ng pagmamasid, tinalakay ang salitang FAMILY mula sa Gawa 10:1–8. Mapapansin na si Bro. Mike ang tagapagpadala ng mensahe habang ang mga kasapi ng El Shaddai ang tagapatanggap. Sa puntong ito, mahalagang mabanggit na pinaniniwalaan ng mga kasapi ang anumang sabihin ni Bro. Mike kahit na hindi nila masyado itong nauunawaan. Kapag sinabi ni Bro. Mike na sumigaw ang ibig yumaman, nagsisigawan ang mga kasapi. Kapag sinabi niyang tumalon ang ibig magkabahay at lupa, tumatalon ang mga kasapi. Ang ganitong pananampalataya ay pagpapamalas ng pagsunod sa wika o salitang sinasabi, pinaniniwalaan, at sinusunod ng marami sa isang tiyak na pamayanan (Peregrino, 2001). Nagiging ganap ang diskurso sa puntong ito, dahil tinutuhog nito ang iisang layunin, ang makapakinig sa salita ng Diyos.

Ang pulpito at mesa ni Bro. Mike ang nagsisilbing kasangkapan ng ritwal, sumasagisag sa awtoridad ng Salita ng Diyos. Ang mga tagapagpatotoo ay itinuturing na buhay na kasangkapan ng mensahe, habang ang mga miyembro ay nakikinig, tumatango, o nagsusulat sa kanilang notebook, isang kilos ng aktibong pakikibahagi. Sa ganitong konteksto, ang pagpapahayag ay hindi lamang pangangaral kundi isang ritwal ng pagpapaliwanag, pagpapatotoo, at sama-samang pagtanggap sa kapangyarihan ng salita.

Larawan 5 Ang Ritwal ng Pangangaral



¹² Estratehiyang nagsimula noong pandemya. Mula sa ito sa dalumat ng password sa cellphone na pinaniniwalaan ng mga kapatiran na kapag narinig nila ang password na ito, magbubukas din ang mga himala sa buhay nila.

Pagtataas¹³

Sa ritwal na ito, iniaalay ng mga kasapi ang kanilang mga handog at kahilingan sa pamamagitan ng simbolikong "pagtataas." Sa basa ng mananaliksik, hindi lamang bagay ang itinataas dito, maging ang mga personal na alalahanin din ng bawat dumadalo. Sa pag-awit ng "Give Thanks," sabay-sabay nilang itinatataas ang mga dala-dalahan habang nakataas ang kamay bilang tanda ng pagsuko at tagumpay. Sa bahagi ng liriko na "Let the weak say I am strong," sabayang nakasarado ang kamao ng mga kasapi, na sinasagisag ang determinasyon; samantalang sa "Let the poor say I am rich," sabay-sabay ang pagbukas ng kamay—isang kilos na nagpapahiwatig ng kasaganaan at pagtanggap. Maaaring tingnan na diskurso ng pag-asa ang nabubuong kapatiran kapag isinasagawa ito. Umaasa sila na anumang bagay ang itaas nila sa gawain, ito ay pinagpapala. Sa katunayan, may mga patotoo rin nagpapatunay na may mga himala silang nakamtan sa tuwing itinataas ang kanilang mga dala. Pinaniniwalaan ng kapatirang El Shaddai na kapag nais ng indibidwal na pumunta sa ibang bansa, dapat niyang itaas ang kaniyang pasaporte sa ritwal ng pagtataas. Kapag ibig mabago ang buhay ng isang kaanak, dapat anila itaas ang retrato nito sa ritwal na ito. Ilan lamang ito sa pananampalataya ng mga kasapi na dahil narinig nila sa mga patotoo, maging sila ay ginagawa na rin ito. Litaw na litaw sa puntong ito ang esensiya ng wika bilang kumukontrol sa isang relihiyon. Pumapaloob ang penomenong ito sa simbolo ng wikang ginagamit ng relihiyon sa mananampalataya na para kay Peregrino (2001) ay nagbubunga ng walang alinlangang pagsunod at impluwensiya sa kilos ng mga mananampalataya.

Kapansin-pansing maraming pisikal na kasangkapan ang itinataas: sobre ng panalangin, bukas na bag, larawan ng mahal sa buhay, dokumento, pasaporte, at mga kagamitang gaya ng tubig, langis, asin, at panyo. Ang mga ito ay itinuturing na daluyan ng himala at pagpapala, at ibinababa lamang matapos ang awit. Walang sinasambit na panalangin sa entablado sa bahaging ito. Sa halip, ang "Give Thanks" ay isinasagawa bilang ritwal na awit ng pananampalataya o aktibong pag-angkin sa lahat ng itinataas. Sa ganitong pananaw, ang pagtataas ay nagiging sabayang panalangin, pisikal na deklarasyon, at ritwal ng pag-asa.

¹³ Katumbas nito ang paghingi ng basbas sa ibang sekta. Tinawag na pagtataas dahil sa ritwal na ito, itinataas ng mga kasapi ang mga bagay na ibig nilang pabasbasan.

Larawan 6

Ang Ritwal ng Pagtataas



Pagsalo14

Nagtatapos ang pagtitipon ng El Shaddai sa ritwal ng pagsalo. Matapos ipahayag ni Bro. Mike Velarde ang kanyang Healing Message, aanyayahan niya ang lahat na tumayo at sabay-sabay isigaw ang salitang nagbubuod ng mensahe sa gabing iyon. Itataas niya ang kanyang kamay—isang kilos ng pagsasaboy—at tatlong ulit itong ibabato mula sa entabladong tatapatan naman ng tatlong ulit na salo mula sa mga kasapi. Sabay nilang isisigaw ang salitang pinasisigaw ni Bro. Mike, bago niya ipahayag: "Humayo kayo at ipalaganap ang Mabuting Balita."

Walang pisikal na kasangkapang ginagamit sa ritwal na ito. Ang mismong kilos—ang pagbato ng kamay at sabayang pagsalo—ang nagsisilbing daluyan ng espiritwal na biyaya. Sa halip na bagay, ang salita at kilos ang nagiging instrumento ng basbas. Ang sabayang pagsambit ay hindi lamang pag-uulit ng mensahe, kundi kolektibong pag-angkin dito na isang simbolikong pagkilos ng pagtanggap at pagpapahayag. Sa ganitong ritwal, lumilitaw ang pagsalo bilang sagradong kilos at sabayang akto ng pananampalataya na nagbibigay-wakas sa pagtitipon, at sabay na naghahasik ng misyon.

¹⁴ Huling bahagi ng ritwal kung saan sinasalo na ng mga kasapi ng El Shaddai ang biyaya.

Larawan 7 Ang Ritwal ng Pagsalo



Ritwal: Daluyan ng Pananampalataya at Pangkabanalang Karanasan sa El Shaddai

Sa kapatirang El Shaddai, mahalagang tunguhin ng ritwal ang pagpapatibay ng pananampalataya at ang patuloy na paghubog ng buhay espiritwal. Sa bawat samasamang pagsamba, panalangin, at pagbabahagi ng patotoo, nadarama ng mga kasapi ang pananampalataya bilang karanasang kolektibo na hindi hiwalay sa kapwa, kung 'di sabayang paglalakbay patungo sa Diyos. Nagiging paalala ang mga gawaing ito ng espiritwal na layunin, at muling pinaiigting ang ugnayan sa Diyos sa gitna ng hamon ng buhay.

Higit pa sa isang paniniwala, ang pananampalataya ay nagiging buhay na isinasabuhay sa pamamagitan ng mga ritwal. Sa pakikinig sa mga patotoo, sa sabayang panalangin, at sa pagdanas ng simbolikong kilos, ang mga kasapi ay hindi lamang tagamasid kundi aktibong kalahok sa espiritwal na realidad. Ang katawan, salita, at galaw ay nagiging sagradong kasangkapan ng pananampalataya.

Sa ganitong konteksto, ang mga ritwal ay hindi lamang gawi kundi *ritwal* pangkabanalan¹⁵—mga banal na tagpo kung saan nararanasan ang presensiya ng Diyos. Mula

¹⁵ Pantukoy na dalumat ng mananaliksik upang maihiwalay sa ibang uri ng ritwal. Tumutukoy ito sa mga gawain o seremonyang panrelihiyon na isinasagawa upang mapalalim ang ugnayan ng tao sa Diyos

sa paghahanda hanggang sa pagsasagawa, laging may taimtim na panalangin na pabanalin ng Diyos ang lahat ng magaganap. Sa ilang Sabadong lahok-masid, nasaksihan ng mananaliksik ang mga nagaganap sa likod ng entablado na mga intercessory prayers¹⁶ na naglalayong humingi ng tulong sa Diyos na pakabanalin ang magaganap sa Banal na Espasyo. Ang eksenang ito ang hindi nasilayan ng mananaliksik noong mga panahong isa pa lamang siyang dumadalo, at hindi pa babad sa pagbasa ng bawat kilos na nagaganap sa buong samahan. Sa bawat awit, dasal, at sabayang kilos, ipinapakita ng El Shaddai na ang kabanalan ay hindi abstraktong kilos, kundi konkretong karanasang maaaring danasin sa piling ng komunidad. Sa lahat ng ito, may isang espasyong laging pinangyayarihan: ang entablado. Sa susunod na bahagi, tatalakayin kung paano ito nagiging daluyan ng presensiya, saksi sa ritwal, at katawan ng kabanalan para sa komunidad ng El Shaddai.

Ang Entablado bilang Banal na Espasyo

Sa pagpasok sa spiritual center ng El Shaddai, bubungad agad sa iyo ang isang malaking entablado. Ang entablado ay hindi lamang isang pisikal na lugar kung saan ginaganap ang mga programa ng samahang El Shaddai; ito rin ay sumasagisag sa banal na espasyo kung saan ang pakikipagtagpo ng tao at Diyos ay ritwal na ginaganap at kinikilala. Sa ganitong pagbasa, ginagamit sa papel na ito ang lente ng ritwal na komunikasyon ni James Carey (1989), kung saan ang media at mga ritwal ay hindi lamang daluyan ng impormasyon kundi paraan ng paglikha ng kahulugan, identidad, at espiritwal na ugnayan sa loob ng isang komunidad. Ang entablado, sa kontekstong ito, ay hindi basta plataporma ng presentasyon kundi isang espiritwal na hantungan ng pananampalataya kung saan ang banal ay nararanasan sa pamamagitan ng kolektibong ritwal.

Sa bawat pagtitipon, makikita ang matinding pagnanais ng mga kasapi na makaakyat sa entablado, isang hangaring hindi batay sa pansariling karangalan, kundi bilang katuparan ng isang panata sa Diyos. Maririnig sa maraming patotoo ng mga kasapi ang pangakong: "Kapag tinugon ng Diyos ang aking kahilingan, aakyat ako sa entablado upang magpatotoo." Sa ganitong diskurso, ang entablado ay hindi lamang plataporma kundi espasyo ng pagsasakatuparan at konkretong anyo ng pakikipagtipan sa Diyos, kung saan ang himala ay hindi lamang sinasambit kundi ipinapamalas.

¹⁶ Sa ibang wika, tinatawag itong binding prayer. Kung saan bago magsimula ang gawain, nagkakatipon ang mga gumaganap sa entablado para manalangin sa Diyos na maging matagumpay ang kabuoan ng pagtitipon.

Ang disenyo ng entablado ng El Shaddai International House of Prayer¹⁷ ay likhang-metapora ng kaligtasan at espiritwal na daloy. Hugis-barko ito, hango sa barko ni Noah, na sa kasaysayan ng Kristiyanismo ay simbolo ng pagliligtas mula sa delubyo. Sa bawat gilid ay matatanaw ang pangalang "El Shaddai," habang sa gitna ay naroroon ang malaking *glass painting* ng muling pagkabuhay ni Hesus. Sa tuktok naman ay isang puting kalapati, sagisag ng Espiritu Santo. Ang disenyo ay nilalapatan ng tatlong bahaghari na nakapalibot sa entablado, na maaaring basahin bilang banal na tagapagpakilala sa presensiya ng Diyos.

Hindi isang random na dekorasyon ang paggamit ng bilang na pito. Sa tradisyong biblikal, ang pito ay itinuturing na banal—tanda ng kabuuan, kabanalan, at pagkabuo ng kalooban ng Diyos. Sa aklat ng Genesis, ang paglalang ay natapos sa anim na araw at ang ikapito ay inilaan para sa banal na pamamahinga. Sa Levitico, inuulit ng pitong ulit ang ritwal ng paglilinis upang italaga ang altar. Sa Aklat ng Pahayag, ang pitong selyo, pitong simbahan, at pitong Espiritu ay simbolo ng kabuuang paghuhukom at kaligtasan. Kaya't sa entabladong El Shaddai, ang pitong pangalan ng Diyos ay maaaring ituring na sagradong marka ng kabuuang presensiya ng Diyos sa bawat bahagi ng espasyo.

Ang kabanalan ng espasyong ito ay higit pa sa disenyo. Bago pa man magsimula ang aktuwal na gawain, ang entablado ay nililinis, pinapalamutian ng mga bulaklak, at inihahanda ng *production team*. Ang mga manlilingkod ay taimtim na nananalangin sa likod ng entablado bilang paghahanda. Ayon kay Bro. Rex America, ito ay kinokonsentreyt para pagpalain ang sinumang tatayo rito. Ang tunog ng mga mikropono, ang ayos ng mga upuan, at ang daloy ng liwanag ay hindi lamang para sa magandang presentasyon, kundi para sa maayos na daluyan ng dalangin, awit, at Salita ng Diyos. Sa pagbasa ng ritwal bilang katawan, ang bawat elemento—tunog, liwanag, galaw—ay bahagi ng isang buhay na ritwal na katawan na isinakatawan ng entablado mismo.

Sa gitna ng entablado, matatagpuan ang tagapanguna ng pagsambang-awitin, kasabay ng mga mananayaw at orkestra sa magkabilang gilid. Dito rin tumatayo si Bro. Mike upang mangaral, manalangin, at tumanggap ng mga nagpapatotoo. Sa isang bahagi naman ay naroon ang pulpito ng mga tagapagpakilala. Sa kabuuan, ang entablado ay nagiging katawan ng ritwal—dito isinasagawa ang pitong pangunahing ritwal ng samahan. Hindi lamang tagapanood ang mga kasapi; sila'y aktibong kalahok sa pananampalatayang isinasakatawan sa salita, galaw, at awit. Sa bawat sigaw ng "Praise the Lord" o sabayang "Amen" habang itinataas ang mga panalangin ng Salmo 91, naroroon ang sabayang pagdanas ng presensiya ng Diyos.

¹⁷ Taguri sa *spiritual center* ng kapatirang El Shaddai. Saradong espasyo na dinisenyo sa konsepto ng barko ni Noah.

Ang pag-akyat sa entablado ay ritwal ng pasasalamat, pagtupad sa pangako, at paghahayag ng pananampalataya sa harap ng pamayanan. Sa mga patotoo ng kagalingan, tagumpay, o kaligtasan, ang personal na karanasan ay nagiging kolektibong saksi. Sa ganitong paraan, ang entablado ay lumalampas sa pagiging estruktura—ito'y nagiging daluyan ng grasya at larangan na ang Diyos ay kinikilala sa pamamagitan ng buhay ng Kanyang mga nilikha.

Ang pangarap na marating ang entablado ay nakaangkla sa pananampalatayang Pilipino na may malalim na paniniwala sa bisa ng espasyo. Tulad ng mga dambana ng mga santo o altar ng simbahan, ang entablado ay inaaring banal sapagkat dito nagaganap ang pagsasaksi, pagbabasbas, at pagbabagong-loob. Sa pananaw na ito, ang entablado ay hindi lamang sentro ng atensyon kundi sentro ng buhay espiritwal ng pamayanan. Sa bawat ritwal na isinasagawa, mula sa sabayang panalangin hanggang sa patotoong may luha, mula sa paghahandog ng mga dala hanggang sa pagsalo ng Salita—ang entablado ay nagiging iisang banal na katawan na binubuo ng ritwal, kulay, at pananalig.

Ang mga simbolikong anyo sa entablado—ang bahaghari, kalapati, Salmo 91, at ang pitong pangalang "El Shaddai"—ay hindi lamang palamuti kundi sagradong oryentasyon. Ayon kina Bro. Boyet Balisbis at Bro. Resty Talain, ang pangalan pa lamang na El Shaddai na nababanaag sa entablado, ay isa nang dahilan kung bakit itinuturing na banal ang espasyo. Sa pagbabad ng mananaliksik, lumilitaw na maging ang pitong kulay ng bahaghari ay maaaring basahin bilang representasyon ng pitong ritwal na isinasagawa tuwing pagtitipon. Ang ritwal, kung gayon, ay hindi lamang aktibidad—ito ay kulay, liwanag, at pagkilos na nagbibigayhugis sa pag-asa. Lumilitaw na sa mga deskripsyon sa entabladong banal, mapapansin na naiimpluwensiyahan ng disenyo nito ang mga kasapi dahil sa taglay nitong senyas at simbolismo. Nagagawa ng mga edipisyong ito na mapaigting ang pananampalataya ng tao sa simpleng hayagang paraan (Peregrino, 2001). Sa madaling sabi, nakatutulong ang mga biswal na ito sa pag-unawa ng mga mananampalataya upang palagian nilang maalala ang mga bagay na dapat nilang paniwalaan. Sa konteksto ng kapatirang El Shaddai, ang simbolo ng arko at bahaghari ay bahagi ng kanilang wika na pinatunayan ni Demeterio (2010) nang suriin niya ang diskurso ng pag-asa sa El Shaddai. Pag-asa ang senyas na ibig iparating ng entablado. Ibig sabihin, ang entablado ay isang lugar ng kabanalang nararanasan sa pamamagitan ng ugnayang ritwal at espasyo, isang banal na tagpo kung saan sumasakatawan ang Diyos sa gitna ng Kanyang bayan.

Larawan 8Ang Gitna ng Entabladong Banal



Ang Ritwal ng El Shaddai tungo sa Pagbuo ng Komunidad

Nakatuon ang Ritwal na Komunikasyon ni James Carey sa salitang "komunidad," isang kaisipan na magpapaunawa sa mga ritwal na itinatanghal ng El Shaddai. Mula sa pitong ritwal na inilahad, at sa papel ng entablado sa bawat pagtatanghal, lumilitaw sa ngayon na ang ritwal ay hindi lamang espiritwal na kilos kundi isang komunikatibong galaw na humuhubog at nagpapatibay sa kanilang pamayanan. Sa pagdaan ng panahon, tinatawag ang mga kasapi hindi lamang bilang bahagi ng isang relihiyosong kilusan kundi bilang "El Shaddai Community." Sa bawat gawain, ang ritwal ay nagsisilbing pundasyon ng espiritwal na pagkakaisa at kolektibong pagkakakilanlan. Sa bahaging ito ng pagsusuri, ginamit ang mga datos mula sa pakikipagkuwentuhan sa mga piling kasapi ng samahan. Bilang isang maka-Pilipinong pamamaraan ng pakikinig at pagdama, ang pakikipagkuwentuhan ay naging daluyan ng mas bukás at taos-pusong pagbabahagi. Ang mga sipi mula sa mga ito ay itinuturing na sentro ng pag-unawa sa ritwal bilang tagapagbuo ng kolektibong ugnayan.

Sa El Shaddai, ang taguri sa bawat isa ay "kapatid", mahalagang simula ng komunidad ang paggamit ng salitang ito. Madalas kaysa hindi, Brother o Sister. Sa pagsisimula ng bawat patotoo sa entablado, maririnig ang pamilyar na linya: "Ang susunod na magpapatotoo ay

ang ating kapatid na si..." Maging si Bro. Mike, sa kanyang mga pangaral, ay ginagamit ang salitang ito sa pagbati. Sa unang tingin, ito'y tila simpleng anyo ng pagtawag. Sa diskursong kultural, ang "kapatid" ay isang panandang semantiko ng pagkapabilang, isang pag-aangkin na ang sinasabihan ay kasáma at kapwa. Kaya naman, sa diskursong El Shaddai, lagi't laging sinasabing magkakapatid sila kay Kristo. Tulad ng binigyang-diin ni Covar (1998), ang kapatiran ay hindi lamang relasyong pampamilya kundi panlipunang taguri na sumasakabalikat ng kolektibong adhikain. Sa pananaw na ito, ang kapatiran ay lumalampas sa ugnayang dugo at lumalapat sa mga pamayanang ispiritwal, gaya ng El Shaddai. Hindi nagtatapos ang ideya ng kapatiran sa salita lamang. Sa katunayan, nakaukit ito sa doktrinang panloob ng samahan, gaya ng katuturan sa aritmetik 1+1=3 na mula sa Mateo 18:19–20: "Kapag ang dalawa o tatlo ay nagkaisa sa panalangin, ang Diyos ay nasa kanilang piling." Ang simpleng paniniwalang ito ay sumasaloob sa praktis ng sabayang panalangin at sabayang pananampalataya. Sa perspektibo ni Carey, ang ganitong mga aktibidad ay bumubuo ng symbolic communion, isang komunikasyong batay sa ugnayan at pakiramdam.

Isa sa mga dramatikong tagpo ng ganitong ugnayan at pakiramdam ay makikita sa pagdarasal ng Salmo 91, na tinutukoy ng mga kasapi bilang "tatak" ng El Shaddai. Ayon kay Sis. Jojie delos Reyes: "Magna carta na dapat kabisado ang Salmo 91 dahil ito ang tatak ng kanilang samahan." Sa oras ng panalangin, humihinto ang lahat sa kanilang ginagawa: walang nagpapalakad-lakad, at lahat ay nakataas ang kamay. Ayon kay Bro. Carlos De Leon: "Sabaysabay na tumatahimik ang community kapag Salmo 91 dahil ito ang tipanang panalangin ng mga anak ni El Shaddai." Pinatotohanan naman ni Bro. Au Mabazza, na kahit ang mga kasapi na nasa ibang bansa, dinadala nila ang ritwal na ito sa kanilang buhay. Para sa kanila, ito ang sagradong tagpo ng pagharap sa Diyos, isang ritwal na kolektibong pagsuko. Sa ganitong pagbasa, ang ritwal ay lumalampas sa espasyo, nagiging transnasyonal na kilos ng pananalig.

Sa ilang tagpo ng biglaang pag-ulan, nasaksihan mismo ng mananaliksik ang tila mahiwagang pagtigil nito tuwing lalabas si Bro. Mike, para sa mga nakakuwentuhan, tanda ito ng presensiya ng Diyos. Para sa kanila, ito ay hindi lamang kababalaghan kundi bunga ng sama-samang panalangin. Sabi nga ni Dr. Sonia Sabater: "kapag umuulan habang nagsasalita si Bro Mike at kapag sinabi niyang isara ang payong, lahat ng tao ay magsasara at magpapaulan na. Masayang sinasalo ng mga tao ang biyaya and that is their faith." Isang ritwal na nagbibigay-bisa sa pananampalatayang sama-samang isinasagawa. Sa pagsasagawa ng ritwal, hindi lamang panlabas na kilos ang isinasagawa ng mga kasapi kundi isang espiritwal na pagsasanib ng katawan, damdamin, at pananampalataya. Sa pagsabay sa pag-awit, panalangin, at pagwagayway ng puting panyo, ang mga miyembro ay hindi lamang tagamasid kundi aktibong kalahok sa espiritwal na kilos ng komunidad. Sabi ni Bro. Au Mabazza: "sa pagsambang awitin, hindi nahihiya ang mga tao. Kapag bago, normal na mahihiya pero kapag nakita mo kasing nagsasayawan na lahat, mahahawa ka na ring makisayaw." Sa mga

baguhan, maaaring may pangamba o hiya sa pagtaas ng kamay o pagsabay sa sayaw. Subalit sa patuloy na pagdalo, nagiging natural ang pakikibahagi. Sa bawat Sabado, unti-unti ring lumalalim ang kanilang pakikilahok at pagkilala sa sarili bilang bahagi ng pamayanan. Bagay na ipinaliwanag ni Bro Sharwin: "sa ritwal ng pagpapahayag, kung ano ang sinasabi ni Bro. Mike na aral, hanggang sa sasakyan at sa bahay, bukambibig ng mga tao. Halimbawa: yung katagang tiyak yun!"

Sa community singing, makikitang alam ng mga tao ang tamang kilos at tugon sa bawat linya ng kanta. Maging sa bahagi ng pagsalo, bagama't hindi laging ganap na nauunawaan ang salitang isinisigaw ni Bro. Mike, sabay-sabay pa rin itong sinasalo ng mga kasapi na may pananampalataya. Ang pagsalo ay naging tagpo ng pananampalatayang aktibo, buo, at sabay-sabay. Para kay Bro. Rex America: "ang pagsalo sa ibinabato ni Bro Mike ay signifies nang malalalim na pananampalataya ng mga tao kahit wala naman talagang nakikita. Bunga ito ng pagkakaisa dahi na-absorb sa teachings ni Bro. Mike." Sa akto ng pagkakaisa, nakikita ni Bro. Sharwin Macato na: "sa ritwal ng pagsalo, makita man o hindi, kapag tumalon ang katabi, tatalon ka na rin. Dahil isang komunidad kayo na nagkakaisa." Himala naman ang bunga ng pagkakaisang ito. Dahil ayon kay Bro. Au Mabazza: "nagkakaisa ang mga tao na may himalang natatanggap sa ibinabato ni Bro. Mike."

Hindi rin maikakaila ang papel ng pagpapatotoo bilang kolektibong naratibo ng paniniwala. Lumabas sa pakikipagkuwentuhan, na inaabangan ito ng mga kasapi dahil nagsisilbing inspirasyon ang patotoo. Sa mas masaklaw na pagtingin, inilarawan ni Sis Jemima Francisco na: "masaya sa komunidad dahil dito ka nakararamdam ng sense of community na kapag nakikinig ka sa mga patotoo na may kaparehong pinagdaraanan, masasabi mong hindi ka nag-iisa at you really belong to the community." Ganito rin halos ang pananaw ni Sis. Shekainah Borlongan, napapansin niyang may side comments ang mga tao kapag sobrang naka-relate sa ipinapatotoo ng nasa entablado. Litaw na litaw ang pagiging komunidad, dahil pare-pareho silang may mga pinagdadaanan sa buhay at sa oras na maka-relate sa patotoo ng isa, nagsisilbi itong lakas ng loob sa kanila. Paliwanag ni Judd (1973), pinag-iisa ng ritwal ang mga tao, at dito rin nila hinuhugot ang lakas at tiwala sa sarili. Kapag nagsimulang magsalita ang nagpapatotoo, mararamdaman ang kolektibong pagtuon ng atensyon, sabayang katahimikan, at pakikiramay. Sa ganitong tagpo, ang personal na naratibo ay nagiging pampublikong saksi ng pananampalataya.

Sa bawat paglahok sa ritwal, unti-unting hinuhubog ang pagkakakilanlan ng isang kasapi ng El Shaddai. Ang simpleng taas-kamay, sabayang sigaw ng "Hallelujah!" o "Praise the Lord!", at pagwagayway ng puting panyo ay hindi na lamang mga kilos bagkus pahiwatig ng pagiging kabilang. Isa sa mga tagpo ng matinding pagkakaisa ay tuwing nahihirapan si Bro. Mike sa pagbigkas ng teksto—kusang tumutulong ang mga kasapi, sabay-sabay nilang binabasa ito

sa screen, at kapag matagumpay itong nasambit, naghihiyawan at nagpapalakpakan ang lahat. Sa mga ganitong sandali, hindi kaalaman ang sentro kundi damdaming ibinabahagi: kapag siya'y napatawa, natatawa ang lahat; kapag napaluha, marami ang napapaluha. Ang mga kilos na ito ay nagpapatunay na ang ritwal ay hindi lamang daluyan ng salita bagkus daluyan ng emotional communion na isang espiritwal na pakikiisa na humuhubog sa samahan.

Sabi nga ni Peregrino (2001), ang mga institusyong panrelihiyon ay palaging umaakto bilang tagapagpanatili ng "social bond." Sa ganitong pagbasa, lumilitaw ang ritwal hindi lamang bilang relasyunal kundi bilang panlipunang mekanismo ng kolektibong ugnayan. Ang sabayang panalangin, awit, at patotoo ay lumilikha ng mga sagradong sandali kung saan ang pananampalataya ay hindi lamang inaawit kundi isinasabuhay kasama ang kapwa. Sumatutal, ang ritwal sa El Shaddai ay hindi lamang tradisyong espiritwal kundi isang makapangyarihang kasangkapan sa pagbubuo ng kanilang komunidad. Mula sa sabayang awit hanggang sa kolektibong patotoo, ang bawat kilos at salaysay ay nagpapatibay ng kolektibong pananalig. Ang muling pagdalo tuwing Sabado, ang sakripisyong maulanan o mainitan, ang pagtataas ng mga dala-dalahan, ang pagsalo sa isinasaboy ni Bro. Mike Velarde, lahat ng ito ay patunay na ang ritwal ay buhay na daluyan ng kahulugan. Dito, natatagpuan ng mga kasapi ang kapayapaan sa gitna ng krisis, at kasagutan sa mga tanong ng buhay na kayang maipaliwanag sa pamamagitan ng sama-samang pananampalataya. Sa ganitong pagbasa, lumilitaw ang ritwal bilang puso ng komunidad, isang ugnayang hindi lamang nabubuo, kundi patuloy na pinatitibay sa bawat kilos ng pananampalataya.

Larawan 8 Ang Kapatirang El Shaddai noong Agosto 2024



KONGKLUSYON AT REKOMENDASYON

Nakita ng pag-aaral na ito ang magarang tungkulin na ginagampanan ng ritwal sa pagbibigay-hugis sa banal na espasyo at sa pagpapatibay ng ugnayan sa loob ng komunidad ng El Shaddai. Sa pamamagitan ng ritwal, nagkakaroon ng malinaw na dibisyon sa pagitan ng pangkaraniwan at ng sagrado—isang espasyo kung saan nararanasan ng mga kasapi ang presensya ng Diyos. Ang Amvel at entablado ng pagtitipon ay nagiging banal hindi dahil sa pisikal na anyo nito kundi sa sama-samang pananampalataya at pagsamba ng mga kasapi tungo sa layuning pangkabanalan-makapagpuri sa Diyos. Higit pa rito, ang ritwal ay nagbubuklod sa mga kasapi bilang isang espiritwal na pamilya. Sa pamamagitan ng regular na pagtitipon, nagkakaroon ng pakiramdam ng pagiging bahagi ng isang mas malaking layunin—isang komunidad na may iisang pananampalataya, panalangin, at pag-asa. Ang sama-samang karanasan ng himala, pagpapala, at paggaling ay nagpapalalim sa kanilang paniniwala na ang Diyos ay tunay na kumikilos sa kanilang kalagitnaan. Ang ritwal ay hindi lamang isang serye ng mga gawain kundi isang makapangyarihang instrumento sa paghubog ng banal na espasyo at komunidad. Sa pamamagitan nito, hindi lamang pinapalakas ang espiritwalidad ng indibidwal kundi pati ang matibay na ugnayan ng mga kasapi sa isa't isa at sa Diyos. Sa madaling sabi, ang ritwal ng pagsasama-sama ay pinagmumulan ng isang kolektibong aksiyon at magkakaparehong damdamin ukol sa ritwal. Dahil dito, ang ritwal ay nagiging behikulo upang maging malapit ang mga kasapi ng grupo sa isa't isa at kalaunan ay mabuo ang tinatawag na komunidad.

Sa limang Sabadong fieldwork ng mananaliksik, natuklasan ng mananaliksik na may pitong ritwal ang itinatanghal ng kapatiran sa kanilang lingguhang gawain: Pagsambangawitin, Pagpapatoo, Pagmimisa, Panalangin, Pagpapahayag, Pagtataas, Pagsalo. Bawat ritwal ay may kaakibat na pagkilos. Nailahad din sa bawat ritwal ang mga kasangkapang ginagamit na nagiging instrumento para sa pagpapadama ng espiritwal na karanasan at pagpapalalim ng pananampalataya ng mga kasapi. Ilan dito ang panyo, tubig, asin, rosaryo, bibliya, langis, prayer request, larawan ng mahal sa buhay, pasaporte at iba pa. Napagtanto rin ng mananaliksik na kahit walang pisikal na kasangkapan, itinuring pa rin itong ritwal dahil dahil sa paulit-ulit na pagsasagawa nito at ang kakayahan nitong lumikha ng kolektibong espiritwal na karanasan. Ang kahulugan at kabuluhan ng mga ritwal na ito tungo sa kabanalan ang pinanghahawakan ng mga kasapi sa taos-pusong pagsunod at pakikilahok nila. Sa puntong ito, lumilitaw ang kapangyarihan ng wika bilang tagakontrol sa relihiyon. Malaki ang kapakinabangan ng wika para maimpluwensiyahan ang akto ng mga mananampalataya. Gayundin, nagiging banal ang entablado dahil espasyo ito kung saan nila sinasamba ang Diyos at ang mismong kilos, wika, at damdaming bumabalot sa isang gawain ay sapat na upang maituring itong ritwal, sapagkat hindi lamang ito nakasalalay sa materyal na kasangkapan maging sa simbolismo at kahulugan na ibinibigay ng mga mananampalataya. Ang sama-samang pagsamba, pag-aalay

ng panalangin, at pagbabahagi ng mga patotoo ay lumilikha ng isang sagradong espasyo kung saan ang presensya ng Diyos ay nadarama sa gitna ng kanyang bayan. Nabubuo ang komunidad at nagkakaroon ng lakas ng loob ang mga miyembro dahil sa pagkakaisa na nagbubunga naman ng pananampalataya. Napatunayan din na ang mga gawaing panrelihiyon katulad ng ritwal na kolektibong gawain ng samahan ay bunga ng kanilang pangangailangan na magkaroon ng kaginhawaan at mahanap ang ang kasagutan sa mga bagay na hindi nila maipaliwanag.

Hindi rito nagtatapos ang pag-aaral sa ritwal ng El Shaddai. Pasimulang hakbangin ito upang magkaroon ng interes ang mga iskolar na patuloy na pag-aralan ang samahang ito. Matapos aralin ang mga ritwal ng El Shaddai, maaaring imungkahi ang tatlong pangunahing paksa para sa mas malalim na pag-aaral. Una, maaaring pagtuunan ng pansin ang komunikasyong ritwalistik sa El Shaddai sa pamamagitan ng pagsusuri sa gamit ng wika at simbolismo sa mga ritwal. Mahalaga itong pag-aralan upang maunawaan kung paano ginagamit ang wika, kilos, at iba pang simbolikong elemento upang iparating ang mensahe ng pananampalataya, pagbabagong-loob, at pagbubuo ng komunidad. Ang pag-aaral na ito ay maaaring mailapat sa larangan ng retorika at komunikasyong pampanitikan. Ikalawa, mahalagang pag-aralan ang kaugnayan ng ritwal sa pagpapalakas ng panlipunang ugnayan ng mga kasapi, partikular kung paano ito nagiging instrumento sa pagbuo ng matibay na samahan at pakikilahok sa komunidad. Sa pamamagitan ng sama-samang pagsasagawa ng mga ritwal, hindi lamang espiritwal na koneksyon ang nabubuo pati na rin ang malalim na pakikisalamuha at pagtutulungan ng mga miyembro sa iba't ibang aspeto ng kanilang buhay. Panghuli, isang mahalagang pananaliksik ang maaaring ituon sa epekto ng ritwal ng El Shaddai sa espiritwalidad at relihiyosong identidad ng mga miyembro. Mahusay itong suriin mula sa perspektiba ng Sociology of Religion upang maunawaan kung paano binabago at pinapalakas ng mga ritwal ang espiritwal na buhay at pakikilahok ng mga kasapi sa kilusan. Sa pamamagitan ng mga pag-aaral na ito, higit pang mauunawaan ang kahalagahan ng ritwal sa paghubog ng pananampalataya, pamumuno, at ugnayang panlipunan sa loob ng El Shaddai.

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Experiences of BA Sociology Students from a Philippine State University: Recruitment, Retention, and Future Aspirations

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ABSTRACT

Sociology as an undergraduate program in the Philippines has expanded significantly. A total of 49 higher educational institutions offer an undergraduate degree in Sociology; 20 of which are in Luzon and 8 are in Metro Manila. Despite this growth, Sociology departments face challenges in recruiting and retaining students amidst a competitive academic landscape. This study was conducted with students from a Philippine state university, exploring their motivations for enrolling, reasons for staying, perceived strengths and weaknesses of the program, and their post-graduation plans. The insights gained from this research could guide future improvements to Sociology programs to better meet the needs and aspirations of students.

Keywords: Sociology, Education, Philippines, Law School, University

INTRODUCTION

Sociology as an undergraduate degree program has made significant strides in recent years. According to the database of the Commission on Higher Education (CHED), there are 1,293 higher educational institutions in the major Philippine Island of Luzon. Out of these, 327 are located in the National Capital Region (NCR). Among these 327 HEIs in the NCR, 18 are classified as Local Universities and Colleges (LUC), 4 are classified as Special Government Schools (or OGS – Other Government Schools), 16 are classified as State Universities and Colleges (SUC), and the rest are private institutions. In 2023, CHED held a meeting involving the Sociology faculty and administrators from different HEIs in Luzon. During the meeting, the CHED Technical Panel for Sociology reported that 49 HEIs in the Philippines offer an undergraduate Sociology program in the Philippines. Out of these 49 institutions, 27 are state-owned and the 22 remaining are private schools. The data from the CHED Technical Panel for Sociology also indicate that 20 of these 49 institutions are in Luzon – 8 of which are in Metro Manila.

Despite the increasing number of universities that offer a BA Sociology program, a common challenge remains in many Sociology departments: as the number of degree programs to choose from increases, how do Sociology programs recruit and retain major students? What kind of futures do these recruited students see with a Bachelor's degree in Sociology? Using the students of a BA Sociology program from a Philippine state university as subjects, this study sought to answer the following questions that might inform future adaptations or modifications for BA Sociology programs:

- 1. What are the reasons of students for choosing to enroll under the BA Sociology program and what are the reasons of those who considered shifting into another degree program?
- 2. What are the reasons of students for choosing to stay under the BA Sociology program?
- 3. What are the students' perceived strengths and weaknesses of the BA Sociology program?
- 4. What are the plans of students after graduating from the BA Sociology program?

RESEARCH METHODS

The data and the consequent insights from this study were obtained through a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques wherewith the former forms the core of the study while the latter was used to provide a better understanding of the quantitative results.

The quantitative data of the study were obtained from a survey of sophomore BA Sociology students from a Philippine state university. Sophomore students – herein operationally defined as students who have finished two semesters in the BA Sociology program were invited to participate in the study during the start of the first semester of Academic Year 2023-2024. Among the population of BA Sociology students, sophomores present an advantageous subgroup for the study. This is because the first semester of sophomore year is the most likely time for undergraduate students to decide to leave the degree program that they are initially enrolled in. Students are already given the opportunity to experience the introductory courses of a degree program in the first two semesters of study. This allows students to gauge whether the demands and subject matter of the degree program are within their capabilities and interests. A logical consequence of this is that the sophomore year is the most efficient temporal window for shifting into another degree program. This is because students at this stage in their undergraduate education have only taken a few major courses

in their initial degree program and would, therefore, waste a lesser number of uncreditable units should they decide to shift to another degree program. Related to this is also the fact that shifting during the first semester of one's second year of undergraduate study enables the student to reduce the number of semesters that they will be extended from graduating from college, thereby reducing the opportunity cost of shifting. Finally, the university rules require students to spend two semesters in their initial degree program before being allowed to shift to another degree program. This means that the first semester of the second year of undergraduate education is the earliest at which students can initiate the shifting process. Indeed, in the population under study, this batch of BA Sociology students had a total population of 101 during their first year in college. By the time they reached the first semester of their second year, their numbers had been reduced to 81 – a decrease of 20%.

The remaining 81 BA Sociology sophomore students were invited to participate in an online survey facilitated through Google Forms. The survey involved a combination of closedand open-ended questions that asked respondents about their motivations for enrolling in the program, and their thoughts on various aspects related to the program. Prior to being given the questions, the nature of the study was explained to the respondents. They were informed that participation was voluntary and that they may opt to withdraw from the survey if they wish to do so. As well, they were informed that their participation would be anonymous, and that no reward would be given in exchange for their participation in the online survey. Of the 81 BA Sociology sophomore students, 49 (or 60% of the population) completed the survey.

Descriptive statistics were deemed sufficient to answer the research questions of the study. To implement the frequency counts for the open-ended questions, the qualitative answers of the respondents were first thematically analyzed. Tabular summaries were made to facilitate easier analysis of the results. The interpretation of the results was done by the two authors of the study. Both authors hold Bachelor's and Master of Arts degrees in Sociology and underwent their undergraduate and graduate education in Philippine universities. The two authors have also taught undergraduate courses in Sociology in a cumulative total of seven different universities in the Philippines offering a BA Sociology degree program - the first author has taught in five universities with BA Sociology programs for a span of 13 years, whereas the second author has taught in three universities for a span of seven years. Both authors serve as faculty members in the university under study. These backgrounds provide them with the capability to look at the results with a combination of etic and emic perspectives. Discussions with BA Sociology faculty and students as well as observations during enrolment and formal classes of the BA Sociology program were also utilized as qualitative aids in the better understanding of the findings of this study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. What are the reasons of students for choosing to enroll under the BA Sociology program and what are the reasons of those who considered shifting into another degree program?

When the respondents were surveyed for their reasons for enrolling in the BA Sociology program during their first year in college, they gave various reasons summarized in Table 1. The most common reason given was that they had to settle with a BA in Sociology because they failed to qualify for their first-choice degree program (20%). In the university under study, the BA Sociology program is often given as the alternative for students who wish to take advantage of the affordability of a state university but are unable to meet the required grades of their initial choice of a degree program. A common commentary expressed among Sociology departments in the country is the high number of students who shift into another degree program after a few semesters under a BA Sociology program. Based on the authors' experiences (who have been part of a cumulative total of seven different Philippine universities offering a BA Sociology program), the high mortality rate is often a result of Sociology being a relatively obscure discipline – a situation noted by sociologists from different parts of the world. In his book, Invitation to Sociology, sociologist Peter Berger (1966) noted how Sociology as a discipline pales in comparison to other social and behavioral sciences in terms of popularity, most notably when compared to its disciplinal "cousin" Psychology. Indeed, the data in Table 1 indicates that a sizable number of respondents (10%) chose Sociology because it is the closest they could enroll in that is similar to their preferred choice, Psychology.

It is also worth noting that social and behavioral sciences also generally pale in comparison with the so-called "hard sciences" in terms of prestige and consequent institutional support - a circumstance problematized by scholars such as Diamond (1987). This results in the discipline of Sociology having little to no niche market for its graduates. Consequently, there is less demand for slots in a BA Sociology program compared to many other courses available to undergraduate students. Perhaps, as a result of this situation, BA Sociology as a degree program tends to be a non-priority course with a low-grade requirement. These circumstances have given students the perception that enrolling in a BA Sociology program can be used as a "stepping stone" or "backdoor" for those whose grades did not manage to clinch the requirement of their initial choice of degree program. These findings are often an echoed sentiment among casual conversations between students and professors. They are also similar to the observation made by Nelson and Quintos (2013) when they made a similar survey among BA Sociology students of the University of the Philippines Los Baños.

In relation to the aforementioned situation of Sociology as a discipline, it is worth noting that the researchers' observations and informal interviews with freshmen applicants of the university yielded some interesting additional insights: when freshman applicants were interviewed about their preferred degree program and the reasons behind these preferences, the three following circumstances became clear:

- 1) Freshman applicants want to get into a program that studies human experiences and immediately assume that this is under the purview of Psychology. It became noticeable during interviews with freshman applicants that one of the most common considerations they have when applying for a social or behavioral science degree is that they want to study human beings like themselves to understand their own experiences. Examples of circumstances in their lives that the applicants wished to understand are family problems that lead to conflicts and relationship problems with friends and romantic interests - interpersonal problems that are clearly also under the purview of Sociology but often attributed to the more popular discipline of Psychology. What is important to note here is that the students do not seem to have a good grasp on how each degree program is delineated from the other, and in the absence of clear information on the matter, the tendency is simply to assume that these concerns are covered by the most well-known degree program. The overall efficacy of the senior high school curriculum when it comes to introducing the different social and behavioral sciences and the purpose or scope of each may, therefore, need to be revisited.
- 2) Freshman applicants see more advantages in applying for the BS Psychology program because it is covered by a potential scholarship. There appears to be a common theme among students wherein great weight is given to economic considerations. It was observed during interviews with freshman applicants that one of their primary considerations in choosing a degree program is whether there is a scholarship opportunity available to the program that can alleviate the economic burden of their undergraduate education. It became apparent during the observation of freshman applicants that one of the reasons students choose another program like BS Psychology over Sociology, despite a general interest in the study of human beings is that the former can offer a scholarship opportunity through the Department of Science and Technology. In contrast, the latter program cannot offer a similar opportunity. A study of BA Sociology graduating students from the same university also showed this pragmatic element in the decision-making process of their respondents (Quintos & Iwayama, 2024).
- 3) There is a continuing perception that Sociology is the go-to program for those rejected from their first choice. Back in the 1980s, Bautista (1987) lamented how Sociology programs have been treated essentially as "dumping ground for students who do not make the grade in other courses." During the freshmen application process, many students were observed to sign up under Sociology

only after being rejected by other degree programs. One applicant even innocently expressed, "ito po ba yung papasukan muna kapag may balak magshift sa Psych?" (Is this where we are supposed to sign up if we plan to eventually shift to Psychology?). Some faculty members of other departments have even been observed to suggest Sociology to applicants that they have decided to reject from their program.

While the treatment of Sociology as a second choice of a degree program and its obscurity is a disappointing decades-old issue, the second most prevalent reason given by the students provides a promising opportunity for the program's future. Almost a fifth (16%) of the respondents reported that they became familiar with and interested in Sociology because of lessons related to the discipline from their HUMSS subjects during their senior high school education. The respondents often point to an SHS subject – Understanding Culture, Society, and Politics (UCSP) – as their introduction to Sociology as a discipline. The respondents mentioned that they were inspired to take Sociology because they had good lessons in UCSP and their teacher in the course was very good at explaining Sociology to them. To this end, the implementation of the K-12 curriculum can be said to have provided a latent function for the discipline. Before the K-12 curriculum, the exposure of typical Filipino students to the social sciences prior to college education is limited to "Social Studies" subjects. These social studies subjects tend to be approached purely as history subjects except for the final year of high school where the subject becomes a course on basic economics. Sociology, and its fellow social science, Anthropology, are only encountered during undergraduate education. Political science and Psychology, though also not reflected often in basic education, have enough media mileage outside of formal education that they remain known to Filipino students.

Another notable finding from Table 1 is the presence of other influences: books, films, and YouTube videos. The respondents identified a specific book that inspired them to take up Sociology: Mitch Albom's Tuesdays with Morrie. Written in 1997, the bestselling book centered on the author and his old Sociology Professor, Morrie Schwartz, and how the latter spent his last days giving the former lessons on life. The success of the book later inspired a 1999 film to be produced and released as an adaptation. Both as a book and a film, Tuesdays with Morrie provided a very positive representation of a sociologist which evidently made an impact on the life choices of some respondents. Beyond the book and film, some respondents also mentioned being influenced by YouTube videos that include sociological content. While these sources of influence yielded minimal weight in the survey (cumulatively, they accounted for only 4% of the reasons for choosing BA Sociology as a degree program), the potential of these forms of media as tools to make Sociology better known to its potential studentry should not be taken lightly. This is especially the case in online social media that have such a ubiquitous presence in the lives of young Filipinos such as YouTube and TikTok.

According to reports (Clapano, 2023), the prevalence of internet use in the Philippines as of 2023 is such that 83% of Filipinos are internet users with more than 10 hours of daily exposure. The reports further indicated that almost all of these Filipino internet users are social media users. A 2022 report (Baclig, 2022) indicated that Filipinos spend around four hours each day on social media. Aside from browsing and interacting on social media, 70.6% of Filipino internet users reportedly watch online videos as a source of learning (e.g. how-to, tutorial, and educational videos) and 21.9% listen to podcasts every week.

Table 1 Reasons provided by students for choosing Bachelor of Arts in Sociology as their choice of degree program

Reasons for respondents' choice of BA Sociology	%		
Respondent did not qualify for other degree programs that they prefer more	20		
BA Sociology is related to lessons discussed in HUMSS subjects during respondent's senior high school education			
Curiosity	14		
BA Sociology is similar with Psychology	10		
Because respondent wants to "understand how and why individuals acts"	6		
Choice of degree program was an impulsive decision	6		
Recommended by former teachers and/or friends	6		
Because respondent is interested in "human interactions and experiences"	4		
BA Sociology was perceived as best fit for respondent's skillset	4		
BA Sociology was perceived as a pre-law course	4		
Respondent was willing to take any degree program as long as it is free	4		
BA Sociology is related to Journalism	2		
BA Sociology is related to public service	2		
Influenced by the book and film: Tuesdays with Morrie	2		
Influenced by YouTube videos	2		

The respondents were also asked whether they considered shifting into another degree program after two years of study under the BA Sociology program. The data for the study indicate that 70% of the respondents answered positively to this query. Out of this subgroup of respondents who considered shifting into another degree program, more than half (53%) indicated that they strongly considered the idea of shifting but never tried. The rest said that the idea crossed their mind but they never seriously thought about it. Nobody said that they actually tried. Again, this last information might be a limitation in the execution of the study wherein those who actually tried (and succeeded in their intentions to shift) are no longer included in the population under study. To follow-up on this line of inquiry, the respondents were asked what degree program they considered shifting into after their two semesters in the BA Sociology program. Table 2 summarizes the results.

True to the earlier discussions, around a third of the respondents (36%) had Psychology as their preferred degree program to shift into. A lesser, albeit still noteworthy, proportion of students (18%) preferred to shift to the Political Science degree program instead. As previously mentioned, these two degree programs are often the known social science programs among Filipinos given the relatively high exposure that psychologists and political scientists are provided with in mainstream media.

Table 2 Preferred degree program of respondents who considered shifting into another degree program after spending two semesters in Bachelor of Arts in Sociology (n=34)

Considered Degree Program	%
Psychology	36
Political Science	18
Secondary Education (Major in Social Studies)	6
Broadcasting	6
Philosophy	3
Architecture	3
Linguistics	3
Performing Arts	3
Biology	3
Computer Science	3
Business Administration	3
Forensic Science	3
Media Arts	3
Tourism	3

The study inquired further into the reason why some students of the program still considered shifting despite already having spent two semesters in BA Sociology. The results of this part of the inquiry are summarized in Table 3.

The data in Table 3 shows that even after two semesters of training under the BA Sociology degree program, almost half (48%) of those who reported wishing to shift still wish to apply for inclusion in their first choice of degree program (which, as Table 2 shows, is most likely Psychology). The two next prevalent reasons for wanting to shift are also worth noting because they point to important issues about the BA Sociology program that needs to be addressed:

Roughly a quarter of the respondents (24%) expressed that they lack an interest in BA Sociology after having spent two semesters in the program. At first glance, this lack of interest may be dismissed as a logical consequence of not preferring Sociology as their degree program during their freshmen year. We posit, however, that even if the students did not prefer Sociology but essentially found themselves having to train under the program for a year and found themselves still uninterested afterwards, there might also be problems with the delivery of the Sociology program. In previous studies, it has been observed that students point to the discipline's various concepts and theories as one of the primary strengths of the program which the students found to be very interesting (Spalter-Roth et al., 2012). In the case of the respondents of the study, it has been found that they have minimal opportunity to be exposed to this wealth of sociological concepts and theories. An analysis of the Sociology program under the study's curricular map showed that the only major Sociology course the students are likely to encounter in their first two semesters under the program is General Sociology – an introductory course. A similar problem has been encountered in a previous study among BA Sociology students from another Philippine university. In Quintos and Iwayama (2018), it was noted that one of the issues with the delivery of the Sociology program is that the first year of training does not offer in-depth exposure to Sociology. The authors noted that students found it hard to appreciate the program during their freshman (and even sophomore) year, and this led to students deciding to leave the program in favor of other degree offerings that are perceived to be more attractive. The authors found from focus group discussions with BA Sociology students that,

... the participants often blame the curriculum's structure as one of the reasons why there is a high number of BA Sociology students who shift away from the program after their first year. According to the participants, one of the reasons why their fellow students shift is because they do not find the degree meaningful even after a year of Sociological training. This is because they find the major courses in the curriculum which must be taken in their first year are very limited... [the introductory course on Sociology] only provides a general outline of what Sociology as a discipline is, but is usually perceived to be incapable of establishing how distinct and important the program is as compared to other disciplines. (p.6)

One in every five respondents (21%), meanwhile, expressed concern about the lack of job prospects that can be obtained from a BA Sociology degree. The anxiety among Sociology majors and their job prospects after graduating has been a decades-long concern for the discipline. Kim et al. (1998) noted that concerns over the "often dismal" job prospects of Sociology graduates have a long history that can be traced as far back as more than half a century ago. Even in their own research, Kim et al. admitted that there is some truth to the concern that "Sociology is on the skids," albeit having noted that much of this concern is grounded on a long-standing practice wherein Sociology graduates focus on two related fields: academia and research. While Sociology graduates do not pale in terms of skills, these fields tend to employ a limited number of personnel and there is always a threat of oversupply of graduates, especially since these are also fields open to graduates of other degree programs.

More recent reports paint a brighter prospect for the discipline. According to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics (2024), employment opportunities for Sociology graduates are expected to grow by 5% from 2022 to 2032 - a growth which they noted to be faster than the average. In terms of salaries in the United States, Senter and Spalter-Roth (2020) conducted a 10-year comparison of salaries of Sociology graduates with graduates from other fields similar to Sociology (e.g. Business Administration/Management and Operations, Economics, Communication and Media Studies, Political Science and Government, International/Global Studies, Philosophy, English Language and Literature, Psychology, History, Anthropology, and Ethnic/Cultural Minority/Gender/Group Studies) and found that the salaries received by Sociology graduates underwent a gradual increase over the 10-year period and that "[s] alaries of Sociology majors are, in each case, in the middle of the pack. They are always near the middle, neither the highest paid majors nor the lowest paid." In terms of the variety of job prospects, Senter et al. (2015) found, through a survey of Sociology graduates from 160 different US colleges and universities, that many of the respondents saw themselves involved in a variety of professions outside of teaching and research (which only accounted for 17% of the respondents) after graduation: social services and counseling (21.9%), admin support and clerical roles (16.7%), sales and marketing (12.6%), service industry (9.3%), management (7.7%), and other professions such as programming, information technology, and public relations (8.9%). In Asian countries like China and India, degrees such as Sociology are reportedly experiencing an increase in enrolment because they are seen as stepping stones to public sector employment – which people from these countries perceive as a more secure source of employment than private organizations (Huang, 2024). In the Philippines, Abuso (2018) recognized that Sociology graduate careers can branch out beyond the traditional teaching and research markets and traced the career trajectories of Sociology graduates from a private university. She found that the graduates initially engaged in entry-level positions related to research (e.g. field enumerator), education, government, and corporate (e.g. marketing staff). Abuso's tracer study reported that these graduates eventually

moved on to careers that can be categorized as "Applied Sociology," such as being involved in corporate social responsibility, public service and governance, education, and research and development.

While the previous discussion has shown that there are futures for Sociology graduates beyond teaching and research, it is also apparent that none of these other future professions is niche to Sociology alone. Instead, these are professions that graduates of other degree programs can also apply to. A common sentiment among sociological circles is that while Sociology does not provide a niche profession for its graduates, its training provides skills that can be useful in various workplace settings. Indeed, a survey involving Sociology graduates from 96 schools in the US in 2005 yielded that their sociological training provided the graduates with soft skills they found very useful in the workplace, including the capability to work with people from different races, classes, and genders, seeing society from alternative perspectives, being able to provide insights on current issues, and understanding how small groups work and how best to navigate them (Van Vooren & Spalter-Roth, 2010). In 2012, a similar survey was conducted. The respondents reported that having a sociological imagination, knowing sociological theories and concepts, being exposed to alternative perspectives or realities (all of which are useful to be able to give insights on various issues), and being familiar with various research designs and data analytical techniques are trainings in Sociology that proved very useful in the respondents' various professions (Spalter-Roth & Van Vooren, 2014).

Table 3 Reasons provided by students for considering a shift to another degree program offered in the same university (n=33)

Reasons for wanting to shift to another degree program	
Respondent wanted to apply for acceptance in their first choice of degree program	48
Lack of interest in BA Sociology	24
Perceived lack of job prospects from a BA Sociology degree	
Respondent's parents want them to shift to another degree program	3
High rate of law school passers in other degree programs	3

B. What are the reasons of students for choosing to stay under the BA Sociology program?

From the data presented in the previous section, it is clear that many of the sophomore BA Sociology students did not originally intend to be part of the BA Sociology program, and the majority of them still considered leaving the program after two semesters of training. It is, therefore, important to know why they decided to remain in the program despite a clear prevalence of lackluster attitude towards BA Sociology. The results in Table 4 suggest the primacy of personal interest in the decision to remain in the program. More than half (59%) explained that they have opted to remain in the program because they have learned to appreciate Sociology. It is worth noting that discussions with students indicate that this appreciation of the program can manifest in two ways:

First, the students realize that the most efficient (in terms of time spent in university and consequently also in terms of costs of education) course of action is to "settle" with Sociology instead of shifting to other programs. The cognitive dissonance between pursuing Sociology and having another degree program that they prefer over Sociology is neutralized by the fact that Sociology has a large area of inquiry, and even their preferred discipline (e.g. Psychology, political science) is also tackled in sociological discussions. In an earlier study conducted by Quintos and Iwayama (2024) of students of the same program and the same university, they observed that the prevailing student culture is one centered on practicality and efficiency – i.e. the goal of university education is to graduate immediately for economic reasons (lessened educational costs and immediate entry into paid work). This act of "settling" with Sociology runs parallel to that observed cultural orientation.

Second, students of the program have learned to appreciate the different concepts and theoretical perspectives offered in Sociology. The discipline, while obscure in terms of fame and job prospects, promises a different way of thinking – a different quality of mind – that enriches their lives outside of economic rewards. For students coming from working lowerand middle-class families, the discussions in Sociology largely dwell on understanding and seeking to remedy the plights of the working people. A related case study by Ocampo (2014) that also involved students from a state university was able to adequately capture the appeal of Sociology that students eventually grow to learn:

While it was not their first choice, the 24 students comprising the class have decided to stay in Sociology. All informants echoed the same reason for staying – the subject matter of Sociology. They have come to accept the discipline because of the perspective it offers. Most of them felt a sense of superiority over students from other courses, not because they knew of the financial opportunities available to Sociology majors but because of their ability to analyze what was happening around them. They believe that there is less chance of social mobility if you are a Sociology graduate but it is a discipline where intellectual development is present.

Despite previous discussions about the job prospects of Sociology, almost 2 in every 10 respondents (18%) said that they decided to remain in the program, because they are convinced that Sociology is related to their future desired profession: being a lawyer. While the concept of a pre-law course encompasses all four-year degree programs in the country, there is indeed a common perception that BA Sociology is a good pre-law course. An earlier study involving BA Sociology graduates from another Philippine state university reported that almost 1 in every 3 respondents chose to major in Sociology as a preparatory program for legal education (Nelson & Quintos, 2013), and graduates of the discipline have indeed eventually pursued legal education after their sociological training (Abuso, 2018) – including the authors of this paper. Finally, the data in Table 4 indicates that some students have chosen to remain in Sociology not out of any intrinsic motivation but rather due to a sense of learned helplessness: 10% of the respondents indicated that shifting to another degree program is bureaucratically difficult. Another 8% reported feeling that they have no choice but to continue with a BA in Sociology. Interestingly, some students of the program shared that they were told by the enrolment officer during their freshmen application process that they are not allowed to shift after they are accepted into the program. While this is not legally binding, and students are indeed technically allowed to shift, this belief sowed by their enrolment officer must have prevented some students from trying. Furthermore, the students shared there is some guilt associated with shifting because their enrolment officer told them that other freshmen applicants who really wanted to go into Sociology were deprived of the opportunity when they were accepted into the program. To shift, therefore, is to waste the slot given to them instead of those other freshmen applicants. Finally, the students and some faculty shared that there is an internal arrangement in the college where the programs have agreed to deny applications for shifting into their program if the applicant is from the college. This is reportedly to make sure that the student population of the college will not be skewed too much in favor of just one program. Since Sociology and Psychology are from the same college, this might explain why some respondents felt that it is useless to try to shift away from Sociology.

Outside of these reasons, very few respondents said that they want to give Sociology a chance (4%), especially since they have already made friends in the program (2%) which might make leaving more emotionally difficult.

Table 4 Reasons provided by the students who considered shifting into another degree program as to why they decided to remain in the Bachelor of Arts in Sociology program

Reasons for remaining in the BA Sociology program	
Respondent has learned to appreciate Sociology because it is related to their other interests	59
Sociology is related to respondent's desired future profession (pre-law)	18
It is difficult to shift to another degree program	10
Respondent feels that they have no choice but to continue with BA Sociology	8
Respondent is still trying to find their purpose and wants to give Sociology a chance	4
Respondent already feels integrated with their group of friends in the program	2

C. What are the students' perceived strengths and weaknesses of the BA Sociology program?

As primary stakeholders of undergraduate education, the respondents were asked to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the program. It is assumed that their two semesters' worth of experience in BA Sociology is sufficient for them to have an informed perception of the matter. Table 5 summarizes the respondents' perceived strengths of the program while Table 6 summarizes the perceived weaknesses.

Table 5 Students' perceived strengths of the program

Perceived strengths of the BA Sociology program	%
Sociology provides a different quality of thinking	47
Breadth of subject matter	24
Sociology provides a broader set of choices of future profession	12
The program provides good training in critical thinking and problem-solving	10
Sociology is a good pre-law course	4
The program provides good training in reading skills	4
Flexibility	4
Relevant	4
Do not know	4
The program provides good training in working under pressure	2

Perceived strengths of the BA Sociology program	
The program provides good training in communication and interpersonal skills	2
Faculty	2
Unusual	2
Curriculum structure	2

Similar to what has been discussed in the previous section, students of the program consider the so-called promise of Sociology – a different quality of mind or what practitioners of the discipline call the "sociological imagination" – as the main strength of the program (47%). This sociological imagination includes a breadth of concepts of theories that influence how students see the different aspects of their daily lives, a strength that has also been noted in previous studies about the advantages of sociological education (Spalter-Roth et al., 2012). A considerable proportion of the respondents also praise the breadth of Sociology's subject matter (24%). As often discussed in Sociology classes, the scope of inquiry of Sociology (and therefore the choices for possible discussion in classes and choices for research) encompasses all aspects of social life from the most mundane to the most urgent, from the start of life to death. Even for students who are interested in other disciplinal pursuits, the typical Sociology curriculum offers a sociological take on the matter such as a Sociology of Economic Life for those interested in economics, a Sociology of Power and Political Life for those interested in political science, and a Sociology of Organizations for those interested in management to name a few. One in every ten respondents (10%) also lauded the program for its capability to train its students in critical thinking and problem-solving. These aspects of the training are often part of the training in developing a sociological imagination where students are challenged to rethink and reexamine existing realities and truth claims, and provide new approaches to solving or understanding social issues. Finally, the program has been described as one that provides its students with a broader set of choices for future professions (12%). Indeed, as noted in previous discussions, the sociological training received by the students does not necessarily guarantee them a spot in a niche market reserved for Sociology majors. However, the cognitive and soft skills that are core elements of sociological training allow its graduates to venture into different career paths.

In terms of weaknesses, five major points were identified by the respondents. First, around a third (35%) of the respondents once again mentioned the low job prospects of Sociology graduates. This is often paired with the second most commonly-mentioned weakness: Sociology is not famous in the Philippines. Worse, it is even looked down upon (26%). The problem of prestige in Philippine Sociology is a decades-old problem that has been felt by students and faculty alike. Back in the 1980s, Abad and Eviota (1987) already pointed out that Sociology pales in comparison with the other social science disciplines in terms of popularity – a dismal observation given that the social sciences as a whole have been noted by the late Gelia Castillo, National Scientist for Rural Sociology, as being treated as "second class citizens" in the university setting (1983).

Beyond these issues of job prospects and prestige, the respondents also opined that there are issues in the Sociology curriculum (24%). The respondents criticized the content of the curriculum in two ways. First, there is some discontent in the subfields of Sociology that are offered to each batch of students. In the curriculum that the respondents are enrolled in, they are required to take various Sociology electives (e.g. Sociology of Religion, Sociology of the Family). These electives may vary from one batch to another. What happens is that the department offering the Sociology degree program will give the batch of students a set of choices on what Sociology elective to take and whatever elective is chosen by the majority will be offered. The rest of the electives will not be offered. This means two things: first, a batch of Sociology students will miss out on certain Sociology electives, and second, the set of Sociology electives taken by one batch will be different from another. This means that the different batches of students will have different curriculum content and may not be able to relate to each other in terms of the training they have undergone. Second, some respondents considered the Sociology curriculum to be quite "Western" in orientation instead of being indigenized or decolonized – though other observers of the developments in Sociology in the country have noted its indigenization and decolonization since the 1970s (Abad & Eviota, 1982; Bautista, 1987). Some respondents compared Sociology with Psychology, wherewith the latter has a Sikolohiyang Pilipino while the former has no concept of Pilipinong Sosyolohiya (though an attempt to craft this "Nationalist Sociology" has been made by Erasga, 2017). This line of commentary was quite surprising since the discussions in Sociology classes often made use of Philippine realities as the focus. What appears to be lacking based on the perception of the students is the wealth of reading materials, theories, and concepts in Sociology that are in Filipino. Instead, the concepts tend to remain predominantly in English, French, or German forms.

Some respondents also opined negatively that Sociology is difficult and timeconsuming (18%). Comments from the respondents indicate that there are too many assigned reading materials in most Sociology courses. Furthermore, they complain about the emphasis on essays as a form of graded requirement in Sociology courses. Additionally, some respondents believe that Sociology is not practical (10%). These respondents argued that the problem with Sociology is that, like in Philosophy classes, there is not an absolute correct answer. Instead, the discipline dabbles with different perspectives, and a class session may end with more questions rather than concrete answers – a situation that they view negatively. Unfortunately, these observations are traditionally part of sociological training appreciated by many students – though there will unsurprisingly be those who will frown on it, especially if they are not wholly interested in the subject matter of Sociology, to begin with. As Senter et al. (2012) observed in their own study of Sociology majors, those who majored in Sociology for "substantive" reasons tended to be satisfied with their sociological training, whereas those who majored in Sociology for "convenience" tended to view the training with lesser satisfaction.

As a final point on the matter, it must be noted that a very small fraction of the respondents said that Sociology is depressing (2%). This is a common commentary between professors and students in Sociology classes, wherein the group is painfully aware that the study of Sociology is the study of social inequalities and social problems that may not necessarily find any resolution in the foreseeable future.

 Table 6

 Students' perceived weaknesses of the program

Perceived weaknesses of the BA Sociology program		
Perceived low number of job prospects after graduation	35	
Discipline is not famous in the Philippines and even looked down upon	26	
Curriculum issues	24	
Difficult and time-consuming	18	
Not practical	10	
Depressing	2	

D. What are the plans of students after graduating from the BA Sociology program?

The final part of the inquiry in this study looked into the future plans of the BA Sociology students after graduating from the program. This line of inquiry recognizes that none of these future plans are binding or set in stone. The authors, however, propose that there is wisdom in knowing the future plans of the students because these might provide context for their attitudes and motivations that are connected to their decision-making processes. For the purposes of the study, two timeframes were given to the respondents: 1 year after graduating and 5 years after graduating. Their responses are summarized in Table 7.

There is a very salient preference for the legal profession among the respondents in both timeframes. Around a quarter of the respondents (24%) seem to have plans to proceed with legal education immediately after graduating from the BA Sociology program. Meanwhile, more than a third of the respondents (35%) envision themselves either taking up legal education or already being a lawyer 5 years after graduating from the program. The presence of legal education and an eventual career as a lawyer is actually observable in the answers of the respondents to the various research questions of this study. In Table 1, BA Sociology being a pre-law course was one of the reasons provided by the respondents for enrolling in the program. In Table 3, some respondents believe that there are higher rates of law school

passers that graduate from other degree programs and they consequently wish to shift into those degree programs. In Table 4, the respondents identified Sociology's status as a pre-law course as one of the reasons why they decided to remain in the program. Finally, in Table 5, the students identified Sociology's status as a "good pre-law course" as one of its strengths. The respondents also lauded the Sociology program's training in reading skills – a skill based on observations and personal experiences, very important in legal education – as another strength of the program. Meanwhile, the traditional career directions of Sociology, teaching, and research were declared as future plans of the lesser proportion of respondents in both timeframes.

Table 7 Declared future plans of the respondents 1 year and 5 years after graduating from the BA Sociology program

nom the BA Sociology program			
Plans 1 year after graduating from the BA Sociology program	%	Plans 5 years after graduating from the BA Sociology program	%
Legal Education	24	Legal education or being a lawyer	35
Working in a profession related to Sociology	12	Teaching	24
Teaching	12	Graduate Studies	14
Government office	10	Working	8
Further studies	8	Research	8
Office work	8	Branching out into a different field from Sociology	6
Working in a profession unrelated to Sociology	8	Working in a non-government organization	6
Working	8	Do not know	6
Nothing	8	Social work	4
Masteral Degree	6	Managing one's own business	2
Looking for a job	6	Journalism	2
Research	4	Having a family	2
Social work	4		
Working in a non-government organization	4		
Supporting family members	2		
Finding one's passion	2		
Journalism	2		

Given the findings of the study, the BA Sociology program appears to serve the role of a "stepping stone" in two different contexts. First, it is a stepping stone to the university where the students can obtain a Bachelor's degree for minimal costs. By virtue of R.A. 10931: Universal Access to Quality Tertiary Education Act, state-owned higher education institutions are accessible to Filipinos for free. The BA Sociology program under study is housed at a state university. The students' entry into the BA Sociology program – a non-quota degree program that does not require high admission grades, therefore, is an economically rational choice for the respondents who come from middle- and lower-income households. Second, it is a stepping stone to legal education.

In the efforts of the American Sociological Association to understand the experiences of Sociology graduates, they observed that the possession of a Bachelor's degree in Sociology is often not sufficient to provide the graduates with the human and social capital necessary to provide them with a long-term career. Instead, these graduates need additional human capital that they obtain through further education (Van Vooren & Spalter-Roth, 2010). In the case of Sociology graduates from the US, the most common destination of their further studies is social work and human services (34.8%), with legal education only accounting for 18.3% of the graduates. The difference in the rates between the US and Philippine experiences is perhaps not very surprising. Socio-culturally, the legal profession in the Philippines is part of the triumvirate of professions held in high regard (the other two professions being Medicine and Engineering). From a Filipino standpoint, being a lawyer, a medical doctor, or an engineer promises a life of high prestige and high economic rewards. To this end, having a son or daughter graduate and become part of any of these three professions has become a familywide aspiration for many Filipinos. For families that, whether objectively or subjectively, are experiencing or concerned about the possibility of experiencing disenfranchisement due to the political issues that beset the country, there is also a budding aspiration to have either a police officer or lawyer in the family. To this end, being part of the legal profession is seen as a multi-functional goal for individuals and their families.

E. Synthesis of Results

How do we make sense of all of these? In an earlier study that looked into the experiences of BA Sociology students, Quintos and Iwayama (2024) used the Parsonian AGIL (Adaptation, Goal Attainment, Integration, and Latency) framework of society to understand why BA Sociology students of the university under study behaved the way they did in their journey to graduate from the BA Sociology program. We posit that the same framework remains instrumental in understanding the findings of the study. The premise of the AGIL framework is that a system survives because the system is able to fulfill the following functions for itself:

First, Adaptation, wherewith the members of the system are provided with their needed resources and given security of access to these resources. Second, Goal Attainment, wherewith the system has a clear idea or vision of what future it intends to achieve and what it needs to achieve that future. Third, Integration, wherewith the system is populated by the right variety of men and women necessary for the system to survive and achieve its goals. Included in this integrative function is the recruitment/reproduction and training of the members of the system. Fourth, Latency, wherewith the system keeps its members motivated enough that they will push forward in training and achieving the goals of the system.

In this study, the results suggest that the Latency and Integration parts of the system are failing. In terms of Integration, the program does not seem to be recruiting the right students. This is not to slight the cognitive skills of the students. Instead, the disjoint is manifest in their motivation. Many of these students did not wish to be part of the BA Sociology program during their freshman year, and the majority of them considered shifting to other degree programs. Many of these students do not envision themselves as sociologists in the future but rather as lawyers, and BA Sociology is largely just a stepping stone toward a free tuition university education and legal education. This lack of motivation to be sociologists may, as Quintos and Iwayama (2024) explained, largely be a deficiency in the Adaptation part of the system wherewith being a sociologist is not a socio-economically-rewarding endeavor (a point repeatedly discussed in this paper as the respondents struggle with the perceived low prestige and low job prospects of Sociology). All of these shed doubt on the efficacy of BA Sociology as a degree program and perhaps it now falls to the goal-attainment function of the system to decide how best to move forward from this. This now begs the following major questions:

First, the previous discussions and related literature have repeatedly suggested that one of the issues with BA Sociology programs is that it is getting students who neither want Sociology nor want to become sociologists in the future. One related literature has gone as far as declaring that Sociology has become a "dumping ground for students who do not make the grade in other courses." Given these, in terms of the Integrative function, what should the BA Sociology program do in terms of recruitment? How will it attract the "right" kind of students? While it struggles to attract these students, should it impose more stringent qualifications to filter out those who might intend to use the program as a stepping stone to enter the university?

A decade ago, in a Philippine state university where the first author served as the head of the Sociology division, the question of whether the program should filter out those applicants who, based on the assessment of the faculty, merely intend to use BA Sociology as a stepping stone. A senior faculty opined that it might be imprudent to filter these kinds of students, and perhaps the better course of action is to find ways to resocialize these students during the 4 years of sociological training to want to become sociologists. In practical terms,

it might be imprudent for the BA Sociology program to be very stringent in its recruitment practices, given that it is already difficult to recruit students amidst the competition among the many and continuously increasing degree programs. The BA Sociology will still have to justify that it has sufficient enrollees lest it risks being removed from the list of program offerings of the university. The fact remains, however, that it is difficult to motivate students to want to become sociologists, given the discipline's inability to ensure rewards in terms of prestige and socio-economic gains.

This brings us to the second question: If the students prevalently intend to use the BA Sociology program as a pre-law course, is it practical for the program to just lean into this reality and actually package itself as a preparatory undergraduate course for aspiring legal education students (subject to the standards on Sociology curricula prescribed by CHED Memo No. 40, S. 2017 – Policies, Standards, and Guidelines for the Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and supposing that it is possible to marry the traditions of Sociology and legal education without conflict in terms of principles)? Traditionally, aspiring legal education students are given by the Legal Education Board (LEB, the body given authority by the Philippine State to administer and supervise law schools pursuant to R.A. No. 7662) the following requisites before they are accepted in a law school:

Section 16. Board Prerequisites for Admission to the Ll.B. or J.D. Program. The Board shall apply Section 6 of Rule 138 in the following wise: An applicant for admission to the Ll.B. or J.D. program of studies must be a graduate of a bachelor's degree and must have earned at least eighteen (18) units in English, six (6) units in Mathematics, and eighteen (18) units of social science subjects." (LEB Memorandum Order (LEBMO) No. 1 (Series of 2011))

The supposed status of BA Sociology as a "good pre-law course" might stem from the fact that it satisfies the required 18 units of social science subjects and presumably the 6 units of mathematics (to which the statistics courses of the typical BA Sociology curriculum suffices). The only thing lacking might be the 18 units of English units which depends on the curriculum of BA Sociology programs (in the case of both authors, for example, they had to take extra English units outside of the prescribed BA Sociology curriculum to satisfy the required 18 units). Beyond these requisites, it is probably debatable whether the common "hidden curriculum" of BA Sociology – i.e., the practice of having several required reading materials for students to consume per major course and the emphasis on recitation or class participation as a grade requirement – are also part of the equation when it is described as a "good pre-law course."

It is important to note, however, that a recent development makes a significant change regarding the subject matter. Pursuant to LEB Memorandum Circular (LEBMC) No. 113, Series of 2022, the required units for mathematics, English, and social science are now suspended

and law schools are now given the freedom to determine their own reasonable admission policies. This means that law schools may retain the old unit requirements, remove the unit requirements altogether, or impose their own set of unit requirements.

Given these circumstances, the identity of Sociology as a good pre-law course is very suspect, and the window of opportunity for the program to lean into its identity as a pre-law course may already be closed. Ultimately, this returns us to the first conundrum: What should the BA Sociology program do in terms of recruitment? Should it operate under the "status quo" of its usual profile of students? If not, how will it attract the "right" kind of students? And while it struggles to attract these students, should it impose more stringent qualifications to filter out those who might intend to use the program as a stepping stone to enter the university? This question – given its importance to the destiny of the program – is something beyond the capability of the authors to answer. It is, however, a question that Sociology departments might need to ponder.

CONCLUSION

This study found that having BA Sociology as one's degree program is often more a consequence of constraining factors (i.e. inability to qualify for their primary choice of degree program but having no other recourse but to study in the state university due to the free tuition benefit) rather than a function of one's absolute freedom of choice for the respondents of the study. Even for those who were able to exercise their freedom to choose, the odds of choosing BA Sociology - either as a primary or secondary choice of the degree program - seem to be often a matter of how well the discipline of Sociology was introduced to the students during their senior high school education. Other modes of exposure to Sociology, such as onscreen or in print, also contributed, albeit very limitedly, to the program's recruitment capabilities. This limited contribution may not necessarily be due to the inefficacy of such channels of recruitment but is more of a result of minimal opportunity for exposure. Sociology programs may be wise to explore the possibility of Sociology-related YouTube, TikTok, and podcast content to increase the visibility of the discipline and inspire young Filipinos to consider Sociology as their undergraduate program of choice. A year after being accepted into the BA Sociology program and being enrolled in some of its major courses, a majority of the student body still considered the possibility of shifting to another degree program. The predominant reason for this consideration to shift is their sustained interest in their primary degree program of choice during their freshman year. Therefore, a year after accepting the students into the program, the program is still in peril of becoming a mere stepping stone into other degree programs. After two semesters of being integrated into the BA Sociology program, these sophomore BA Sociology students recognized the quality of thinking that is honed by the program - often called in the field as the "Sociological Imagination" - and the breadth of the subject matter that is under the purview of sociological inquiry as the main strengths of the program. Despite the recognized strengths of the program, the sophomore respondents lamented that the program is bogged down by the perception that Sociology as a discipline, and by extension its degree programs, has a low number of prospects or opportunities in the Philippine job market. Perhaps connected to this, the sophomore respondents also described the Sociology program as "not famous" and "looked down upon." Perhaps due to this low job prospect and low-prestige status of Sociology, it was also found that the students do not see themselves in the future as sociologists (i.e. those involved in teaching Sociology or doing sociological research). Instead, the most common trend is for students to use Sociology as a stepping stone to become a lawyer – a profession perceived to be associated with more job opportunities, economic rewards, and prestige in Philippine society.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of the study identify areas for improvement and provide strategic recommendations for the recruitment and retention of students in BA Sociology programs. First, to attract younger generations, Sociology departments should enhance their visibility by creating engaging content for popular online platforms such as YouTube, TikTok, X (formerly Twitter), and Facebook. This content could focus on discussions surrounding contemporary social issues in the Philippines, emphasizing the importance of sociological perspectives in understanding these challenges. Through social media, departments can connect more effectively with potential students and demonstrate the relevance of Sociology in today's society. Second, departments offering BA Sociology should collaborate with senior high schools to effectively integrate Sociology into their curricula. This initiative will help students grasp the discipline's significance and relevance early on, potentially increasing interest in pursuing a degree in Sociology. Third, to combat misconceptions regarding limited job prospects for Sociology graduates, departments should organize seminars and workshops that outline various career paths available to Sociology graduates. Inviting alumni to share their experiences can provide current students with valuable insights into how they can use their degrees in diverse fields. Fourth, to retain current BA Sociology students, departments must actively organize events that foster camaraderie among students, such as brown bag discussions. These informal gatherings can strengthen students' commitment to the program. Additionally, collaborating with student organizations to create peer support groups or mentorship programs can help newer students connect with upperclassmen for guidance and support. Lastly, to maintain student interest and engagement, it is crucial for departments to ensure their curricula are regularly updated. Coordinating with faculty to incorporate contemporary materials that resonate with student interests is essential for keeping the program relevant and appealing.

By implementing these recommendations, BA Sociology programs can enhance their appeal to prospective students while improving retention rates among current enrollees. Focusing on visibility, addressing job market perceptions, fostering community, and ensuring curriculum relevance will be crucial in positioning Sociology as a valuable field of study in the Philippines.

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