

THE CASE OF PROJECT CITIZEN IN THE PHILIPPINES: EXAMINING THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF A GRASSROOTS CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAM

by

TANYA REKOW WALKER

(Under the Direction of Dr. Kathleen deMarrais)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine how and why a small non-governmental organization called the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED) chose to implement the Project Citizen curriculum, a project-based civic education program promoting civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions, in the Philippine schools. Attention was given to how Project Citizen was adapted for, and implemented in, the Philippine context. The origins of PCCED, its objectives, and how stakeholders perceived program effectiveness were explored. By examining how the PCCED implemented Project Citizen in Manila schools, I investigated how democratic education is maintained in a developing nation faced with the marginalization of civic education in the national curriculum.

This qualitative case study relied on interviews, observations, and documents as the main data sources. A comparative education theoretical framework served as my interpretive perspective, and more specifically, I applied Phillips and Ochs's (2004) policy borrowing and lending model to test its utility with a grassroots case of policy adoption. The data analysis process was guided by Vavrus and Bartlett's (2014) vertical case study method which relies

equally on three different dimensions of comparison: the horizontal, the vertical, and the transversal.

The findings of this research indicated that Project Citizen's growth in its reach and membership since its adoption was the result of several interconnected factors. First, seeking to prevent further marginalization of civic education in the national curriculum, the PCCED offered Project Citizen as an extracurricular participatory citizenship program to engage students, solve community problems, and promote political efficacy. Second, focusing on teacher training, the PCCED was able to convince teachers of the program's benefits through indigenized nationalist discourse, thus successfully imbedding the curriculum within participating schools. Third, although forced to conduct Project Citizen as an extracurricular activity, teachers and students willingly participated with its implementation, ostensibly due to personal convictions regarding citizenship education's ability to improve democracy in the nation. Due to these factors, the PCCED successfully implemented Project Citizen without the Department of Education's mandate, and with limited resources and personnel.

INDEX WORDS: Civic education, Philippine education, Policy borrowing and lending

THE CASE OF PROJECT CITIZEN IN THE PHILIPPINES: EXAMINING THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF A GRASSROOTS CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAM

by

TANYA REKOW WALKER

B.A., University of California, Berkeley, 1991

M.Ed., Mercer University, 1998

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2015

© 2015

Tanya Rekow Walker

All Rights Reserved

THE CASE OF PROJECT CITIZEN IN THE PHILIPPINES: EXAMINING THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF A GRASSROOTS CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAM

by

TANYA REKOW WALKER

Major Professor: Kathleen deMarrais
Committee: Brian W. Dotts
William G. Wraga

Electronic Version Approved:

Julie Coffield
Interim Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2015

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family. To my Mom, who has supported, inspired, and encouraged me throughout my life. To my Dad, for his enduring encouragement, and for kindly accompanying me on one of my fieldwork trips. To my children, Jacob and Luke, who have patiently tolerated this whole process without complaint, supplying an unending source of love and inspiration. And to my husband, Matthew, for making all of this possible through his unwavering love and friendship. He provided me with hope, confidence, and laughter, whenever mine ran out.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to earnestly thank and recognize the assistance and support of my dissertation committee members throughout the entire doctoral process. To Dr. Dotts, you have been such a source of guidance, encouragement, and inspiration. I feel so fortunate to have been able to work with you for so long, and am grateful for the many contributions you have made to my academic learning and success. To Dr. Wraga, thank you for being such a wonderful teacher. I have learned so much from you, and your continued support and encouragement have sustained me throughout this process. And to Dr. deMarrais, your knowledge, guidance, support, and direction have made me a better scholar and person. I am grateful for your patience and encouragement, and sincerely appreciate your dedication to helping me achieve my academic goals.

I also wish to sincerely acknowledge the assistance and support of Binggoy, Diane, and Gabriel Medina. My trips to the Philippines would not have been so productive and enjoyable without their unmatched kindness, and invaluable assistance. Lastly, I wish to sincerely thank the entire PCCED staff, board members, and Project Citizen teachers and participants; their cooperation and generosity made this research possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
Background of the Study	1
Statement of the Problem.....	2
Purpose of the Study	4
Research Questions.....	4
Conceptual Framework.....	5
Overview of the Methods.....	5
Significance of the Study	6
Organization of the Dissertation	8
Chapter Conclusion.....	9
2 REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE	10
Globalization and Education.....	12
Democracy and Citizenship Education in Developing Nations.....	14
Internationalized Education Reform	18
Global Reform Trends	22

Implementation and Indigenization	29
The Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy	36
Chapter Summary	37
3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	42
Purpose of the Study	42
Theoretical Framework	43
Research Design and Rationale	48
Procedures for Conducting the Study	52
Data Analysis	59
Quality, Trustworthiness, & Reflexivity	62
Limitations	64
Chapter Summary	67
5 THE PHILIPPINE CONTEXT	68
Historical Context	69
Political Context	72
Socioeconomic Context	77
The Growth of Non-governmental Organizations within the Philippine Context	84
Sociocultural Context: Family, Religion, & Diverse Foreign Influences	85
The Interrelationship of Culture & Politics in the Philippine Context	89
Educational Context	94
The Marginalization of Civic Education	98
Other Educational Reform Initiatives	105
Chapter Summary	106

5	THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROJECT CITIZEN WITHIN THE PHILIPPINE CONTEXT	107
	Project Citizen Overview	108
	The Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy	109
	Project Citizen Curriculum	111
	Project Citizen: National Implementation & Creating Partnerships	116
	Project Citizen: Local Implementation	121
	Organization of Project Citizen Implementation: From the Local to the National.....	125
	Chapter Summary	146
6	FINDINGS	149
	Why Was Project Citizen Chosen?	153
	What Were the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy’s Goals with Project Citizen?.....	164
	What Are Stakeholders’ Perceptions of Project Citizen Effectiveness?.....	181
	How Was Project Citizen Indigenized to the Local Philippine Context?.....	196
	Chapter Summary	206
7	DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, & CONCLUSION.....	209
	Summary of Key Findings	209
	Contributions to Theory & Literature	210
	Implications for Future Research & Practice	223
	Final Thoughts	225
	Conclusion	227

REFERENCES230

APPENDICES

A Consent Letter247

B Interview Protocol.....249

C Summary of Documents251

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 3.1: Research Matrix.....	43
Table 3.2: Summary of Data Collection Sites/Events	53
Table 3.3: Formal Interview Participants.....	55
Table 5.1: Comparison of Project Citizen Textbook Table of Contents.....	115
Table 5.2: Summary of Project Citizen Participation Growth and Reach	117
Table 5.3: Project Citizen Showcase Awards and Prizes 2008	133
Table 6.1: Vertical Comparison Scales for Project Citizen Research Questions	152
Table 7.1: Comparison of Reform Agendas of the Department of Education and the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy	215

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 3.1: Theoretical Framework	44
Figure 4.1: Philippine School System Structure Including Tertiary Education.....	96
Figure 4.2: New Philippine Structure of Primary and Secondary Education (2012)	101
Figure 4.3: Achievement and Plans for the K+12 Implementation (2012)	103
Figure 5.1: Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy Headquarters Main Office	111
Figure 5.2: Project Citizen Locations in the Philippines	118
Figure 5.3: Example of Four Panel Display.....	130
Figure 5.4: Welcome and Registration Table at National Capital Region Showcase	131
Figure 5.5: Students Waiting at Preliminary Showcase.....	132
Figure 5.6: Project Citizen National Capital Region Preliminary Showcase Award Categories	133
Figure 5.7: National Capital Region Final Showcase.....	135
Figure 6.1: Visual Representation of Vertical Case Study Elements	151
Figure 6.2: Policy Borrowing Model Showing Indigenization Process of Project Citizen	198

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

In an address before the National University in Cairo, Egypt, in 1910, Theodore Roosevelt said, “Nobody can ‘give’ a people ‘self-government,’ any more than it is possible to ‘give’ an individual man ‘self-help’” (Cizel, 2008, p. 693). Nevertheless, only thirty-six years later, on July 4, 1946, the Republic of the Philippines was officially given its independence from the United States, and its opportunity to pursue self-government, marking the fulfillment of a promise made to the country ten years before. During the official ceremony, General Douglas MacArthur is reported to have said to a friend, “America buried imperialism here today” (Karnow, 1989, p. 324). Although MacArthur’s sentiment is optimistic, and a formal colonial relationship no longer exists between the U.S. and the Philippines, there remains a legacy of influence that still continues between the U.S. and its former colony (Camicia & Franklin, 2011). A part of this legacy in the Philippines is the tension that exists between its un-democratic colonial beginnings and its desire to continually strive to maintain a representative and democratic form of government.

Although the Philippines has struggled to maintain a democratic government (Cizel, 2008), today it is officially a constitutional republic with a presidential system, and generally considered politically stable (U.S. Department of State, 2013). However, during the reign of President Ferdinand Marcos, who ruled the country from 1965 – 1986, the Philippines was far from democratic; it was a period marred by rampant graft, corruption, cronyism, human rights

violations, and violence (Gatmaytan, 2006; Karnow, 1989; Reyes, 2009a, 2009b). Marcos and his cronies are said to have embezzled more than 5 billion dollars from public funds (Ezrow & Franz, 2011). Due to massive protests by the public, often referred to as “People Power,” (Gatmaytan, 2006; Karnow, 1989; Woods, 2006), Marcos was forced into exile in 1986 despite his claim of victory in the highly questionable election of that year. Corazon Aquino, the wife of assassinated opposition leader, Benigno Aquino, Jr., was backed by the people as the true newly elected president. This “People Power” victory has become known as one of the most famous peaceful democratic revolutions in modern history (Gatmaytan, 2006; Karnow, 1989). However, since this period, problems with government corruption continue (Fuller, 2000; Quah, 2006; Reyes, 2009a).

Statement of the Problem

Democracy and democratic principles are of great importance in Philippine history (Chao, 2012; Gatmayan, 2006). The Filipino people’s commitment to maintaining a democratic style of government through peaceful means, even in the face of a twenty-one year dictatorship is inspiring. Nevertheless, due to recent economic trends that show the Philippines as one of the poorer countries in Asia, and due to an entrenched sociocultural class system (Dumol, 2008), some worry about the future of democracy in the Philippines (Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED), 2008; Yu, 2005). Fleming (2011), Heater (2004), Parker (2002), Popkewitz (2009), Rothstein & Jacobsen (2006), and Villegas (2008), argue democracy must be fostered and cultivated in order to be maintained, and in most representative democracies, this task is usually imparted to and carried out in the public school system primarily through a curriculum of citizenship education (Crittenden, 2011; Patrick, Vontz, & Nixon, 2002; Wong 1991). This purpose of schooling in a democracy has remained one of the

primary goals of education for a very long time (Rothstein & Jacobsen, 2006). However, the recent trend of neoliberal education reform policies now prevalent throughout the world has jeopardized this goal (Camicia & Franklin, 2011). Neoliberal policies reduce the role of government in public institutions, focus attention primarily on economic concerns within a nation, and promote a competitive business model of managing schools and curriculum (Apple, 2006; Hursh, 2011; Williams, 2009). Within this capitalist free-market driven model for schools, standardized tests have become the measure of choice for quantifying success or failure (Arnové, 2005; Khattri, Ling, & Jha, 2012). Since citizenship education objectives are often indicated by behaviors and dispositions, they are difficult to easily and inexpensively quantify (Rothstein, Wilder, & Jacobsen, 2007; Torney-Purta, 2002). And according to market logic, if objectives cannot be quantified for a careful analysis of rate of return, then they do not earn a place in the curriculum (Samoff, 2007). Through the globalization of education reform policies, and the current neoliberal trend, citizenship education curriculum is at risk in many school systems around the world (Arnové, 2005; PCCED, 2008). Without direct instruction in democratic principles, what effects might this have on developing democracies? “The results of failing to attend to the democratic goals of public education have resulted in more societies demonstrating the worrisome presence of a *democratic deficit*” (p. 70), argues Arshad-Ayaz, (2009).

With this context as background, the Philippine educational system today has undertaken many neoliberal reform initiatives (e.g. Basic Education Curriculum, K-12 program, school-based management) (Department of Education, Philippines, (DepEd), 2010; Khattri, Ling, & Jha, 2012; Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003; Nebres, 2009). Time devoted to citizenship education has been reduced in favor of other curriculum objectives (e.g. vocational certification, and “STEM” subjects—science, technology, engineering, math) (Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003; PCCED,

2008). In order to address this trend, a non-governmental organization (NGO) named the *Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy* (PCCED), founded in 2004, became involved with the school system in order to promote civic education knowledge, principles, and behavior. One of the primary ways that PCCED is performing this task is through the introduction of a United States-affiliated supplementary curriculum program called *Project Citizen* (PCCED, 2013).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine and gain understanding of how and why the *Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy* (PCCED) chose to implement the Project Citizen curriculum. In particular, this study sought to find out more about how Project Citizen has been implemented in the Philippine context. Also, how the Project Citizen curriculum may have been adapted to the context was another research goal. Another objective was to discover what the relationship was between the PCCED and the Philippine national Department of Education. Lastly, I wanted to discover the stakeholders' perceptions of the program.

Research Questions

For this research study, I examined how and why the PCCED chose to implement the *Project Citizen* curriculum, with attention to how it was adapted for, and implemented in, the Philippine context. I employed a case study design, relying on interviews, observations, and documents as the main data sources. The specific research questions guiding the study were:

- What is the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy, and how did it come about?
- How is the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy structured, how does it function, and what is its relationship to the Philippine Department of Education?
- Why was it chosen, and how has Project Citizen been adapted specifically for the Philippines? And, how is Project Citizen implemented?

- What are the main objectives, and perceived effectiveness of the program by stakeholders?

Conceptual Framework

A comparative education framework served as an overarching perspective, the lens through which I collected, examined, and analyzed my research data. The analytical borrowing and lending perspective within the field of comparative education also informed my analysis. I also gave special attention to specific ideas about policy implementation by Phillips and Ochs (2004), especially with regard to the indigenization process, and by Makinde (2005), and his ideas about how developing nations deal with policy implementation.

Overview of the Methods

To answer the research questions for this study, I chose a qualitative case study design and method. The general approach to my research was from an interpretative qualitative stance (Merriam, 2002), within a comparative education theoretical framework. I made two trips to the Philippines in order to conduct this research. The first two-week trip was made in January to February of 2013. During this trip I met with members of the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED), Department of Education (DepEd) officials, and university professors, in order to secure research permissions and sites, and I collected a wide array of general documents. During the second two-week trip in June of 2013, I conducted the formal collection of research data.

Using in-depth verbatim interview transcripts, naturalistic observations, and a wide array of research and documents as the main sources of data, I analyzed this evidence using a constant comparative approach for interpretive coding and thematic analysis. I also employed Vavrus and Bartlett's (2014) vertical case study method for part of the data analysis. The vertical case study

method facilitated viewing the data across many dimensions and scales of analysis simultaneously. It allowed the boundaries of the case to stretch to include important historical or cultural elements from other timeframes or locations to be carefully considered within the case, and was a logical fit to the data due to its holistic approach to analysis and its focus on several dimensions of context simultaneously.

Significance of the Study

There are several important reasons to conduct a study of this nature. First, little research is available on the Philippine educational system. This does not only include reform or policy issues, but general education matters (Huat, 2008; Vinluan, 2012). In addition, Hallinger (2010) asserted that in the South East Asia region, there is a general “paucity of either descriptive or analytical empirical data on education reform” (p. 405). Although Hallinger’s report focused on South East Asian countries, the Philippines was not one of the seven countries included. Also, the tensions between Western and non-Western conceptions of the link between democracy education and development need to be explored (Hallinger, 2010; Wainaina et al., 2011).

Another reason to conduct this research is to provide support to educational systems of countries that believe there is a need to protect civic education curriculum to help build a sustainable democratic culture (Camicia & Franklin, 2011; PCCED, 2008; Wainaina et al., 2011; Yu, 2005). One way to accomplish this is by introducing ideas about how to implement citizenship education programs through supplemental material that is progressive, experiential, and indigenized to a local context. Several studies (Antal & Easton, 2009; Griffith, 1990; Kim & Boyle, 2012; Mills, Schechter, Lederer, & Naehar, 2011; Myers, 2007; Shultz & Guimaraes-Iosif, 2012; Wainaina et al., 2011) demonstrated innovative ways to use active citizenship education “to resist destructive global agendas” (Shultz & Guimaraes-Iosif, 2012, p. 241).

In addition, with the recession of 2008, it became clear that a market-driven capitalist economy requires some government regulation. Once steeped in neoliberal ideas of “less government,” the financial and banking industry eventually beseeched the government for a ‘bail-out’ (Hursh, 2011). All government institutions have been affected by the failure of these neoliberal policies, including schools, yet the neoliberal policies persist. Perhaps more research highlighting contradictions and inadequacies of these policies, and how grassroots organizations are challenging them, will lead to a more balanced approach to education policy. As Arshad-Ayaz (2009) argued, “there is a need to think of ways in which an inter-stakeholder dialogue might be initiated so that the demands of the market and the demands of a civil and democratic society can be accommodated” (p. 73).

Given the current power of neoliberal policies, and their sway with national governments globally, it is important to examine the nature of adopted education policies and to shed light on how particular institutions are affected (Camicia & Franklin, 2011; Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002). By examining the case of how Project Citizen is implemented by the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy in Manila schools, I hope to add to the research literature regarding how democratic education is maintained in a developing nation faced with strong pressures to adopt education policies that may conflict with national goals (Arnove, 2005; Wainaina, Arnot, & Chege, 2011). Furthermore, very specific descriptions are needed to go beyond superficial evaluations that quantify how many programs exist, how many teachers are using them, and even how many programs are successful; for as Quigley (1997) insisted, more research is needed that explicitly illustrates “how and in what ways training programs build democracy” (p. 566). Similarly, Antal & Easton (2009) contended that “fuller identification and description of existing

or ‘traditional’ activities with civic education effects would help both to broaden and to fill in our sense of the dimensions of the field” (p. 609).

Finally, Grindle (2004) argued that developing countries need help finding simpler solutions and strategies to the overwhelming agendas put forth by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, like the daunting ‘laundry list’ of indicators for ‘good governance’ espoused by the World Bank. She stressed through continuing research, we can find ways to make suggestions for ‘good enough governance’ by providing examples of successful programs and initiatives from the developing world that may not be perfect, but are still useful and productive. In addition, I hope to contribute to research concerning how civil society and non-governmental organizations assist with democratic and citizenship education, since Grindle explained that often “NGOs take on activities that governments are unable or unwilling to provide” (p. 539).

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter discussed the general background for the study, and provided the purpose and significance of the study. In addition, Chapter 1 gave an overview of the study’s theoretical framework and research methods. Chapter 2 presents a discussion of the related literature regarding globalization and education, citizenship education in developing nations, internationalized policy reform, and policy implementation. In Chapter 3, I describe the theoretical framework, methodology, research design and procedures.

Chapter 4 offers an in-depth country profile of the Philippines giving background on relevant issues within the historical, political, socioeconomic, cultural, and educational contexts. A description of the local and national implementation of Project Citizen by the PCCED is given in Chapter 5. Next, in Chapter 6, I present the findings of the data analysis utilizing the vertical

component of the vertical case study method by Bartlett and Vavrus (2014). In this chapter, the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels of analysis are applied to the remaining research questions.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I conclude with a discussion of the findings and their possible implications for future research and practice.

Chapter Conclusion

One of the most difficult parts of policy analysis and comparison is “disentangling the multifarious contextual elements” (Phillips & Ochs, 2004, p. 782). This assertion seems well supported by the literature (Hallinger, 2010; Nebres, 2009). Some researchers have observed that one of the most frustrating parts of policy analysis is the utter failure of policymakers to venture into the implementation-level world of the teacher. Dalangin-Fernandez (2012) expressed this sentiment by asserting that if the policymakers would visit schools themselves, and not just meet with superintendents, they would be better able to understand the plight of the public schools in the Philippines. It has also been suggested that in the Filipino culture, there is a high “power distance” between superiors and subordinates which can lead to problems when the subordinates do not want to disappoint the superiors, so they will refrain from giving the full picture of what the true problems are (Hallinger, 2010; Waters & Vilches, 2008). Perhaps through research like this study examining the implementation of the Project Citizen curriculum program by the PCCED can help build a bridge between the world of policymakers and the world of practitioners. My hope is that it will contribute to a better understanding of civic education policy, and continue the “disentangling” of the many issues that prevent smooth policy implementation.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

While formal public schooling may have aspects that are highly debatable—such as *how* to conduct it, or *why* it is important—one issue seems universally undisputed—providing an education to its citizens is one of a nation’s most important duties (Wiseman & Baker, 2005; Wong, 1991). Education remains high on the list of concerns for many politicians, legislators, and activists worldwide. Because of the high importance given to education in most countries, nations around the world engage in frequent educational reform activity. Thus, examining trends in educational reform, as well as why certain reforms are not successful at fixing perceived problems within the educational system has become a popular topic of research in the last forty years (Kennedy, Chan, & Fok, 2011; Snyder, Bolin, & Zumwalt, 1992).

Education policy reform research indicates that it is becoming increasingly homogenized (Wiseman & Baker, 2005; Wong, 1991; Zadjia, 2009). Due to the current trend of internationalization of education reform policies, most education reforms today are very similar across countries (Wiseman & Baker, 2005). In addition, due to global pressures, developing nations are often compelled to adopt education reform policies—ones mainly developed in the West—without regard for whether these reform policies are actually applicable, practical, or feasible in their own nation (Hallinger, 2010). One of the dominant global reform trends is that of the market-driven, economically-focused neoliberal educational policy platform (Apple, 2006; Samoff, 2007; Williams, 2009; Zadjia, 2009). With its focus on economic concerns, much less priority is given to social and cultural aspects traditionally maintained within the school setting

(Arshad-Ayaz, 2009; Zadjia, 2009). For example, the subject of social studies has become less important in many curriculums around the world (Rothstein, Wilder, & Jacobsen, 2007; Waters & Vilches, 2008). An important component of social studies curriculum is the teaching of democracy, which is usually conducted through civic or citizenship education (Crittenden, 2011). Given the extreme differences in contextual factors between developed and developing nations, many scholars have warned of the lack of utility, and lack of ‘cultural fit,’ when adopting foreign reform initiatives (Hallinger, 2010; Wainaina et al., 2011; Waters & Vilches, 2008). Since many developing nations are also newly formed democracies, adopting neoliberal policies that fail to foster democratic dispositions and principles can be counterproductive (Arshad-Ayaz, 2009).

The following discussion attempts to explore the many factors that contribute to this underlying contradiction in current global education policy reform. The context of the Philippines will be used to explicate how these larger global issues play out on the national and local level. In the current reform situation in the Philippines, which includes many of the characteristic reform initiatives common to neoliberal policies, the role of citizenship education has been marginalized (Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003; PCCED, 2008). In response, a local non-governmental organization (NGO) called the *Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy* (PCCED) attempts to address this issue through grassroots initiatives within local communities, and through supplementing the formal state-mandated curriculum with curriculum materials that foster and cultivate democratic knowledge, principles, and behavior (PCCED, 2008, 2013).

To summarize the contents of this chapter, I delineate the interconnected relationship between globalization and education, and the role of democracy and citizenship education in the developing world. This is followed by a discussion of the phenomenon of the

internationalization of education reform, and current global reform trends. I also explain recent reforms and reform influences and problems in the Philippine context. An overview of policy implementation and indigenization is presented, with consideration given to problems regarding implementation and indigenization, and how these processes occur in developing nations. Finally, I introduce the *Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy* (PCCED), and its implementation of the citizenship curriculum program *Project Citizen*. However, before embarking on an examination of educational reform trends, another salient topic must first be considered. Since one of the most significant current reform trends in education is the internationalization of education reform policies, one cannot discuss the issue of educational reform trends, without first discussing the all-encompassing trend of globalization.

Globalization and Education

Globalization has many definitions and is a highly contested term within scholarly literature (Popkewitz, 2009; Robinson, 2007; Zadjia, 2009). While space does not allow a comprehensive review of globalization, I provide a basic overview for the purpose of situating this proposed study. Most scholars agree that globalization has certain key components, including: the dominance of a worldwide capitalist economic system; a diminished (or at least altered) role of the nation-state; the rise and influence of transnational corporations and organizations; the onset of a global, hybrid culture; and the increase in technological and communication advancements which have, in turn, increased the movement of knowledge, ideas, money, and people (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002; Kellner, 2002; Martell, 2007; Rizvi, 2007; Robertson & Inglis, 2004; Robinson, 2007; Tikly, 1999).

Although it seems clear that the study of education and globalization are substantially linked, clarifying the *ways* in which they are linked is a complex task. Carnoy and Rhoten

(2002) made this connection clearer by explaining that if globalization is intimately connected to the transference of knowledge within and among societies, then *how* knowledge is transmitted is significant. Obviously, schools are one of the major ways in which knowledge is conveyed within a country. Education has been affected by globalization in several ways. Perhaps the most significant current example of how education has been changed is the circulation throughout the world of the neoliberal educational package (Arshad-Ayaz, 2009; Shultz & Guimaraes-Iosif, 2012; Williams, 2009; Zadjia, 2009). Based on concepts of a capitalist free market, and through perpetuating initiatives like decentralization, choice, privatization, user fees, standardized testing and assessment, and accountability, neoliberal policies have produced a variety of effects on different school systems around the world (Williams, 2009).

These effects can be contradictory within a system. Decentralization of educational systems is one way globalization has affected the organization of educational systems (King & Orazem, 1999; Mok, 2002), however, it has done little to change the actual delivery of education (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002). Although decentralization was intended to give more control and decision-making over finances and budgets at the local level, the decision as to the amount doled out to the local level is still often a centralized decision. In addition, while there is a global demand to decrease public spending on education and schooling, there is an increased demand for governments to provide more ‘skilled’ labor for the new technological labor market (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002; Steiner-Khamsi, 2009).

Globalization, often regarded in universalizing and ahistorical terms, is celebrated by some as a process beneficial to all of humanity through its continuation of modernization and “progress,” its increased diffusion of knowledge and wealth, and its broadened democratization. On the other hand, it is also vilified for its homogenization of culture, its influence upon an

increase in domination of wealthy nations over poorer nations, and its undermining of democracy (Kellner, 2002; Robinson, 2007). Historically, colonialism performed a similar function of internationalizing policies of developing nations, which has led some authors to suggest that globalization is a “cover” concept for continued neo-imperialism (Kellner, 2002; Williams, 2009). Given these competing interpretations of the effects of globalization, comparing and examining educational systems requires an understanding of the contradictions and tensions inherent in globalization (Zajda, 2009). Carnoy and Rhoten (2002) asserted that it is important to examine how globalization affects schooling at all levels. As Rizvi (2007) maintained, we must examine forces of globalization and how they have interacted with societies in ways that are “specific to particular localities” (p. 262). This global to local theme is common throughout much of the research literature involving developing nations (Arnove & Torres, 2007; Shultz & Guimaraes-Iosif, 2012; Zadjia, 2009).

Democracy and Citizenship Education in Developing Nations

Over the past several decades, the U.S and Western European countries have expended considerable resources in developing nations providing assistance with democracy and strengthening civic education. The reason for this support is due to a belief that emerging democracies need help with learning and developing democratic values, skills, and participatory orientations (Finkel, 2003). The belief in the necessary connection between democracy and education is rooted in a long history of curriculum reform that has emphasized the importance of fostering democratic principles (Fleming, 2011; Popkewitz, 2009). More than 140 years ago, the philosopher and educator, William Torrey Harris (1871), expressed his stance on this issue:

“The spirit of American institutions is to be looked for in the public schools to a greater degree

than anywhere else. If the rising generation does not grow up with democratic principles, the fault will lie in the system of popular education” (as quoted in Cremin, 1961, p. 16).

In the U.S., the concept of democracy and the institution of education have been inextricably linked since the founding of the American republic (Popkewitz, 2009). That public education should foster and preserve democracy has long been regarded as a primary purpose of schooling (Parker, 2002; Rothstein & Jacobsen, 2006). Across history, many philosophers, political scientists, and educators have asserted the primary importance of schools in a democracy as that of fostering civic knowledge, dispositions, and behaviors in its citizenry. It is also a common belief that democratic principles must be directly taught; democratic skills are not innate, and require practice in order to cultivate them (Fleming, 2011; Popkewitz, 2009; Villegas, 2007). Discussing Horace Mann’s ideas of the goals of the common school, Rothstein & Jacobsen (2006) argued, “Mann concluded that schools in a democracy could not be held accountable for academics alone but must inculcate democratic moral and political values so that literacy would not be misused” (p. 268). In a similar vein, merely having universal education does not ensure democracy either; as the Educational Policies Commission (1937) observed prior to World War II—Germany, Italy, and Japan all had universal schooling. The progressive education movement of the early twentieth century reflected this democratic goal of schooling as well. Most curriculum historians agree that “its roots can be traced to the ideas of such figures as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Horace Mann, and others who viewed public education as the key to the advance of American democracy” (Tanner & Tanner, 1990; p. 343). This partnership between democracy and education remained eminent in the U.S. education reform literature well into the mid-1960s in well-known policy reports such as: *The Committee of Ten Report* (1893), *The Cardinal Principles Report* (1918), *The Thirty-Third Yearbook* (1934), *The*

Unique Function of Education in American Democracy (1937), *The Harvard Report* (1945), and *Education for All American Children* (1948), just to name some of the most prominent (Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, 1918; Committee on the Activity Movement, 1934; Committee on the Objectives of a General Education in a Free Society, 1945; Educational Policies Commission, 1937, 1948; National Education Association, 1893).

Notwithstanding this long history, the more recent reform reports are curiously quiet, if not completely silent, on the topic of the importance of education for promoting democratic principles and attitudes. There was a definite change of focus by the time *A Nation at Risk* (1983), and the *No Child Left Behind Act* (2001) were issued. The new purpose of education became firmly established as one concerned with the economic outcomes of the nation. The “new basics” in *A Nation at Risk* “would enable our nation to meet the Japanese challenge for supremacy over world markets and would restore our leadership role among nations” (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 340). The neoliberal goals of education for supporting the competition in the world market began to overshadow all other goals for education, whether or not the goals were historically important (Arnone, 2005). However, ignoring relevant reform policy history is not a new trend, “for reform movements are notoriously ahistorical in outlook. They look forward rather than back...” (Cremin, 1961, p. 8).

Citizenship education, also called *civic education*, is the mechanism by which democratic principles and knowledge are often conveyed within schools (Patrick, Vontz, & Nixon, 2002). Usually found in the social studies curriculum area, citizenship education has a place in most national curricula (Crittenden, 2011). Crittenden (2011) defined it as “the organized system of schooling (predominantly public) that aims, as one of its primary purposes, to prepare future citizens for participation in public life.” According to Crittenden, democratic education is

considered a subset of civic education, but is usually held as the most important component and most predominant subset. Citizenship education usually comprises the conveyance of the knowledge, principles and norms of citizenship, which includes concepts such as: public participation in politics, autonomy of opinions, acceptance of legitimacy of the state and rule of law, and an ethical and moral responsibility to others in the polity (Dalton, 2008). In many developing countries, the long-established goals of democratic education have been adopted, in addition to other commonly acknowledged democratic objectives like: furthering opportunity, reducing inequalities, eradicating poverty, and furthering social justice (Gopinathan, 2006).

While there is a vast body of research available about citizenship education (Camicia & Franklin, 2011), it is beyond the scope of this paper to articulate a comprehensive overview of the topic. More relevant to this research with regard to citizenship education, is that principles of democracy must be taught to citizens in order to maintain and cultivate democracy (Fleming, 2011; Parker, 2002; Popkewitz, 2009; Rothstein & Jacobsen, 2006; Villegas; 2008).

Furthermore, if the traditional purpose of education in a democracy is to ensure that the citizenry is adequately prepared to participate intelligently in the processes of participatory government, *what happens when this purpose is no longer advanced?* If this democratic knowledge is not transmitted through the formal institution of the public school, as the experts, philosophers, and theorists believe it should be, then how are citizens in developing countries educated about democracy? In addition, what are the consequences of this lack of transmission of citizenship education for newly developed democracies? These questions are relevant to both developed industrialized democracies and developing less-industrialized democracies. However, the implications for developing nations seem far more severe (Hellsten & Larbi, 2006). For developing countries, this lack of focus on education for democratic principles “may have a

negative impact...since many of these nations are relatively newly formed and still need to focus on creating shared values and loyal citizens” (Williams, 2009, p. 86).

Internationalized Education Reform

A desire to attain “world-class” status is reflected either implicitly or explicitly in many national educational systems today (de Guzman et al., 2005; Napier, 2009). Educational reforms and policy initiatives have become globalized and international (Phillips & Ochs, 2004; Wiseman & Baker, 2005), and as a result, educational systems around the world are becoming more homogenized than ever before. Wiseman and Baker (2005) identified some of the primary causes of this trend of internationalized educational policy, through four mechanisms that triggered increased interest in other countries’ schools. The first deals with the availability of information, since comparative and international education reports and articles are now widely available for officials in any country to evaluate programs and policy in other countries. The second mechanism is the standardization of most policymakers’ ideas about how to create policy. In order to be considered legitimate as a scholar, most researchers and policymakers turn to the Western (American and European) universities for their norms of policy-making processes. This habit of looking to the Western educational research orthodoxy essentially norms the whole field, and similar ideas and policies are circulated within this group through research and scholarly journals (Samoff, 2007). Third, the models of reform and policy including multiple countries that already exist tend to draw policymakers’ attention. Finally, the international tests such as the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) from the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), or the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), implemented through the multinational and highly powerful Organization of Economic Co-

operation and Development (OECD), are responsible for creating comparison criteria that many countries rely upon as a benchmark for their educational systems (Wiseman & Baker, 2005).

Due to this increasing internationalization of education policy, there now exist several shared reform targets common to most nations (McGinn & Cummings, 1997; Napier, 2011; Wiseman & Baker, 2005). In addition to the already discussed issue of global competitiveness, these universal reform targets concern the general topics of: content and nature of curriculum, teaching methods, teacher issues, data in the form of numbers (i.e. rates, ratios, expenditures), budget and funding issues, community and school relations, national development needs, and role of government in education (Napier, 2010). The Philippine educational system has conducted reforms that involve all of the above (Chao, 2012; Department of Education, Philippines, n.d.; Khattri, Ling, & Jha, 2012; Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003; Nebres, 2009).

Another common target for reform involves the skill-level of the population of a country. Global corporations have offices and facilities located worldwide, since the introduction of fast and easy communication and transportation technologies. Corporations now maintain plants and offices all over the world, which has created demand for skilled workers in both developed and developing countries. Schools have been challenged with the task of providing the necessary skilled workforce of the new global age. A consequence of the spread of global corporate facilities is that it has compounded the internationalization of education reform agendas, and has led to discernible trends (Samoff, 2007; Williams, 2009; Zajda, 2009).

Nations often look to their education systems to answer the call of this global economic revolution in the belief that improving the schools will lead to improved human capital (King & Lillard, 1987; Wiseman & Baker, 2005; Zadja, 2009). This belief in improving human capital has influenced current education policy reform trends which are now markedly focused on

economic concerns, rather than the traditional focus on social or political matters. Implementing policies in order to improve and strengthen the economic competitiveness of nations is often characterized as *neoliberalism* (Apple, 2006; Shultz & Guimaraes-Iosif, 2012; Williams, 2009; Zadja, 2009). Neoliberalism is a political philosophy defined in various ways, however, when affiliated with education reform, it usually means “the philosophy supporting the entrepreneurial and competition-seeking behavior brought on by globalization: ‘neo-liberalism’ also refers to the set of policies that this philosophy engenders” (Gopal, 2011, p. 236).

The neoliberal education reform agenda is based on classical economic assumptions of supply and demand, hands-off market competition, and free trade (Arnové, 2005; Zadja, 2009). On an international level, this trend led to a decrease in government financing of public institutions, including schools. Some of common education initiatives characterizing this neoliberal trend are: decentralization of educational systems (sometimes through school-based management initiatives), privatization of educational systems through “choice” or voucher programs, standardization through accountability, and applying market logic and business principles to school systems (Arnové, 2005; Chao, 2012). As result of this neoliberal trend, the main concern for education policymakers worldwide has become one of human capital. In order for national economies to be competitive world wide, the products (people) of the educational system must be prepared adequately (usually as measured by standardized tests) (King & Lillard, 1987; Wiseman & Baker, 2005). One consequence of this new neoliberal focus is: “the previous dominant themes of education for the formation of participatory citizens and national unity, as well as international solidarity and individual fulfillment, are barely mentioned or given secondary consideration in policy reforms” (Arnové, 2005, p. 81).

According to Samoff (2007), this change in focus of dominant themes of education to neoliberal themes has led to certain predominant ideas about education that negatively influence reform policy (Camicia & Franklin, 2011; Zadja, 2009). Samoff compared these influences to the noticeable constraints produced by the influence of international aid organizations, like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. These organizations have been criticized for their role in furthering neoliberal policies in the developing world, since the money they offer is given to countries with embedded demands for policy changes and restructuring of institutions to fit the neoliberal agenda (Ali, 2006; King & Orazem, 1999; Miralao, 2004; Phillips & Ochs, 2004). And while this influence is troublesome, it is at least recognizable. Neoliberal ideas regarding education are more problematic because their influence is more covert. Samoff alleged, “far more difficult to detect and resist are the influences embedded in the conceptions of education that seem so ordinary that they are taken for granted and in the analytic frameworks that seem so obvious that they avoid critical scrutiny” (p. 61). These current influential frameworks of education include: *education as investment*, and *education as production*.

Education as investment is closely tied to human capital theory and the assumption that education, like other forms of capital, can be measured by cost-benefit analyses, as well as other economic input-output equations. In both developed and developing nations, maintaining social order is a common objective of schooling (Samoff, 2007). Common issues deemed most important in developing nations often include such objectives as: fostering critical thinking, fostering national unity, and preparing youth for the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, just to name a few (Williams, 2009). Measuring and quantifying these objectives is not easily accomplished using typical cost-benefit analysis, so they are often excluded from reform agendas altogether. *Education as production* is another common framework embedded in the current

reform trends. In this conception, the process of education is treated as similar to one of manufacturing with all its concomitant features. Most important among these features is the notion of efficiency. The problem with this framework according to Samoff is: “though the production metaphor is occasionally useful, education is fundamentally different from manufacturing. In an interactive process, the distinction between inputs and outputs is consciously blurred. Bottles do not contribute to their own manufacture. Students do contribute to their own education” (p. 63). Also part of the framework of *education as production*, and related to the notion of efficiency, are the ideas of practicality and feasibility. Teaching and learning are both processes that require constant evaluation, reevaluation, and innovation to continually adapt and improve. However, innovation is inherently risky and its success is difficult to measure in quantitative terms. True learning and effective teaching often cannot be measured through quantitative methods; yet due to the predominance of neoliberal thought, the belief persists that if it cannot be easily quantified and measured, then it is not important (Antal & Easton, 2009; Samoff, 2007).

Global Reform Trends

Due to increasing globalization, and internationalization of education policies, most educational reform policies adopted at the national level are recycled ideas, and are often borrowed from other countries. This theme of policy ‘borrowing and lending’ between nations is not a new phenomenon. It has been observed in many comparative education studies, both new and old (Brickman, 1956; Napier, 2011; Phillips & Ochs, 2004). However, due to advances in communications, policy borrowing and lending has increased in intensity and frequency (Samoff, 2007). Historically, many researchers have warned about the inherent problems of borrowing a policy that works in one context, and trying to transplant it to another context

(Brickman, 1956; Kandel, 1936; Phillips & Ochs, 2004). Nonetheless, due in large part to neoliberal impulses, policy borrowing is the prevalent method of education reform, and has led to the continuing internationalization of educational policy around the world (Samoff, 2007; Wiseman & Baker, 2005). In this circular way, not only does globalization affect education, but education has in turn become a mechanism of globalization (Williams, 2009).

According to Phillips and Ochs (2004), there are four stages in the borrowing process: (1) cross-national attraction, (2) decision, (3) implementation, and (4) internalization/indigenization. In the first stage of cross-national attraction, there are many impulses within a country that can trigger the desire for better policies. These include internal dissatisfaction with the country's system, negative internal evaluations (like TIMSS, or PISA), economic competition, or political imperatives, just to name a few. The second stage of decision-making can involve four main types of decisions: theoretical, practical, 'quick fix,' and 'phony.' The success of the third stage of borrowing—implementation—depends upon the contextual factors of the borrowing country. Finally, the last stage of indigenization is where the policy becomes "domesticated" to the surrounding context of the borrowing country. At this final stage, the policy may not look exactly the same as the original policy, innovation, or program.

While many countries participate in reform policy projects, few systematically evaluate their impact on the educational system (King & Orazem, 1999). The main problem with evaluating policy initiatives in actual practice is that there are many variables to consider (Miralao, 2004). Discerning whether or not a program has met its objectives can be difficult. For the general study of education reform, there are certain perennial problems, as well as particular concepts that seem to predominate, especially in developing nations (Napier, 2010). While space does not allow for a full discussion of all of these concepts and problems, those

relevant to the Philippines will be considered. With regard to education reform, the Philippines contends with outside influences that often contradict internal education goals. The excessive influence from the country's colonial legacy, from external financial institutions like the World Bank, and from rankings on international education evaluations, have contributed to pressure to conform to a global standard. In the attempt to achieve this global standard, the Philippines instituted two major reforms in the last twelve years—the Basic Education Curriculum (2002-2010) and the current K+12 Basic Education Curriculum. In the next section, I discuss the issues and problems related to external influences on the educational systems of developing nations, as well as other common reform dilemmas.

Reform Influences and Problems for Developing Nations

Developing nations have similar recurrent problems with regard to initiating educational reform endeavors (Ali, 2006; Makinde, 2005). The Philippines has been affected by many of these shared reform problems. For example, there is often a lack of appropriate financial provision or funding available to support proposed programs (Diokno, 2010; Reyes, 2009a). The lack of appropriate funding leads to shortages of every kind, from material shortages (desks, textbooks, classrooms) to human shortages (teachers, adequately trained teachers) (Dalangin-Fernandez, 2012; DepEd, 2010). According to Calleja (2012), the building shortage was so severe in some places in the Philippines schools were forced to run on triple shifts. Another kind of shortage in the Philippine educational system is the lack of appropriately trained teachers. Many researchers cite low wages and lack of benefits for this lack of teachers, since young women can make ten times the salary of a teacher by becoming an overseas foreign worker (OFW) (Calleja, 2012). In addition, when training is provided for teachers, it is poorly or hastily

done, so that teachers are not sufficiently trained (Calleja, 2012; Waters & Vilches, 2008; Williams, 2009).

Other important global reform issues relevant to the Philippines are: quality versus quantity, centralization versus decentralization, and the influence of foreign aid on policy decisions (de Guzman, 2006). For education, quality is usually more difficult to achieve than quantity (Morris & Scott, 2003). For example, it may be possible to achieve placing many students in a classroom at a desk in front of a teacher. However, the quality of education that a child receives is questionable due to the shortage of adequately trained teachers. Also, sometimes aiming for quality can inhibit quantity. In the Philippines, the Department of Education (DepEd) attempted to increase standards and training required to become a teacher, however, difficult standardized licensing tests produced disappointing passing rates (deGuzman, 2006). In addition, teacher education institutions are pressured to increase their standard acceptance requirements, with the intention of attracting better qualified students. Unfortunately, this also narrows the pool of already insufficient applicants.

Centralization versus decentralization is another perennial issue of education reform. DeGuzman (2006) called the recent trend of decentralization as a “moving force” affecting all nations. Due to the neoliberal belief that government institutions are inefficient, many nations decided to decentralize (King & Orazem, 1999; Mok, 2002). According to this conception, government institutions are too bureaucratic, and thus unresponsive to public needs. Returning decisions and control to the local level, and privatizing certain aspects, are believed to alleviate these problems (Apple, 2006). Decentralization particularly affects formerly colonized nations whose systems are characteristically patterned after the system introduced by the colonizer. Colonial institutions are by nature highly centralized, and ‘top-down’ in orientation (Makinde,

2005; Morris & Scott, 2003). For developing countries with low resources to begin with, making a wholesale institutional change is often difficult. According to Fiske (1996) (cited in de Guzman, 2006), of the several kinds of decentralization that occur, the Philippines implemented *deconcentration*, which is the weakest form of decentralization (Chao, 2012). Another type of decentralization attempted is a “school autonomy” model, where the responsibility and management of resources is shifted to the school level (King & Orazem, 1999). In the Philippines, this undertaking has produced uneven success (Chao, 2012; de Guzman, 2006; King & Orazem, 1999).

Finally, another prevalent challenging issue of reform policy is the influence of outside organizations and countries (Phillips & Ochs, 2004), especially financial aid organizations like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (Ali, 2006), and in the case of the Philippines, the Asian Development Bank (King & Orazem, 1999). The World Bank and other financial aid organizations promote neoliberal reforms where interventions can be quantified and ranked according to perceived effectiveness at improving school outcomes (King & Orazem, 2006; Nebres, 2009), which are usually measured by standardized tests, and graduation rates (Samoff, 2007). Additionally, since many developing nations are engaged in debt-servicing to the World Bank and other financial organizations, this financial dependence produces excessive influence from these organizations (Ali, 2006). Hence, many developing countries financially beholden to the World Bank engage in the kinds of reform that have its implicit approval.

The vision statement posted on the Philippine Department of Education (DepEd) website reflects this influence. It states, “By 2030, DepEd is globally recognized for good governance and for developing functionally-literate and God-loving Filipinos” (DepEd, 2013). The term “good governance,” which implies “not corrupt,” was part of the current President Aquino’s

campaign platform (“Corruption in the Philippines,” 2011; Diokno, 2010). Of course, “good governance” is also a requirement put forth by the World Bank for countries seeking debt-servicing (Grindle, 2004). The desire to be recognized as a “world-class” school system is a worthy goal; however, it may not be the most relevant goal at the actual school level (de Guzman, dela Rosa, & Arcangel, 2005; “Education and the wealth,” 1997; Napier, 2009)

Like many developing, formerly colonized nations, the Philippine educational reform agenda conforms to the reforms and policies of developed nations (Ali, 2006; Makinde, 2005; Nebres, 2009). This is often because developed nations perform higher on international test measures. However, since the validity of these results of international assessments like the TIMSS are highly debatable, it is risky to draw conclusions, or make judgments about any country’s educational system, based solely on these scores (Napier, 2009; Wiseman & Baker, 2005). Scholars warn that the context of any country must be considered when contemplating these test results. Since there are so many variables between countries, many researchers believe the results are essentially not comparable, especially since the assessments were designed for students living in industrialized nations (Napier, 2009). Developing nations experience similar pressure to compete in these international assessments, even though the benefits are marginal at best. For example, Napier (2009) explained the many extenuating factors affecting South African students’ performance on these tests, including: insufficient length of time for development/improvement, school type and location, language issues, and teacher issues. Although the two countries have different contexts, most of these factors are also very relevant to the Philippines (Dalangin-Fernandez, 2012; de Guzman et al., 2005; Diokno, 2010; Raymundo, 2012).

For some countries, participating in TIMSS assessments is not prudent due to recent significant political transformations. In reference to South Africa and its emergence from apartheid in 1994, Napier (2009) explained that since true transformation and change take time in an institutional setting, it was far too soon for South Africa to take on the task of competing in the TIMSS. This could be said of the Philippines, as well, since it had essentially been under a military dictatorship during the twenty-one year Marcos regime which ended in 1986. During that time, education suffered from lack of financing and priority in the national budget (Ansell, 2008). By the time Marcos went into exile, the country of the Philippines was bankrupt (Karnow, 1989). Needless to say, when the Philippines first participated in the TIMSS in 1999, they ranked third from last on both math and science (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), 1999; Miralao, 2004). Nonetheless, these results influenced the rationale to adopt new reform policies (DepEd, 2010).

Another factor contributing to the questionable prudence of relying on these test results, is that many schools in the Philippines are in rural areas, and have minimal resources (Nebres, 2009). In addition, language issues play an important role in Philippine education. Although the medium of instruction is primarily English, there are many rural schools that use the local dialect instead, and most students, rural and urban, use their local dialect at home. The teacher supply and quality are also major problems for the Philippines (Miralao, 2004). The DepEd constantly struggles with teacher shortages, as well as, underqualified teachers (DepEd, 2013). A test given in English to students from these circumstances is unlikely to be a fair comparison to students in industrialized wealthy nations who speak English as their mother tongue. Napier (2009) concluded that to do so is to compare “apples with oranges,” and that “there are so many

complications and confounding variables that any superficial read of TIMSS and other results is unfair and invalid” (p. 39).

These examples of problems and influences of education reform in the Philippines highlight that reform initiatives are not always chosen for their ability to solve local, specific problems. Instead, they are often “chosen” through coercion and influence from foreign nations (Camicia & Franklin, 2011). Or, as developing countries get caught up in the strong currents of global reform trends, policies are often adopted merely because they are popular trends (Hallinger, 2010; Wiseman & Baker, 2005). Consequently, foreign-generated adopted policies often contradict the goals and actual needs of a developing nation. The Philippines provides a prime example of this since their adoption of neoliberal policies that inherently do not support democratic behaviors, unwittingly contradicts the recognized and established goal of democratic “good governance.”

Implementation and Indigenization

Implementation and indigenization are the last two of the four stages of borrowing identified by Phillips and Ochs (2004) as: (1) cross-national attraction, (2) decision, (3) implementation, and (4) internalization/indigenization. These last two stages present challenges for most nations worldwide. As Phillips and Ochs asserted, the context and particular situation of the education system in a borrowing country, as well as the attitudes and cooperation of ‘significant actors,’ are both crucial factors for successful policy implementation. However, developing nations in particular have many fundamental problems within their systems that inhibit the intended implementation of policy initiatives (Ali, 2006; Makinde, 2005). A primary problem is the lack of separation between different sectors and structures of society (Nebres, 2009). In developing nations, the structures within society are so closely interconnected, that if

one part of the society suffers major problems, then the other structures are unduly affected. For example, budgets for educational allotment can be severely diminished if any part of the economy slows. Since there is more independence between sectors in a developed nation, this is not as severe a problem. However, in a developing nation, there is little autonomy for each sector, and thus no cache of resources to fall back on (Nebres, 2009).

At its simplest, the two most important steps within policy reform are formulation and implementation (Morris & Scott, 2003). Formulation includes all of the activities that lead to creating an idea about how to correct problems within education system. Implementation, on the other hand, is the component that is concerned with actually putting the proposed policy changes into practice. It is at this stage that teachers are most affected. While there are many factors that might inhibit the successful implementation of a proposed policy initiative, the most crucial factors are related to how the teacher perceives and handles the proposed policy reform (Ali, 2006; Makinde, 2005; Morris & Scott, 2003; Voogt & Roblin, 2012).

How well policy initiatives, interventions, and curriculum programs actually work at the level of practice—in the actual classroom—is a topic that has garnered much interest in the last forty years (Kennedy, Chan, & Fok, 2011). Snyder, Bolin, and Zumwalt (1992) identified three basic approaches to curriculum implementation by researchers: 1) fidelity, 2) mutual adaptation, and 3) curriculum enactment. Researchers approaching curriculum implementation from a fidelity perspective attempt to identify how the curriculum's actual use corresponds to its intended use, as well as the factors that either contribute to or inhibit the program's intended use. When approaching implementation from a mutual adaptation perspective, the researchers are concerned with how the innovation is adapted during the implementation process. On the other hand, the curriculum enactment perspective shifts the research focus to studying how curriculum

is shaped through the evolving constructs of teachers and students; its goal is examine how the teachers and students experience the new curriculum and create meaning from it (Snyder, Bolin, & Zumwalt, 1992). For each of these approaches, there are different underlying assumptions about curriculum knowledge, change, and the role of the teacher. Although there are many different approaches and perspectives about implementation, the fidelity perspective is often the most popular. A common concern of studying implementation from the fidelity perspective is expressed in what the literature calls the *implementation gap* (Ali, 2006; Flor, 2008; Makinde, 2005; Morris & Scott, 2003). The implementation gap is defined as the difference between the intention of a program or policy, and its actual practice at the classroom level.

Teachers are often portrayed as the key impediment to implementation; this ‘synoptic’ view of policy implementation is characterized by the belief that the policy is sound, and if it were just implemented with ‘fidelity’ to the planned policy, the intervention would work just fine (Ali, 2006; Kennedy, Chan, & Fok, 2011; Napier, 2009; Snyder, Bolin, & Zumwalt, 1992). Makinde (2005) studied policy implementation issues in Nigeria, and identified several critical factors involved in successful implementation in developing countries (adapted from Edward III, 1980). These factors include: (1) communication that is clear and accurate between all stakeholders, (2) sufficient resources (both material and human), (3) taking account of the dispositions or attitudes of the implementers (teachers), and (4) an effective bureaucratic structure. However, many researchers identified the fundamental component of successful implementation to be the consultation with, and cooperation of, the teacher (Ali, 2006; Kennedy, Chan, & Fok, 2011; Makinde, 2005; Morris & Scott, 2003; Waters & Vilches, 2008). Although the idea of the role of teacher as primary is not new, it seems that many policy initiatives are still designed in the traditional ‘top-down’ manner. Taking Makinde’s (2005) four critical factors of

successful policy implementation, and applying them to recent reform in the Philippines, it becomes clear that none of the critical factors were met prior to, or during the system-wide policy formulation or implementation. First, for the implementation of the BEC and K +12 programs, there was not clear communication of objectives via effective training; there were no pilot programs, and a very limited amount of training workshops (Miralao, 2004). Secondly, a shortage of appropriate instructional materials, and a lack of qualified teachers, remained a persistent problem in the education system. All of these issues are attributed to a lack of funding, which addresses Makinde's fourth factor of having an insufficient bureaucratic structure in place. There was not enough money set aside in the education budget to effectively implement the innovations of the BEC—at least not to the level that was intended (Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003; Waters & Vilches, 2008). Lastly, the dispositions and attitudes of the teachers were not considered.

Through his research concerning reform and implementation issues in Pakistan, Ali (2006), concluded that policymakers need to consider the cognitive elements involved with how people actually learn and change their behavior (Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer, 2007). Yet, he also admits that this is not commonly done. Regarding policymakers' expectation that teachers should be able to change easily, Huberman & Havelock (1977) surmised, "these are typically the kind of rapid and massive changes which planners or administrators or advisers would never plan, administer, or advise for *themselves*" (p. 159, italics in original, cited in Waters & Vilches, 2008, p. 20).

The resistance manifested from adopting policies from one context to another appears through several responses. According to Phillips and Ochs (2004), at the practice level, opposition may take the form of delayed decision, or non-decision about a new policy program.

However, another reaction to implementation is *indigenization*, which is the next and last stage in Phillips and Ochs 'borrowing' model. Indigenization is also called *internalization*, or *contextualization* (Carnoy and Rhoten, 2002), and refers to how, and to what degree, the adopted policy becomes part of the new system. This stage has four steps: (1) impact on the existing system, (2) absorption of external features, (3) synthesis, and (4) evaluation. This last step deals with a reflection upon the effectiveness of the borrowed policy, and whether or not the expectations of it were realistic. A result of the last step of indigenization is the possibility of starting the whole process over again (Phillips & Ochs, 2004).

Policy Implementation in Developing Nations

Regarding education reform for the Philippines, and other developing nations, Nebres (2009) suggested it is best to begin with macro-level problems, such as the social, political, and economic problems, rather than micro-level problems, such as curriculum, teacher training, or textbook problems. He suggested the typical approach encouraged by international funding agencies like the World Bank abide by the following kind of process: (1) the reform begins with a new idea, based on a theoretical framework usually borrowed from the U.S., (2) syllabi and textbooks are developed, (3) the approach and textbooks are piloted at some schools, who always report that the new idea is better, and (4) then the approach is implemented on a national scale (Nebres, 2009, p. 241).

This so-called purely 'top-down' approach has been found to be unsuccessful time and again (Arnove, 2005; Hallinger, 2010; Makinde, 2005; Morris & Scott, 2003; Napier, 2009; Nebres, 2009). Yet, most nations engage in this kind of reform policy (Morris & Scott, 2003; Nebres, 2009), albeit not always intentionally, and sometimes involuntarily. The money offered from the international funding agencies is simply too needed in most developing countries to be

denied, no matter what policies countries must implement as a consequence (Samoff, 2007). In order to clarify the aspects of ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ reform stances, Nebres (2009) referred to Bautista (2007) and her identification of two modes of knowledge production in research. Mode one is research determined by academic interests; it is university-based, hierarchical, quality is based on technical merit through peer review, and the utilization of the research, though desired, is not necessary. Mode two is research that is determined by the need to solve concrete problems; it recognizes multiple sites of knowledge production, is less hierarchical, the quality is determined by technical merit and relevance, and utilization is of primary importance. Nebres contended that reform in both developed and developing countries follows mode one. Mode one, a top-down model, is also the mode typically promoted by the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. Unfortunately, following this mode for the last forty years in the Philippines has not led to significant improvement in the education system. In order to achieve positive effects through implemented policies at the practice level, it may be necessary to change to mode two, in which the manner of knowledge production is messier and more iterative (Nebres, 2009; Samoff, 2007).

Although difficult to quantify, another issue at the implementation level that can be very instructive is the effects of the intangibles that are experienced by teachers. For example, as a result of a smaller policy initiative in the Philippines called the Program in Basic Education (PROBE) reform, many teachers expressed that the training they experienced was very meaningful on a personal level, and that it was very personally fulfilling (Reyes, 2009b). Similarly, Arellano et al. (2001) expressed a comforting sense of community they experienced through their collaborative training program. In another smaller reform initiative in the Philippines called the Third Elementary Education Project (TEEP) program, the local community

was required to raise ten percent (10,000 Philippine pesos, which is less than 250 American dollars in the current exchange rate) of the necessary funding for the program. One province was only able to pay in loose change and coins, and when the money was finally added up, it only amounted to 9,000 pesos. The local education division supervisor was so touched by this, that she volunteered the rest of the needed funds (Nebres, 2009). These are examples of intangible experiences that affect teachers and people on an emotional level, which cannot be quantified, yet contributes a great deal to the success of programs (Ali, 2006; Spillane et al., 2002).

Another important factor to consider related to indigenization is the ‘cultural fit’ of the imported reform (Hallinger, 2010; Myers, 2007; Wainaina et al., 2011; Waters & Vilches, 2008). In a study of educational reform implementation in South East Asian countries conducted by Hallinger (2010), he found that “values that underlie imported educational innovations often conflict with those of the receiving culture” (p. 402). This conflict arises because most reform initiatives originate in Western countries, and are then adopted in places with different cultural norms. Asian culture is often characterized as collectivist rather than individualist, and as having a more distinct “power difference” between authority figures and subordinates (Hallinger, 2010; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). These qualities of Asian culture conflict with the very individualist neoliberal policies. According to Hallinger, in many South East Asian cultures traditional school practices include: rote memorization, teacher-directed instruction, highly centralized administrative structures, and rigid national curriculums. The Western-inspired, student-centered, constructivist learning ideas are quite foreign to Asian teachers and make them uncomfortable. This resulted in spotty implementation of policies, and led to “fragmented” implementation (Hallinger, 2010).

Finally, it seems almost too evident to mention, but the fundamental element that seems to carry the most weight for successful policy implementation in the classroom is also the simplest to understand. Teachers must have the needed and necessary instructional and curriculum materials in the classroom if they are going to be able to do their job. This was found to be true many times in the literature, yet remains an enduring problem (Calleja, 2012; Dalangin-Fernandez, 2012; King & Orazem, 1999; Reyes, 2009b; Waters & Vilches, 2008).

The Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy

In order to remedy the perceived shortcoming of the curriculum regarding the marginalization of civic education, a non-governmental organization (NGO) called the *Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy* (PCCED) was formed in 2004 by concerned citizens. They received a grant from the U.S. Department of State Small Grants Commission to begin citizenship development training seminars for teachers. In 2005, the PCCED implemented the *Project Citizen* curriculum and textbooks in several schools in the Philippines. This program is an initiative of the U.S.-based Center for Civic Education (CCE), and was first implemented in the U.S. The *Project Citizen* curriculum is now licensed in over 80 countries around the world (Center for Civic Education, 2013; Civitas, 2013).

On its website, the PCCED states that it is a “non-stock, non-profit organization dedicated to the effective promotion of good citizenship and participatory democracy through education. By ‘good citizenship’ we mean a reasoned commitment to fundamental democratic values and principles manifested in an active engagement in civic life” (PCCED, 2013). Their primary goal is to “develop content, methods and strategies for the teaching of civic education” (PCCED, 2013). The organization conducts five core programs: Participatory Budgeting, the Barangay Rule of Law Seminars, Civic Education Training Seminars, Project Citizen, and

Democracy Camp. As of this writing, there is no published research describing the PCCED activities, nor evaluating its effectiveness.

The civic curriculum Project Citizen has been implemented in the Philippines in order to help promote and cultivate participatory democracy through learning about and participating in civic awareness and involvement. *Civitas*, the international branch of the CCE, promotes Project Citizen through an informational brochure (Civitas, 2013) as “a broad-based curriculum that provides youth and adults with the knowledge and skills required to monitor and influence public policy. Participants develop support for democratic principles and values, and feelings of political efficacy” (p. 5). In Project Citizen, students select a problem confronting the local community, conduct research about it, analyze information, propose solutions, and present their findings and results to an audience. Sometimes, the students present their policy proposal to authorities within the community in order to influence decisions (CCE, 2013; PCCED, 2013). This program boasts many qualities that have great potential for developing democratic dispositions, and survived the implementation process effectively. The Project Citizen is a program that is: ‘grassroots,’ bottom-up implemented, experiential, student-centered, issue-oriented, democratically delivered, and deals with local community-based topics.

Chapter Summary

Global trends have influenced the Philippine government to implement significant reform measures and initiatives over the last few decades (de Guzman, 2006), some of which have been influenced by the worldwide neoliberal reform movement (Arnove, 2005; Williams, 2009; Zadja, 2009). These reforms indicate an assertive stance for a country with limited resources; it seems to be an indicator of how much faith and confidence the Filipino people have in the power of education (Miralao, 2004). Furthermore, the internationalization of educational policy and

ideas does not necessarily breed only problems. As Wiseman and Baker (2005) contended, there are positive impacts of internationalized policymaking, such as the capacity building within national systems and the improvement in the quality of national education research. However, their ultimate conclusion was *within-country* initiatives, rather than *cross-country* initiatives, were a better guide for reform propositions.

Nevertheless, the debates that seem to result from the phenomenon of internationalized policymaking are taxing, both figuratively and literally. The current global neoliberal reform policies have marginalized citizenship education curriculum, and with it democracy education, in many national education systems (Camicia & Franklin, 2011; PCCED, 2007). The consequences of this are not yet clear, however, the research documenting this trend seems to suggest that citizenship education should not lose its place in national curriculums, especially if nations wish to cultivate democracy. Education reform policies often have a relatively short shelf life, and can change according to election cycles (Ali, 2006; Makinde, 2005). However, the recent neoliberal reform movement has spread with intensity due to globalization, and the entrenchment of internationalized reform (Wiseman & Baker, 2005). If neoliberal policies are here to stay, there is then a need to find ways to maintain and support civic education within educational systems, especially in the developing world.

According to the research about implementation, when policymakers examine possible education innovations or reforms, they must evaluate not just the policy initiative itself, but the reason it was implemented in the first place. Laurel Tanner (1983) warned almost thirty years ago that “any discussion of a ‘new’ educational model or program should take advocates beyond the ‘we want it’ stage to a consideration of the *problem it was meant to solve*” (p. 42, my emphasis). Although Tanner was speaking about systems at the school or district level, this is

good advice at the national level as well. With the logic of understanding the problem before choosing a solution, if developing nations need democracy to grow and develop (PCCED, 2008; Williams, 2009), which is very clear in the research, then policies that contribute to developing democratic behavior and dispositions should be protected or adopted. In addition, if one of the primary ways to encourage democratic behavior in citizens is through direct exposure and instruction through public schools, then policies should be adopted that further this.

While this issue of seizing the latest education fad is something that all nations face, in developing countries where achieving universal primary education is still but a dream, this arbitrary and unsystematic decision-making is not merely a nuisance, but can be truly devastating to actual progress and national development (Ali, 2006; Makinde, 2005; Nebres, 2009). Haphazard decisions, constant vacillation, and jumping on “bandwagons” (Napier, 2009) are luxuries for wealthy nations; developing nations literally cannot afford to constantly change direction before policies or initiatives have been given their fair chance to work. As Williams (2009) stated, “The ability to resist adverse effects of globalization is mainly a privilege of developed nations. Developing countries are more dominated and more susceptible to global forces” (p. 90). For the sake of the Philippine educational system, as well as the country in general, policy reform decisions must be made with great prudence and care. The influences upon policies must be made clear and underlying motivations behind them must be examined, so that policy makers in both developing and developed nations can make wise choices and informed decisions about education reform. In addition, research must continue to highlight ways that developing countries can interrupt negative influences on policy adoption (Apple, 2006; Myers, 2006).

A common theme revealed throughout the research was that in order for true and deep change to take place, people must be allowed to learn through experience, and trial and error (Snyder, Bolin, & Zumwalt, 1992). For this to occur, appropriate and adequate time must be allotted for the initiative or program to work (Ali, 2006; Nebres, 2009; Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer, 2007). Also, examinations of the effectiveness of education innovations at the implementation level can help give insight for better understanding of how to improve the policy or program. Father Bienvenido F. Nebres, (2009), is a noted Filipino scientist, mathematician, and Jesuit who was the longest-serving university President of the Ateneo de Manila University, with over forty years of experience with education reforms and programs. He contended the best way to achieve reform is at the ground, or practice, level through bottom-up programs that improve through trial and error. Nebres (2009) summarized this idea with his suggestion about how reform strategies might best help education in the Philippines:

[Successful reform programs] began with a study of what was happening on the ground. The focus is on strategies that work, and the solution of a problem consists of an iterative process of reflecting on experience and improving the strategies along the way, an approach that shows promise for achieving scale in basic education reform in the Philippines. (p. 242)

It seems that many national governments do not follow this advice, but instead select education reform policies that tend to inadvertently contradict national goals. Interestingly, in some countries, the private sector, or civil society, seems to be taking the initiative to address this issue (Camicia & Franklin, 2011; Grindle, 2004). Democracy is not perfect, but it does allow for its citizens to organize in order to try solving societal problems. One of the enduring and attractive qualities of democracy is that it continually seeks to live up to its own ideal (Dalton, 2008; Parker, 2002). Anton and Easton (2009) asserted that "...even supposing one knows what it is, perfect democracy does not yet exist, the notion is probably plural rather than

singular, and all known governments claiming the title are still working out numerous imperfections in their own political systems” (p. 600). The *Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy* appears to be an example of civil society addressing perceived problems within government institutions. Through the implementation of their programs, the PCCED is trying to creatively confront and challenge the neoliberal influence that pervades educational reform today. Ironically, it is in the midst of a rampant neoliberal context, that this democratic response has materialized.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I discuss the research design and methodology for this study. The entire process for completing the research is provided in the following sections: (1) purpose of the study, (2) theoretical framework, (3) research design and rationale, (4) procedures for conducting the study, (5) quality, trustworthiness, and reflexivity, and (6) limitations.

Purpose of the Study

The goal of this research was to examine and gain understanding of how and why the *Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy* (PCCED) chose to implement the Project Citizen curriculum, with attention to how it has been adapted for, and implemented in, the Philippine context. The principal investigator, Dr. Kathleen deMarrais, and I applied for and received approval for this research (proposal number 2013-10938-0) through the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Georgia. The following specific research questions were used to guide this study, and Table 1 lists their rationale, and the data sources used to gain the information:

- What is the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy, and how did it come about?
- How is the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy structured, how does it function, and what is its relationship to the Philippine Department of Education?
- Why was it chosen, and how has Project Citizen been adapted specifically for the Philippines? And, how is Project Citizen implemented?

- What are the main objectives, and perceived effectiveness of the program by stakeholders?

Table 3.1

Research Matrix

Research Questions	Rationale	Data Sources
1. What is the PCCED, and how did it come about?	To understand the purpose of the organization, its mission and goals for civics education.	<u>Interviews:</u> Executive Director, Board of Trustees, Partners, and representatives from funding agencies <u>Documents:</u> website, PCCED organizational documents, funding agency websites
2. How is the PCCED structured, how does it function, and what is its relationship to the Philippine Department of Education?	To understand how PCCED works and how it implements the PC curriculum in this context.	<u>Interviews:</u> PCCED members & staff <u>Participant Observation:</u> Observations within the PCCED organization <u>Documents:</u> organizational structures
3. Why was it chosen, and how has Project Citizen been adapted specifically for the Philippines? And, how is Project Citizen implemented?	To understand how the Project Citizen curriculum has been indigenized for the Philippine context, and how schools/teachers have put Project Citizen into practice.	<u>Interviews:</u> PCCED personnel <u>Participant Observation:</u> Possible training sessions and in-school observations <u>Documents:</u> Compare US curricular materials and PCCED materials; CCE website
4. What are the main objectives, and perceived effectiveness of the program by stakeholders?	To understand participants' perceptions about Project Citizen and its goals.	<u>Interviews:</u> School personnel, PCCED personnel <u>Documents:</u> PCCED training guides

Note: PCCED = Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy
CCE = Center for Civic Education

Theoretical Framework

My theoretical framework was pieced together using several perspectives and approaches for making sense of my research. I used a comparative education frame as the overarching perspective, or lens through which I collected, examined, and analyzed my research data. The analytical “policy borrowing and lending” perspective within the field of comparative education also informed my analysis. Within the policy borrowing and lending perspective, I relied on two

specific conceptualizations of policy implementation and indigenization: (1) the policy borrowing model of Phillips and Ochs (2004), and (2) Makinde's (2005) ideas about how developing nations address policy implementation. In this section, I discuss each of the components of my theoretical framework in more detail, including an explanation of my approach to theory (see Figure 3.1).

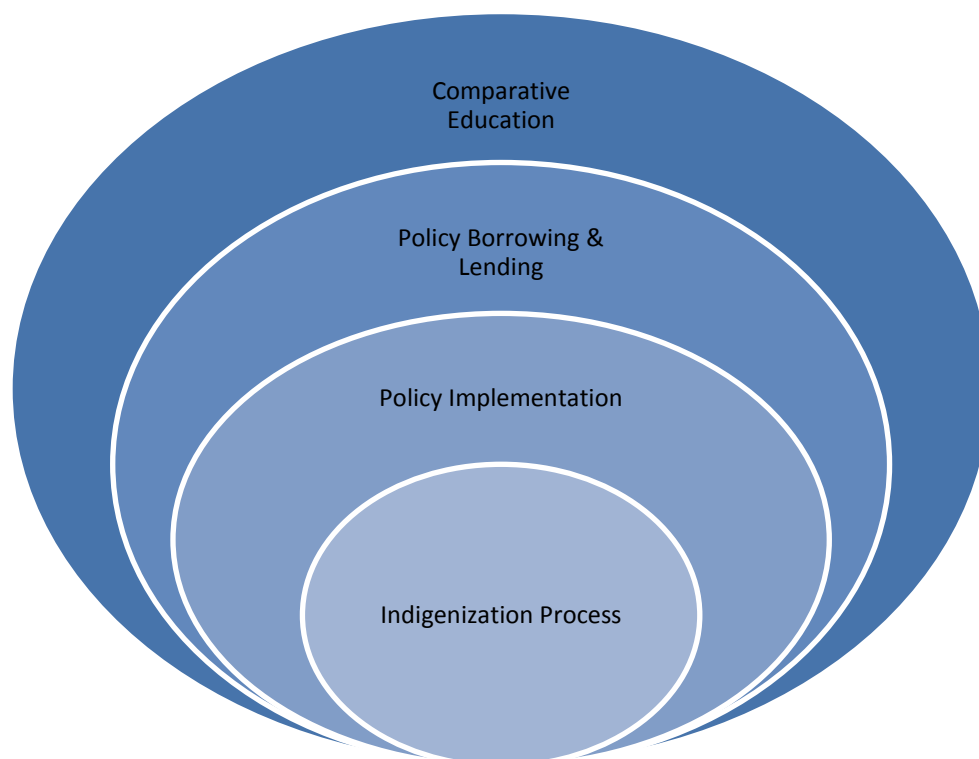


Figure 3.1 Theoretical Framework

Maxwell (2005) explained that *theory* is used to denote “a set of concepts and the proposed relationships among these, a structure that is intended to represent or model something about the world” (p. 42). Essentially, a theory tries to explain why something is the way that it is, or why it happens. And as Yin (2009) stressed, in identifying theory to guide research, the “simple goal is to have a sufficient blueprint for your study” (p. 36). However, when

approaching theory in qualitative research, Maxwell cautioned that “theory can get in the way as well as lead the way” (p. 78), and that when conducting research, qualities of intellectual curiosity and industry might help just as much as theoretical frameworks. Within the field of comparative education, theory has a nonspecific role. As Fairbrother (2005) explained, “comparative education scholars have argued...theories might better be seen as approaches, perspectives, orientations, and lenses through which to view social, political, economic, and educational phenomena” (p. 19). For the purpose of my research, I adopted a similar definition of theory; I saw theory as synonymous with an approach, perspective, or lens through which to view my research.

Comparative Education

Although the general approach to my research is from an interpretative qualitative stance (Merriam, 2002), a comparative education theoretical framework guided my research. Comparative education is a discipline dedicated to examining and studying the educational systems of other countries, with the implicit goal of both understanding and advancing ideas about education within the country of study, and possibly discovering important generalities that might aid reform and improvement in education worldwide. Discerning how theory and theoretical frameworks guide and support comparative education research is no easy task for several reasons. One reason for this is the field of comparative education has a history of using a wide variety of approaches, analyses, methodologies, and theories to provide the basis for research (Epstein & Carroll, 2005; Foster, Addy, & Samoff, 2012). Secondly, since it is traditionally a discipline that leans heavily on the practices and methods of history, and since historians do not generally use theory to support their research, comparative education scholars must look elsewhere for theoretical influence and ideas (Kazamias, 2009; Sweeting, 1999). The

disciplines of sociology, economics, and anthropology, are often donors of theoretical inspiration for comparative education (Simkin, 1981; Woock, 1981). Finally, in approaching comparative education inquiry, researchers generally do not begin with a theory. They begin with a purpose for their research, and then they find a theory or theoretical framework to help them analyze the research. The goal or purpose for the research is primary (Marginson & Mollis, 2001; Rust et al., 1999; Steiner-Khamsi, 2009).

In addition, it is not uncommon for comparativists to use more than one theoretical perspective. As Kazamias (2009) explained, “most historically oriented and theoretically, or conceptually minded comparative historians generally avoid the use of comprehensive theories...One species of the theoretically minded comparative historians is what has been called the ‘eclectic user’”(p. 1272). Also, Epstein and Carroll (2005) questioned whether or not pieces of different, even rival, theoretical perspectives can be “borrowed and amalgamated” to form even stronger constructs. They shared Rust’s (2004) determination that perspectives can be blended, and *should be*. Similarly, Wolcott (2009) affirmed “it has been suggested that we need not, indeed, should not, limit ourselves to a consideration of only one theory at a time” (p. 75).

Policy borrowing and lending. Although there are other terms used for describing the transmission of an educational policy, program, or initiative, from one country to another (i.e. policy transfer, policy diffusion, etc.), the term ‘policy borrowing and lending’ first appeared in the field of comparative education (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). It has become increasingly popular in recent years due to the renewed importance of globalization in the ever increasing technologically connected world. The purpose for studying policy borrowing and lending falls into two general categories: normative and analytical. A normative (policy-based) stance is the traditional purpose for examining programs and their ability to be used in places outside of the

original context (Silova, 2012). This normative approach is the “what works” approach, wherein the policy is studied with the general intent of finding “best practices” and translating them from one country to another. This approach is also most commonly affiliated with large international organizations like the OECD or World Bank. Although users of this approach have good intentions (e.g. to improve school systems, or teaching and learning outcomes), this normative approach has received much criticism in recent years (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012; Silova, 2012), including that it assumes from an epistemologically positivist stance there actually exist “best practices” that can be translated through a blueprint from one place to another, and that there exists an authority who has the power to decide “what works” for all contexts. Since the policy flow of exchange is almost always from the global north to south, then examining policies with the intent of imposing them on other countries has obvious neo-colonial overtones (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012; Silova, 2012).

On the other hand, approaching policy borrowing from an analytical (research-based) stance, relies more on examining local policy contexts with the intent to discover how or why a reform was implemented, or the manner in which it was adapted or changed, and the logics surrounding these choices. As Steiner-Khamsi (2012) explained, “reforms from elsewhere are not necessarily borrowed for rational reasons, but for political or economic ones. Such an interpretive framework categorically refutes the commonsense, yet naïve, assertion that reforms are imported because they have proven to be good or—even worse—because they represent best practices” (p. 5). I approached my research from the analytical stance of borrowing and lending, and focused on influential contextual complexities at the local, national, and global levels. I agree with Silova (2012) when she contended that there is importance in “recapturing pluralities,

discontinuities and uncertainties through the critical study of educational borrowing in order to gain new insights in comparative education” (p. 230).

Policy implementation. As discussed in Chapter 2, within the larger borrowing and lending framework are specific theories about policy implementation. I used two theoretical frameworks related to policy implementation, namely: (1) the model for educational policy borrowing by Phillips and Ochs (2004), and (2) Makinde’s (2005) identified factors involved in successful policy implementation in developing countries (adapted from Edwards III, 1980). Although the model of policy borrowing by Phillips and Ochs seems intended toward analysis of a nationally mandated policy adoption, I chose to see how this model could be applied to a grassroots policy implementation.

Consequently, my research was created by an “eclectic” and “borrowed and amalgamated” approach to my theory adaptation and framework. The comparative education component served as an overarching perspective, the lens through which I collected, examined, and analyzed my research data. The analytical borrowing and lending perspective within the field of Comp Ed also informed my analysis. I also gave special attention to specific ideas about policy implementation by Phillips and Ochs (2004), especially with regard to the indigenization process, and by Makinde (2005), and his ideas about how developing nations deal with policy implementation.

Research Design and Rationale

I sought answers to my research questions through a qualitative case study design (Simons, 2009; Stake, 1995). According to Yin (2009), “the more your questions seek to explain some present circumstance (e.g. the ‘how’ or ‘why’ some social phenomenon works), the more that the case study method will be relevant. The method also is relevant the more that your

questions require an extensive and ‘in-depth’ description of some social phenomenon” (p. 4). Thus, employing a case study design was an appropriate match to the purpose of this research. I approached this qualitative case study from a comparative education perspective to guide my interpretation and analysis of the research data. However, in addition, my analysis was informed by the vertical case study approach popularized by Bartlett and Vavrus (2014). The main sources of data were interviews, documents, and observations compiled over two separate two week periods in the Metro Manila area of the Philippines in 2013.

When analyzing the data for this study, I relied on a particular kind of case study approach called the “vertical case study,” or VCS, popularized by Bartlett and Vavrus (2014) (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006). Although called the “vertical” case study approach, the VCS relies equally on three different dimensions of comparison: the horizontal, the vertical, and the transversal. The facility for using this approach to analyze my research data was that it insists upon examining “the case” from many levels of comparison all at once. The authors of the vertical case study (VCS) methodology recognized that in the current era of globalization, approaching culturally-embedded, or ethnographic, research has become more complicated. They relied on the ideas of Anna Tsing (2005) to express their understanding of the complex relationship between globalization and local contexts: “seemingly global and universalizing systems such as capitalism and democracy operate in specific material and social contexts. These systems ‘can only be charged and enacted in the sticky materiality of practical encounters’” (Tsing, 2005, p. 3, as cited in Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014). Thus, the VCS emphasizes the importance of the local context and the “sticky materiality of practical encounters” across all of its dimensions. Recent technological advancements and diffusion of resources such as cell

phones, wifi, and internet access, have expanded and multiplied the dimensions through which many case study “sites” are bounded.

According to Bartlett and Vavrus (2014), “the VCS approach incorporates vertical, horizontal, and transversal elements of analysis because studies of how global policies, processes, and discourses manifest and are transformed in local contexts must examine the processes, sets of relations, articulations, and networks that stretch across space and time and connect scales, places, and actors” (p. 119). The VCS approach was influenced by other methodologies and conceptual frameworks regarding analysis of case studies. Bartlett and Vavrus draw upon previous research by Bray and Thomas (1995) that also suggested analyzing data across multiple levels, but their dimensions were defined as: geographic/locational, demographic, and societal. The VCS approach relies upon previous work by Crossley and Vulliamy (1984) where they “make an epistemological ‘case for a case’ by arguing that what can be known about one context cannot be assumed to be true in another context” (Vavrus and Bartlett, 2006, p. 96). However, Vavrus and Bartlett explained that the VCS differs from other approaches because although the case is grounded in a location, the boundaries of the case can move beyond it:

The vertical case should be grounded in a principal site—e.g., a school, a community, an institution, or a government ministry—and should fully attend to the ways in which historical trends, social structures, and national and international forces shape local processes at the site. In other words, local understandings and social interactions should not be considered demographically or geographically bounded. Instead, in a vertical case study, understanding of the micro-level is viewed as part and parcel of larger structures, forces, and policies about which the researcher must also develop a full and thorough knowledge. (p. 96)

Vavrus and Bartlett (2014) also noted that the VCS approach draws upon other conceptual and methodological frameworks like: a sociocultural approach to education policy (citing Levinson

and Sutton, 2001, and Shore and Wright, 1997) versus an instrumental “what works” stance; actor network theory (citing Latour, 2005, and Tsing, 2005); multi-sited ethnography, developed by Marcus (1995); and the conception of “policyscapes” introduced by Carney (2012).

The vertical dimension of the VCS is the dimension where comparisons are made across the micro-, meso-, and macro-level scales. Each level of analysis is equally important to making sense of any particular element of the “local.” The intent is that focusing simultaneously on all levels of analysis will de-center the usually privileged level of nation-state, and “will counter the tendency to view local knowledge as an add-on to the knowledge that ‘really counts’ by making comparison among micro- and macro-levels the centerpiece of the research endeavor” (p. 98). For my research study, I organized the data findings into the vertical dimension scales of global/regional (World/Asia), nation-state (the Philippines), and organization (the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy) to represent the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of analysis. The horizontal dimension of VCS compares “how a similar phenomenon manifests across different locations” (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 124). The horizontal dimension for my research was the comparison of the implementation of Project Citizen between the Philippines and the United States. In the VCS approach, the factors and elements of the case must be situated historically, and the adoption of policies must be considered across dimensions of time and space: “the transversal element reminds us to study across and through levels to explore how globalizing processes intersect and interconnect people and policies that come into focus at different scales” (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 124). So for the transversal dimension of my study, I researched the historical context of the Philippines according to economic, political, and cultural scales, and then analyzed how each of the other dimensions, locations, and scales were affected and influenced by contextual variables.

Procedures for Conducting the Study

In order to investigate this issue, I gained access to the staff, board of directors, and partners at the PCCED, as well as, access to teachers working with the PCCED to implement the Project Citizen curriculum. On a previous trip to the Philippines, I was able to meet the PCCED Executive Director, senior staff members, interns, members of the Board of Trustees (including the chairperson), and affiliated teachers. All of these people expressed a willingness to be interviewed or observed for the purpose of this study. Through a contact at the Philippine National Department of Education, who is an assistant to the Undersecretary of Education in charge of the K+12 program in the Philippines, I was able to secure permission to conduct research in the schools, as well. On a subsequent trip, I interviewed and observed stakeholders, and gathered documents regarding the implementation of Project Citizen.

Research Sites

The site for each of the interviews depended on where the participant was able to meet me. For some of these sites, I also spent time making observations, collecting documents and/or having informal discussions with participants. At other sites, I only made observations. The main sites for research were in the metro-Manila area, and included: the PCCED headquarters, the Department of Education (DepEd) national headquarters, the University of Asia and the Pacific, the Philippine Normal University, the University of Makati, a participating PC high school, and two Manila office buildings (see Table 3.2 for summary).

Participants

The participants in this study were recruited and chosen through purposive sampling, with the one main criterion being that they had some connection to the PC program. In order to maintain the confidentiality of participants' identities, pseudonyms were employed throughout

Table 3.2

Summary of Data Collection Sites/Events

Site	Event(s)	Type of Data Collection	Length	Participants
Restaurant	Meeting with several board members	Observation/informal discussion	75 mins	3 Board Members
Philippine Normal University	Meeting with professors of education	Observation/informal discussion	90 mins	3 Teacher Educators
University of Makati	Preliminary Showcase	Observation/informal discussions	6 hours	PCCED Members/Employees 800 PC Participants Judges & Moderators
PCCED	Workday	Observation/Docs	7 hours	PCCED employees
Manila Office Building	Final Showcase	Observation/informal discussions	3 hours	PCCED Members/Employees 100 PC Participants Judges & Moderators
University of Makati	Meeting	Informal interview	30 mins	Dean of Education
PCCED	Workday/PC training session	Observation/formal interviews/Docs	6 hours	PCCED Staff
National Department of Education Headquarters	Meeting	Informal interview/ Docs	40 mins	Assistant to Undersecretary of Education
UA&P	Meeting	Observation/informal discussion	1 hour	Professor of Education 8 Manila area teachers
PCCED	Workday/PC training session	Observation/formal interviews/Docs	6 hours	PCCED Staff
Manila High School	Meeting	Formal interview/informal discussion	2.5 hours	PC Trainer/Teacher 10 PC Participants
PCCED	Workday	Observations/Formal Interviews/Docs	4 hours	PCCED Staff/Visitors
UA&P	Meetings	Formal Interviews/Observations	4 hours	Board Members College Instructors
Makati Office Building	Meeting	Formal Interview	90 mins	Philanthropic Foundation Employee
PCCED	Workday	Formal interviews/Observations	6 hours	PCCED Staff/Visitors
UA&P	Meeting	Formal Interview	2 hours	PCCED Chairman

Note: Docs = Document Collection UA&P = University of Asia & the Pacific
PCCED = Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy PC = Project Citizen
All sites are located in the Metro Manila area

this paper. Since all of the chosen participants had some connection or role in the PC program, their educational backgrounds were similar in that 13 of the participants had at least a bachelor's degree. The one participant who did not yet have a bachelor's degree is currently a college

student. Many of the participants had advanced degrees; four participants had earned a master's degree, while another four had attained a PhD. The interview group was fairly balanced with regard to gender; there were six females and eight males (see Table 3.3).

Data Collection

I made two trips to the Philippines in order to conduct this research. The first two-week trip was made in January to February of 2013. This trip was a reconnaissance trip, meaning that I met with members of the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED), Department of Education (DepEd) officials, and university professors, in order to secure research permissions and sites. I obtained six letters of permission and invitation to conduct research about the PCCED, Project Citizen (PC), and the K+12 reform in the schools. In addition, I collected general documentation on both, the PCCED and the DepEd. I also collected documentation on specific PCCED programs (including PC), and specific DepEd documents and information about its latest K+12 reform. This first reconnaissance trip was very important to setting up and coordinating the logistics of the second research trip. This included acquiring accommodations with a host family for the second two week trip.

The second trip to the Philippines occurred in June of 2013. I had the fortune of being able to stay with a Filipino family who lived relatively close to most of my data collection sites. This family, the Ricos (pseudonym), turned out to be a very important element for the success of the research. The Ricos are an upper-middle class family who own and manage a freight-forwarding company in the Philippines. They supplied me with invaluable assistance while I stayed in their home, including: supplying a driver for longer car trips, and providing use of a local cell phone. In addition, Mr. Rico assisted me in gaining a contact at the DepEd. After

Table 3.3

Formal Interview Participants					
Participant	Gender	Degree	Occupation	Role in PC/PCCED	Interview Site
1	Male	PhD	Professor of Anthropology	Board member	UA&P
2	Female	PhD	Dean of School of Education	Board member	UA&P
3	Male	PhD	Professor of History	Board member; founding member	UA&P
4	Male	PhD	Professor of Psychology	Board member; founding member	UA&P
5	Female	Master's	PCCED employee	Program manager	PCCED headquarters
6	Female	BA	PCCED employee	Assistant program manager	PCCED headquarters
7	Female	Master's	PCCED employee/College Instructor in Political Economy Department	Program manager; founding member	UA&P
8	Male		College Student	Former PC participant	PCCED headquarters
9	Male	Master's	College Instructor in Political Economy Department	Former PC participant	UA&P
10	Male	Master's	PCCED employee	Executive Director	PCCED headquarters
11	Female	BA	PCCED employee	Assistant program manager	PCCED headquarters
12	Male	BA	Philanthropic Foundation employee	Liaison to PCCED/uses PC in other context	Office Building, Makati, Manila
13	Female	BA	High School Teacher	PC trainer/moderator	Metro Manila area high school
14	Male	BA	PCCED employee	Program manager	PCCED headquarters

Note: PCCED = Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy
 PC = Project Citizen
 UA&P = University of Asia and the Pacific

numerous attempts to secure a meeting with DepEd officials through emails, and through my contacts at the PCCED, I was still unable to arrange any cooperation with any offices at the national DepEd headquarters. But, since Mr. Rico knew one of the Undersecretaries at the national DepEd, I was granted a meeting with two of his assistants.

The primary sources of data were interviews, observations, and documents collected over the second two-week period of field work in Manila. In addition, to address the transversal elements of this case study, I reviewed and analyzed peer-reviewed journal articles and books

pertaining to the political, economic, sociological, and historical contexts of the Philippines. I also examined in detail how the educational context of the Philippines has changed over time, and how political, economic, sociological, and historical contextual factors interacted with and influenced educational policies, reforms, and programs.

Interviews. With the help of my contacts in the PCCED headquarters, I was able to arrange 14 formal open-ended interviews (see Table 3.3). Brenner (2006) defined these as “interviews in which the intent is to understand informants on their own terms and how they make meaning of their own lives, experiences, and cognitive processes” (p. 357). The interviews were conducted over a two week period at different sites depending on the availability of the participant. The interviews were digitally recorded, and then I personally transcribed each verbatim. Most interviews took approximately one hour to complete, however all of the interviews ranged between 45 to 90 minutes. Following IRB protocol, I gave each participant a consent letter explaining my research goals in advance of the interview (see Appendix A). Then at the beginning of each session, I read a brief statement asking for verbal consent. I followed an interview protocol that I designed with open-ended questions with follow-up probes aimed at discovering the participant’s connection with PC, and their impressions, feelings, and evaluation of the program (see Appendix B). I actively listened, gave appropriate responses, and tried to give the participant the “space to express meaning in his or her own words” (p. 357) and to talk as freely and expansively as possible (Brenner, 2006).

Observations. I conducted about 12 periods of observations, each of varying length while in Manila (see Table 3.2). Although I designed a formal observation protocol to use during my fieldwork, I found it incompatible with the actual conditions once I was in the field. I found taking notes in my smaller field notebook was far less conspicuous to others. I wanted

people to continue to behave in a natural manner, so writing in my notebook gave the appearance of simply writing in a journal. These observations were unstructured and naturalistic, or as Simons (2009) explained, “not constrained by preordained designs or intent, documenting or interpreting issues/incidents in the particular context in naturally occurring circumstances” (p. 56). In addition, Hebert’s (2001) idea, as adapted from Fetterman (1989), of using random observances of items that stick out, or “outcroppings” (p. 89) were useful notions for my approach to the observations. By paying special attention to things and elements that stand out, I was able to place these visual cues in the larger context, assess what they mean, and not take them for granted. In addition, when using naturalistic observation—including the components of establishing context, timing, and close description—it required a conscious effort to “see differently,” and to put my own expectations of behavior in the background (Simons, 2009, p. 58). Each night, after I returned to my host family’s home, I reviewed all of my data from the day, and made summary notes, which included memos with procedural reminders, emerging ideas, and/or items for follow-up.

Documents. Regarding collection and analysis of documents for this research, I followed Prior’s (2003) ideas about attending to all facets of a document. A document is produced, has content, is consumed, has a function, and has an effect. In this respect, documents are the result of collective social actions, produced and received by social actors, creating real effects in the world of humans. In social science research, it is usually understood that documents are not restricted to textual representations of speech; for documents can include sculptures, paintings, symbols, photographs, websites, and social media. Most importantly, “documents form a ‘field’ for research in their own right, and should not be considered as mere props to human action,” and they “need to be considered as situated products, rather than as fixed

and stable ‘things’ in the world” (Prior, 2003, p. 26). For example, these considerations move the analysis of the PCCED’s Facebook page beyond its content of written words, and photographs, to a consideration of what its existence means with regard to function and effect. Does it help to legitimize the organization? Does it seek to gain sponsors and partners through its representations of PCCED events and functions?

Prior to my second trip to the Philippines, I evaluated all of the documentation I had collected on the first reconnaissance trip. On the first visit, the PCCED Executive Director provided me with primarily documents, and booklets. He gave me a booklet with several pertinent articles published at the University of Asia and the Pacific, and a PCCED published book (2008) used for their citizenship education training program (CETS), entitled *Developing Citizens for a Nation in Progress: Embedding Civic Education in the High School Social Studies Curriculum*. In addition, I reviewed the U.S. Project Citizen student book and teacher manual. Lastly, I thoroughly examined the following websites and social media pages: the PCCED website, the Philippine DepEd website, the U.S. Center for Civic Education website, and the social media pages for Project Citizen—Philippines, and the PCCED.

While in the field on the second trip, I collected as much documentation as possible. The majority of the documents I collected were from the PCCED, however, a few items came from other sources. For example, I was given several “in-house” periodicals, published by the University of Asia and the Pacific with several articles written by three of my interview participants. Other documents included: advertising pamphlets, invitation letters, teacher training manuals, programmatic reports, budget spreadsheets, program administration guides, photographs, curriculum standards, student products, DepEd materials, program evaluations, governmental decrees and orders, etc. For a summary of the kinds of documentation I collected

please see Appendix C. When reviewing and interpreting these materials, I kept in mind Prior's (2003) assertion that "it is the production and consumption of documents in their social settings that are important—how the document fits into the entire network of activities and agents of which it forms a part. That is the key to the research process" (p. 168). Prior used the analogy of an operatic libretto to help convey the importance of situating document analysis in action. The words that the opera performer sings are not meant to be analyzed alone. They are meant to be analyzed with the accompanying music and performance. In this way, documents must also be interpreted within their entire context of space and time.

In order to make the most my time in the field, I scheduled as much of my time as productively as possible. I arranged my schedule with enough flexibility to account for unplanned events and the rescheduling of appointments, yet in a manner that maximized efficient use of time. Lastly, I kept detailed and descriptive notes in a field notebook during the entire process as I collected my research. I also kept a different notebook devoted to the analysis process. In the analysis notebook, I chronicled my analysis journey. I wrote about my thoughts, impressions, questions, frustrations, and insights on a daily basis to further document my process. With the field notebook and analysis notebook, I sought to help ensure quality with what is referred to as an *account of practice* (Freeman, deMarrais, Preissle, Roulston, & St. Pierre, 2007).

Data Analysis

According to Simons (2009), analysis "is frequently a formal inductive process of breaking down data into segments or data sets which can then be categorized, ordered, and examined for connections patterns and propositions that seek to explain the data" (p. 117). Ascribing to this notion of analysis, I began the "breaking down" of data by transcribing the

formal interviews. I chose to transcribe all interviews verbatim. I then reviewed and coded each interview transcript with initial emerging codes. The initial coding process was an attempt to identify any preliminary patterns or repetitive information in the data. Since the interview protocol was designed to address my specific research questions, it was relatively easy to see early connections between the codes and research questions. At this point, I also reviewed and coded the observation data in my field notes. I then began the process of organizing all of the document data. Since many documents were saved digitally on a flash drive, I had to print out all of the documents for this process, as well as, printing copies of website pages and social media pages. Determining categories for documents by type was the first step of this part of the document analysis.

On the second reading of the data, through the use of constant comparison, I attempted to distill categories of codes across all of the interviews. Once these categories were determined, I wrote out each one on a “sticky note,” and placed them on a large bulletin board. I played with the notes, moving them around on the board trying to discern connections, relations, and/or subordinations within the categories by constructing a concept map. After many permutations of concept maps, I finally established themes from the categories and their relationship to the research questions. I then reviewed the observation and document data again to determine where these data fit into the overall story the interview data was telling me. I worked many times backward and forward through the data to determine my final themes and sub-themes.

Reflecting on these distilled themes and sub-themes, I realized that the evidence was showing me a picture with larger boundaries than I had first imagined. Working from a comparative education theoretical framework, I was well aware of the importance of context, and the significance of being attentive to the myriad contextual cultural, economic, and historical

elements of the case. However, I found that even though I had prepared myself with a relatively in-depth and comprehensive overview of the context of the Philippines, I still needed much more background in certain specifics of the political, economic, and cultural history of the Philippines. For example, as participants brought up topics like any of the EDSA protests, Jose Rizal, the Katipunan, or voters' education, I made notes to myself to find out more about these topics. I had a basic understanding of these topics, but realized that I still needed more background. Likewise, other elements became evident through transcribing the interviews, or during the review and analysis of the documents, that required more research to fully understand those elements.

At this point in the research analysis, I found it necessary to seek out an analysis methodology that could help me better understand and conceptualize the story my data was telling me. I found the vertical case study approach by Bartlett and Vavrus (2014) to be of particular relevance to the evaluation of my research data. The VCS is a logical fit to my research data due to its holistic approach to analysis and its focus on several dimensions of context simultaneously in order to interpret the data.

Given the additional contextual background research necessary, the constraints on my time in the field, and that I was still being informed about PC and the PCCED through websites, emails, and social media, I felt that the boundaries of the traditional ethnographic case study were inappropriate to this case study. The transversal dimension of the VCS acknowledges that the spatial components of traditional limits of 'the case' have changed due to modern technological advancements in communication. The boundaries of apprehending meaning about, and the understanding of, "the implementation of PC in the Philippines" (i.e. the case) are not constrained by a concrete geographic location. These transversal elements of historical context,

and the spatial considerations of the case, are essential to the interpretation of why PC was chosen for, and how it was implemented in the Philippines. Thus, approaching the interpretation of the research data across the horizontal, vertical, and transversal dimensions permitted a fuller appreciation and understanding of the elements of the case.

Quality, Trustworthiness & Reflexivity

Trustworthiness is an idea introduced by Guba and Lincoln (1985) as a qualitative research alternative to the quantitative research concept of validity (Simons, 2009). And although there is much debate over the terminology used to express trustworthiness and validity, it essentially means a way for qualitative researchers to show “how to evaluate their science, the quality of their analyses and theoretical interpretations of data” (Freeman et al., 2007, p. 26). In an effort to show quality in my work, I attempted to openly and systematically explain how I analyzed data, what led to my interpretations, and how I arrived at my conclusions. I hoped to show my reflexivity transparently enough for the reader to look for what Freeman et al. called *researcher skepticism* (p. 30). This skepticism includes whether or not I was my own best critic, whether I discussed the limits or uncertainties of my work, and whether I was candid about competing interpretations and explanations for the patterns found in my research.

For case study research, there is a unique set of standards that one must remember when evaluating it. I abided by these sets of standards throughout the research process. Stake (1995) described these standards in this way: “The way the case and the researcher interact is presumed unique and not necessarily reproducible for other cases and researchers. The quality and utility of the research is not based on its reproducibility but on whether or not the meanings generated, by the researcher or the reader, are valued” (p. 135). Yin (2009) identified three ways to help ensure quality: (1) use multiple sources, (2) keep a case study database, and (3) maintain a

“chain of evidence.” Maintaining a chain of evidence was described as creating “explicit links among the questions asked, the data collected, and the conclusions drawn” (p. 98). While conducting my research, I used multiple sources of data, including verbatim transcriptions of interviews, a wide variety of documents, and observations at various sites. I kept all of my work together in a case study database, which included all of the data and extensive field notes and analysis notes. I did my best to show a clear “chain of evidence” with diagrams and tables that summed up how research questions were addressed, and how conclusions were drawn from the data.

The concept of triangulation is also often referred to when discussing the quality of qualitative work. Simons (2009) defined triangulation as, “a means of cross-checking the relevance and significance of issues or testing out arguments and perspectives from different angles to generate and strengthen evidence in support of key claims” (p. 129). Throughout the research process, I continually used my concept map bulletin board strategy to move ideas, themes, and concepts around. In doing this, I tried to evaluate whether different connections or relationships between the data generated new explanations. By testing out different approaches to my data and the themes it produced, I finally honed in on the most reasonable story that the data was telling me—the most reasonable answers to the research questions. Respondent validation, or “member checking,” is also used as means to assist with triangulation. I often used member-checking while in the field as a way to begin conversations each day with my participants. Each night, I reviewed the collected data, and made summary notes in my field notebook. The next morning, I explained what I had learned the day before, and discussed it with different participants to see if my initial ideas or assumptions made sense.

I was not able to member-check my analysis or conclusions with participants. First, the PCCED moved to a different headquarters about a month after I conducted my research. For this reason, I had to solicit new email addresses for many of my contacts, and for some I never received updated contact information. Second, it took about a year to review, transcribe, evaluate, and analyze the research data. By that time, many of the PCCED employees that I had interviewed had moved on to other jobs, or were assigned to provincial areas where email communication was impossible. With regard to interview member-checking, however, Maxwell (2005) asserted, “participant feedback is no more inherently valid than their interview responses” (p. 111). This could be considered true of all member-checks, yet member-checks can be useful additions to the evidence base. In lieu of member-checking, I instead “fact-checked” the details of the interviews and documents. Naturally, much of the information gathered in an interview cannot be “fact-checked,” but there are quite a few instances of statements that can. For example, statements about statistics, timeframes, budgets, names, or historical events could, in my case, be fact-checked. Not only did I search out reliable resources for checking the veracity of statements made in interviews, or statistics in documents, but I also compared information between participants. For example, from the interview data, there was a discrepancy in the number of people who attended the first Project Citizen training in California. Two people said four people attended, while another person said five people attended. I was able to cross-check this fact with one of the budget documents to discover that the number of people attending was indeed four.

Limitations

Since I have been a teacher for 20 years, I tend to view the world from a practitioner perspective. It is this aspect of my identity that has guided me to pursue my doctorate largely

with the intent to foster and encourage future teachers, as well as, advocate for and promote excellent teacher preparation programs. I tried to keep my preconceived ideas and feelings about how teachers are treated, trained, and regarded in check as I conducted my research. I am also a White American. And, although I can claim Filipino ancestry on my father's side, I do not appear phenotypically Filipino. Conducting research in another country, presented the need to be aware of the intercultural subjectivities that existed between me and the participants of my research. I tried to remain cognizant and aware of this throughout the course of conducting my fieldwork. In addition, I tried my best to reflexively evaluate my interactions with others while in the field to reduce as much intercultural misunderstanding or misperception as possible.

The main goals of my research study were to discover how and why a small NGO called the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy chose to adopt a U.S. authored civic education curriculum, and how it was adapted and indigenized to the Philippine context. I wanted to gain multiple perspectives from many stakeholders in order to achieve a comprehensive assessment of those research goals. Although I did interview stakeholders from diverse participant groups (e.g. program managers, teachers, trainers, board members, sponsors, student participants, and teacher educators), I was often not able to interview more than one person in each category. I also decided not to apply for permission from the IRB to interview vulnerable populations, so this ruled out being able to interview current participating students. I did, however, interview two adults who had participated as students in past PC programs. I was also able to gain student perspectives on the PC process through the documents, such as the analysis of over 39 reflection papers.

I was able to formally interview only one PC participating teacher, mainly due to the timing of the research. I conducted my research over a two week period in June of 2013.

Unfortunately, the first week was the week right before school began for the year, and then the second week was the first week of the Philippine school year. This made it difficult for teachers to find the time to meet with me during my first week in the field, either because they were out of town vacationing right before school started, or they were preparing for school to start. The first week of school was equally problematic for setting up meetings for interviews with teachers. However, I was able to read PC teacher testimonials included in other documents (such as the programmatic reports, and the lesson exemplar book), and to speak informally with teachers about their experiences while attending both the preliminary and final showcases. In addition, I was not able to observe classroom level implementation of PC for the same timing issues discussed above. Since the PC program is an extracurricular activity, it is usually not introduced during the first week of school. Still, since students and teachers posted updates about their PC projects on various social media pages, I was able to gain some knowledge of teacher and student perspectives through those.

The participants for my study were all from the Metro Manila area. I was not able to interview any participants from outlying provinces. However, I was able to hear about stories of experiences from the program managers, and others affiliated with the management and implementation of the PC program. In addition, the documentation I was provided for the PC program contained references to experiences of students and teachers in outlying provinces.

I was only able to spend two separate two week periods in the Philippines doing field work. In a traditional ethnographic study, one of the strengths comes from what Maxwell (2005) called “intensive, long-term involvement” in the field. Although this was not possible during my study, approaching this research from a Vertical Case Study stance provided an opportunity to analyze data gathered across multiple dimensions of context. Using the VCS methodology

helped me recognize that the boundaries of the case study were not limited by geographic location, and time in the field was extended through websites, and social media contact. In addition, the VCS also underscored the great significance that the history of a place has on its current context. For these reasons, I believe I was able to achieve reliable interpretations and conclusions based on the overall data set concerning the implementation of Project Citizen in the Philippines.

Chapter Summary

To answer the research questions for this study, I chose a qualitative case study design and method. The general approach to my research was from an interpretative qualitative stance (Merriam, 2002), within a comparative education theoretical framework. Important conceptualizations within the comparative education framework were two specific approaches to policy borrowing and lending by Phillips & Ochs (2004), and Makinde (2005). Using in-depth verbatim interview transcripts, naturalistic observations, and a wide array of research and documents as the main sources of data, I analyzed this evidence base using Vavrus and Bartlett's (2014) conception of a vertical case study. The vertical case study method facilitated viewing the data across many dimensions and scales of analysis simultaneously. It also allowed the boundaries of the case to stretch to include important historical or cultural elements from other timeframes, or locations, to be carefully considered within the case. I also tried to provide insight into the analysis process, by detailing my methods and procedures. Since trustworthiness and quality are important elements of any qualitative research study, I discussed the ways in which I attempted to ensure the study's quality and trustworthiness through acknowledging the study's limitations.

CHAPTER 4

THE PHILIPPINE CONTEXT

“We are not of the Orient, except by geography. We are part of the western world by reasons of culture, religion, ideology, and economics... We expect to remain part of the West.” (Philippine President Manuel Roxas, July 4, 1946, Independence Day)

The Republic of the Philippines is a chain of more than 7,100 islands in the Pacific Ocean, south of Taiwan, and north of Indonesia. Although located entirely above the equator, its climate is tropical, with the distinct seasons being *wet* and *dry*, and an average year-round temperature of eighty-one degrees Fahrenheit. Due to the archipelago’s location along the geographic “Ring of Fire” in the Pacific, the Philippines experiences frequent seismic activity including earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. In addition, strong typhoons and heavy rains cause natural disasters every year (Brower & Magno, 2011; Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 2015).

Although there are many ethnic groups in the Philippines, most of the just under 107 million people fall into one of seven main ethnicities; the largest are the Tagalog, the Visayans, the Cebuano, and the Ilocano. The country is divided into three geographic regions: Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. The capital of the country is the city of Manila, on the island of Luzon with a population of almost 12 million people. The largest urban area in the Visayas is Metropolitan Cebu with about 2.5 million people, while the largest urban area in Mindanao is Davao with about 1.5 million people. According to statistics from 2011, about 48% of the population live in an urban area. The three urban areas on the island of Luzon, which include the National Capital Region (NCR), Calabarzon, and Central Luzon, comprise about one-third of the

total population. The population of the Philippines is relatively young. Approximately 53% of the population is under the age of 24; compare this to the U.S. where 33% of the population is under the age 24. In addition, the median age in the Philippines is 23.5 years, whereas in the U.S. the median age is 37.6 years (CIA, 2015; Espinosa, 1997; Quezon, 2005; Valenzuela, 2010).

In this chapter, I present an in-depth summary of relevant background information about the Philippine context. In order to accurately address and explain the findings related to this study's research questions, the historical, political, socioeconomic, cultural, and educational contexts must be explored. This in depth country profile provides the necessary background knowledge for a more nuanced understanding of how Project Citizen was implemented and adapted to the Philippine context discussed in Chapter 5. This information will also contribute to a better understanding of the Chapter 6 findings.

Historical Context

Although the current government is officially a constitutional republic with a presidential system, the colonial legacy left in the Philippines first by the Spanish, and then the U.S., extends to the present by way of many realities in Philippine society. No part of Philippine society was left untouched by imperial influence—the religion, the official language, the style of government, the nature and structure of schooling, even the very name of the country itself are all colonial byproducts. However, the national school system in the Philippines is not merely a byproduct, for it was instituted as an intentional means of aiding in the conquest of the Philippines (Calata, 2002; Constantino, 1970; Karnow, 1989; Valenzuela, 2010). The educational system was to ‘Americanize’ the Filipinos. With English as the medium of instruction, the Filipinos were educated in the benefits of democratic citizenship and republican

government. As a consequence, the Philippine educational system today is still highly influenced by the American system (de los Reyes, 2013; Wong, 1991).

Before the U.S. colonized the Philippines, the country had been under Spain's control for over 300 years. Magellan first claimed the Philippines for Spain back in 1521. Spain's legacy in the Philippines is substantial; the influence of Catholicism, the Spanish language, and a colonial sociopolitical structure remain widespread today (Brower & Magno, 2011; Dumol, 2013; Halagao, 2010; Kiang & Takeuchi, 2009). The governing authorities during the colonial period were the various denominations of Catholic Friars. Then, from 1898 to 1946, the Philippine government remained under American 'tutelage' (Go, 1997). Hence, there is a popular Filipino adage that suggests that the Filipino people have spent "three centuries in a Catholic convent and fifty years in Hollywood" (Go, 1997, p. 56; Karnow, 1989, p. 9).

While space prevents a full historical accounting of the events leading to, or during, the Spanish-American War, it was after this event that the United States began its control of the Philippines. After just over three months, the Spanish surrendered to the U.S. in 1898, turning over control of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The Philippine leadership believed they would be given their freedom to be a sovereign nation, as had Cuba and Puerto Rico before them (Go, 2000). However, at that time, a major concern for U.S. leadership was whether or not the Filipinos were capable of self-government. In addition, there was concern that if the U.S. did not take command of the Philippines, then either Germany or France would attempt occupation. There was also the lure of acquiring a military presence in Asia which many of the rivals of the United States had already secured (Karnow, 1989; Woods, 2006). Ironically, one of the recognized reasons the U.S. decided to go to war with Spain was the inhumane treatment of the Cubans who had rebelled against Spain for their freedom.

Unfortunately, this irony was lost on U.S. leaders, and the Philippine-American War broke out as a result of the Filipinos being denied their sovereignty. This war continued from 1898 to 1901, where over 4,000 American soldiers, and 20,000 Filipino soldiers were killed. These numbers are in addition to the over 200,000 civilians who died as a result of the conflict (Litwack, Jordan, Hofstadter, Miller & Aaron, 1987). In the Philippines today, however, many scholars lament that this brutal and violent beginning of the relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines is often not included in the ‘official’ version of Philippine history (Constantino, 1970; Tupas, 2003). Historians also note that many Americans are unaware of the entire event (Weekley, 2006).

After the Philippine-American War, the relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines was unprecedented. The U.S. Federal government decided on the ambiguous classification of “unincorporated territory” for the newly acquired Philippine Islands. With the ambiguous status of “U.S. Nationals,” Filipinos were encouraged to immigrate to fill manual labor jobs in the U.S. left open by Chinese and Japanese laborers who had recently been excluded from immigrating to the U.S. As demands for better wages and working conditions arose, first for the Chinese, and then the Japanese, each group was excluded from the U.S. via the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, and the 1907 “Gentleman’s Agreement” between the U.S. and Japan, whereby Japan promised to disallow immigration to the U.S. (Aguilar, Jr., 2010; Baldoz, 2011; Volpp, 2000). Filipinos soon became the targets of racism as well, and the U.S. government was pressured once again to renege on immigration agreements. The solution to this problem came in the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 which granted independence to the Philippines over a period of ten years, to be finalized in 1946. Although this Act was intended to appear benevolent at face value, it was essentially de facto exclusionary legislation. Filipinos’ status in the U.S. went from U.S.

Nationals to foreign aliens immediately—not in the course of ten years. A component of this act also limited the number of Filipinos allowed to immigrate to the U.S. to 50 per year. During WWII, the Philippines was once again violently occupied by Japan. This occupation lasted from 1942 until the end of the war. The Philippines was finally granted full independence on July 4, 1946 (Aguilar, Jr., 2010; Karnow, 1989; Litwack et al., 1987; Volpp, 2000; Woods, 2006).

Political Context

Christened in 1946 as a constitutional republic, the Republic of the Philippines, became an independent nation. The country was allowed to begin democratic self-governing without direct interference from the United States (Abueva, 1976; Karnow, 1989). In the years following WWII, the Philippines' political landscape seemed to follow a democratic design; there was successful turnover of power following elections, and the establishment of a two party system with the bureaucracy and military controlled by a strong state (Abueva, 1976; Schulzke, 2010). Although the Philippines is the oldest democracy in Asia (Hutchcroft, 2008), given the history of colonial oligarchic control exercised by a very small and wealthy elite, the façade of democracy began to falter in the 1950s. Clientelist and patronage politics took hold leading to campaign overspending, corruption, fraud, and violence (Dressel, 2011; Quimpo, 2009; Weekley, 2006). Soon this “warlord” type of political control became common in the provinces, and “guns, gold, and goons” politics became prevalent throughout most of the country (Abueva, 1976; Quimpo, 2009, p. 340; Rosales & Tecson, 2010; Thompson, 2010). Democratic elections still occurred; however, the only people who could afford to run for office were from the small dynasty of wealthy families who had always been in control (Clarke & Sison, 2003).

Elected in 1965, President Ferdinand Marcos ruled the country until his removal in 1986. With a backdrop of political violence, including both communist and Muslim insurgencies,

Marcos declared Martial Law in 1972. With a dismantled Congress, and weakened judiciary, Marcos commanded executive, legislative, and military powers (Karnow, 1989; Yu, 2005). He continued to rule under what he called “constitutional authoritarianism” (Abueva, 1976; Guerrero & Tusalem, 2008), and in addition to rampant graft, corruption, imprisonment of opposition leaders, and human rights violations, he and his cronies are said to have embezzled more than 5 billion dollars from public funds (Ezrow & Franz, 2011). In 1986, due to massive protests by the public, often referred to as “People Power,” or “EDSA Uno,” referring to the street Epifanio de los Santos Avenue, where the main protests took place (Gatmaytan, 2006; Karnow, 1989; Woods, 2006), Marcos was sent into exile despite his claim of victory in the highly questionable election of that year. The wife of assassinated opposition leader Benigno Aquino, Jr., Corazon “Cory” Aquino, was backed by the people as the true newly elected president. Corazon Aquino became the first democratically elected president after Martial Law ended (Gatmaytan, 2006; Woods, 2006). She successfully reinstated the Congress, Supreme Court, and the necessary bureaucratic structures and institutions to support a democratic political system. A new democratic constitution was also established in 1987 (Clarke & Sison, 2003).

The administration hierarchy of government in the Philippines is distributed between the national government, and divisions called local government units or LGUs. Although the president is mandated by the constitution to supervise the LGUs, the “local governments enjoy relative autonomy from the national government” (Official Gazette, 2015). The LGU divisions, from largest to smallest, are: region (including the autonomous region), province, city, municipality, and barangay. These LGU divisions have some overlapping powers and responsibilities, but each unit is fairly independent and without excessive hierarchical accountability (Official Gazette, 2015).

Since the successful ousting of Marcos in 1986, the democratic political system has been challenged by constant allegations of corruption. There are constant reports of election corruption and tampering, as well as, political scandals involving not only lower officials, but even Supreme Court justices and Presidents (Quah, 2006; Quimpo, 2009; Thompson, 2010; Yu, 2005). There have also been unsuccessful attempted military coups in several presidential administrations (Guerrero & Tusalem, 2008). Despite these problems within the government, these issues have been generally settled peacefully, albeit through organized civil resistance, or “People Power” displays of citizen protest. For example, in 2001, President Joseph Estrada was impeached, but not removed from office despite overwhelming evidence of graft and corruption (Fuller, 2000; Schaffer, 2008; Woods, 2006). The highest officials responsible for deciding Estrada’s fate were all believed to be corrupt as well. Upon the announcement that Estrada was not found guilty, millions of protestors filled the streets of Manila, often referred to as “EDSA Dos,” demanding his removal from office. Estrada was forced to step down due to this public outcry. Unfortunately, the president who followed Estrada, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, proved to be as corrupt as her predecessor. Her administration was marred by many scandals, as well as, accusations of election tampering, embezzlement, and violence (Hutchcroft, 2008; Thompson, 2010).

Some major challenges for the Philippines in the post-Marcos era are: 1) a major insurgency in the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), 2) extreme poverty, 3) severe socioeconomic inequality, 4) substantial external debt, 5) extensive state involvement in the economy, and 6) lack of a clear development strategy (Brower & Magno, 2011; Quimpo, 2009; Schulzke, 2010; Sidel, 2013; Weekley, 2006). In addition, election corruption and violence still dominate in both national and local elections. The most recent and extreme

example is the Maguindanao Massacre of November, 2009. On the southern island of Mindanao, a challenger to the incumbent candidate from a local political clan tried to register a certificate of candidacy in order to run in the next election. Fearing violent reprisal, he sent his female relatives, members of the community, lawyers, and 32 invited journalists to file the certificate for him. As these people travelled the road to the municipal office, they were attacked and gunned down by at least 50 private soldiers. It is common for provincial government officials in the Philippines to maintain their own private security forces. Fifty-seven people were killed, including seven bystanders unaffiliated with the candidate. The backhoe used to bury the victims and their cars was found to be state-owned. Although there seems to be little doubt that the incumbent political candidate ordered the killings, no one has yet been convicted. Part of the problem is witnesses who were not successfully deterred from testifying through bribery, were instead killed before they could testify; four have already been murdered (Hutchcroft, 2008; Quimpo, 2009; Rosales & Tecson, 2010; Sidel, 2013; Thompson, 2010). Although this extreme example of election violence took place in Mindanao, far from the capital of Manila, election rigging, corruption, and violence are still common occurrences in local and national elections (Rosales & Tecson, 2010; Yu, 2005).

Any discussion of the history of the Philippines would be flawed without a nod to the animated dialogue and debate that the construct of *nationalism* has produced among scholars and historians. Revolutionary, postcolonial, and Marxist nationalisms are often discussed and theorized within scholarly literature related to Philippine historiography (Claudio, 2013; Hogan, 2006). Space does not allow for consideration of the varied debates and perspectives over postcolonial, neocolonial, and “emancipatory” nationalisms in the research literature. What is important, however, is that there have been many scholars and historians who allude to the

Philippines' fragility as a democratic *nation-state* when discussing the important role of nationalism in a developing nation (Dressel, 2011; Rivera, 2011; Weekley, 2006). As a 'discursive formation,' nationalism can be used for many purposes, both as a tool of imperialist domination, or in anti-colonial revolutionary rhetoric (Hogan, 2006). Nationalism is also "locally and historically rooted" (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 8, as cited in Claudio, 2013). However, scholars also agree that a developing nation needs to cultivate a positive *national identity* for the purpose of furthering economic development (Luyt, 2007).

The most commonly invoked historical nationalist movement was affiliated with Jose Rizal, Andres Bonifacio, Apolinario Mabini, and other revolutionary heroes from the late 1890s, who were responsible for the anti-imperialist rebellion against Spain. After the United States conquered the Philippines, however, this revolutionary spirit was suppressed through promises of democracy, national sovereignty, and the U.S. plan of "benevolent assimilation" (Karnow, 1989; Weekley, 2006). Through the educational system imposed by the American government, and by the maintenance of the oligarchic power structure, the national narrative became one that reflected the interests of the Filipino elite; a narrative that portrayed the Americans as benevolent 'saviors' bringing democracy to free the Filipinos from Spanish imperialist domination (Tupas, 2003). Later, in the 1970s, this colonial nationalist story was questioned by certain 'leftwing' scholars who sought a reexamination of Philippine historiography from a Filipino perspective (Mendoza & Perkinson, 2003).

This alternative historiography movement became popular in academic circles in the Philippines, and challenged popular views and conceptions of nationalism, similar to the 1980s 'Subaltern studies' movement in which historians of India attempted to present a critical historiography of India within the milieu of existing nationalist, Marxist, and imperial narratives

(Claudio, 2013; Hogan, 2006). This movement in the Philippines, coined by its founder, Zeus Salazar (2000) as *Pantayong Panahaw* ‘for us, from us’ perspective, sought to decolonize Philippine historiography by re-visioning history from “an internally oriented historical perspective that builds upon philosophies, methods and viewpoints distinctive to the Filipino historical experience,” while expressing this new historiography solely in the native Filipino language (Reyes, 2008, p. 242). Critics of the *Pantayong Panahaw* approach argue that it is reductionist and essentialist in its insistence on some glorified indigenous primordial grand narrative of a unified and unitary Filipino, which does not, nor has ever, existed. In addition, insisting upon the use of the Filipino language, which is itself a derivative of the language of the largest ethnic group, ignores the fact that there is no one representative indigenous language of the Philippines (Claudio, 2013; Reyes, 2008).

To be sure, the main lesson from this evidence of scholarly debate within the Philippines is that the idea and concept of nationalism in many of its permutations, dimensions, and forms has been broadly debated and considered in Philippine academic circles. In current times, it seems that the new nationalism necessary to promote a national identity is one that does not “occlude the reality of class oppression” (Claudio, 2013, p. 69). In other words, as Hutchcroft and Rocamora (2003) contended, “Philippine democracy can no longer ignore the interests and demands and resentment and anger of those at the bottom of society” (p. 284). Although difficult to completely separate from the political context, I now turn to a discussion of the socioeconomic context in the Philippines.

Socioeconomic Context

In the Philippines, the social hierarchy related to class and income, is rooted in the Spanish colonial period, as well as the American occupation period (Go, 2000; Karnow, 1989).

Until recently, the class hierarchy in the Philippines was a two class structure based in Spanish colonial tradition, although some scholars argue that this two class structure extends back to the precolonial indigenous feudal structure (Abueva, 1976; Dumol, 2013; Quimpo, 2009). Under the Spanish colonial rule a small number of powerful elites were landowners, and the rest of the population worked as tenant farmers on their plantations (Seki, 2012). Since the Spanish preferred a system of indirect rule in the Philippines, many of the already wealthy landowners from the feudal structure became duly appointed government officials whose responsibility it was to oversee governing functions and duties. While there was a small middle class of merchants, and tradesmen, the vast majority of people were commoners and slaves. By the time the Americans took control, there existed a ruling class of elite families, many from a *mestizo* background (those with Spanish and Filipino heritage) controlling business, politics, and government. Since independence from Spain in 1898, and during the American period (1898 – 1946), this class structure changed little. During this period, the majority of the population existed as a class of poor farmers or laborers working for the various family dynasties (Weekley, 2006). Although the Philippines became an independent nation in 1946, its ‘special’ relationship with the United States persisted by way of economic agreements that provided favorable trade arrangements, a parity promise that allowed U.S. businesses equal investment rights in the Philippines, a fixed money exchange rate, and the presence of U.S. armed forces through a multitude of military bases like Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Force Base (Lacsamana, 1998; Perkinson & Mendoza, 2004).

Promising to improve Filipino lives through better healthcare, education, and by reducing poverty, the current president ran for office on a “Good Governance” campaign which promised to weed out corruption, graft, and cronyism (“Corruption in the Philippines,” 2011; Diokno,

2012). Elected in 2010, President Benigno Aquino III, the son of former president Corazon Aquino, and martyred anti-Marcos opposition leader Benigno Aquino, Jr., promised to turn the economy around through promoting honesty and transparency in all government agencies. Although the Philippines has experienced some economic growth since 2010 according to annual GDP, the World Bank statistics ranks the Philippine economy as only 43rd largest in the world, and reports a poverty rate of about 26.5%. The unemployment rate currently vacillates between 6% to 8%, however was as high as 15% during the mid-1990s, while the underemployment rate is almost 19% (National Statistics Office Philippines, 2014). Some of the prominent industries are agriculture, pharmaceuticals, wood products, and mining (CIA, 2015; U.S. Department of State, 2015; World Bank, 2015). Tourism is also an important industry for the Philippines, especially given that the national language is English (Vitorio, 2011). However, the largest industry in the Philippines is the service industry, with overseas foreign workers representing the largest service sector (Eversole & Johnson, 2014; Lau, 2011; Seki, 2012).

Due to the high poverty and underemployment rates in the Philippines, an estimated one million Filipinos leave to find work and live abroad in other countries as temporary or permanent migrant workers. Current statistics put the number of Filipino overseas foreign workers (OFWs) at somewhere between 9.5 and 12.5 million, which is approximately 10% of the total population. Due to this, a large number of OFW remittances are sent to the Philippines accounting for about 10% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (CIA, 2015; U.S. Department of State, 2015; World Bank, 2015). The Philippines is the world's largest exporter of government sponsored temporary contract labor (Lau, 2011). Much of the OFW work is in the fields of healthcare, domestic work and construction labor (de los Reyes, 2013; Eversole & Johnson, 2014; Lau, 2011). Although men still represent a slightly higher percentage of OFWs, the

feminization of migrant labor in the Philippines has steadily increased over the last two decades (Lukasiewicz, 2011).

The Philippines first instituted a “labor exporting policy” (LEP) in 1974 to alleviate unemployment and to help pay back external debt (Lau, 2011). In the mid to late 1980s, in the wake of the tremendous debt left by the Marcos era, the OFW industry steadily increased (de los Reyes, 2013; Eversole & Johnson, 2014). The Philippine government has consistently supported the export of labor since it contributes significantly to the country’s overall economic gains. However, the long-term consequences for the country are not yet understood. Some argue that the OFW phenomenon has alleviated poverty and led to human capital development. For example, the Philippines continued to receive increases in remittances from OFWs during the global economic crisis of the late 2000s, and hence weathered the crisis much better than other countries in the region (Eversole & Johnson, 2014). In addition, Lau (2011) described the purported benefits gained by OFWs as important “social remittances,” like new knowledge and ideas learned in other countries, and expanded social networks.

On the other hand, there have been negative consequences reported. According to a study conducted by Eversole & Johnson (2014), negative social costs included a disruption of economic productivity and development, and increased income inequality within the country. Although OFW families are an under-researched population, some studies indicated that negative social costs were inevitable since 17% of Filipino families had at least one OFW household member living abroad for many years at a time (Eversole & Johnson, 2014; Lau, 2011; Lukasiewicz, 2011). In addition, there are consistent reports that many OFWs experience difficult working conditions, hardships, and mistreatment in their host countries (Gorney, 2014; Lacsamana, 1998; Mendoza & Perkinson, 2003).

The class structure within Philippine society is quite varied depending upon the region, province, and community. Macdonald (2013) made this clear as he defined four main social divisions:

Today the Philippine national community is composed of at least four segments that partly reflect the old colonial situation: (1) dispersed, demographically small, anarchic tribal groups (including hunters and gatherers, sea nomads, shifting agriculturists, and other tribal groups with mixed economies); (2) tribal groups with “social” institutions and an incipient hierarchical order, such as the Cordillera ethnic groups: Ifugao, Kalinga, Bontok, and possibly some Mindanao tribal groups characterized by the bagani, “great warrior” syndrome (Macdonald 1987); (3) Christian peasant lowland communities; and (4) urban populations with a class structure under a capitalistic-oriented system. (p. 426)

Within the urban areas, there are distinct social classes based on income, education, and geography, however, an emerging middle class is becoming more powerful (Luyt, 2007).

Instead of the two class colonial hierarchy, there are now three distinct socioeconomic classes.

The educated elite class tends to live in or near the big cities. They are often elected to the governmental and executive positions within the public and private sectors. The middle class in the Philippines includes individuals who are usually educated, or at least educated in a trade, and are often teachers, civil servants, merchants, shop-keepers, and the like. There is also a relatively large class of urban and rural poor (Dolan, 1991; U.S. Department of State, 2015; Woods, 2006).

The emergence of a new middle class after the Marcos era (1965 – 1986), was attributed to democratization, government stability, and the liberalization of trade and the economy (Seki, 2012). This “new middle class” is made up of a growing group of professionals, administrators, and technical experts who usually have a minimum of a Bachelor’s degree, and often have a professional license to practice a profession (e.g. lawyer, doctor, teacher, CPA, etc.) (Luyt, 2007; Quimpo, 2009; Seki, 2012). These educated professionals hold what Luyt (2007) called “strategic” positions in the post-Marcos Philippine society; they share interests with both the

lower poor, and the powerful elite. The success of the EDSA I revolution that ousted Marcos, and EDSA II which ousted Estrada, was largely due to the efforts and organization of the middle class (Schaffer, 2008). This group has effectively used “people power” (ie. organized civil protest) to further their interests, and as a result, has become more powerful and confident in recent times (Luyt, 2007). As Luyt explained, the new middle class, defined by a strong democratic tradition:

desires economic security and prosperity for itself and the country. This is to be obtained through the efforts of the individual acting out of self-interest, but within a set of moral limits. Unfettering the entrepreneurial spirit of the Filipino is thus the major preoccupation of the middle class and a key component of its identity. (p. 144)

The recent expansion of the middle-class has not only led to social conflicts between middle and upper classes, but also between the middle and poorer classes. Shortly after the EDSA II uprising that forced President Estrada to resign from office, another uprising occurred. Known as EDSA III, this “people power” display was organized by Estrada loyalists. Unlike the middle class population protesting against the rich elite during EDSA I or EDSA II, the majority of the participants in the EDSA III protest were from the poor and lower social classes (Thompson, 2010). Before becoming president, Estrada, who is commonly referred to by his nickname “Erap,” (“friend” in Tagalog) was a movie star who often played poor but heroic characters in films. Campaigning with the slogan *Erap for the poor*, Estrada was a populist candidate deriving the majority of his support from the lower socioeconomic class (Kurlantzick, 2001). Thus, the EDSA III event has been characterized as a “class war” (Rutten, 2011) where the poor protested the removal (through EDSA II) of their candidate (Guerrero & Tusalem, 2008; Mojares, 2006; Schaffer, 2008). As Mojares explained:

These events also laid bare the cultural divide between the rich and poor that even civil-society leaders had not quite appreciated. The divide is illustrated in the reactions of

many of the ‘civil society’ leaders of Edsa Dos. Cardinal Sin, the “rich of Makati,” and the middle class condemned the crowd for ‘desecrating’ the Edsa Shrine by befouling the place with garbage and graffiti and blamed the violence on drunk, drugged-out ‘rabble.’ (p. 39).

Lettered class distinctions are often used in newspapers and in everyday conversations in Metro Manila (Bauzon, 2014; Schaffer, 2008). For example, journalists might state, “the ABC crowd demanded” or the “D and E crowd protested” (Schaffer, 2008). The use of this lettered class system originated in market research and with election pollsters, who often refer to class categories by lettered groupings arranged according to average income. Today, these groupings consist of five classes: class A (very rich), class B (moderately rich), class C (middle class), class D (moderately poor), and class E (very poor) (Schaffer, 2008, p. 129). According to Schaffer’s research, the middle and upper classes (the A, B, and C groups) make up about 7-11 percent of the population, the moderately poor (class D) between 58-73 percent, and the very poor (class E) about 18-32 percent. The breakdown of average monthly income for each of the classes is: class A—above P200,000 (USD \$4486) per month, class B and C—an average of P36,934 (USD \$828) per month, and class D and E—an average of P9,061 (USD \$203) per month (“Socioeconomic classes,” 2012). These statistics highlight the fact that the “D and E” classes form a majority voting bloc, which potential political candidates often cater to, and cannot ignore.

As a result of many socio-economic and political factors over the last several decades, Philippine society experienced structural changes giving way to a three tiered hierarchy of social class. This growth of the middle class, in turn, led to other social and institutional changes within the Philippines. One significant change was the emergence of a strong civil society by way of non-governmental organizations. Since voluntary civil organizations were restricted during the Marcos era, many were forced underground, or to universities in the guise of

grassroots educational organizations (Brower & Magno, 2011; Mojares, 2006). Because of the restrictions during martial law, writers of the new 1987 constitution ensured language emphasizing the need for citizens to form organizations (Hermida, 2013). Since that time, a strong civil society has grown, and non-governmental organizations have prospered and proliferated in the Philippines.

The Growth of Non-governmental Organizations within the Philippine Context

First created by the United Nations in 1953, non-governmental organizations, or NGOs, have evolved and changed over time. Although transnational organizations like the World Bank, and USAID began to encourage the idea of “civil society” in the post-Cold War era, Mojares (2006) argued that the Philippines has a long history of extra-governmental and voluntary organizations. According to Caoili (2005), NGOs in the Philippines increased by 160% between 1986 and 1995. NGO groups include: “media groups, investigative journalists, artists’ circles, social weather stations, academic think tanks, trade unions, migrant workers’ alliances, women’s organizations, student councils, environmental groups, farmers’ and fishers’ associations” (p. 8). However, although this pluralism and particularism of groups act to support a healthy democratic society, it is also these qualities that undermine their effectiveness since the variety of programs and causes dilutes their collective political power (Rivera, 2011).

The concept of “civil society” is important in the discussion of NGOs, but can have varied meanings, so I use Wurfel’s (2003) definition of civil society as “all social, cultural, religious, and non-profit economic organizations outside government but operating within the framework of law” (p. 215). He asserted that while NGOs have further subdivisions, the most common understanding of a Philippine NGO is a non-stock, non-profit organization developed by groups of middle-class volunteers who must seek outside funding for their social projects.

Being “non-stock and non-profit” provides a measure of independence important and essential to the effectiveness of an NGO, and its ability to address societal problems. However, the constant search for funding, and then the struggle to remain independent once they receive funding, are problems all their own (Rivera, 2011).

Many political theorists consider NGOs to be an integral component in the democratization process for developing nations. Hooghe & Stolle (2003) asserted that these groups perform necessary functions in a democracy, such as: “1) a center of collective political resistance against capricious and oppressive government; 2) to organize people for democratic participation; and 3) socialization into the political values necessary for self-government” (as cited in Rivera, 2011, p. 191). Civil society organizations like NGOs by their very nature are characterized as contributing to inculcating democratic values. With regard to the Filipino context, Hermida (2013) concluded, “it [civil society] also instills a heightened consciousness of, and appreciation for, the obligations and rights of democratic citizenship. This view of civil society appears to be the perspective through which civil society actors in the Philippines perceive their role” (p. 41-42).

Sociocultural Context: Family, Religion, and Diverse Foreign Influences

The family is central and revered in the Filipino culture, and remains the primary unit of sociocultural relationship (Church, 1987; Quah, 2006; Woods, 2006). Elders are always treated with respect, and are guaranteed to be taken care of by their families as they get older. It is Philippine tradition to always consult one’s family before making any big decisions in life. The importance of the family, and the obligations that a Filipino has to his/her family, take precedence over every other aspect of life (Aquino, 2004; Clarke & Sison, 2003; Morillo, Capuno, & Mendoza, 2013; Thompson, 2010). In their study, Morillo, Capuno, and Mendoza

(2013) found the most common family values associated with the Filipino identity were: family-centeredness, being child-centric, having close ties characterized by reciprocity, and a large family size. The eldest male, or *Ama*, in the family is usually in control, however, the eldest female, or *Ina*, is also influential in certain ways, usually with issues regarding the household. Children are usually raised to seek advice from their family for everything, and are generally taught to be obedient, submissive, and cooperative (Claudio-Perez, 2012).

There are two linked social hierarchies in the Philippines, one related to age, and the other related to class and social standing, which I discussed in a previous section. The social hierarchy related to age implies that Filipinos are very deferential to their elders, and there are many ways in which this manifests in their social interactions (Woods, 2006). *Mano-po* is similar to hand-kissing, where a younger Filipino, usually at least 15 years younger, will ask for the hand of his/her elder, and then bow and touch his/her forehead to the elder's hand. It is believed that this practice has its roots in the influence of the Catholic priests, and the custom to kiss their ring (Karnow, 1989). *Paggalang sa matanda* means "respect for elders," and is shown by adding "po" to the end of statements, or names, by addressing someone older in the third person, deferring decisions to elders, and with the common address of either *ate* (big sister) for females, or *kuya* (big brother) for males (Claudio-Perez, 2012; Dolan, 1991).

The two official national languages are English, and "Filipino," which is based on the language of the Tagalog, one of the largest ethnic groups of the country. Although there are over 120 languages spoken in the Philippines, 90% of the population speaks one of eight languages. Among these, Tagalog and Cebuano are the most common. And although Filipino and English are the official languages, English is used in government agencies, education, and major media. Philippine laws and court decisions, with very few exceptions, are written only in English.

English is also used in religious affairs, print and broadcast media, and business. The Filipino language and the other regional languages use the same alphabet as English (CIA, 2015; Dolan, 1991; Espinosa, 1997).

Religion plays a central role in the lives of most Filipinos, who are predominantly Catholic. Due to the Spanish colonization of over 300 years, about 80% of the population is Roman Catholic. There is a smaller percentage, about 5%, of Filipinos in the Southern part of the Philippines, particularly Mindanao, who are Muslim (CIA, 2015). The original spiritual beliefs in the Philippines involved a pantheon of gods, spirits and creatures that lived in and presided over nature. Ancient legends and beliefs are still important, however, and many have been incorporated and synthesized with the major religions (Aquino, 2004; Perkinson & Mendoza, 2004). A good example of this juxtaposition of traditions is the celebration of *Fiesta*, which is celebrated on the special day of the Patron Saint for the particular community, or *barangay*. The fiesta always includes a Mass, but it is primarily a social occasion, accompanied by feasting, contests, and games (Dolan, 1991; Miller, 2012; U.S Embassy, 2012). The Catholic sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and marriage, are important in extending the family structure to a system of ritual kinship (Aquino, 2004). This means that Filipinos have an obligation not only to their immediate and extended family, but also to their *compadrazgo*, which includes people like godparents, sponsors, and the families of godparents and sponsors (Dolan, 1991; Woods, 2006). The influence of religion, especially the Catholic Church, continues into the present-day. Officials of the Catholic Church often substantially influence politics, policy, and governmental decisions (Rivera & See, 2012; Sidel, 2013).

The diverse foreign influences in the Philippines have also contributed to its cultural diversity in many ways. The food, pastimes, entertainment and leisure activities are amalgams

of a wide variety of cultural backgrounds (Woods, 2006). The naming practice in the Philippines provides an example of the prevalence of foreign and colonial influence. Due to the influence of other cultures, namely Spanish, American, and Chinese, many different surnames of these derivations exist in the Philippines. While there are some Filipinos who have native Filipino names; the vast majority of Filipinos have Spanish surnames (McGeown, 2011; Woods, 2006). Reflecting the Catholic Church's influence, many popular first names in the Philippines are of biblical origin, such as: Joshua, Christian, Angela, and Mary (Republic of the Philippines National Statistics Office, 2009). In addition, nicknames are very popular. For example, the President's full name is Benigno Simeon Cojuangco Aquino III, which reflects Spanish, Chinese, and even Hebrew influence. His nickname is "Noy noy." The President's famous father, the revolutionary who fought against the Marcos regime, Benigno Aquino, Jr. was "Ninoy." The current vice-president has a common first name—Jejomar—presumably after a shortening of Jesus Joseph Mary (McGeown, 2011; Woods, 2006).

The historical, political, socioeconomic, and cultural influences within the Philippine context are interrelated and fused together in ways that are difficult to observe separately. There is little doubt that distinct historical realities in the Philippines led to current political conditions, and in turn, political conditions have contributed to socioeconomic circumstances. Yet, distilling from the context how these influences intermix and coalesce is complicated due to the myriad other distinct local variables in a region, community, or even family. Nevertheless, social science research about how cultural factors affect other aspects of social life in the Philippines attempts to discern how these influences interact. In the next section, I discuss this intersection of contexts, with attention to what the research says about how cultural values and traits affect political ideology in the Philippines.

The Interrelationship of Culture and Politics in the Philippine Context

The way people experience the political system of their country is significantly influenced by culture, and a democratic culture is contingent upon certain political values of its citizens: tolerance, civility, efficacy, knowledge, and participation, to name only a few (Caoili, 2005). Since the Philippines has struggled with establishing strong democratic institutions (Dressel, 2011; Hutchcroft & Rocamora, 2003; Reyes, 2012; Rivera, 2011), some researchers have claimed there are Filipino cultural and social values and traits that impede the adoption of democratic dispositions and behaviors that would better encourage a strong democratic culture (Camposano, 2011; Guerrero & Tusalem, 2008; Hermida, 2013; Yu, 2005). Ironically, some also claim that the individualistic tendencies learned from the Spanish and American influence have indirectly fostered a culture of corruption and poverty (Caoili, 2005). Although space does not allow for a full discussion of it, the idea of a political culture and its effect on democracy development has a rich literature base (see Chu, Diamond, Nathan, & Chin, 2008). It is not my intent to support or refute the argument that these cultural traits are responsible for, or contribute to, a hindrance of democratic culture. My purpose is to acknowledge that some scholars, both Filipino and Western, hold the perception that promoting democratic behavior is constrained by conflicting indigenous cultural behaviors.

To illustrate this notion of cultural values impeding a democratic political culture, I discuss three indigenous social values and personality traits described as very important to Filipinos in the research literature, and considered to be fundamental to maintaining social harmony and to creating bonds between family members. There is debate over how these cultural values are interpreted by outsiders (Church & Katigbak, 2000), as well as how, or even if, these values inhibit democracy. The following sections do not encompass a comprehensive

account, but are intended to present a broad impression of these commonly referenced values and traits. I discuss the values of *utang na loob*, *pakikisama*, and *kapwa*, and how they lead to contested ideas about the impact of these cultural dispositions on the successful adoption of democracy.

Utang na loob. The first of these values is the concept of *utang na loob*, which literally translated means “a debt from the inside” (Dancel, 2012; Kaut, 1961; Quah, 2006; Woods, 2006). *Utang na loob* is often defined by Westerners as “reciprocity,” and is characterized as a system of favors asked and favors repaid. It is often described as a kind of debt that is owed to one’s parents, to God, to heroes of the nation; the kind of debt that is owed, yet is also understood to be impossible to repay (Go, 1999). On the other hand, Filipino psychologists and scholars, such as Virgilio Enriquez, have argued that *utang na loob* is closer in meaning to “gratitude” or “solidarity” (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). *Utang na loob* is not as obligatory as the word “debt” connotes, but is more akin to being a cultural element that helps bind members of a community together (Go, 1997; Paredes-Canilao, 2006; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). Although political corruption is often attributed to *utang na loob* (Kaut, 1961; Go, 1997; Wurfel, 2003), some Filipino scholars assert that it is more aptly characterized as an “ethical norm, not grounded on calculation and commerce, but on somebody’s intuitive sense of what is right” (Paredes-Canilao, 2006, p. 20).

The cultural value of *utang na loob*, when defined as ‘reciprocity,’ is often blamed for the maintenance of patronage politics (Yean, 2008). It is believed that pre-colonial patterns of leadership based on *utang na loob* led to the persistence of cultural dispositions that contribute to entrenched patronage politics. In pre-Hispanic history in the Philippines, the cultural dynamic of *datu* politics was the norm. In the past, a *datu* was a chief and leader, who often achieved his

rank as a birthright within the *Maginoo*, or aristocratic, class. *Datus* still exist today, many in the Muslim Mindanao region, and are protected by legislation like *The Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997*. However, the *datu* could also achieve his title through personal achievement, often tied to his ability to surround himself with loyal followers, and his ability to distribute goods. Both chief and villager understood that a mutual obligation, *utang na loob*, was part of their relationship. The chief would provide goods and safety, while the villager owed loyalty and allegiance.

Pakikisama. Another Filipino cultural trait often noted in the research literature is the indirect or nonverbal communication used by many Filipinos, sometimes referred to as “smooth interpersonal relations” or “SIR syndrome.” From a Western perspective, this quality can be viewed as a “dishonest” character trait (Paredes-Canilao, 2006). *Pakikisama*, has been described as “getting along with or making concessions to others” (in Church & Katigbak, 2000, citing Lynch, 1973) in order to support the theory of “smooth interpersonal relations” among Filipinos. Abueva (1976) characterizes it as an “acceptance of inequality and hierarchy and conformism [that are] valued as a way of ensuring harmony and togetherness” (p.131). Although there are numerous interpretations of the exact meaning of it, Andres, Quintin, Andres, & Ilada (1986) described the abuse of *pakikisama* as the following:

Many times, “*pakikisama*” becomes the practice of yielding to the will of the leader or to the group as to make the group’s decision unanimous. Conformity to the group’s norms is rewarded with cooperation and assistance while non-conformity is punished by withdrawal of support. Sometimes, “*pakikisama*” leads to “small-group centeredness”—the feeling and loyalty to a small primary group. Its *resulting* negative effects are “small group thinking.” (p. 42-43)

However, some scholars believe this conceptualization of *pakikisama* represents only a small fraction of its whole meaning (Leoncini, 2005), and others believe it perpetuates the Western

colonial idea that Filipinos' most natural predisposition is to avoid conflict at all costs (Mendoza & Perkinson, 2003).

It has been argued that viewing cultural traits through the “colonial gaze” (Mendoza & Perkinson, 2003), creates the negative perception of a Filipino culture characterized by the self-serving, obligation-bound, value of *utang na loob*, and the “smooth interpersonal relations” desire misattributed to *pakikisama* where the avoidance of conflict is paramount. These surface values are posed as possible cultural reasons for the challenges to democracy in the Philippines (Kaut, 1961; Camposano, 2011). However, many Filipino scholars argue that the core values of the Filipino personality have been misinterpreted (Paredes-Canilao, 2006; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). Macdonald (2013) states that “the pakikisama strategy is then a subtle game of positioning oneself in a strict relation of equality with one’s partners while respecting the overall social hierarchy” (p. 424); Macdonald also argues that this quality became counterproductive within the highly unequal social structure of the Spanish colonial period.

Kapwa. Virgilio Enriquez, a social psychologist, first attempted to analyze personality traits in Philippine culture from an indigenous perspective. He found *kapwa* to be the core psychological value of Filipinos (Aquino, 2004; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). *Kapwa* is “a ‘reciprocal being’ between self and other secured only in give-and-take over time between the parties involved” (Mendoza & Perkinson, 2003, p. 277). This shared identity of *kapwa* is viewed by Filipino scholars as the core Filipino cultural value and “the norm for interdependent relationships; that each one be treated fairly as human equals despite different social and economic status” (Paredes-Canilao, 2006, p. 19).

Kapwa is a relevant trait within the realm of politics because it expresses the recognition of shared identity between politician and voter. According to Schaffer (2008), the poorer classes

evaluate Filipino politicians by whether or not a political candidate recognized their mutual *kapwa*. For example, if a candidate offers to pay for the funeral costs of a poor villager, the poor see this as respectful, not as ‘vote-buying’ if they then vote for that candidate. Many of the poor in Schaffer’s study resented the mainly middle-class idea that candidates bought votes from the poor. For them, voting for a candidate who was considerate and generous with money was a natural expression of *kapwa*: “In terms of electoral politics, this moral calculus leads many voters to choose candidates whom they perceive to be caring, kind, and helpful, candidates who respect their *kapwa*—their fellow human beings—especially those who are poor” (p. 137).

These distinct cultural elements of *utang na loob*, *pakikisama*, the “SIR complex,” and *kapwa*, are important because they are often indirectly and directly referred to in discussions of democracy consolidation and success in the Philippines. Go (1999) asserted that within the Philippines, through these qualities of egalitarianism, mutual exchange, and family focus, a kind of ‘moral economy’ emerges that Westerners might have trouble understanding. There are also many scholarly perspectives regarding these traits in academic literature which take a more critical stance, as in Mendoza & Perkinson’s (2003) critical assessment:

Tragically, to this day, unsuspecting neo-colonial elites in the Philippine government continue to buy into this myth of a ‘counter-productive’ culture even as the question is repeatedly, consistently posed in policy decision-making, ‘what is really wrong with us?’ (cf. Licuanan, et al., 1988; Maggay, 1993), by implication faulting the indigenous culture rather than the savage violence of more than four centuries of protracted colonial and neo-colonial domination. (p.286)

Again, my intent is not to support or refute the argument that these cultural traits are responsible for, or contribute to, a hindrance of democratic culture. My purpose is to acknowledge that there is debate within the cultural social science literature, where some scholars hold the perception that promoting democratic behavior is constrained by conflicting

indigenous cultural behaviors. This background knowledge contributes to a better understanding of the study's research findings in Chapter 5.

I now turn to a discussion of the educational context of the Philippines. Although the educational context within the Philippines derives its influences from a variety of sources, a primary influence has been the United States. Due to its colonial history with the U.S., the Philippine educational system has similar structure, content, and style as the U.S. educational system. The formal educational system has undergone many reforms since its inception, often influenced by global reform trends and practices.

Educational Context

Education is of very high importance to Filipinos. Aside from the intrinsic importance Filipinos place on education, it is also seen as a social enhancement that will undoubtedly raise one's social status (Miralao, 2004; Woods, 2006). As discussed earlier, an American-inspired educational system was enacted back at the turn of the twentieth century, shortly after the end of the Philippine-American War, and at the beginning of the U.S. colonization (Claudio-Perez, 2012; Dolan, 1991; Karnow, 1989; Valenzuela, 2010; Wong, 1991). The U.S. officials focused on implementing a public education system. According to the U.S. Department of State, U.S. officials "concentrated on the creation of such practical supports for democratic government as public education, public infrastructure, and a sound legal system. The legacy of the *Thomasites*—American teachers who came to the Philippines starting in 1901 and created the tradition of a strong public education system—continues to resonate today" (U.S. Department of State, 2012). This early American influence on education, as well as the importance Filipinos place on education is reflected in the high literacy rates in the Philippines—94.2% for adults, and 98.8% for youth (UNESCO, 2010).

The administration of the educational system is highly centralized, despite recent attempts to decentralize (Chao, 2012; de Guzman, 2006). The Department of Education (DepEd) is the principal government agency in charge of education and manpower development, and is divided into three main bureaus: the Bureau of Elementary Education (BEE), the Bureau of Secondary Education (BSE), and the Bureau of Nonformal Education (BNFE) (DepEd, n.d.; UNESCO, 2010/11). There is also a Commission of Higher Education (CHED) that is independent of the DepEd. The Philippines has a fairly large private school system, where 15% of elementary schools are private, and 40% of secondary schools are privately operated. These private schools must still follow the DepEd mandates. Until the recent structural reforms begun in 2010, students entered the formal school system in the first grade, and graduated from secondary school after the completion of the tenth grade, and at the approximate age of 16 (see Figure 4.1).

In 1991, the Philippines committed to the *Education For All* goals developed by UNESCO which were to be achieved by 2015 (de Guzman, 2006). They also reconfirmed the commitment for universal primary education in 2000 as part of the *Millennium Development Goals* (UNESCO, 2010/11). Unfortunately, the Philippines is not on track to achieve these goals by 2015 (Diokno, 2010). As Diokno (2010) points out, while the quality of primary education in the Philippines has recently slipped, the other Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have shown increases in their quality indicators. The Philippines agreed to participate in both the 1999 and 2003 Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS). In 2003, it ranked 34th out of 38 countries in high school math, and 43rd out of 46 countries in high school

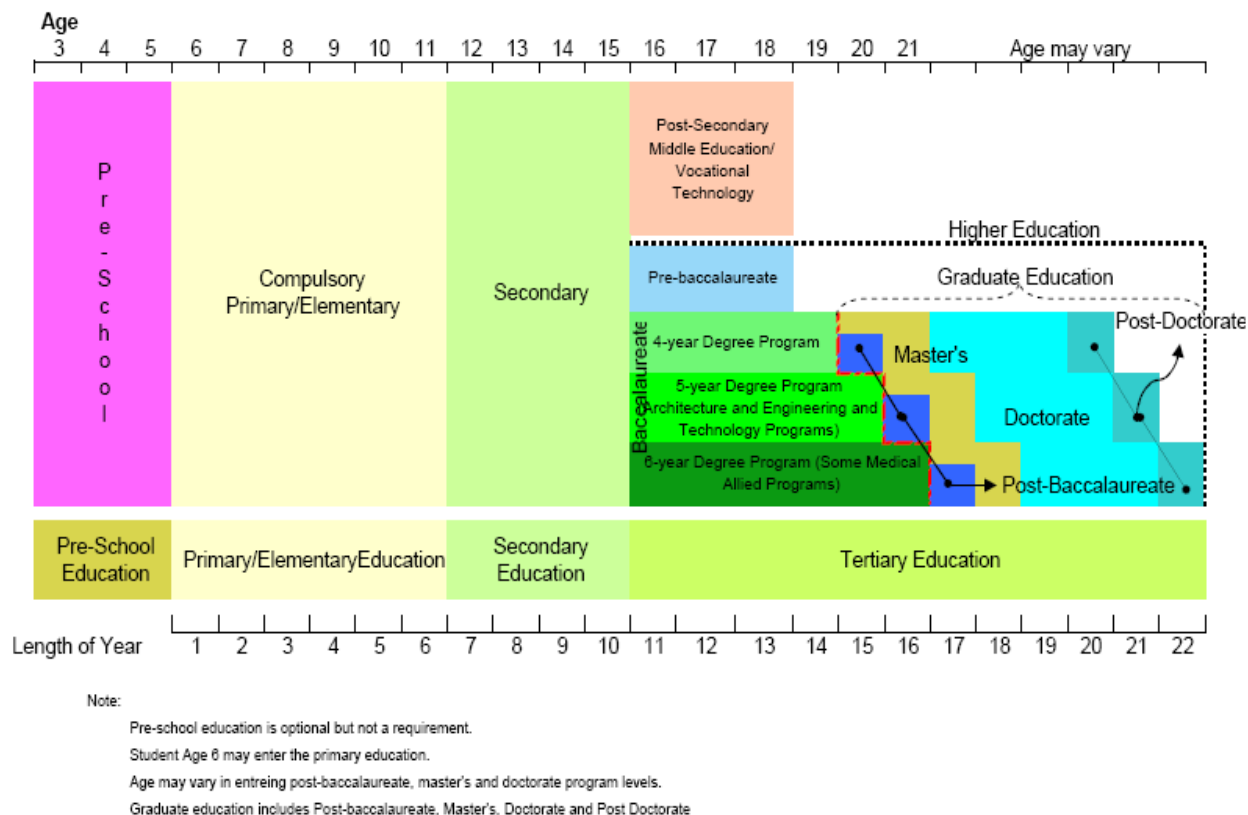


Figure 4.1 Philippine School System Structure Including Tertiary Education (pre-2010 reform of K+12 model)

Source: UNESCO, International Bureau of Education. (2010/11). *Philippines*. World Data on Education, VII Ed.

science. In 2008, although only the students who attended science high schools were permitted to participate in the advanced math category for that year's TIMSS, the Philippines still ranked in last place (IEA, 1999; UNESCO, 2010/11).

Several significant studies undertaken in the last twenty or so years, have contributed to the restructuring, and reorganization of the curriculum and delivery of education in the Philippines (Chao, 2012; de Guzman, 2006; Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003; Miralao, 2004). These studies included two national studies conducted by the government in the Philippines, the Congressional Committee on Education (EDCOM) report of 1991, and the Presidential Commission on Educational Reform (PCER) of 2000. Also included was the Philippine Human Development Report (PHDR) of 2000, which had education as its theme that year, and was

conducted by a non-governmental organization. One external evaluation was also commissioned by the Philippine government, but conducted by the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, called the Philippines Education Sector Study (PESS) of 1998, (Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003; Miralao, 2004). All of these reports found that the Philippine educational system was inadequate in many ways. They all reported a concern for the state of the educational system and its inadequate resources, teacher related issues and shortages, lack of facilities, as well as issues of equity and quality (Miralao, 2004).

Needless to say, these various reports, as well as the poor showings on the international tests, persuaded legislators that the Philippine educational system needed to be reformed (de los Reyes, 2013). The DepEd decided to reorganize its curriculum in 2002, calling it the *Basic Education Curriculum* (BEC). This restructuring was intended to “decongest” the curriculum by regrouping the subjects into only five areas: Filipino, English, Science, Math, and *Makabayan*. The goal of *Makabayan* (translation—*nationalism* or *patriotism*) was to help students develop a healthy personal and national self-identity (DepEd, 2010; Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003). However, it became a catchall category for social studies, civics and culture, home economics, health, music, arts, PE, values education, and “right conduct” (UNESCO, 2010/11). It was hoped that decongesting the curriculum would increase students’ capabilities for “lifelong learning skills” (Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003).

Distinct neoliberal themes became apparent with the BEC’s focus on “vocational efficiency” and “politico-economic literacy” (Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003). In addition, former President Macapagal-Arroyo stressed that the new focus on Math, Science, and English would help the Philippines produce students who would be able to compete in an era of globalization. The BEC was considered a more refined curriculum with several key components: (a) fewer

learning areas or subjects, (b) better integration of competencies within and across these learning areas, and (c) more time for mastery of the competencies and topics (Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003).

The Marginalization of Civic Education

The new subject of Makabayan (*nationalism or patriotism*), was designed to further the citizenship competencies of learners by aspiring to “develop the personal, social and work special skills of learners especially their interpersonal skills, empathy with other cultures, vocational efficiency, problem-solving, and decision-making in daily life, that is, to develop socio-cultural and politico-economic literacy” (Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003, p. 13). As stated earlier, Makabayan is conceived as an interdisciplinary subject that incorporates social studies, civics and culture, home economics, health, music, arts, PE, and values education (UNESCO, 2010/11). Ostensibly, the overarching principle tying all of these competencies together is “love of country,” and it is supposed to “promote a constructive or healthy patriotism, which is neither hostile nor isolationist towards other nations, and is appreciative of global interdependence” (Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003).

Since the BEC is supposed to be integrative, interdisciplinary and interactive, new modes of teaching and planning were stressed, such as: content-based instruction, thematic teaching, inquiry based learning, a competency-based model (meaning standards-based), team teaching, and interdisciplinary planning. Although all five areas of the BEC are to be taught in this manner, the Makabayan subject area was supposed to be the most integrative, interactive, and experiential. The condensed nature of the Makabayan curriculum, especially with regard to the social studies components of civics, geography, and history, is problematic if one of its main goals is citizenship development. A strong foundation in all of these topics is necessary for a

successful citizenship education, however, in practice it has been shown that many teachers do not have expertise in all of these subjects, nor do they have the appropriate training to make this goal a reality (Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003; PCCED. 2008).

Some organizations disagreed with the implementation of the BEC; these included the Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT), the Manila and Quezon City Public School Teachers' Associations, and the National Union of Students. Primarily, their objection to the new curriculum was that it was geared toward producing cheap laborers for the world market, instead of productive citizens prepared to support the development of the Philippines (ACT, 2007). As part of their argument against the implementation of the BEC, they offered several reasons: procedural objections, teacher training that was inadequate, content objections, and the reduction of the teaching time allotted to history (Macaraeg, 2010; Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003). If the goal of Makabayan was to help develop patriotic Filipinos with a strong sense of national pride, then reducing the time allotted to history seemed to many to be counterproductive.

The implementation of the BEC encountered many problems. A study by Waters and Vilches (2008), examined in detail some of these difficulties. First, they found that teachers were not adequately prepared to change their delivery of the curriculum. In the guidelines for the BEC, it is stated that "the ideal teacher for the interactive curriculum is not the authoritarian instructor but the trustworthy facilitator or manager of the learning process...she enables learners to become active constructors of knowledge and not passive recipients of information" (DepEd, undated, p. 9, as quoted in Waters & Vilches, 2008, p. 7). However, a third year follow-up evaluation of the BEC found that little had changed in the manner of instruction in the schools; the teachers still relied heavily on the textbook, and the lessons were still traditionally conducted with the teacher as the authoritative figure. In addition, Waters & Vilches also found that

although the teachers were generally willing to implement the new curriculum, they had little ability to do so due to lack of training. Most of them had little knowledge of the theoretical concepts associated with constructivism, although this theory is part of the basis for the BEC. Still one more issue pointed out by this review was that the limited English proficiency of the students often interfered with critical discussions. The students simply lacked the ability to discuss issues at the level required by the BEC because they did not have enough expertise in English to do so (Mendoza & Nakayama, 2003; PCCED, 2008). The problem of lack of expertise in English is a recurring theme in the literature, and one that several authors have identified as a common problem for Filipinos in general. Some researchers argued that due to bilingual language policies, Filipinos lack proficiency in both their native tongue and in English so that they are left with no venue to think through issues critically, nor the conduit to truly express themselves (Camicia & Franklin, 2011; Constantino, 1970).

Building upon the foundation of the Basic Education Curriculum initiatives, new legislation led by President Aquino, tasked the DepEd with increasing the current schooling structure to a K-12 structure, lengthening the overall time in school from ten years to thirteen years (Calleja, 2012; Dalangin-Fernandez, 2012). Beginning with the 2012-2013 school year, the students entered the schooling process in a newly added Kindergarten, and will exit after two additional years are subsequently added to the Senior High School (see Figure 4.2). With the move to the new K+12 cycle (when spoken, “K to 12”), students now enter school at about the age of five, and then attend 7 years of elementary, four years of junior high school, and two years of senior high school. The goal is to add the extra two years of high school by the 2016 school year. Along with basic educational goals, the DepEd has also stressed the importance of achieving socioeconomic development through other means, such as nonformal education, and

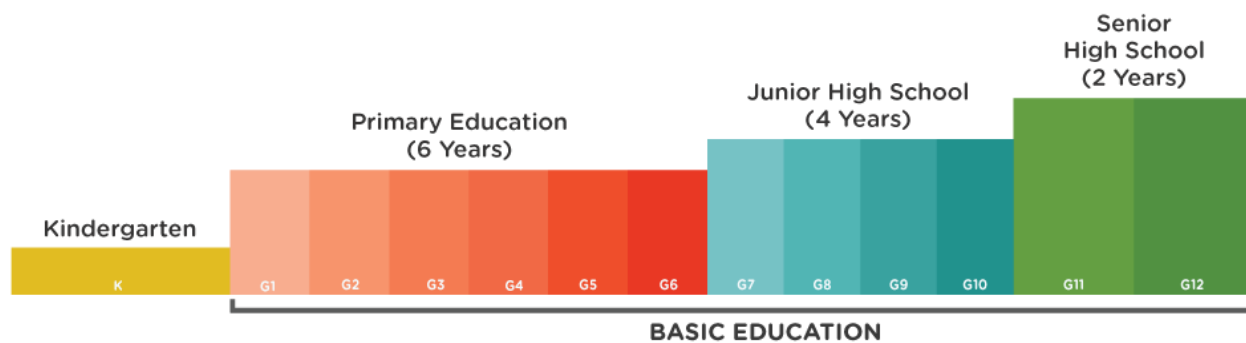


Figure 4.2 New Philippine Structure of Primary and Secondary Education (2012)
 Source: Department of Education, Republic of the Philippines. (n.d.). *The K to 12 basic education program*.

vocational training in order to meet the demands of globalization and producing a skilled workforce (de Guzman, 2006; de los Reyes, 2013; DepEd, 2010).

Since the K+12 basic education program was a 2010 campaign goal of President Aquino (Diokno, 2010), the DepEd was heavily encouraged to speed its implementation along. The rationale provided by the DepEd (2010) for the move to the K+12 format for the Philippine school system had several elements. First, it was argued that the ten-year cycle school system was too short to be competitive worldwide. Many of the Philippines' fifteen- to sixteen-year-old graduates were considered too young to enter college in other countries, and they were also considered too young to go into the work world as well. Secondly, the new school cycle was advocated as a step to improving quality for the school system since it would essentially stretch out the curriculum and allow students more time to achieve mastery over the curriculum. Another important component in the decision to move to the K+12 system was the Philippines' poor ranking on international assessments, such as the TIMSS, and poor scores on national assessments, as well (de los Reyes, 2013; DepEd, 2010).

The move to the K+12 system has also been influenced by the increasing economic benefits that the overseas foreign workers (OFWs) provide. According to de los Reyes (2013), the governmental reliance on OFW remittances precipitated the change to the K+12 curriculum. The new K+12 program “professionalizes caregiving, construction, welding, and housekeeping in order to ensure that the Filipino migrant worker is at the peak of quality work, and it also adds two more years in order to make the education of Filipinos equivalent to their would be host countries” (p. 559).

Unfortunately, the K+12 basic education program has had a problematic start. Although the DepEd (2010) insisted that the new K+12 program would “be pursued mindful of the need to address the input shortages—teachers, classrooms, desks, water & sanitation, and quality textbooks” (p.10) (see Figure 4.3), being “mindful” has not prevented the reality of massive shortages throughout the country, in both urban and rural areas (Calleja, 2012; Cueto, 2010; Raymundo, 2012). The biggest problem has been that shortages already existed throughout the country before the implementation of the K+12 program. As a developing country, the Philippine DepEd exists on what even education officials have called a “survival budget” (Dalangin-Fernandez, 2012), and this is just a reflection of the larger economic picture for the country which essentially “operates under conditions of extreme scarcity” (Reyes, 2009a, citing Quah, 1987).

Some researchers doubted the rationale that a longer school cycle will equal higher gains on the TIMSS. Raymundo (2012) observed that there are other countries (e.g. Russia, Egypt, Iran and Italy, etc.) with shorter cycles than the Philippines who still performed better on the TIMSS. In a similar vein, Dalangin-Fernandez (2012) explained that Singapore and South Korea both have shorter school cycles than the U.S., yet still rank higher. Unsurprisingly, many critics

RESOURCE	2010 SHORTAGE	2010-MID 2012 ACCOMPLISHMENT	2012 ALLOCATION (to address shortages)	2013 PROPOSED ACTION/STATUS
Classrooms	66,800	23,646	31,610	17,939 programmed for 2013
Teacher Items	148,827	29,261	16,000	61,500 programmed for 2013 (less 45k LGU funded)
Water and Sanitation	135,847	29,243	25,667	90,461 programmed for 2013
Textbooks	60 MILLION	52.7 MILLION	7.3 MILLION	31 Million additional learning materials
Seats	2.5 MILLION	1.3 MILLION	1.5 MILLION	907,524 new seats

NO SHORTAGES BY THE END OF 2013

Figure 4.3 Achievement and Plans for the K-12 Implementation (2012)

Source: Department of Education, Philippines. (n.d.). *The K to 12 basic education program*.

of the new program have lambasted the implementation of the new program as premature, shortsighted, and imprudent (Dalangin-Fernandez, 2012; de Guzman et al., 2005; Diokno, 2010; Raymundo, 2012).

Most critics of the latest K+12 innovation agree that the school ladder should be lengthened; they recognize that the Philippines needs to have future goals for improvement. That being said, the critics believe that the many important and more immediate issues facing the school system must first be resolved (Dalangin-Fernandez, 2012; de Guzman et al., 2005; Diokno, 2010; Raymundo, 2012). As already stated, there are significant shortages of: teachers, textbooks, resources, classrooms, and facilities (Miralao, 2004). The Philippine budget currently allots 2.6 percent of its GDP to education, yet many Filipino authorities argue that the minimum needed to fund the new K+12 initiative is no less than a full percentage point above that amount

(Raymundo, 2012). Regardless, the program was approved by Congress and made into a reality. To these critics, national policymakers seem more concerned with appearing to be globally competitive, than with resolving more pertinent internal issues (Makinde, 2005; Napier, 2009).

At the practice level, teachers are now faced with additional problems. The already significant infrastructural, institutional, and instructional troubles affecting the daily lives of teachers before the new K+12 program began have now intensified (Dalangin-Fernandez, 2012; de Guzman et al., 2005; Diokno, 2010; Raymundo, 2012). Since the BEC had been implemented less than a decade before, many believe that it had not had enough time to work out its glitches, and many teachers were still trying to adjust to that new reform. The teacher to student ratio in the Philippines is the highest in Southeast Asia (Raymundo, 2012; Waters & Vilches, 2008), and in some reports it is as high as 37-50 students per class even in Kindergarten (Arellano, Barcenal, Bilbao, Castellano, Nichols, & Tippins, 2001). Another problem is the new curriculum requires an overhaul of each of the existing grades' curricula, in every subject, in addition to the two entirely new curriculums that must be devised for the two new senior high school years. For the 2012-2013 school year, a new curriculum was required for the first grade and the seventh grade, since those grades will be the first ones to receive the new K+12 experience. Yet, many teachers did not receive the new curriculum and instructional materials they needed before the school year began. Some teachers in Cebu had to start off the year holding class outside, since the school building commissioned by the DepEd had still not been finished by school's opening (Dalangin-Fernandez, 2012). As Diokno (2010) asserted, K+12 is a great long-term plan, however, it "should not have been attempted until a sizable, stable funding source [had] been identified" (p. 262).

Other Educational Reform Initiatives

It should be noted that there are examples of smaller-scale policy initiatives implemented in the Philippines over the few decades (Arellano et al., 2001; de Guzman, 2006; Nebres, 2009). Among these are School Based Management (SBM) initiatives that have been attempted in various guises, with varying impact (de Guzman, 2006; Khattri, Ling, & Jha, 2012). The Third Elementary Education Project (TEEP) of 1996 is an example of one of these SBMs. The TEEP was intended to assist the 22 poorest provinces in the Philippines, while the Secondary Education Development and Improvement Project (SEDIP) was intended to help other underserved populations with a grassroots, bottom-up approach to management (de Guzman, 2006). The SEDIP gave authority to the provincial education division offices for planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating. Both of these programs have claimed some success. An Adopt-A-School project called on the local business sector and other private, non-governmental funding agencies to partner with particular schools to address the problems of shortages of textbooks, desks, and classrooms (Reyes, 2009b). These kinds of partnerships with the local private sector are a current trend in the developing world (King & Orazem, 1999). One last initiative is the Program in Basic Education (PROBE); this program was implemented by AUSAid of Australia to help engage and train teachers, and also to provide them with important support through curriculum, learning, and instructional materials to aid their teaching. This program increased student average test scores significantly in all of its categories, however with the best category improvements in high school English (Reyes, 2009b). Reyes insists that PROBE's greatest strength was that it provided essential teaching materials for classroom teaching.

According to Tupas (2003), "the crux of the educational problem in the country is the wide gap between the structure and content of education and the social realities of the majority of

the people” (referring to Canieso-Doronila, 1998). Although many large-scale attempts have been made to improve the school system in the Philippines, the persistent and longstanding problems of poverty, unemployment, and insufficient infrastructure in the nation seem to interfere with the successful implementation of reform. The school system is also subject to many competing goals and objectives of both international and national origin.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented an in-depth summary of relevant background information about the Philippine context. In order to accurately address and explain the findings related to this study’s research questions, the historical, political, socioeconomic, cultural, and educational contexts must be explored. This in depth country profile provided the necessary background knowledge for a more nuanced understanding of how Project Citizen was implemented and adapted to the Philippine context discussed in Chapter 5. This information will also contribute to a better understanding of the Chapter 6 findings. With this complicated mix of contexts as background, for Chapter 5 I now turn to a discussion of the implementation of Project Citizen, a grassroots initiative promoted by a small Manila-based NGO called the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy, or PCCED.

CHAPTER 5

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROJECT CITIZEN WITHIN THE PHILIPPINE CONTEXT

There is a difference between the program as it exists in the United States, and the program as we are trying to implement here in the Philippines. I think one reason for our sensitivity to that, was that...in the civic education that we would offer to teachers and students...we saw that we had to focus on values and attitudes, especially. Because, these were many often times...these were simply not there...and not there because democracy is barely over a hundred years old in the Philippines. So you could say it's just five generations. So...we saw that need of adapting Project Citizen to the Philippine situation. (Dr. Diego, PCCED member, personal communication, June 18, 2013)

As elaborated in Dr. Diego's quote, members of PCCED felt that Project Citizen was a good fit for the Philippine context due to the curriculum's attention to encouraging behavior, attitudes, and values consistent with democracy. Project Citizen is a project-based curriculum program originally developed in the U.S. by the Center for Civic Education (CCE), a non-profit organization dedicated to promoting democratic principles through civic education. The U.S. Project Citizen program targets middle school and high school students, and promotes "competent and responsible participation with government at all levels" and "helps participants learn how to monitor and influence public policy while developing support for democratic values and principles, tolerance, and feelings of political efficacy"(Center for Civic Education, 2014).

In this chapter, I address and discuss the following research questions: *What is the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy, and how did it come about? How is the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy structured, how does it function, and what is its relationship to the Philippine Department of Education? How has Project Citizen*

been adapted specifically for the Philippines? And, how is Project Citizen implemented? The in-depth country profile presented in Chapter 4 provided the necessary background knowledge for understanding how Project Citizen was implemented and adapted to the Philippine context. As part of this examination, I describe how and why the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy came into existence as a non-governmental organization committed to developing democratic knowledge, skills, and behavior in young Filipino citizens. First I provide a general overview of the Project Citizen endeavor in the Philippines. Second, I present a summary of the Project Citizen curriculum. Third, I describe the national implementation of Project Citizen, followed by a description of the local implementation. Lastly, I provide a detailed discussion of the organization of the Project Citizen program including all phases of its implementation from the local to the national levels including: training sessions, logistics, adaptation, and evaluation.

Project Citizen Overview

By implementing Project Citizen in the Philippines, the PCCED is able to promote its overall goals. It advertises itself with the following statement: “the PCCED is a non-stock, non-profit organization dedicated to the effective promotion of good citizenship and participatory democracy through education. By ‘good citizenship’ we mean a reasoned commitment to fundamental democratic values and principles manifested in an active engagement in civic life” (PCCED, 2013). Their primary goal is to “develop content, methods and strategies for the teaching of civic education” (PCCED, 2013). Although unofficial forms of Project Citizen were implemented as early as 2004, the first official run for PC was enacted in the public schools in the 2007-2008 school year.

In the Philippines, the PCCED implements the PC program with general fidelity to the original program’s ideals, structure, content, and spirit. Except for changing the curriculum

materials to match the Filipino government structure and context, PC is carried out in the Philippines in much the same manner as the U.S. version. However, there are two important differences in how PC is implemented in the Philippines. One occurs at the school level, and the other at the national level. First, unlike in the U.S., the PC curriculum is implemented outside of school hours as an after school, holiday, and weekend program. Since PC has not been officially adopted by the DepEd and is therefore not considered part of the formal curriculum, it must be put into practice as an enrichment type of activity.

The other major difference in how PC is implemented in the Philippines occurs at the national level. While a “showcase,” or formal public hearing of the various projects, is commonplace in the U.S., in the Philippines the showcase is an opportunity not only to be recognized, but also to win valuable prizes. At the preliminary regional showcases, the regional final showcases, and the national showcase, items such as computers, computer class scholarships, printers, fax machines, and LCD projectors are awarded to the schools of the highest evaluated team projects.

The Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy

The story of *Project Citizen* in the Philippines began in the early 2000s when a university professor in the Philippines assigned a simplified version of the program to students in his Philippine Government class. His inspiration for this assignment came from a conference he attended in another Southeast Asian country, where he observed *Project Citizen* presentations. The abridged assignment merely required his students to identify a community problem, and propose a solution. Soon, others in his department also employed this assignment. Eventually, the Center for Civic Education in the U.S., originators of *Project Citizen*, heard about the Filipino adoption and offered a formal training session at their Southern California headquarters.

One outcome of this training experience in the U.S. was the birth of the non-governmental organization the *Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy* in 2007.

The *Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy* (PCCED) operates as a non-governmental organization (NGO), with a board of trustees, an executive director, program managers, and administrative employees. The nine person board of trustees is comprised of five members and four officers: Chairman, Vice-chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer. The executive director, hired by the board of trustees, is charged with the overall management of the organizations activities and programs. The executive director hires all personnel, including project managers, assistant project managers, project officers, and administrative assistants in the national office. There are three small field offices, where program managers can work closer to the provinces where the various projects are carried out. The PCCED also maintains a network of volunteers from a variety of professional backgrounds as consultants (e.g. professors, instructors, business people, attorneys, etc.).

The PCCED conducts five core programs: Participatory Budgeting (PB), the Barangay Rule of Law Seminars (BRLS), Civic Education Training Seminars (CETS), Democracy Camp, and Project Citizen (PC) (see Figure 5.1). The funding for these programs is provided by a wide array of partner organizations and sponsors. The PCCED continues to implement the *Project Citizen* curriculum through the school system of the Philippines in an effort to instill democratic knowledge, skills, and dispositions in young people. Their ultimate goal is to strengthen participatory democracy for the overall improvement of the Philippine nation.



Figure 5.1 Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy headquarters main office. Posters advertising their five main programs.

Project Citizen Curriculum

The knowledge, skills, and values advanced through the PC curriculum are a result of the important mix of content and process. Since the PCCED's main goal with PC was to help promote and cultivate participatory democracy through civic awareness and engagement, the PC process is as important as the PC curriculum content. PC student participant Emilio's statement below revealed the appreciation students gain from the non-traditional format of the program:

Unlike the traditional classroom setting wherein acquiring of knowledge is confined within the four walls of the classroom and dominated primarily by teacher and textbook, this program allowed us to develop a deeper understanding of [the] Philippine Political System, principles, and concept of democracy and justice. (Emilio, PC participant reflection paper)

This importance is also reflected in the description of Project Citizen provided by *Civitas*, the international branch of the CCE. *Civitas* promotes *Project Citizen* as “a broad-based curriculum that provides youth and adults with the knowledge and skills required to monitor and influence

public policy. Participants develop support for democratic principles, and values and feelings of political efficacy” (Civitas, 2013, p. 5). For the PC process, students perform the following basic activities: students, 1) select a significant problem confronting the local community, 2) conduct research about it, 3) analyze the information discovered, 4) propose solutions, 5) present findings and results to an audience, and 6) reflect on their experience. The effective combination of content and process was exhibited in PC student participant Star’s reflection statement:

In order to describe our chosen problem, we were trained how to employ several research methods. We utilized surveys, interviews, inventory of public documents, and review of related literature. After we gathered our data we prepared manuscripts and tables to easily analyze the information collected. Further, I learned how to present, interpret and analyze information and data in a more logical sequence. Undergoing the research process helps me to develop positive traits and attitudes useful in my studies and in my participation in community life. I began to develop confidence in communicating with different types of people, persuasiveness in getting an interview, assertiveness in accomplishing tedious work, and critical-mindedness in analyzing research data.

As Star’s statement above explained, the Project Citizen process allows students to not only learn democratic knowledge and principles, but it also allows students to practice democratic skills, and develop political self-efficacy.

Since process is as important as content in the Project Citizen program, allowing both teachers and students to choose whether or not to participate is an often cited positive component of the program. Teaching about democracy through democratic means surfaced in some of the statements from PCCED members and participants. As PC alumni Cruz explained:

I think it is very essential, the voluntary aspect of it, because the essence of democracy involves volunteerism, right? That we have to really act on our own free will. That we are free to participate whenever we want, and if we are forced to participate in something there’s a real chance they won’t take things seriously if we’re forced into something. And democracy doesn’t promote that. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

PCCED members and participants often contrasted Project Citizen with The National Service Training Program (NSTP), which is a mandatory government service for all college students. Male and female college students in both vocational programs, and traditional colleges, can choose to perform their two semesters of mandatory service in one of three areas: military, civic welfare, or literacy instruction. The military service requirement is similar to the U.S. *Reserve Officers' Training Corps*, or ROTC program. The other two choices require students to volunteer in communities either teaching literacy, or assisting in social welfare services (Magno, 2010; Republic Act No. 9163, 2002). The NSTP program came up on several occasions in the interviews, usually in relation to the programs' mandatory feature. PCCED employee Anita contrasted the PC program's voluntary aspect with the obligatory nature of NSTP, and implied that the mandatory aspect of the program detracts from its appeal and effectiveness:

I think it [NSTP] is for an obligatory thing, you have to complete that so that you can get out of school. Unlike in Project Citizen; it's your own free reign. I mean, you really want to participate. That's why, but in NSTP they, it's more of a, 'you have to do this or else you wouldn't graduate.' (personal communication, June 11, 2013)

PCCED member Rick also mentioned the NSTP in his interview. He asserted that although he believes it is a decent program, it is not a sufficient form of citizenship education:

But look what happened, you have students doing NSTP by helping cleaning up and dredging the canals, sweeping the streets, which is not bad. But that's a myopic view of what citizenship is. And there's no ...what do you call this...there's no reflection sessions, you know. (personal communication, June 19, 2013)

The importance of the voluntary aspect of the program was also highlighted in students' reflection paper essays. PC student participants expressed that even though the process was difficult and time-consuming, they recognized the importance of the process. Students took ownership of the sacrifices they were making, and they received encouragement from other

teammates, who had also volunteered for the program. As PC student participant Marguerite expressed in her reflection paper:

As we accomplish and complete the requirements of this program, I learn how to balance my time between my academics and my tasks in Project Citizen...In times of difficulties, my group mates became my source of courage because I observed their undying passion to this civic education program...Honestly, Project Citizen is not a walk in the park for us. It was really difficult and stressful. But I believe that experiencing this helps a person to become better.

Similarly, in PC student participant Jose's reflection paper the voluntary nature of the program was highlighted. Jose implied that he accepted the difficulties because unlike a mandatory assignment, he challenged himself to join the program:

At first I was very hesitant to join the Project Citizen because I knew the difficulties experienced by my classmates who were members of this program last year. However, I became very curious about this program because despite the difficulties my classmates encountered in the program they remained to be committed and passionate with this civic education program. Because of this I challenged myself to join this program to eventually see for myself the reasons why my classmates are still engaging in this endeavor...Now, I know the reason why my classmates stay in the program. They stayed because this is a program that is not limited in theoretical ideas. This is a program that allows its students to experience the actual process and be exposed in the reality of the society. (Jose, reflection essay, Project Citizen 2010)

One of the strengths of the Project Citizen curriculum is its focus on content and process. The democratic and voluntary nature of the curriculum is deemed an important positive aspect of PC by many participating students, teachers, and PCCED members.

In 2007, the PCCED was granted licensing permission from the U.S. Center for Civic Education and was given a \$10,000 grant to create PC textbooks for the Philippines based on the United States texts. The changes made to the content were in adapting it to the Philippine context and government, and a few minor structural changes in the method (e.g. some steps in the process were expanded into two steps instead of one; see Table 5.1). However, no significant

Table 5.1

Comparison of Project Citizen Textbook Table of Contents

<u>Project Citizen—Philippines</u>		<u>Project Citizen—United States</u>	
Step 1	Introduction to Project Citizen	Chapter 1—Introduction to Project Citizen	
Step 2	Understanding Public Policy	Chapter 2—An Introduction to Public Policy	
Step 3	Identifying Problems	Chapter 3—The Project Citizen Process	
Step 4	Selecting a Problem for Study	Step 1	Identifying Problems to be Dealt with by Public Policy
Step 5	Research and Data-Gathering	Step 2	Selecting a Problem or Problems for Your Class to Study
Step 6	Organizing Information	Step 3	Gathering Information of the Problem You Will Study
Step 7	Crafting a Policy Solution	Step 4	Developing a Portfolio to Present Your Research
Step 8	Developing an Action Plan	Step 5	Presenting Your Portfolio in a Simulated Public Hearing
Step 9	Developing a Portfolio	Step 6	Reflecting on Your Experience
Step 10	Presenting the Portfolio	Chapter 4—Why is Citizen Participation Important to Democracy?	
Step 11	Reflecting on the Experience		
Step 12	Participating in Democracy		

substantive changes to the content or process were made. Often, whole sections from the original text were used verbatim in the adapted text. PCCED member Maria explains this adaptation from the U.S. materials: “We patterned it [Philippine PC] after our partner in the United States, CCE, that the good civic education program should have three components—civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions. And I think how we structure our programs are very conscious of that” (personal communication, June 18, 2013).

Some examples of topics for projects in the Philippines include: childhood malnutrition, overcrowding in high schools, unfair pedicab practices, illegal mining practices, reducing plastic waste, combating Dengue (a tropical mosquito-borne virus) and pedestrian safety. In the U.S., common topics include: battling obesity, saving the wetlands, gun control, recycling, addressing bullying in schools, and distracted driving. Although not a requirement, many proposals have

been adopted by the Barangays, and/or local governments. PCCED employee Maria explained some of the success stories:

There are some success stories in terms of having their policies adopted by the Barangay. Like in Muntinlupa, they have a ban on plastics that started from Project Citizen. In Merikina, they have a ban on fraternities recruiting people under the age of eighteen. It's also from Project Citizen. There are several stories like that, although they are not the point of Project Citizen to get their policies passed. We consider that a bonus. (Maria, PCCED member, personal communication, June 18, 2013)

As Maria explained, there have been many PC projects that have been presented to local Barangays, which have subsequently been passed as local ordinances and then implemented within the local communities.

Project Citizen: National Implementation and Creating Partnerships

Although the PC program has not been officially adopted nor mandated by the national DepEd, it has been encouraged and advertised through departmental memos and advisories sent out to the teachers. The advisories explain that the teachers are allowed to participate in the program as an after-school enrichment activity. PC's reach, as far as number of students, schools, and teachers, has grown steadily since its inception. For example, in the 2010-2011 run, 205 teacher-moderators were trained, 77 schools participated, and 1,520 students presented at one or more of 15 showcases (see Table 5.2). All of this was accomplished on a relatively small budget. For example, the entire budget for the 2010-2011 run which included training sessions, coordination meetings, prizes, materials, salaries, transportation costs, and more, was approximately \$40,000 USD.

In the beginning, during its first and second formal runs, the public high schools in the Metro Manila region (often referred to as the National Capital Region or NCR) served as the first sites for PC implementation. As of the 2012-2013 school year, the PCCED expanded its reach to

Table 5.2

Summary of Project Citizen Participation Growth & Reach

Year	Formal Run	Number of Regions	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Students	Number of Showcases
2006 *		1	14	n/a	n/a	1 Final
2007 †	1 st	1	21	32	386	1 Preliminary 1 Final
2008	2 nd	1	23	44	448	1 Preliminary 1 Final
2009	3 rd	6	54	137	1100	2 Preliminary 2 Final
2010	4 th	8	77	205	1520	6 Regional Preliminary 6 Regional Final 1 National
2011	5 th	8	33‡	111‡	718‡	7 Preliminary 7 Final 1 National

Note: 2007-2009 runs received \$10,000 grants from U.S. Center for Civic Education (CCE)

2006-2008 only open to public high schools in National Capital Region (NCR)

* no adapted CCE text used/modified run at university level

† pilot year with CCE adapted text

‡ 5th formal run numbers include NCR data only; provincial PC programs were managed regionally

nearly all of the major regions of the Philippines to include PC programs in seven other areas outside the NCR. These areas include: Baguio, Batangas, Sorsogon, Bacolod, Bohol, Butuan, and Davao (see Figure 5.2). The initial funding for the formal implementation of PC in the Philippines was through a grant of \$10,000 USD provided by the Center for Civic Education (CCE) in the United States. That grant was renewed for the first 3 runs of PC, however, as a result of the 2008 U.S. economic recession, the U.S. Congress cut funding for the U.S. Center for Civic Education's international programs.

Although the PCCED makes no official distinction between “sponsor” and “partner,” it is useful to separate the organizations who provide purely monetary financial assistance from those who provide assistance through providing other kinds of resources, like: training venues, event venues, free services (e.g. printing, computer program assistance), or volunteers. For the

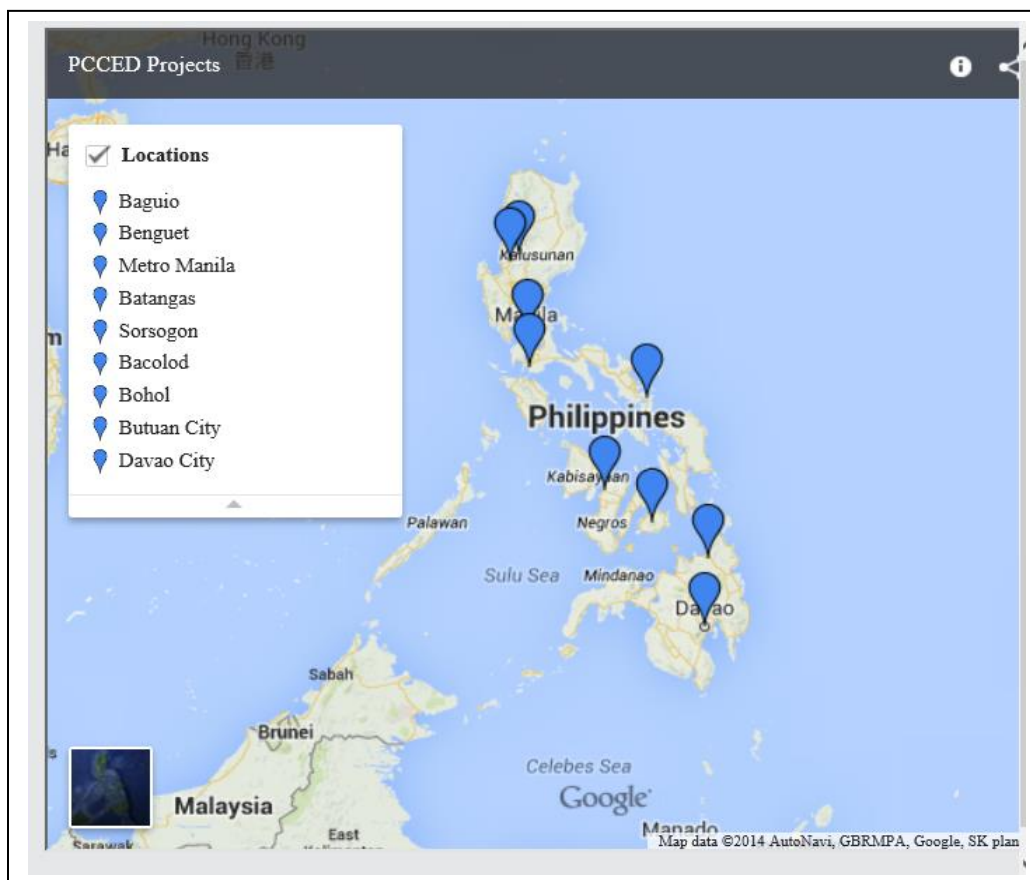


Figure 5.2 Project Citizen locations in the Philippines.

Source: <http://www.pcced.org.ph/>

purpose of this section and the following section, I defined “sponsors” as those who provide substantial monetary assistance only, and “partners” as those who sometimes provide small sums of money, but are mainly sources of non-monetary resources.

Even though the PCCED lost the grant from the U.S Center for Civic Education in 2009, by 2010 they had acquired new funding from sources within the Philippines. The PCCED actively courted new sponsors for the PC program, and through networking and word-of-mouth, several organizations expressed interest in becoming sponsors for the PC program. The biggest one, the Tan Yan Kee Foundation Inc. (TYKFI), began their involvement as a sponsor in earlier

runs of PC by providing funds for some of the showcase prizes and appreciation tokens.

However, the TYKFI became more involved in the 2010-2011 formal run by giving enough money (1,400,000 PHP, which is about \$32,000 USD) to expand the program's reach to many areas outside the NCR.

The TYKFI is the charitable organization endowed by the Lucio Tan group of companies. In the Philippines, the Lucio Tan companies are diversified across many industries including, commercial airlines, tobacco, alcohol, and banking. According to Forbes magazine, Lucio Tan is the second richest man in the Philippines, whose net worth is more than 6.1 billion USD ("The Philippines 50 Richest," 2014). Mr. Tan is also a known crony of former president Marcos, and a major campaign contributor to former President Estrada (Muller, 2000; Teves, 2001).

Another key sponsor, Globe Telecom, is a major telecommunications company in the Philippines. Globe is an affiliate of the Ayala Corporation, one of the oldest corporations in the Philippines, run by one of the oldest and wealthiest family dynasties that can be traced back to Spanish colonial rule. The chairman of Globe Telecom is Jaime Ayala, who Forbes magazine lists as the ninth richest man in the Philippines with a net worth of 3.4 billion USD ("The Philippines 50 Richest," 2014). The Ayala group's companies consist of many of the most prominent companies in the Philippines, including: Ayala Land (a real estate conglomerate); Ayala Malls (a shopping mall syndicate), the BPI (Bank of the Philippine Islands), and famous brewery, San Miguel Corporation.

Expanding the PC program's reach to other areas outside of the National Capital Region (NCR), and the outer metro Manila areas, was due largely to the PCCED's ability to attract partner organizations who were also committed to providing teachers and students with effective citizenship education. With an already strong partnership with the University of Asia and the

Pacific (UA&P), the PCCED sought and achieved partner agreements with several other colleges and universities. They have also succeeded in obtaining partnerships with local city councils, municipal and provincial governments, and other local civic organizations. On occasion some of these organizations provided small sums of monetary assistance to cover travel expenses of students, or portfolio materials. However, these partners provided other very important cost-saving resources, such as: venues to hold meetings, training sessions, and showcases; and access to members of the community (professors, lawyers, teachers, etc.) willing to volunteer their time and expertise to help conduct the many activities.

The PCCED also gained successful partnerships with regional Department of Education (DepEd) offices to promote PC. Although the national DepEd office is located just a few streets over from the PCCED headquarters, it has not been as cooperative with the PCCED as the regional offices. The national office has provided minor assistance to the PC program (e.g. issuing departmental memos advertising the teacher training for PC), but it has not allowed the PC curriculum to be integrated into the official national curriculum. In contrast, the regional DepEd offices have been more supportive of the PC program, and have at times partnered with the PCCED to encourage the implementation of PC in their region. As PCCED employee Rick explained:

We have made a conscious effort here in PCCED to really go local, talk to local people, local teachers, local DepEd. That's why we have a closer relationship with the local DepEd than the national office, which is right across the street, right? [*Laughs.*] Because to talk to them you have to go through the bureaucracy, etcetera, etcetera. (personal communication, June 19, 2013)

PCCED employee Jorge also explained how relationships gained through the regional DepEd offices have contributed to the sustainability of the PC program in those areas:

And we've established a lot of partnerships with different division offices now, and they are also very helpful in making the project sustainable. So, for example, in many of the schools we've been to, even after we've done the project, they [teachers] continue to do Project Citizen, they continue to use our modules to teach civic education. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

In some regions, DepEd officials have served as judges for the portfolios, as evaluators for showcase, or in other volunteer capacities. The regional DepEd officials are able to allow the implementation of PC as a pedagogical approach, and therefore sidestep the issue of official adoption of the curriculum. Still, all activities for PC are performed outside of official school hours. Dr. Diego explained this loophole:

Dr. Diego: It can be considered not a curriculum change, but like a pedagogical approach. Right, so they would have that power... That is the approach that you can use, the class for service learning and so on. So they could approach it that way.

Tanya: So they wouldn't have to embed it in the actual curriculum?

Dr. Diego: Yeah, they wouldn't have to go up to the... Because the other way that's trickier, you have to go all the way up the bureaucracy. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

As Dr. Diego explained, the PCCED has succeeded in gaining important relationships with regional DepEd departments, which has contributed to the expansion and sustainability of the PC program.

Project Citizen: Local Implementation

Project Citizen is aimed at the public high schools in the Philippines; and while the majority of participating high schools are public, there are also private schools that participate as well. In the U.S., Project Citizen is usually implemented at the junior high or middle school level where students are between the ages of approximately 11 and 14. Although Project Citizen is implemented in the secondary schools in the Philippines, the students enter secondary school

at about the age of 11 or 12, and graduate at about 15 or 16. So, the Philippine program engages a similar age group. Although it is beyond the scope of this research to gather details of the manner in which PC is implemented in every classroom in each region, province, district, and school, from the data gathered in this study, I ascertained a general understanding of how PC is conducted in the local schools.

The PC project usually entails a minimum of four to five months of work for the teams. The school year begins in June and ends in March in the Philippines, so the PC process and activities usually begin sometime in July or August and end in November or December. As teacher Elena explained, “usually it starts from July. For five months we’re doing it. Every Saturday, and every holiday too, actually. During holidays we go back into the school, we do our research, we do the interviews outside, talk to the officials of the Barangay” (personal communication, June 15, 2013). The teams must submit a final project for review to the PCCED by a deadline usually imposed in December. When school resumes in January, after the Christmas holiday break, teams prepare for the showcase presentations, which usually take place at the end of January or beginning of February.

The way the PC teams are formed, and the role the teacher plays, varied depending on the school and teacher. This was intentional on the part of the PCCED. The PCCED’s philosophy was to allow teachers to make decisions about how best to implement PC in their schools. As PCCED board member Dr. Gabriel explained:

Because I think it’s the teachers who would best be able to see how they can apply it [Project Citizen] and use it in their own classroom settings. All we want is really to more or less, adjust to them and see that these are options, these are available...ideas that they can use it in the classroom, and it’s up to the teachers to really implement them. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

In most cases, the teachers selected the members for the teams, and the teams consisted of about 15 to 20 students. Typically, students from any grade in the high school are allowed to participate. Sometimes, students participate as a novice during their first year in high school and return to the team in subsequent years as an experienced team member. The teachers usually played a major role in guiding the students through the process and curriculum steps. Often, there are several thousand students in a high school, so this selection of students for the team is negotiated according to the teacher's proclivities. Sometimes, the selection is competitive and discerning, as in Elena's description of her process:

With 5000 students, yes. Usually also I ask the teachers. Their recommendations. And they give me some names, and I interview students to see which can handle the tasks of Project Citizen, and which can do it to be included. So that's the process of grouping them, the members of Project Citizen. But again, it's only twenty. I cannot accommodate any more than twenty students. (personal communication, June 15, 2013)

PC alumni Manuel also experienced a competitive process of selection, but was also given responsibility for choosing his teammates:

It was in 2009, when we joined Project Citizen in my senior year. In high school, I was then president of student council, so we...the burden of forming a team lies on me and the valedictorian, the top of the class, later who became the chairman of the team. Well, we had 20 persons to assist us to be members of the team for the school competition. (personal communication, June 20, 2013)

On the other hand, for some students the method of selection was less clear. Their selection may have been at random, or for the convenience of the teacher. In addition, some students received less support and guidance by the teachers. PC alumni and current university instructor, Cruz, explained his experience:

When I was in third year high school, my social studies teacher chose six students, and I was one of those. And then we came up with this Project Citizen team in our school who will be competing [at the university showcase]. And fortunately, we won in that competition, first place. But, I think that, there was also a bit of miscommunication on

the entire process, because here's what happened. Our teacher asked us to join this competition, to read all the manuals and he gave us a bit of orientation, not really a training. Then everything's really up to us. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

Since the PC curriculum does not dictate the manner in which PC teams are formed, the teacher determines how best to handle student selection, which was congruent with the PCCED's philosophy about PC implementation.

The process of carrying out PC activities has certain financial costs that are considerable in a developing nation. These costs can include any of the following: transportation to conduct research and interviews, use of color copiers and printers, paper and supplies for the portfolio, and all materials for the four-panel presentation boards. The PCCED grants each school a small fund (1,000 pesos/about USD \$23.00) to cover some of these costs. However, as teacher Elena explained, it is not enough to cover all the associated costs:

Yes, 1000 pesos. That's minimal. And I usually ask the student government, because the student government has their own fund. So I ask them, I request from them some financial assistance. And fortunately my department chair is always supportive of my project and she released some fundings, and even my principal, she's also releasing some funds for Project Citizen. Especially for the transportation,...and the materials for the portfolio. (personal communication, June 15, 2013)

According to some of the programmatic reports for the yearly runs of PC, sometimes there were schools who reported that they were unable to finish the PC project due to lack of funds. Several PCCED participants explained that many times individual teachers covered any additional costs of conducting PC. This sometimes also included providing food and snacks to the students, since the project activities are accomplished outside of school hours. I asked a group of public school teachers how much money most teachers make in one year. I was told the average teacher pay in Manila is about 21,000 PHP per month, which is approximately \$476 USD. Consequently, providing snacks and food for 20 students can be a substantial cost for

some teachers. One teacher explained that her brother, a businessman in the community, gave her PC team the extra funds needed to carry out the project. PC student participant Mateo expressed some of the difficulties, both of time and money, in his reflection paper: “As a student, I have experienced the hardships and sacrifices made by a Project Citizen member in fulfilling the requirements of this program...we experienced the difficulties of obtaining important data and we were confronted with limited budget and resources.”

In addition to the basic costs of conducting the PC project, on occasion, additional unforeseen expenses kept some teams and schools from finishing their projects. For example, during the third formal run of 2009, two separate typhoons hit metro Manila causing extraordinary amounts of damage and flooding. Classes in schools were suspended for up to two weeks in some areas. As a result, when classes resumed, the normal one-week semester break was cancelled. Many teachers and students reported that they often used the semester break to complete much of the PC research and related activities. Several teams in the metro Manila area were unable to overcome this hardship and complete their projects.

Organization of Project Citizen Implementation: From the Local to the National

Like any major program or policy enactment, the implementation of PC at the national level requires a great deal of planning, organization, and communication. The overall implementation period is approximately seven months, however, the planning and organizing takes place year round. The general activities of the program implementation include the following segments: (1) orientation programs, (2) training of teacher-moderators, (3) coordination meetings, (4) submission of portfolios and prejudging, (5) procurement and training of judges, (6) preliminary showcase, (7) final showcase, and (8) evaluation.

I have grouped these segments into three general categories of activities, or ‘phases:’ Phase I—*Pre-showcase* (orientation, training, coordination); Phase II—*Showcase* (judging submissions, showcase event management); and Phase III—*Post-showcase* (assessment, evaluation). Although her “three main activities” are not the same as my phases, I was inspired to separate these activities into three phases by Maria’s explanation of her basic duties as project manager to the PC program:

Basically, there are three main activities. You have the teacher training, and then you have the monitoring, and then you have the showcase. So, I basically oversee these three activities. I usually have one project assistant to help me, in terms of you know, sending the letters, faxing the letters, talking to the teachers, etc. and have a pool of trainers to help me train, and a pool of evaluators to help, or give feedback during the showcase. I also have local coordinators who help me on non-metro Manila rounds of Project Citizen. So there are host schools, they give us the venue, and they help us in coordinating. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Phase I: Pre-showcase

Phase I consists of the activities (e.g. orientation, trainings, coordination) that go on prior to the Showcase, or formal public hearing of the Project Citizen proposals. Even before school begins in June, the PCCED sends out many invitation letters to principals, and education officials. In these invitation letters, dates and locations are given for the orientation meetings. In the orientation meetings, PCCED members and alumni teacher-moderators present detailed information about the PC program. The experienced teachers often offer testimonials about the effectiveness of the program, for both their students and for aid to the Barangay. The presenters and teachers explain how the basics of the program work, and share stories of some successful PC projects that went on to be adopted and/or carried out by the Barangays, or even local cities and municipalities.

The PCCED then conducts a *Teacher-Moderator Training Program*. The name of this training program is indicative of Project Citizen's focus on the democratic process within the curriculum. It is stressed that teachers are considered "moderators," or facilitators of the process; students should perform the activities and tasks of the program with the guidance of the teacher. This training program is primarily for *Araling Panlipunan* (social studies) teachers, and takes place across two consecutive days, usually over one weekend. Teachers do not receive monetary compensation for their attendance. Other than a free lunch each day, the only tangible compensation they receive is a completion certificate which contributes to their professional development hours, and thus an eventual pay raise. Also, teachers do not have to actually implement the PC program to receive the completion certificate. PCCED member Maria told me that while they do encounter teachers who only attend for the certificate, and do not participate in PC, there are many more teachers who attend the training and then follow through with implementing PC in their schools.

The first day of the teacher training usually begins with opening remarks from the PCCED chairman, or other affiliated professor. A PCCED member then offers a brief lecture on the topic of the importance of understanding the nation of the Philippines as a "democracy in transition," which then leads to a discussion about the necessity of civic education. After another brief lecture on "Public Policy in a Democracy" led by another PCCED affiliate, the teachers are divided into groups for workshops that introduce the first four steps of the PC process.

The second day of the training begins with opening remarks and a refresher talk about the previous day's information. The training then continues in workshops, where the teachers learn steps five through ten of the PC process by modeling a condensed version of a PC project. The

last part of day two “is devoted to a briefing on the mechanics of the showcase cum competition” (excerpt from PC programmatic report).

The PCCED programmatic reports revealed that after the first run of PC, about half of the teachers that attended subsequent trainings each year were alumni from the previous years. The teachers expressed that they wanted a “refresher course” on the PC process. Often, however, the teachers expressed that their principals wanted the already experienced teachers to conduct the PC program at their school. Since there were many returning “old-timers” to the teacher trainings, by the fourth formal run PCCED organizers added a separate seminar for teachers who had already attended the training at least two times. This seminar introduced additional material adapted from the CCE’s Foundations of Democracy program. This adaptation focused on the role of justice in a democracy, and how to integrate justice issues into the PC curriculum.

Through the coordination meetings, the PCCED staff was able to monitor the local implementation of the PC program. Two meetings are generally conducted for the teachers in the NCR; usually one is held in August, and then another in October. These meetings provide an opportunity for the teachers to get clarification on any issues or questions that arise during the implementation of PC. The second coordination meeting usually focuses on instruction about how to compile the portfolio component of the project, as well as, answering any additional questions teachers have about the presentation rules and guidelines. In addition, PCCED employees make local site visits when possible. However, in recent years, due to funding cuts, local site visits have been drastically reduced.

After the deadline to submit portfolios, the PCCED conducts a prejudging of the submitted portfolios for several of the special awards. The awards determined prior to the preliminary showcase are: Best Research, Best Portfolio, and Best Reflection. Most of the

judges are invited from partner and sponsor organizations, and while there is no formal training session for the judges, they are given specific guidelines for judging the projects.

Phase II: Project Citizen Showcase

As a culminating activity, and part of the PC process, students are required to present their project and findings before an audience in a simulated public hearing structured similarly to a public meeting. The students are to present in front of a panel of judges who will evaluate their portfolio and presentation.

When the student teams present at the showcases, they use a four panel display of their own creation to assist them in their presentation. The four panel display provides a summarized version of the same information that was detailed in the portfolio. The student teams are divided into four groups; each group is responsible for presenting the findings from their portion of the project. The four panel display depicts these sections with the following titles: *The Problem*, *Alternative Policies*, *Policy Recommendation*, and *Action Plan* (see Figure 5.3). Each group is given about five minutes to present their part of the four panel display for a total of twenty minutes. Then, the panel members are given about ten minutes to ask the PC team questions. These questions are designed to have the students further clarify any details, to give possible examples of specific points they have made, to defend some of their statements or positions, and/or to explain how they arrived at their conclusions. It is interesting to note that the first part of the presentation, the part that the students prepare ahead of time, must be delivered in English only. However, during the second part, the question and answer portion, the students are allowed to answer in either English or Filipino.

During the preliminary showcase, all of the eligible teams present their projects. For some regions, this is an organizational and logistical feat. For example, in the NCR, there are

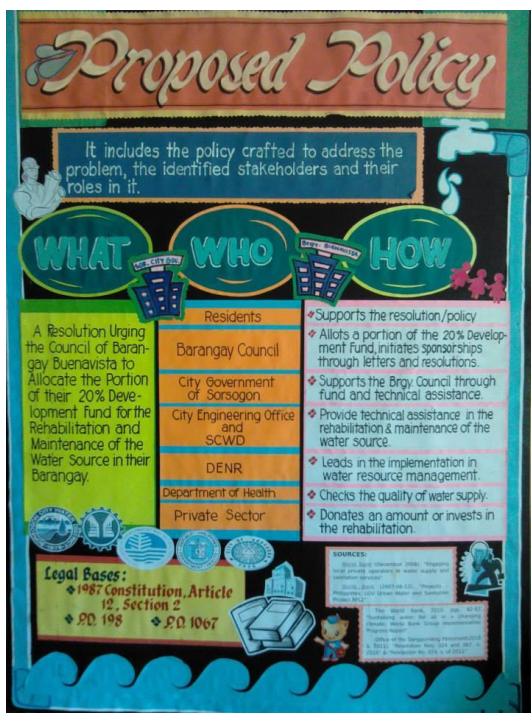
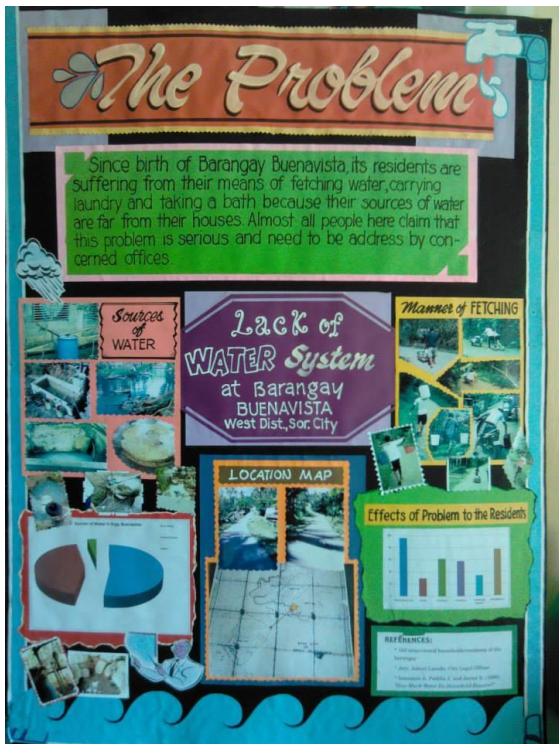


Figure 5.3 Example of a Four Panel Display
 Source: Project Citizen Philippines (PCCED) Facebook page, retrieved from www.facebook.com

often as many as 40 teams presenting, and each team has 15-20 students, and 2-3 teachers. This can mean there are over 1000 people attending the preliminary showcase. The organizers must also arrange for judges, panel members, and volunteers, to be present to assist with various activities. PCCED employee Helen explained some of the difficulties organizing this event:

When I first joined the preliminary showcase for NCR, well it's really a very, very tiring job I think. Because it's a logistical nightmare. We have almost one thousand participants, and we have to prepare all of the certificates, all of the T-shirts, and all the things they need. It's really very hard. But it's very fulfilling seeing all of those children going up on stage and they are very happy about it. (personal communication, June 11, 2013)

As Helen's statement revealed, the logistics involved with conducting the various responsibilities of the national implementation was complex and required much organization and preparation.



Figure 5.4. Welcome and registration table at NCR preliminary showcase.

I attended a preliminary showcase in February of 2013, held at the University of Makati in metro Manila (see Figure 5.4). Due to the many teams presenting, the PCCED organizers distributed the various presentations throughout a large academic building. There was an

introductory meeting in a large auditorium, in which several speakers presented important instructions and logistical information. When this introduction was adjourned, the students referenced a schedule to find out what time and in which room their team's presentation was scheduled. Although there were about eight rooms available for presentations, since each presentation can run about 30-40 minutes, the process took several hours to complete. This meant there was a good deal of waiting time for students (see Figure 5.5). When all of the presentations were completed, the organizers tallied the evaluator score sheets to determine the overall winners. At the final group meeting in the auditorium, the winners of the award categories were presented, and the top five teams were chosen to advance to the final showcase. In regions outside of the NCR, although there are fewer teams competing, they follow a similar two-step process of showcase. Beginning in the 2010-2011 run, the winners of the final regional showcases went on to compete in a National Showcase held in Manila.



Figure 5.5 Students waiting around at the preliminary showcase.

Table 5.3

Project Citizen Showcase Awards & Prizes 2008

<i>Award Name</i>	<i>Prize</i>
PRELIMINARY SHOWCASE	
<i>Early Bird</i>	Gift certificate to local bookstore
<i>Ortigas Foundation Special Prize</i>	25,000php Library Award (\$567.00usd)
<i>Best Reflection</i>	Printer/fax machine for school
<i>Best Portfolio</i>	Printer/fax machine for school
<i>Best Research</i>	Printer/fax machine for school
<i>Best Presentation</i>	Printer/fax machine for school
<i>Student Participation (all participants)</i>	PC t-shirt, cap, certificate of appreciation
<i>Teacher Participation (all teachers)</i>	PC Gift bag, plaque of appreciation, drinking mug, polo shirts, bookstore gift certificate, planner
FINAL SHOWCASE	
<i>School Award</i>	Complete computer, with monitor and printer
<i>Participant award</i>	Computer course scholarship; paid fee for UA&P* application; medal; PC messenger bag; 3 UA&P* scholarships

Note: UA&P = University of Asia & the Pacific



Figure 5.6 Project Citizen National Capital Region preliminary showcase award categories.

The awards given for the preliminary showcase have changed over time, however, the preliminary showcase has always been a venue for awarding between 4 – 6 special awards and prizes (see table 5.3 and figure 5.6). The most recent 2011-2012 categories of special awards are the: Best Research, Best Reflection, Best Portfolio, Chua King Ha Special Award for Women

Development, Dr. Lucio C. Tan Award for Science, and a Foundations of Democracy Award. At the end of the presentations, the final Best Presentation Award was also granted. The winning teams of the seven awards received a trophy and printer/fax machine for their school. Each participant from the winning teams received a t-shirt, visor, drinking mug, and certificate as appreciation for participating. The teachers were also recognized and given plaques, shirts, and gift bags with various items.

The final showcase is usually held 2 – 4 days after the preliminary showcase, depending on the region. During the final showcase, the five teams selected at the preliminary showcase once again present their findings to a 4 – 5 member panel of evaluators. These presentations follow the same format as in the preliminary showcase, wherein the four groups from each team have five minutes to present their portion of the project. Then, the judges once again take about ten minutes to ask the team further questions. In a handout given to the judges, it suggests that they give “constructive feedback” as well:

The purpose of the simulated hearing (the oral presentation component) is to teach students to present and defend reasoned opinions related to influencing public policy decision-making in their communities.

The students make a prepared twenty-minute presentation. They then respond for ten minutes to follow-up questions posed by you and other members of the evaluator panel. Each student team then has a total of thirty minutes. At the conclusion of each presentation, you and the other panel members should provide constructive feedback. (excerpt from *Evaluator Guidelines* document)

Now that there is a National Showcase, this feedback component has become more important. Finalists for the National Showcase are expected to carefully consider the feedback from the evaluators, and make any necessary changes to the project before the National Showcase.



Figure 5.7 National Capital Region Final Showcase

The winners from each of the regional final showcases then go on to present in a National Showcase in Manila (see Figure 5.7). The first National Showcase took place in the 2010-2011 PC run. It was held on April 28, 2011 at the University of Asia & the Pacific. Since the school year runs from June to March in the Philippines, the National Showcase was held during the summer break from school. The Tan Yan Kee Foundation Inc. provided the extra funds necessary for the teams in outlying provinces to attend the showcase in Manila. The overall Best in Showcase Award was presented to the team from Bicol (Sorsogon Province) for their project entitled “Pawikan for Sale” (Pawikan are endangered sea turtles, and it is illegal to catch or eat them or their eggs). The prize given to the winning team from this showcase was an LCD projector for their school, in addition to the trophies, medals and token gifts. Since the students

attending the National Showcase were from distant areas, and had to stay in Manila for at least the night, the PCCED invited them to a conference at the University of Asia & the Pacific called “Project Citizen: Youth in Action.” The theme of the conference was “Engaging the Youth for Development,” and according to the 2010-2011 PC programmatic report its purpose was “to promote leadership and active citizenship, and equip [high school student leaders] with knowledge and skills necessary for an active participation in their communities” (p. 8).

Project Citizen Adaptation. The PCCED chose to adapt Project Citizen by altering only one feature of the program. As PCCED employee Rick explained, “the way we implement it here with the showcase and all, I think that’s a very attractive sort of incentive for schools. Sometimes it has its own drawbacks. There are controversies here and there, you know” (personal communication, June 19, 2013). The controversy Rick alluded to is the adaptation of turning the public hearing component of the process into a competition for awards and prizes. By contrast, in the U.S. Project Citizen program, for the simulated public hearing, students present their project and receive awards, but there is no material compensation in the form of prizes. In the U.S., depending on the level of participation in each state, local, district, county, and state level showcases are often held. Local and state level showcases in the U.S. do not award prizes to winners, but assign levels of achievement that are similar to the levels of achievement in the U.S. National Showcase. Although not every state participates, many states attend the National Showcase in Los Angeles led by the CCE. The team projects presented at the National Showcase compete for the status that the assigned levels of achievement bring. These levels of achievement are, from lowest to highest: Honorable Mention, Outstanding, Exceptional, and Superior. Each category is not limited to only one winner, but is based on a point system. Because of this, many teams can earn the same level of achievement.

In the Philippines, the PCCED decided to make the showcase a competition for awards and prizes. The original impetus for using a competition format was to garner interest for participation. As Dr. Carlos explained, it was a way to make PC more interesting and culturally relevant:

But there's something interesting that we did to it...because, I know that in the US this is not something they see as a contest. I mean, you know, this is a way to really, you know, train students. To craft policies, to discuss local problems...and we do that too, here. But, we sort of "Filipinized" it. To get people interested, to get schools interested, that we turned it into a contest. So it's actually a contest. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

However, this adaptation has not been without debate among the PCCED members. While they recognize that the competition mode attracts participation, some fear that it encourages participation for the wrong reason. In addition, some PCCED members believe the competition feature interferes with the purpose of widening the program reach, since only half of the trained teachers each year are new to the program. The programmatic reports stated that it is suspected that the high number of experienced teachers returning each year is a result of the competition component. Some PCCED members believe that principals choose experienced teachers who are more likely to win, instead of expanding the program to new teachers. PCCED member Dr. Pedro described his uncertainty about the competition:

I don't know about our contest mode. I'm sure Maria has told you about it, so it's not simply a hearing, but they compete with each other. I'm not sure if that's a strength, or a weakness in the long run. In the beginning we thought it would be a good come on, a good attraction for them to come back. But we've had cases where a school did not come back because they lost. So that kind of defeats the purpose. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

In a similar sentiment, it is feared that sometimes the competition aspect may interfere with the original purposes of PC. PCCED employee Maria acknowledged the importance of how the teacher engages with the program as part of the effectiveness of the program:

It's not going to be effective if the teachers do not do it well, like there's so much focus on the competition angle that they want to win. It's glory to their school, they [teachers] get a bonus [meaning accolades] from their principals because they have a winning team. There's so much focus on winning, then teachers are tempted to give them [students] the problem, to lead their research for them, to dictate on them. Which you know, is not the point of Project Citizen. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Since PCCED members and participants view the process to be as important as the curriculum content, they recognize that to teach democratic principles, the process should also be democratic.

Phase III: Evaluation

The last phase of the Project Citizen process is evaluation. Since its inception in 2007, each run has been evaluated using a variety of means and methods, both quantitative and qualitative. As the beneficiaries of grants and financial assistance from large organizations like the U.S. Center for Civic Education, and the Tan Yan Kee Foundation, it was required that the PCCED attempt to measure the success of the program. In all of the programmatic reports, there was a section reporting what type of assessment was used, as well as, how the assessment was carried out. Unfortunately, the actual results for some of these evaluations were not available. For example, after the teacher training seminars of the 2nd and 3rd formal runs of 2008 and 2009, the PCCED conducted a survey to evaluate and gauge the effectiveness and perceptions of the training program, but I was not able to acquire the results of these evaluations.

For all five formal runs from 2007 to 2011, the PCCED gave students pre- and post-test surveys "to measure the impact of the program on the political efficacy of the participants." Usually, one school per district was chosen at random to respond to the survey. Although I was unable to gain access to the survey results from the first three runs, I was able to review the

results from the evaluations for the 2010 and 2011 PC runs. The PCCED programmatic reports from both the 2010 and 2011 years provided summaries of the results of these student surveys.

What the PCCED programmatic reports call a “survey of self-efficacy” is actually a survey based on three separate survey questionnaires. The questionnaires included the following evaluation instruments: 1) *The Community Service Self-Efficacy (CSS) Scale* by R.N. Reeb, R.M. Katsuyama, J.A. Sammon, and D.S. Yoder. This 10-item questionnaire, rated on a 10-point scale, was designed to measure an individual’s confidence in serving their community; 2) *The Civic Action Questionnaire (CAQ)* by B.E. Moely, S.H. Mercer, V. Ilustre, D. Miron, and M. McFarland. This 8-item questionnaire, rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale, measured an individual’s intention to engage in volunteer work and other similar civic-related action; and, 3) *The Civic Attitudes Scale (CAS)* by J.B. Mabry is a 5-item questionnaire, rated on a Likert-type scale, assessed respondents’ attitude towards community service. All questionnaires were scripted in English, with a Filipino translation also listed with the items.

The PCCED gave these questionnaires to students before and after they completed the PC process, and to non-PC participants at various schools in the metro Manila area as the control group. The results and analyses were described in the yearly programmatic reports. For 2010, the PCCED determined that of the three areas assessed (self-efficacy, civic action, and civic attitudes), the area of self-efficacy for participants was significantly higher than non-participants across all five regions (Baguio, Bohol, Calabarzon, NCR, and Zamboanga). They attributed this to “the experiential approach of PC [which allows] students to discover their abilities, and exercise their skills.” The civic attitude scores were higher across all areas compared to the non-participants; however, the only region that did not have statistically significant higher scores than non-participants was Calabarzon. For the civic action scale, however, there were mixed results.

The PCCED explained this result with the following: “The fairly weak showing of PC participants in the area of civic action... may be an indication of the students’ hesitation to commit to civic action in the future. This may be a factor of the program’s present-orientation (i.e. focus on current community problems)” (p. 9).

For the 2011 PC run, the PCCED gave the previously mentioned evaluation surveys, and also added one that they created called the *Civic Areas Survey Questionnaire (CASQ)*. This survey was designed to assess the three key areas of focus of PC, i.e. knowledge, skills, and dispositions. The civic knowledge portion of the questionnaire contains 5 multiple-choice items on concepts related to democracy. The civic skills portion is an 11-item survey, rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale, which assessed ability to perform certain civic skills. The dispositions portion also contains 11 items to gauge agreement or disagreement with certain statements about an individual’s civic outlook. The analysis of these quantitative assessments was communicated in the programmatic report: “Based on the CASQ, PC participants view themselves to be more skilled in carrying out civic-related procedures such as facilitating consensus and conflict resolution. This supports the strong *activity-driven* and *student centric nature of the Project Citizen process*” (italics in original, p. 10-11). There were conflicting results between the dispositions portion of the CASQ and the CAS’s civic attitude measures. The analysis of this discrepancy was:

The findings may indicate that this year, the PC process had a *stronger impact on participants’ general (i.e. global) civic attitude*. It is possible that an impact has been made on participants’ attitudes concerning the local community. However, such an effect may not be significantly different from what a non-participant may experience from participation in non-PC activities, such as extracurricular activities. (italics in original, p. 11)

Also during the 2011-2012 run, PCCED members conducted a qualitative content analysis of 52 randomly selected student reflection papers. The reflection papers are a feature of the last part of

the PC process. All PC participants complete a reflection essay, in which they express what they learned, what they liked most, and what they gained as a result of the program. According to the PCCED evaluation, this content analysis revealed three major themes: *insights*, *personal development*, and *PC assessment*. The *insights* theme was deemed the strongest, and refers to “participant’s realizations about PC and its various aspects, community life, the government, and other areas which may or may not be explicit goal-areas of Project Citizen” (p. 11). The second strongest theme was *personal development*, and refers to “learning evidences in the three civic areas—knowledge, skills, dispositions—deliberately pursued by Project Citizen” (p. 11). The last theme of *PC assessment* refers to “students’ general pleasant or unpleasant feeling towards PC as a process” (p.11).

According to the *insights* theme results, the determination was made that the PC process allowed students to realize five key points: (1) the nature of PC and what it can do for citizens, (2) how democracy and rule of law work, (3) what citizenship and community participation entail, (4) how to work with other students, and (5) what causes specific problems and how those problem affect them (2011-2012 Programmatic Report, p. 11). For the *Personal Development* theme, the evaluator found three sub-themes: Knowledge Acquired (e.g. about democracy and the government, the community, specific problems), Skills Developed (e.g. writing, speaking, English, reasoning, socialization), and Dispositions Developed (e.g. patience, responsibility, cooperation). The analysis offered by PCCED for this theme indicated that there were more passages related to skills and dispositions, than to knowledge. This supported the findings of previous quantitative data that suggested the PC program is most successful at imparting civic skills and dispositions development. The analysis concluded that it is “time to revisit” how the knowledge portion is imparted to participants. An example provided for this

was that there were no passages that referred to the difference between public policies and private initiatives, although this is knowledge that is specifically covered in the curriculum, and considered a critical piece of information.

Lastly, pleasant or unpleasant passages regarding the PC process were placed in the theme of *PC Assessment*. Most of the unpleasant assessment passages referred to the PC process as being tiring and difficult. On the other hand, most of the pleasant assessment passages focused on feelings of gratitude and fulfillment at the end of the project. The analysis concluded that, “while unpleasant assessments were formed, particularly about the project being challenging and tiring, this was balanced by a sense of fulfillment and gratefulness by the end of the process” (p.18).

At the end of the fifth formal 2011-2012 run, the PCCED also conducted a tracer study to evaluate the impact of PC on students who had previously participated. The impact of PC on the students was determined by asking questions aimed at measuring their participation in society and their “awareness of socio-civic issues.” This tracer study was a qualitative semi-structured interview study. They used purposive sampling to identify 20 participants from seven participating schools in the metro Manila area. The 20 participants were from PC runs 2007-2010. The study acknowledged certain limitations related to time constraints and availability of contact information for previous PC participants. These limitations included: the sample size was small, the sample was not representative of all areas, nor all schools, and the sample did not include representatives from PC runs 2006, nor 2011.

The tracer study discussed findings related to previous participants’ current engagement in their communities, and their awareness of societal and civic issues. While all students were involved in some civic activities, some respondents doubted the bigger impact that they were

making. Since all respondents were either enrolled in college, or had just finished college, they perceived a decrease in their awareness of current events due to an increased work load in college. The analysis also noted specifically that: “Interestingly, very few respondents plan to go abroad to seek employment with some interviewees sharing the sentiment that it is still better to find employment locally to be able to give back to society.” The tracer study finally concluded: “After five years, Project Citizen has had most impact to its participants in the following aspects: social awareness, social and communication skills, change in attitude towards active participation in the community, research skills, critical thinking skills, leadership, and teamwork.”

Although the 2012-2013 programmatic report was not yet available at the time of my fieldwork, I was provided access to a focus group discussion assessment conducted to evaluate that run. Conducted in February, 2013, these focus group discussions were to determine what the participants had learned from the 6th run of the Project Citizen process. The focus group study’s goal was to gain understanding about what students learned regarding the key areas of PC: civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions. The PCCED members interviewed participating student teams as a group about their perceptions and experiences.

Although the transcripts of the focus group discussions were in “Taglish” (a common name used to refer to the combined use of English and Tagalog), the leaders of the focus group discussions provided summaries of the sessions in English. The focus group questions were designed to provide information for the following three domains: *description*, *evaluation*, and *recommendation*. The participants were asked to respond to the following kinds of questions and prompts: *How did you become part of the team?; How was the group managed?; On a scale of 1 to 10, rate your performance as an individual/team; What do you remember most about the*

process?; In your own words, what is the objective of PC?; What would you do differently next time? From my data, there were at least 29 participating teams for this focus group evaluation. Within the three domains of the focus group questions, *description*, *evaluation*, and *recommendation*, certain themes reoccurred throughout the summaries. Common themes about the general process of PC revealed from summaries of *description* and *evaluation* domains were: students had difficulty balancing time between academics and PC; students tried to handle task assignments, disagreements, and work load in a democratic fashion; students felt they bonded as a group through teamwork; students reported that overcoming the nervousness of presenting publicly in English gave them confidence; and, students became more aware of their role in the community. The objective of PC was expressed in the following summary themes within the *evaluation* domain: to develop leaders, to encourage good citizenship, to be able to address community problems, and to exercise power as civil society. Some of the *recommendation* themes that emerged from the summaries were: to begin the project sooner in the school year; to stay on task better during meetings; to be open-minded to new ideas; and, to expand the project to more teams and schools.

The PCCED has indeed taken seriously their job of trying to ascertain what effect the PC program has had on participants, as evidenced by the numerous and varied assessments they have performed. The very nature of the PC curriculum, specifically, that it is divided into three separate domains, makes its evaluation complex. Evaluating the civic knowledge domain can be achieved through a simple paper and pencil test, but evaluating the skills and dispositions domains is a considerably more difficult task. PCCED member Dr. Pedro discusses some of his reservations about the evaluation process:

I think we could do better in evaluation. Now that we've had so many years of it, we could probably expand the tracer study, and do some longitudinal study and see

whether...you know in the literature, sometimes the impact of civic education, especially one that is administered at the adolescent stage, the impact disappears as they grow older, but most of the studies are correlational. The more hours they volunteer, the more likely they are to vote, you know, those kinds of studies. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Some of the other members of PCCED also seem to have mixed feelings about these assessments and evaluations. On the one hand, they recognized the necessity of evaluations as part of reporting back to their sponsors, and were genuinely interested in finding out whether or not the PC program has any measurable effects, but some members doubted the evaluations truly measured the most important aspects and effects of Project Citizen on the participants. In addition, some wondered how to measure the impact PC has on individual communities and society in general. PCCED member Dr. Diego expressed his thoughts on this:

And I'd say that as far as metrics go we've been doing very well, the evaluations done by seminar participants, and so on... But I think in PCCED we don't let ourselves be fooled by that. Because we tell ourselves that the real test is 15 years down the road. How's that community, is it better? Their values, their attitudes, and so on...that's what we're after. It's very ambitious, but we feel that's important. Because most of the projects of NGOs in the Philippines are very specific material projects...building things, livelihoods. Nobody's addressing attitudes and values. Now the criticism is that that's all airy-fairy. But, the results of having the wrong attitudes and values are so obvious to our eyes. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

PCCED employee Rosie voiced similar concerns about the difficulty of measuring attitudes and dispositions:

I don't know if the evaluation tools we use to evaluate whether there were changes is really descriptive of the changes that actually happened in those individuals. I mean, those are knowledge tests. So, in the beginning you test, okay do you have the knowledge on this, and then after that do you have the okay there's an increase, but afterwards how do you measure? (personal communication, June 11, 2013)

Finally, Dr. Pedro also recognized the difficulty of evaluating the effectiveness of PC, and its impact on future civic behavior:

Because I'd like to be able to do more for like...precisely following them up, doing a longitudinal study, and then having other measures, not just the paper and pencil tests. It's really seeing whether did these people eventually become influential community members? Not leaders, because leadership positions are limited, right? Not everyone can be one. So, did they become influential in their community. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

As Dr. Pedro realized, evaluation of the Project Citizen implementation in the Philippine context might require a longitudinal study in order to truly assess its effects on citizens. However, a longitudinal study requires time and resources that are as yet unavailable to the PCCED.

The PCCED attempted to gain perspective on the implementation of the PC program and measure its effectiveness through the use of many evaluations. These included: teacher evaluations of training sessions, student self-efficacy surveys, content analyses of student reflection papers, a tracer study, and a focus group study. They discovered through these measures, albeit with limitations, that students gained: knowledge of the democratic process, efficient skills related to democratic community participation, political self-efficacy, and a sense of accomplishment for completing the program and project. However, the evaluations were not able to show definitive effects with regard to altering student dispositions.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I addressed and discussed the following research questions: *What is the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy, and how did it come about? How is the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy structured, how does it function, and what is its relationship to the Philippine Department of Education? How has Project Citizen been adapted specifically for the Philippines? And, how is Project Citizen implemented?* The in-depth country profile presented in Chapter 4 provided the background and contextual factors necessary for the understanding of the PCCED's implementation of Project Citizen. As part of

this examination, I described how and why the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy came into existence as a non-governmental organization committed to developing democratic knowledge, skills, and behavior in young Filipino citizens. Lastly, I provided a detailed description of the implementation of Project Citizen in the Philippines at both the national and local levels.

The overarching goal of the Project Citizen curriculum is to promote participatory democracy through teaching and cultivating civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions. In the Philippines, a handful of college professors were inspired by this goal, and used their collective civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions to participate in the democratic process by forming a non-governmental organization dedicated to promoting that same goal. So, in a very real sense, the PCCED was born as a result of a PC project. And in a reciprocal fashion, the PCCED now begets more PC projects.

The implementation of Project Citizen in the Philippines began small, with one university professor using a modified form of the program in his classes. In less than ten years, PC is now implemented in all of the major regions of the country, and is still expanding. At the school and classroom level, implementing PC takes time, effort, and money. Both teachers and students mentioned that undertaking PC was often time-consuming, stressful, and difficult. Yet, both teachers and students also expressed feelings of accomplishment and pride in participating in PC, and many return to participate year after year. At the national level, the PCCED has implemented the PC process with great success, and continues to expand the program through enlisting the help and assistance of teachers, volunteers, partners, and sponsors. Although the PCCED staff acknowledged the difficulties of implementing PC, they also expressed satisfaction in the great benefits that PC provides to teachers, students, and communities.

On a very limited budget, and in a relatively short timeframe, the PCCED has successfully developed and promoted a curriculum to teachers that is not mandated by the national Department of Education; a curriculum that requires teachers to attend extra training, gather extra money and resources, and execute on their own time. Because of this, one of the questions remaining about Project Citizen in the Philippines is what motivates teachers to participate in PC? In addition, why did the Project Citizen curriculum and goals so resonate with PCCED founders that they instigated an innovative grassroots organization? Are there elements of the Philippine context that influenced PC adoption? What, specifically, about the PC curriculum is so attractive to participants? And finally, how is the program's success perceived, and what are the elements of that success?

In Chapter 6, I turn to a discussion of possible answers to these questions, as well as, additional findings regarding the implementation of Project Citizen in the Philippines. The remaining research questions addressed in Chapter 6 are: *Why was Project Citizen chosen? What are the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy's main objectives in implementing Project Citizen? And, what is the perceived effectiveness of the program by stakeholders?*

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to examine how and why the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED) chose to implement the *Project Citizen* curriculum, with attention to how it was adapted for, and implemented in, the Philippine context. I sought to find out more about how the PCCED began, how it was structured, and how it functioned. In addition, I wanted to know what the PCCED's objectives were for using PC, and if they perceived the program to be effective in achieving those objectives. Employing a comparative education framework, I used a qualitative case study design to answer the following research questions:

- What is the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy, and how did it come about?
- How is the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy structured, how does it function, and what is its relationship to the Philippine Department of Education?
- Why was it chosen, and how has Project Citizen been adapted specifically for the Philippines? And, how is Project Citizen implemented?
- What are the main objectives, and perceived effectiveness of the program by stakeholders?

For the comparative education framework, I devoted special attention to common concepts within the field of comparative education, such as *global to local*, and *policy to practice*. In addition, my analysis was informed by Bartlett and Vavrus's (2014) vertical case study approach. As explained in Chapter 3, although called the vertical case study approach, this

method pays close attention to the vertical, horizontal, and transversal dimensions of a case. For this case study, the vertical components consisted of the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of context which contributed to the implementation of PC, what the goals of the program were, and how its success was perceived. The horizontal dimension of this case study comprised the comparison between how PC is implemented in the Philippines versus in the United States. The transversal dimension represented the crucial role that contextual elements like time and space play in the adoption of a borrowed educational program like PC. The transversal dimension allowed for consideration of important elements of the historical context, as well as, the expanded spatial elements of context made possible by increased worldwide access to information technologies (e.g. email, websites, social media) (See Figure 6.1).

Although it was impossible to entirely disaggregate all the components of the case to fit neatly into the horizontal, vertical, or transversal dimensions of analysis, one way to represent and organize the data was to view the research questions through the lens of one dimension at a time. In Chapter 4, I provided a detailed country profile so that the data and information reported in subsequent chapters could be situated within the appropriate setting. This thorough description of the assorted contextual elements of the case laid the basis for the transversal dimension within the vertical case study method. Since the transversal dimension data permeates both the horizontal and vertical dimensions, it both informed and clarified elements within the horizontal and vertical dimensions.

In Chapter 5, I addressed and discussed the following research questions: *What is the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy, and how did it come about? How is the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy structured, how does it function, and what is its relationship to the Philippine Department of Education? How has Project Citizen*

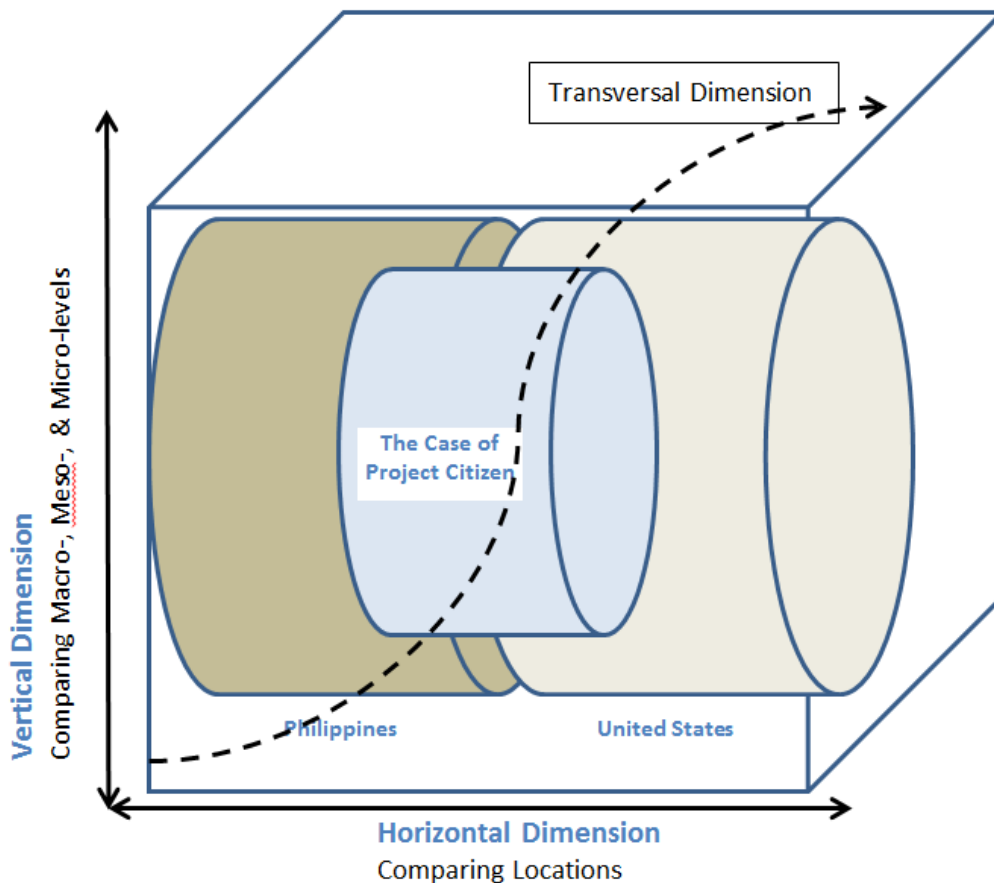


Figure 6.1 Visual Representation of Vertical Case Study Elements

been adapted specifically for the Philippines? And, how is Project Citizen implemented? These questions were best answered and understood by comparing how PC was implemented in the Philippines with how it was implemented in the U.S. which were best addressed with the horizontal dimension of the vertical case study method.

For this chapter, I address the research questions that are answered in the vertical dimension of the case study. I discuss the answers to the following questions: *Why was Project Citizen chosen? What are the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy's main objectives in implementing Project Citizen? And, what is the perceived effectiveness of the*

program by stakeholders? It was useful to organize my data findings according to these questions, and the macro-, meso-, and micro-level dimensions of the vertical case study approach. Table 6.1 below summarizes the research findings for the three research questions noted above. For the remainder of this chapter, I provide a detailed explanation of my interpretation of the research data findings according to these three questions. In addition, I offer an analysis of a question embedded within my research question: *How is Project Citizen implemented?* Since indigenization is a significant element within policy implementation, I propose an answer to the question: *How was Project Citizen indigenized to the Philippine context?*

Table 6.1

Vertical Comparison Scales for Project Citizen Research Questions

	Why Was Project Citizen Chosen?	What are the PCCED's Goals with Project Citizen?	What are Stakeholder's Perceptions of Project Citizen Effectiveness?
<u>Macro</u> (Global/Region) World/Asia	-Globalization; spread of neoliberal policies -1997 Asian economic crisis fuels education reforms -World Bank's 1999 Education Sector Strategy	-Improve economic standing within the region & world -Transition from electoral to liberal democracy	-Timeframe for measuring success is long -Effects difficult to quantify and measure
<u>Meso</u> (Nation) Philippines	-DepEd adopts BEC, leads to marginalization of civic education -Political upheavals; EDSA I, II, & III -Elections deemed a problem due to poor voting habits	-Overcome cultural challenges to democracy -Gain DepEd adoption	-Changed attitudes toward government participation -Success stories of projects actually implemented -Expansion of PC program -Lacking DepEd endorsement
<u>Micro</u> (Organization) PCCED; School	-Professor witnesses PC in Malaysia -Awareness of grant money -Early success with CETS	-Target youth and teachers -Promote a willingness to defer to the common good -Cultivate political efficacy	-Teacher empowerment -Student empowerment -Competition component a drawback

Note: PCCED = Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy
 DepEd = Philippine Department of Education PC = Project Citizen
 BEC = Basic Education Curriculum reform

Why Was Project Citizen Chosen?

At the macro-level, there were several reasons that Project Citizen (PC) was chosen by the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED). In previous chapters, I discussed the importance of the historical context that situated the Philippines as a developing nation with a long colonial history, and as an emerging independent democracy striving to achieve democratic consolidation in the wake of a twenty-year period of repressive autocratic rule. I reviewed how the Philippines was positioned within the domains of: the globalization of educational reform, the internationalization of educational policy borrowing, and the effects of the global spread of neoliberal ideology on education. All of these macro-level elements contributed to the PCCED's eventual 2004 adoption of Project Citizen as a curriculum for promoting civic education.

However, certain modern contextual elements relevant to the implementation of PC and the formation of the PCCED merit discussion. First, at the regional macro-level, the 1997 economic crisis that affected many Asian nations led these nations to restructure their educational systems, and/or implement broad education reforms. Most of these reforms reflected a reaction to the global discourse regarding a new 'knowledge economy,' where ideas rather than material components of the economy, such as physical plants or buildings, were deemed the generator of economic success (Kennedy, 2008). In addition, the World Bank's 1999 Education Sector Strategy also influenced education reform in many developing countries seeking economic aid (Hickling-Hudson, 2002).

At the national or meso-level, a regional Asian economic crisis and the influence of the World Bank's policies precipitated education reforms for many Asian nations beginning in 1997 (Kennedy, 2008). In the Philippines, for example, the Asian economic crisis, the World Bank

policies, and the poor standings on international tests like the TIMMS and PISA, all contributed to the implementation of the “Basic Education Curriculum” in 2002. This reform was supposed to “decongest” the curriculum by regrouping the subjects into only five areas: Filipino, English, Science, Math, and *Makabayan* (an interdisciplinary subject that incorporates social studies, civics and culture, home economics, health, music, arts, PE, and values education). However, the restructuring of the curriculum caused the reduction of time spent on several subjects, including the marginalization of civic education.

Among PCCED members there was a perception that civic education was not a priority within the formal curriculum. This was a recurring theme throughout the research data, and included the idea that the trivial amount of civic education left within the curriculum was ineffective. A teacher and PC trainer, Elena, described her feelings about how the curriculum changes interfered with civic education instruction:

Usually in civic education, we just integrate it into our subjects. Especially right now, the big section before in grade 7, we are teaching Philippine history and government, so we have civic education subject lessons during part of the year. However, when we...when the government changed the curriculum, grade 7 was changed... or we usually deal with primary sources of history. So the focus of social studies in grade 7 is more on Philippine history other than civic education...So there are times that there is a hardship for us to really integrate civic education in our curriculum. If the teachers are not aware of civic education, I don't think that she can ...she will integrate it. (personal communication, June 15, 2013)

There was also a conception that too much focus on history within the social studies curriculum in the Philippines, contributed to the marginalization of civic education. Amado, an employee of a major PCCED sponsor, related:

But in our elementary and high schools, civic education is really not strong. In some schools, they don't even discuss it all. We only discuss Philippine history, Asian history, World history, but we never discuss in full details the processes of our democracy, what are our ...what's our democracy all about, what can we do about it, what's the

government, why is the government there, what can we do with them. Things like that are not discussed in full detail in school, high school or elementary. (personal communication, June 19, 2013)

Similar to the complaint of the overemphasis of history subjects, was the assessment that too much attention was given to rote memorization of facts, and not enough emphasis on processes of democracy. As PCCED employee Jorge stated, “unfortunately, well in high school, we had Philippine history, world history, Asian history, and economics in fourth year, right? So, they tend to be teachings of facts. But you don’t get to see the relevance of the facts in your life” (personal communication, June 17, 2013). Cruz, a former PC participant and current university instructor, weighed in on this topic:

And then aside from the actual exposure, I think a good citizenship curriculum must definitely not just teach to the test. Yes, I guess that’s one of the major issues nowadays in education, even here in the Philippines. Because it won’t really make sense if it’s just memorize all the terms because nowadays everything can be accessed with the click in the internet. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

PCCED member Rick also explained that memorization of facts was a problem:

We think that a good citizen possesses the necessary civic knowledge, civic skills and habits to be able to participate in his or her community. And we feel that those are three factors that the official curriculum is not focusing on. Even in terms of civic knowledge...there is a general observation really that, for instance that the teaching of Philippine history, or the teaching of Philippine government here is really bad. That history classes are reduced to memorization of dates or events of people. (personal communication, June 19, 2013)

Some concerns about the marginalization of civic education dealt with issues related to teachers. One issue was the lack of time within the school year to incorporate civic education; as

PCCED member Dr. Gabriel explained:

Now that one [implementation of PC ideas in the classroom] is quite a challenge, because the teachers are always forced to finish the objectives from the two-hundred days of class that are given to them. So, there’s a rush to finish the curriculum, and naturally the other

soft skills which are these democratic values and other thinking skills are usually relegated to the side. And they're not given much attention, really. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

Dr. Pedro also conveyed that teachers needed more time to develop civic skills and attitudes:

Some of these teachers tell us that we need this because we don't have, they don't have the...either maybe the resources, and I say resources, not just the money, but the time also, to do something outside the classroom, do something that's more real than just a discussion of things from a text book. So I think that makes it important. We are able to complement what our educational system provides in terms of citizenship education that the school needs. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Contrary to some participants' ideas that civic education was now marginalized, and therefore ineffective, PCCED member Dr. Carlos argued instead that although there was a long history of civic education in the Philippines, it has never been successful at imparting the important aspects needed for a democratic culture. He said:

The idea of civic education that we profess is, at least in the Philippine context, quite inoperative. Listen, we've had civic education for over a hundred years now. You know, the Americans introduced that. And of course, you know, we have voters' education every now and then. And of course there are courses in the primary and secondary schools that have to do with civic education. Sometimes they're called civic education. Sometimes they're called some other name, like social studies, for example. But I feel that there is really one aspect of civic education that has been ignored in the formal curriculum. And it has to do with nurturing the right habits and dispositions in people. Oftentimes, civic education in this country is just something that is generated for information dissemination. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

As explained above, the adoption of the Basic Education Curriculum reform led to PCCED members' perception of the marginalization of civic education in the Philippine curriculum. This was the first factor at the meso-level explaining why PC was chosen. I now to turn an explanation of the second factor, how frequent political uprisings also contributed to the PCCED's choice of the PC program.

The political events resulting from the 2001 ouster of President Joseph Estrada called EDSA II and EDSA III were also contributing factors at the meso-level to why PC was chosen. These uprisings created great turmoil for the Philippine political landscape and threatened the role of democratic processes. The first EDSA revolution, also referred to as the People Power Revolution, occurred in 1986 when dictator Ferdinand Marcos was deposed, and Corazon Aquino was installed as the legitimately elected President. The EDSA II revolution of January, 2001, came in the wake of an impeachment trial that failed to convict President Joseph Estrada, even though ample evidence of corruption and crimes existed. Hundreds of thousands of protestors gathered in the streets calling for Estrada's resignation, which eventually resulted in the nonviolent, yet extralegal, removal of Estrada, and the inauguration of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo as the new president. In April of that same year, EDSA III occurred. Protestors once again gathered on EDSA (Epifanio de los Santos Avenue, a major thoroughfare in Manila); this time supporters of Estrada demanded, unsuccessfully, for his reinstatement. For many Filipinos, the rampant corruption by government officials, and the ensuing political unrest, underlined the necessity of better voter preparation and civic education for citizens in order to prevent the election of incompetent and unscrupulous candidates. PCCED employee Maria suggested this attitude in the following statement:

We had another EDSA revolution; we kicked out a corrupt President, so people again were very optimistic and then it goes back to normal, and it's the same leaders, the same type of rule. We're still underdeveloped, people are still poor. That's a problem. People have very high expectations of democracy, of what it can deliver. Not understanding that democracy, to make it work requires good citizens. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

PC participants and PCCED members often mentioned the EDSA events. However, the first EDSA protest of 1986 seemed to summon feelings of disillusionment for some members.

As can be seen in PCCED employee Rick's statement, there was an element of frustration in not being able to accomplish political reforms due to a perceived lack of political will:

That revolution that toppled the dictator; the people power revolution. We have reduced it to really a caricature. In our 500 peso bill there is an image on the back, a soldier, a man giving flowers I think, or water, or whatever to the soldier. That's it. I mean, I think it's a nice image but...I mean and that's why you have people asking...you know EDSA has failed us. How can EDSA fail you? The people power revolution kicked out a dictator of 25 years. So it accomplished its task. So now the next question is, is it possible that the people may have failed EDSA? (personal communication, June 19, 2013)

Dr. Carlos expressed a similar sentiment:

We had the EDSA revolution...everyone was in the streets, for a few days people displayed that they can fully be with any people...that they can be a society. You can have society taking action, okay? But the sad thing is that we've not gone beyond the parliament in the streets. And these kinds of...I mean, access certainly opened up all sorts of possibilities, but I think the ball was dropped at some point. Because... this spirit...this whole idea of...society...of the common good, has not been translated into elements of everyday life. I mean, into things that have to do with garbage, of canals, of rabies, of dengue, you know. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

As can be seen in the comments about the EDSA protests, PCCED members felt that the "people power" revolutions had not brought about true democratic reform. Although corrupt leaders were overthrown, no substantial change in voting behavior occurred. Since PCCED members' poor appraisal of voter education programs also led to the choice of the PC program, I now turn to a discussion about Philippine voter education programs.

The third factor of why PC was chosen by the PCCED at the meso-level, was the perception that regular and meaningful civic education was a better approach to election reform than voter education programs. Voter education programs were instigated in the Philippines due to the recognition of many problems within the election process. The trend of voter education programs and advertisements has become commonplace before major elections. Although free

elections in the Philippines were reinstated after the Marcos-era Martial law period, today there is a general dissatisfaction with the electoral process and its outcomes (Schaffer, 2008). Getting people to vote is not a problem in the Philippines; the Philippines has a very high voter turnout rate. According to the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA, 2011), the voter turnout rate is between 75-85 percent in recent presidential elections. However, the quality of the candidates elected in the Philippines is perceived as inadequate. Scandals and corruption plague the tenure of many elected officials; they are viewed as incompetent at best, and completely corrupt and unscrupulous at worst. Many Filipino citizens see this poor leadership as the crux of problems like insufficient economic development, rampant poverty, and stark inequality of wealth. This problem seems more glaring for the Philippines especially when other Southeast Asian countries are experiencing successful economic development (Diokno, 2010).

PCCED members recognized that one of the most elementary traits in a democracy is a successful and well-functioning electoral process. However, in the Philippines electing competent, responsible, and honest leaders was hindered due to issues during the elections like voter intimidation, violence, and vote-buying, together often referred to as “goons, guns, and gold” (Schaffer, 2008). As a result, some Philippine organizations like the Parish Pastoral Council for Responsible Voting (PPCRV) and the National Citizens’ Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) have waged campaigns aimed at election reform through voter education, albeit with marginal success (Schaffer, 2008). As Rick, a member of PCCED, explained:

We do voter’s education here, a month before elections. And what do we do? We have TV infomercials. We have a one page literature that they send people. They have one day or half day seminars. They have candidate’s forums where they pit one candidate against the other. What you have is a cockfight rather than a really informative session. And you

see voter's education is not going to cure...I mean it's not going to miraculously create an intelligent voter. What you need to do is civic education. That's what you need to do. And you don't do it during elections, you do it in between elections. Because I guarantee if you do a good civic education program before the elections, come election time, you don't need a voter's education program. (personal communication, June 19, 2013)

In addition, Dr. Pedro stated:

I'm not sure if you've noticed, but there has been a big criticism on how Filipinos vote. They mostly vote based on personality politics, a lot of people from the entertainment industry enter politics, a lot of ignorant people are in politics. A lot of people from political dynasties stay in position. So initially they [early PCCED members] wanted to propose a voter's education program, but eventually they shifted it to a civic education program. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Both statements above conveyed what many members within the PCCED believed about the inadequacy of voter education in the Philippines. Voter education programs have not solved the election problems in the Philippines (Schaffer, 2008), and in the opinions of the PCCED members, it likely will not in the future. So, the motivation behind the initial use of the PC curriculum was tied to the belief that citizenship education should be an ongoing endeavor. For them, civic education must be carried out year-round, not as a last minute effort to prepare voters for the electoral process. Dr. Gabriel commented about this idea:

The vote buying during elections or [having a] selfish orientation in terms of what they want from the government, without thinking of what they can do to the government. So it's really educating people on democratic values, democratic ideas, democratic ways of thinking so that they can participate more actively and more prudently in the affairs of society. So, we like to begin it in the classroom. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

Preparing responsible citizens who have a reasoned understanding of the candidate platforms and issues was deemed a way to overcome the problems of poor voting habits. Since addressing habits, behavior, and dispositions was a major component of the PC curriculum, it

was very attractive to the PCCED members. Dr. Pedro explained his view about the relationship between citizenship education and democratic voting habits:

But I think beyond that, beyond the person going out and taking to the polls, and you know, saying that I want this candidate, it's really also about the process of arriving at that decision of who to vote for. So to me citizenship education is yeah, make them vote, make them participate, educate them about their rights, but it's also about how. I don't know how this will sound, but...I don't know if one person has the ruler for effective citizenship, but it's also about really going through a process of thinking about who to vote for. It's basing it on really, what they said in the debate, what their platform is, and how this person will impact my life. But unfortunately, in the Philippines, I don't think we're there yet, for some of us. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Dr. Carlos agreed that elections must not only be free from the typical vote-buying, and tampering, but he insisted that voters must begin to participate in ways that are also “meaningful.” He asserted that invoking the spirit of EDSA is not enough to transform the government:

But it's one thing to bring down a dictator. It's another thing to make elections work. It's another thing to have a responsible government. It's another thing to have a government that is mindful of human rights. So...or it's another thing to have elections that where the right people are elected. So for example, the funny thing is...that often times you have reform-minded people in the Philippines who are always complaining of the lack of free and honest elections in this country, because there's always cheating and so on. It will take more than clean and honest elections for us to get democracy. It's not enough. In fact what we should want is clean and honest and *meaningful* elections. Because we can honestly elect a nincompoop into office. We can honestly elect a scoundrel into office. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

As Dr. Carlos intimated in the above quote, bad leaders can be fairly elected. To help remedy the problems with elections, PCCED members asserted that civic education must occur as an ongoing process.

At the meso-level, there were three important factors that led to the PCCED's choice of the PC program. One, the PC program was chosen in order to develop more democratic

behaviors to counter the marginalization of civic education in the school system, brought about by the reorganization of the curriculum mandated by the 2002 Basic Education Curriculum reform. Two, the EDSA protests and subsequent political unrest led to great public anxiety over the political situation in the Philippines. And three, the poor appraisal of voter education programs, and the continuing election problems, led to the PC program being chosen. I now address the micro-level factors that led to the choice of Project Citizen.

At the micro-level of analysis, several important components led to the eventual implementation of PC. First, the awareness of grant money available from foreign donors provided the impetus for gaining initial funding for possible programs. Second, success with early civic education projects led the PCCED founding members to pursue additional means of expanding civic education. Specifically, the 2004 inaugural implementation and success of the Civic Education Training Seminars (CETS) sparked further enthusiasm for a more systematic approach to promoting civic education through both formal and informal educational venues. And third, a founding PCCED member's chance encounter of PC project displays at a conference in Malaysia led to the first informal implementation of the PC concept in a few Manila university classes. PCCED employee Maria explained how this very first engagement with PC happened:

And he was able to see the Project Citizen presentations of the Malaysians, and he really liked the program that from what he was able to see, he modified that a bit and introduced it in the curriculum. And I was one of the co-teachers there. So we were doing it in the classroom. A very simplified version of Project Citizen. There's a problem, you propose a solution. As simple as that. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

As Maria indicated above, the first attempts at PC were very informal, and incorporated within a few university undergraduate classes. These early attempts at promoting civic education eventually led to a structured and more formal civic education endeavor called the Civic

Education Training Seminar, or CETS. I now turn to a discussion of the specific details that led to the CETS, and how it in turn led to the PCCED's formal adoption and implementation of the PC curriculum.

Before the PCCED had official non-governmental organization (NGO) status, it existed as a cadre of University professors and instructors who were dedicated to the development of democracy within the Philippines by instilling in its citizens, through civic education, the essential values and responsibilities necessary for a functioning democratic republic. One of the original members of the PCCED learned of a U.S. Embassy small grants program. The grant was limited to projects seeking to foster democracy in the Philippines. At first, these members discussed developing a "voter education" program since responsible voting habits (e.g. not selling votes, voting for capable candidates, etc.) were a concern. However, they decided against a voter education program. Early members of the PCCED believed these programs failed to produce the desired responsible voters since corrupt and inept politicians and legislators were still often elected. So, a different approach to the problem was deemed necessary. Dr. Diego expounded on how they decided to approach civic education:

And so what we did was to come up with a program so that for every year there was a civic education curriculum of sorts, which we would teach the teachers. And, primarily public school teachers. To smuggle into their particular social studies subject so that the proposal, the grant proposal that we submitted to the Embassy was a three day program for public school teachers [of] high school social studies in which we would present to them the curriculum, and of course, the rationale for doing that. And then afterwards, [we would] have a workshop to teach them how to massage this into the existing curriculum. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

This newly devised Civic Education Training Seminar targeting social studies teachers earned the U.S. Embassy program grant. This change in focus away from pre-election voter education

to teacher training in civic education principles was viewed as an important philosophical shift in how democratic values and principles could be fostered.

In summary, to answer the question *Why was Project Citizen chosen for the Philippines?* I approached the evidence according to the vertical case study scales of macro-, meso-, and micro-levels. From the macro-level downward, there was a compounding effect of the many factors at each level, and their influence on the factors in succeeding scales. Starting at the macro-level, the global spread of neoliberal policies, the 1997 Asian economic crisis, and the World Bank's education strategy, produced the political atmosphere that led to the introduction of school reforms in many Asian countries. The meso-level factors identified were: the marginalization of civic education due to the newly adopted Basic Education Curriculum, lingering political anxiety caused by the 2001 EDSA political unrest, persistently corrupt elections, and inadequate voter education programs. Finally, at the micro-level, there were three important circumstances that influenced the choice of PC. The early success of the CETS social studies training, knowledge of the availability of a U.S. Embassy grant, and a PCCED member's fortuitous encounter with PC at a Malaysian conference, were all contributing factors leading to the implementation of PC in the Philippines. In the next section, I focus on the PCCED's goals with implementing Project Citizen.

What Were the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy's Goals with Project Citizen?

Since The Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED) came about as the result of the formal Project Citizen training at the U.S. Center for Civic Education in California, it makes sense that the goals of the PCCED are entwined with the goals of PC. For this section, one can think of the goals of PC at each level of the vertical dimension building on

the goals of the level before it. Beginning at the micro-level, the goals for PC contribute to the achievement of goals at the meso-level, while the meso-level goals contribute to the realization of the macro-level goals. The PCCED's objectives at the macro-level were to develop and improve the global economic standing of the Philippines, and to assist in transitioning the nation from an electoral democracy to a liberal democracy. At the meso-level, the objectives were to overcome cultural dispositions that inhibit the cultivation of democratic behaviors, and to eventually gain formal adoption for PC by the Philippine Department of Education (DepEd). At the micro-level, the PCCED was most interested in fostering dispositions that would lead to democratic behavior, so they targeted teachers and students in order to encourage a commitment to the common good, and to cultivate political efficacy.

At the macro-level of analysis, a major goal of the PCCED was to help the Philippines develop politically in order to transition to a liberal democracy and reap the accompanying economic benefits. PCCED member Rick alluded to the Philippines as still being only an electoral democracy: "especially when you reflect on the kind of democracy that we have here in the Philippines. And this is understandable because we are a young democracy. But to many people, democracy has been reduced to the electoral process" (personal communication, June 2013). By many members' statements, it was clear that they believed fostering better citizenship habits in the general public would lead to an improved government. Specifically, a more informed citizenry with better civic habits would lead to the election of competent government officials, which would in turn lead to an improved economy. Dr. Gabriel explained further:

So...this [the PCCED's approach to civic education] is very special in the Philippines, because there's a lot more that we can grow in terms of economic indicators and cultural indicators. I think we're very low in terms of indices of development and I look at it as a viable way to encourage development...through pushing for democratic ideas. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

In addition, Dr. Pedro explained how the specific goals of PC—fostering knowledge, skills, and dispositions—were linked to country development:

If you have a lot of people voting, participating in that process, then you have a mature citizenry. But I don't think that's the experience in the Philippines, unfortunately. So even when we have such a turnout, you take a look at the candidates...I'm sure you have read, you've read up on Philippine elections, and turnouts,...so unfortunately there's still much to be desired in that aspect of citizenship education. It's translating all of the knowledge, the skills, and the dispositions into something that really supports the common good and that really helps us move forward as a developing country. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

However, former PC participant Manuel's statement suggested that maintaining democratic principles is primary; economic development must not come at the sacrifice of political freedoms:

Democracy is important for Filipinos because then as now, Filipinos believe that democracy will be the pattern of government that will help them to improve their condition, and the well-being of the state. Because it is a fact that the authoritarian regime of the Marcoses, yes it brought economic means for the country on the sacrifice of the freedom of the people. So it's very unhealthy. So democracy is important to Filipinos because it will not only help them to achieve development in economic aspect or political aspect, but also develop it in the minds and hearts. (personal communication, June 20, 2013)

Manuel's statement articulated the general approach of the PCCED with PC in that the members wanted to initiate a curriculum program that addressed cultural concerns first, and if this was accomplished, then an improved economic and political situation would follow. Advancing national development through developing democratic behaviors would in turn be encouraged by the meso-level goals.

At the meso-level, the PCCED's use of the PC program consisted of two main goals. The first goal focused on overcoming cultural challenges inhibiting democracy, and the second goal strove to ensure the sustainability of PC by acquiring formal DepEd adoption. Overcoming

cultural challenges to democracy meant both developing cultural competencies more consistent with democracy, and moderating behaviors that were not. The three subordinate themes subsumed in the first goal of overcoming cultural challenges that inhibit democracy included: (1) fostering a positive national identity, (2) appreciating the rule of law, and (3) addressing conflict. ‘Fostering a positive identity’ addressed the cultural challenges identified by the PCCED as lack of “love of country,” and lack of pride in the accomplishments of the nation. ‘Appreciating the rule of law’ related to the cultural challenge attributed to a long history of social organization in small familial units where interpersonal traditions guided behavior. Lastly, the theme of ‘addressing conflict’ in a productive manner was a disposition that the PCCED wanted to encourage. I now turn to a more in-depth discussion of these meso-level goals, starting with overcoming cultural challenges to democracy.

During the analysis of the data, one of the first themes generated was that many participants believed that some aspects of the Philippine culture were incompatible with democracy. In a 2011 article written by Dr. Carlos, he quoted other scholars who have observed “that cultural factors play an important role in problems encountered with democratization” (quoting Inglehart in Harrison & Huntington, 2000, p. 92). In the following statement, Dr. Carlos reiterated this idea:

You’re a part of a society that wants to be a democracy, and democracies have certain cultural prerequisites and, as such, as far as I’m concerned, if you choose to be a democracy then I think you have to be prepared to undergo the cultural changes that need to happen for democratic institutions to operate properly. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

I found evidence of several cultural factors deemed to inhibit democracy in the research data. For example, hints of the cultural traits of *utang na loob*, *pakikisama*, and *kapwa*, summarized in Chapter 4, surfaced in some of the comments related to the meso-level factor of overcoming

challenges to democracy. The PCCED chose the PC curriculum as a viable means to both overcome cultural behaviors that inhibit democracy, and to foster behaviors thought to be ‘missing’ from the Filipino culture. The first illustration of this goal was revealed through the theme of ‘fostering a positive national identity.’

The following PCCED vision statement described the meaning of fostering a positive identity: “We envision a society whose citizens make democracy work out of love of country” (PCCED, 2015). Since PCCED members perceived many young people do not feel a “love of country,” one approach to remedying this deficit was to foster a “love of country” within the social studies curriculum through civic education. Dr. Diego asserted his ideas about this:

But...the observation I’m fond of making is that officially the Department of Education in the Philippines stresses in basic education, verbal skills, mathematical skills and science. And our comment is that many of these teachers, these students, who are well educated in these fields simply migrate, [and] the country remains the way it is. So what subject is there that will convince them to stay?...social studies. So our point is although you can make a distinction between love of country and citizenship education, in the sense that you don’t need to learn to love a particular country for citizenship education. At least for the needs of the Philippines that we see...they’ve got to be together. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Due to the marginalization of civics within the social studies curriculum, PCCED members believed that the current educational structure did not nurture a positive national identity. To address this, they opted to change the way the nation was envisioned; reorienting the nation from a depiction as a “failed democracy” to a more positive “nation in progress.” Dr. Carlos explained this idea in a conference paper:

The most foundational of these [key concepts informing PCCED’s work] is a revisionist historical perspective that first appeared in the CETS [Civic Education Training Seminar] modules: the concept of the Philippines as a nation and a democracy in progress (and not a failed nation or a floundering democracy). This actually interrogates the kind of primordialist discourse often reproduced in standard Philippine history textbooks. (PCCED member Dr. Carlos, conference paper, 2013)

This statement suggested the PCCED sought to rebrand the Philippines as a young democracy, and as such, Filipinos should be proud of what the nation has accomplished so far. Portraying the Philippines as a nation in progress was a necessary step for achieving the goal of promoting a positive national identity, especially since the Philippines is a country that lacks a long history of *nationhood*. As an archipelago with many ethnicities, and a protracted colonial history, the Philippines still wrestles with the reality of an uncertain national identity. For further evidence, one need only look to the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) to see a current example of disputed sovereignty. *Nationalism* as a construct is a widely debated subject, and within the Philippines there is a long history of debate over the topic as well (Claudio, 2013; Hogan, 2006; Mendoza & Perkinson, 2003). Without descending into the debate over nationalism, the PCCED members wanted to cultivate a positive concept of the nation. Dr. Carlos conveyed the idea of needing a national identity, while drawing attention to Jose Rizal, a Filipino national hero:

You have to have a country first. That's the reason why Rizal's interest was really this organization that he set up with *La Liga Filipina*. The Philippine League. And one of the goals of the League was to constitute the archipelago into one compact vigorous homogenous body. The word revolution does not appear anywhere. Obviously you know what happens after that...one, we create a country where there is none. Because, doing that was the most important thing. When that happens, he said in the novel [*El Filibusterismo*, which means *The Subversive*], "tyrants fall like a house of cards." If we are a country, if we are a people, who will...are prepared to die for our rights...then I can't see any tyranny sustaining itself...persisting. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

The idea of the Philippines as a single unified country is a relatively new idea. Yet, through this discourse, Dr. Carlos not only conveyed promoting a positive conception of nationhood, but also referenced the revered national hero, Jose Rizal, thereby eliciting national pride.

Another component for developing a positive national identity is related to the history of democracy in the Philippines. PCCED members asserted that democracy was relatively new in the Philippines, as Dr. Diego stated: “there are some assumptions of Project Citizen... which have to do with democracy and with relations among citizens, basic concepts of citizenship and government, which were relatively new in the Philippines” (personal communication, June 18, 2013). Because of this “newness” of democracy, PCCED members wanted to stress that a productive democracy takes time, and trial and error. They also emphasized progress takes time, and can be cultivated through civic education. PCCED employee Rosie expressed this feeling:

But I feel like the Americans, it took them how many years to also have that, to enjoy this kind of democracy. I feel we're already at the beginning. Yeah, probably the structures are not ready, probably the system is not ready, probably the people's mindset is not that much or enough to tackle democracy. But we should not lose hope. I feel that's why we have to invest so much in civic education. Because eventually, we will reap the benefits of being a democratic country. And I feel that there's no other form of government that really values people than democracy and I wouldn't want to see my country be under the rule of one person, or several people. I don't want to be in that aristocratic world. (personal communication, June 11, 2013)

Project Citizen helped PCCED members promote the idea that Filipinos should be proud to have adopted democracy, and that they should view their country as a “work in progress.” This helped to promote a positive Filipino identity. This rebranding of the Philippines as a nation in progress had an impact on PC participants, and was evident in the student reflection papers. For example, in PC participant Justin's reflection paper, referring to slow progress in his community, he stated: “I am not losing hope because I am aware the Philippine democracy is still nascent. It is a work in progress.” PC participant Angelo's reflection paper shows a positive attitude about a cultural element that could have a negative connotation:

The non-motorized tricycle which is more popular as pedicab is viewed by many as a downward trend and reflection of our economic status. But in reality, these pedicabs are efficient and convenient. Aside from the basic protection from the heat, rain, and flood, it

is also an ecofriendly vehicle due to no fuel consumption. (PC participant reflection paper)

Portraying the Philippines as a nation in progress was a means for promoting a positive national identity, and was the first sub-theme within the first meso-level goal of overcoming cultural challenges to democracy. I now turn to the second sub-theme of encouraging the common good.

Another theme that illustrates how PCCED members attempted to counter perceived cultural obstructions is ‘appreciating the rule of law.’ Appreciating the rule of law, and developing a sense of public order, were cultural traits that PCCED members identified as undeveloped in the Philippines. PCCED member Dr. Diego explained the historical roots for the lack of a Westernized legal-rational conception of rule of law:

We felt that there was very little appreciation for rule of law in the Philippines. And...as a historian...I told them, when the concept of law outside the city of Manila begins only in the last quarter of the 19th century. Before that, what you have is customs and traditions. So this whole concept of rule of law is really alien to those Filipinos. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Reflecting the lack of law-abiding behavior, as well as the lack of ability to vote properly, PC teacher and trainer, Elena, summed up her perceptions of cultural problems affecting Filipino society:

...especially in the Philippines, there are a lot of Filipino culture that needs to be changed...for example, there are a lot of Filipinos that don’t know how to follow simple rules, like crossing the streets. That’s why we have heavy traffic all the time. We are experiencing floods because of the trash everywhere. And then there are a lot of Filipinos who don’t know how to select their officials; usually they vote for the guy that is very popular, or that’s why family dynasty is existing in our country. And you cannot change that, unless you change their mind, or you make them realize that they need to do something. (personal communication, June 15, 2013)

In addition, PCCED member Rick identified the related issue of not appreciating public space as a shared space: “this is something that we’ve developed, it’s a failure to conceive of the public

space as a shared space. I don't know how the intellectual origins of that are, but to Filipinos a public space is a space that nobody owns. So nobody cares about it" (personal communication, June 19, 2013). A lack of appreciation for maintaining a shared public space was considered a symptom of a lack of appreciation for law and order. PCCED board member Dr. Pedro also addressed the lack of appreciation for societal order, and added how civic education can help to counter this:

Another aspect of citizenship education, I think in the Philippines, at least, is not just participation in those institutional events, but also participation in the community effectively. I mean...we as Filipinos participate in merry-making. You know about our fiestas, right? And you can rely on everyone to come out and join the games, etc., etc. But you know, cleaning up after is also participation. It's also very important participation, but unfortunately, you know, after the merry-making...I don't want to sound un-Filipino, because I love the merry-making part of our culture, and all of that. But I think part of citizenship education is also...ok after that, we also have keeping order in the community and everyone being involved...in keeping that order in the communities. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

The lack of a Westernized legal-rational conception of rule of law was also identified as a factor contributing to the persistence of patronage politics in the Philippines. PCCED member Dr. Carlos related how changing this behavior will lead to becoming a "mature" democracy:

In mature democracies I like to think that congressmen and senators or legislators...that people normally expect them to be legislating, most of the time. And so sometimes, you know, you guys [Americans] write your senators, write your congressmen to relay 'this is what I think you should be doing,' and so on. You know, in the Philippines... constituents also write to their congressmen. Except that they write them asking for jobs. They ask for recommendations so that they get accepted to some government office. Or they're asking for this particular kind of job. So this is disconnected, right? Okay, in theory, your congressman is supposed to be a legislator. In practice, he's supposed to be a dispenser of patronage. So to me it's a problem...it's not even Dynastism itself. The problem is lack of citizenship. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

The concept of *utang na loob*, or 'debt of reciprocity,' is present in the above statement. In scholarly research, the cultural practice of *utang na loob* is often blamed for the persistence of

patronage politics. According to PCCED members, this latent system of ‘favors owed and favors repaid’ remains in the Philippines. In order to transition from this more personalized manner of conducting business transactions to the legal-rational concept of rule of law, PCCED members sought to instill new democratic habits through adopting the PC program.

The last sub-theme of the meso-level goal of overcoming cultural challenges to democracy, was ‘addressing conflict.’ This was expressed in participants’ comments about behaviors associated with getting along with others, and with Filipinos having a “forgetting” disposition. Avoiding conflict is a cultural trait recognized in scholarly literature about the Philippines, and was usually discussed as a component of the cultural value of *pakikisama*, or “smooth interpersonal relations.” Abueva (1976) characterized *pakikisama* as an “acceptance of inequality and hierarchy and conformism [that are] valued as a way of ensuring harmony and togetherness” (p.131). Rick identified the cultural behavior of avoiding conflict as a disposition that inhibits productive functioning in a democracy:

And I think there is a general thinking among Filipinos that they’d rather not engage in a debate, in a discussion, because it’s too complicated. They may hurt feelings of other people, so they’d rather keep quiet. So there’s a negative impression among people in terms of [how] debate and discourse are concerned. You ask people what they think of legislators, of congressmen and senators, and you’d always have negative reactions. And one of those negative reactions is that ‘well I don’t like them because all they do is talk.’ It’s really difficult to understand if you think about it, because you know, it’s a deliberative assembly. You elect people precisely *to* talk. You know, you get uncomfortable when people are not talking in congress and they keep on making all of these laws, so it’s a kind of thinking that we need to change. (personal communication, June 19, 2013)

Some participants discussed the “forgetting” nature of Filipinos, and how it contributed to political problems. Having a “forgive and forget” attitude is related to avoiding conflict, and is a component of *pakikisama*, or “smooth interpersonal relations. It is also related to the cultural value of *kapwa* which is identified in scholarly literature as an ethos of shared-identity and

egalitarianism that governs interdependent relationships for Filipinos. For example, PCCED employee Jorge explained:

I think Filipinos have this problem of forgetting. We are a very forgiving people, so for example, we overthrew our dictator 20 years ago, but now you see family members in the congress and in the senate, and in local politics. So we have this problem of forgetting things easily. We don't learn from our mistakes. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

In the following comment by Anita, her slip of the tongue in referring to Mayor Estrada as President Estrada only highlighted the point she was trying to make. Although former President Estrada was impeached in 2001, and forced to resign, he was later elected mayor of Manila in 2013. With hints of both *kapwa* and *pakikisama*, Anita alluded to this attribute of forgetting:

Once you ask them [Filipino citizens] about, what do you think of President, er Mayor Estrada? ... 'it's okay.' That's the answer, 'it's okay.' Because they have forgotten what happened before. That's why I think Filipinos are very happy people because they easily forget the bad things that happened to them. (personal communication, June 11, 2013)

Since addressing conflict productively was perceived as an important feature of a well-functioning democracy, PCCED members chose the PC program as a means of teaching people how to address conflict, rather than avoid it. This was reflected in PC student reflection papers as well. For example, Emilio conveyed: "What I learned the most from Project Citizen is that we need to communicate with other people to find out what the real problem is. We may not at first identify the problem, but...we'll eventually get to the root of things—where the true conflict lies."

Although members of the PCCED asserted that the Philippines must undergo a cultural transformation for democracy to thrive, they also acknowledged that addressing cultural changes is a delicate subject. In her comment, Dr. Gabriel identified her understanding of a cultural "colonial mentality" in the Philippines:

We also have to look back at history there, we had years of thinking that we have been inferior and that we have been in terms of colonial mentality, these are past events that continue to shape us. And then people are continually clouded with a kind of thinking that we are trapped in the past. But that's what we tell them, that past is past and that we can learn from it. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

Dr. Diego explained the importance of recognizing how history affects a culture in the present, as well as, the importance of addressing embedded cultural traits in a considerate manner:

Our problems with the elections in the Philippines [is] not four generations old. They go way beyond the rebellion [toward] the Spaniards... and so the civic education program to offer people, it's not just the voting and the qualifications...you're talking about attitudes and values that have been there for centuries. Then you have to know how to detect them. And you have to know how to dismantle them. But if you're aggressive, then people feel you're being disrespectful of their culture, and you are. You really are. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Up to this point in the discussion of meso-level goals, I reviewed the first goal of PC, the goal of overcoming cultural challenges to developing democratic behavior. The three sub-goals within this main goal were: fostering patriotism, appreciating the rule of law, and addressing conflict. I also made connections to Filipino cultural traits identified in the research literature. I now address the second meso-level goal of PCCED in using PC, which was the goal of gaining official PC adoption by the Department of Education.

The last PCCED goal at the meso-, or national, level attempted to ensure the sustainability of the PC program by convincing officials in the national Department of Education (DepEd) to formally adopt PC into the sanctioned curriculum. As Dr. Diego explained, "as far as Project Citizen is concerned, I think my dream and it's really the dream of the NGO, is that it get adopted by different district supervisors and incorporated into the regular curriculum of the school system" (personal communication, June 2013). In addition, Dr. Gabriel explained the challenge of sustainability with the PC program, and how DepEd adoption would help:

The challenge that we have to also try to address here is how we can make it [PC] more sustained. Because we do PC on a year-to-year basis. We always have to write people, the Department of Education. But if we can have it part of the system in a way that they have incorporated that in the calendar of activities of the Department of Education, then that would already mean that without our efforts already, on their own, the Department of Education runs the Project Citizen. We have not done that. So right now it's still owned by the PCCED. But if we can really forge a partnership with the Department of Education, so that we have the PCCED doing it rightly. (personal communication, June 17, 2013).

Some statements exposed an underlying belief that the PC program would be more successful if the national DepEd would officially adopt it. PCCED member Rick discussed this challenge:

[Having] it integrated into the curriculum, I think that's the biggest challenge. And to a certain extent, the weakness of PC because the extent to which teachers would refuse ... teachers that we train would refuse to be part of PC, it's only because of the schedules. And that there's no Department memorandum or circular telling them that this is required. (personal communication, June 19, 2013)

Teacher and PC trainer Elena also believed the DepEd needed to adopt PC. She suggested that the reach of the program could be expanded to many more students with DepEd support:

If they [the PCCED] really want the school kids to really learn about Project Citizen or civic education, then I think they have to influence first the Department of Education to really integrate civic education and to be part of the operation. Because if it will not be part of the curriculum, the civic education subject will be only limited to a few students. So I think that they have to adopt or initiate it through the Department of Education. (personal communication, June 15, 2013)

However, persuading the DepEd to adopt PC into the national curriculum was described as difficult. In addition to the DepEd's preoccupation with a newly mandated reform, the *K+12 Basic Education Curriculum*, and subsequent restructuring of the schools, PCCED members mentioned the complexity of dealing with the DepEd due to its "calcified" bureaucratic structure. Dr. Carlos discussed this issue further:

Hopefully, in the near future, we can actually institutionalize this. Of course it's, you know, if you're operating in an environment like the Philippines, you have a bureaucracy

that's really calcified...things move very slowly. And so I think what's working for us here is because, since we started out with a project like CETS (Civic Education Training Seminar), where we were able to actually...help teachers...sort of smuggle content into the formal curriculum. Although we are...we know that in some countries, for example...Project Citizen has received the official support of government. Well, that would be ideal. But, we have our own set of challenges in the Philippines. We work with those challenges. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

To summarize the goals at the meso-level, the PCCED's use of the PC program involved two main components. The first goal focused on overcoming cultural challenges inhibiting democracy, while the second goal concerned acquiring official PC adoption by the DepEd thereby ensuring its sustainability. Overcoming cultural challenges to democracy denoted both developing cultural competencies more consistent with democracy, and discouraging behaviors that were not. Three subordinate themes subsumed in the goal of overcoming cultural challenges inhibiting democracy included: (1) fostering a positive national identity, (2) appreciating the rule of law, and (3) addressing conflict. I also addressed connections between the specific cultural traits of *utang na loob*, *pakikisama*, and *kapwa*, with PCCED members' perceptions of cultural challenges to democracy. I now turn to the micro-level goals of the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy in implementing the Project Citizen curriculum.

The objectives at the micro-level for using PC involved the practicalities and details for ensuring the overarching macro-level and meso-level goals. Since a dominant theme at the meso-level was overcoming cultural challenges to democratic behaviors, it is logical that the micro-level goals for using PC relate to fostering democratic dispositions in individuals. The fundamental goals of using PC at the micro-level of analysis were to target teachers and students in order to: (1) encourage a willingness to defer to the common good, and (2) cultivate political efficacy. PCCED employee Maria expressed that the PCCED specifically targets public school youth:

We're trying to, in our little corner, in our little ways, we're trying to effect change by targeting the young people. If you notice, we mostly target public high schools, because we feel that private high schools, they get better civic education than public high schools, primarily because of the time they have in their schooling, the quality of teachers that they have. So if you have little resources to do teacher training, we would like to give it to the public school system. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Moreover, with regard to targeting the youth, many members expressed specific knowledge about the development of young people and the age-appropriateness of the PC program. Jorge understood that “the best time to teach civic education is in high school. That’s where they form their political maturity” (personal communication, June 17, 2013).

The PCCED goals with the PC curriculum were not limited to outcomes in the students. The purpose of implementing PC was also to assist teachers by providing training and a curriculum that promotes civic education. Maria explained the PCCED strategy:

It’s also why we specifically focus on teachers, I mean we train teachers, not students. We train teachers who will be training students. Our strategy is also on that multiplier effect. That to train people who can reach out to more people. Like if you train students, then it stays with them. But if you train teachers, then imagine every year how many students go through them. (Maria, personal communication, June 18, 2013)

The next PCCED goal for PC at the micro-level encompassed the basic democratic behavior of promoting the common good—though never explicitly stated in the Project Citizen materials, the notion of the common good came up repeatedly throughout the interviews and documents. For example, from PC student participant Sunny’s reflection paper, she highlighted her own conception of primary democratic values: “Upon reflecting on my experiences here in Project Citizen, I have come up with my own formula of the fundamental values of democracy. This is E (equality) + J (justice) = C (common good).” Values like equality and justice connected with the notion of the common good were often explicitly and implicitly expressed in the research data.

For the Philippines, members determined that promoting the common good required two things: expanding the common good to “anonymous others,” and instilling an inclination to defer to the common good. Encouraging the notion of the common good in the Philippines was deemed a challenge due to embedded structural and cultural elements, like the innate familial nature of the Philippine culture. From a historical perspective, extending the common good as a concept for the larger community was relatively new in many rural areas in the Philippines. Dr. Diego explained:

And it's that concept of the common good which is new in our country. So there are huge parts of the Philippines, the Visayas, in Mindanao, which developed communities...which went beyond the family only in the 19th century. That's very recent. That's very recent, and what it means is that they have not developed the traditions for discipline, collaboration, coordination, which you need for a self-respecting society. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Since this familial level of social organization was viewed as deeply embedded in the Filipino culture, direct intervention was required in order to transition to more democratic cultural dispositions, like valuing the common good, and a commitment to people beyond immediate family and community. The Project Citizen curriculum provided a direct means of this intervention. Dr. Carlos explained the need for this cultural transition:

I think with many Filipinos, I don't mean to generalize but I'm just talking about the Filipinos that I am, that I encounter...we have built our social lives around friends and family. So in a sense, our social life is still pretty much defined by intimacy... But then you can't build a democratic society on the basis of that. Because you need to relate to each other, not only as friends, but you have to really to work with other people who are not friends and family. So, since there's a need to go beyond this intimate circle of friends and family, and put people to sort of locate themselves naturally, in this larger society of anonymous others. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

Amado, a representative of a sponsor business of the PCCED, expressed the same sentiment: “It wouldn't stop with awareness. Just being aware and involved, but it's expanding your concern.

Not just with your family, but to all the people around you, realizing that you're all interconnected" (personal communication, June 19, 2013).

Deferring to the common good is the other component for the goal of promoting the common good. This implied not only fostering the common good, but actually acquiescing to the greater good, rather than a personal gain. For example, Cruz, a former PC participant, and current University instructor, explained:

It [citizenship education] teaches people to exercise their freedom properly and if you do that you don't go against other people. There is equality in every aspect. You always think of the good of the other person, because in citizenship education we always emphasize their...the good of the society, right? The good of the other person. Not just your personal good. That's what I think is the relationship between citizenship education and democracy. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

In Dr. Gabriel's illustration of a good citizen, she also suggested deferring to the common good:

For me, a good citizen is...thinking what she can do to serve the good of the community and of society. She makes decisions that will benefit society, so every time she's in dilemma between a personal good and a common good ...that good citizen should be able to make a choice for the common good, that which will bring about the good of each member of the community. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

The Project Citizen program is devoted to developing students' knowledge, skills, and dispositions so that they may actively participate in a democratic society. For the PCCED members, encouraging a willingness to defer to the common good was part of their strategy to foster democratic dispositions.

The last goal at the micro-level for PC was to encourage political efficacy. Encouraging feelings of political efficacy was a stated objective of the PC curriculum, and one of the key features that attracted PCCED members to the program. The objective was to help participants feel as though they were effective in influencing positive change in their community. An

important aspect of this goal was to encourage the realization that successfully “making a difference” could be on a small scale. Maria further explained:

I guess another is a good citizen is someone who feels that he can actually make a difference and he wants to make a difference. Not in a general, you know change the world, change the Philippines sense, but make a difference in his or her small corner. (PCCED employee Maria, personal communication, June 18, 2013)

PCCED employee Anita shared her view of the goals of PC for students, and stressed the importance of developing student confidence:

First is to train high school students to effectively participate in creating or crafting a policy proposal. To then choose a community problem. Second is to develop in them a sense of confidence that they can participate and make their, a change in their own little ways. I think, I’m not reading it, but for me that’s the things that Project Citizen addresses. (personal communication, June 11, 2013)

PC alumni and university instructor Cruz reflected on his experience with a similar sentiment:

I think the most lasting effect that it had for me is the fact that I was able to realize that as a normal citizen I have a say in the things that are happening in my own community or at least in the community near where my school operates. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

Encouraging political efficacy was a stated goal of PC, and a goal of the PCCED. By implementing the Project Citizen program, members were able to foster political efficacy by showing that “making a difference” in the community, even in small ways, was a significant step in influencing positive political participation and change.

What are Stakeholders’ Perceptions of Project Citizen Effectiveness?

For the last research question, my aim is to explain stakeholders’ perceptions of the effectiveness of Project Citizen, or how well PC is achieving its goals. This question was also examined across the macro-, meso-, and micro-, levels of analysis. This section addresses how PCCED members and employees, teachers, students, and partner or sponsor representatives,

perceived the effectiveness of PC. So, the implementation of PC was not evaluated per se. Instead, the effectiveness of the program was based on whether or not stakeholders believed PC was achieving PCCED goals. At the macro-level, although the PCCED considered PC a quality program, PC's effects were deemed difficult to measure and quantify mainly because societal change is a slow process. PCCED members felt the effectiveness of PC might not be measurable until a time much farther in the future. At the meso-level, PCCED members and participants believed evidence of changed attitudes, PC project success stories, and the expansion of PC to other contexts and subjects, were indicators of the effectiveness of the PC program. However, they also suggested the lack of formal DepEd adoption was a challenging aspect. At the micro-level, PCCED members viewed the evidence of teacher and student empowerment as indicators that the PC goals were indeed effective, but they suggested the competition aspect was a possible ineffective adaptation.

At the macro-level, many stakeholders believed that the biggest strength of the program was the "program itself." The participants recognized the inherent quality of the curriculum and its focus on the balance between content and process. PCCED member Maria elaborated on some of the specific quality aspects of the PC program:

Like in how we do Project Citizen, we are very much concerned about the civic knowledge that it targets how government works, what democracy is, the rules and responsibilities of citizens, and government officials. Then we also target civic skills like how to debate, how to do public speaking, how to form an opinion, how to defend an opinion, how to do consensus building, and all that. And civic dispositions, like to instill in them an active commitment to participating in civic life. So I guess that's our view of what a good citizenship program should have. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Due to this perceived quality, the PC program was credited with attracting and maintaining the interest of not only teachers, and students, but also other members of the community who

contributed as volunteers. Dr. Pedro believed the abundant support from teachers was an indication of the success of the program:

Because as I said, it's not incorporated in any of the subjects. So it takes time really, you have to have time to be able to facilitate the process. The students must be willing to do it, etc., it's on top of what they're already doing, so you know we have a packed basic education curriculum. So to be able to get teachers to sign up and adopt it and for so many years now, I think it's an indication of success. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

PCCED employee Helen commented on the strength of the program due to the commitment of the people who support it:

Well, one of the strengths also is the volunteers, because we get to get a lot of people and we do not pay them. We just feed them, and they already commit themselves to project citizen and that's what we are really grateful of and ...also really the strength of PC is the people around it. The strength I believe is the commitment of the people in it, even if it is very few. So well, I've seen them working really very, very hard, working over time without pay. (personal communication, June 11, 2013)

Although PC was considered a strong and quality program, PCCED members explained that the success of PC was difficult to evaluate. First, many PCCED goals dealt with dispositions which were not easily quantified, and second, accomplishing these goals required a great deal of time, especially at the macro-level. PCCED employee Rosie explained:

A lot of people are seeing, ah...you're focusing on capacity building. How much of this, how much of the actions are really sustainable? Probably from those people, in those people's eyes, capacity building...training for citizenship doesn't translate to output. It's not like when you train them for livelihood you see the results by looking at how much they earn from selling those. But in training for civic education it's a lifelong commitment. So you don't see it right away. But, eventually the whole country will benefit from it. (PCCED employee Rosie, personal communication, June 11, 2013)

The stakeholders recognized that changing perceptions about what a democracy is, and how it works, was not an easy task, nor was the change immediately observable. Dr. Carlos explained:

The impact is not something that you will see right away. We're talking about the entire psyche, about making institutions work the way they're supposed to be working, as they were designed to work. So this is a process that's slow. But you know, if you begin to see how students, if you can see how students for example learn to, for example, have a debate, a meaningful debate...I mean, not a shouting match, an honest disagreement that is in fact supported by kind of a partnership for the common good. If you see that happen, then I think you have made a difference already. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

Not only was there a perception that these goals take time to achieve, but also allowing enough time to see success was important. PCCED employee Rick believed that success was a slow process, and could only be achieved by allowing the necessary time, and keeping a smaller focus for success. In a discussion about strengths and weaknesses of PC, he elaborated on this idea:

So the teachers from Tagbilaran are actually serving as our consultants now. So I mean those things, and I think that's really the strategy that can answer that question. I cannot say that yes in my lifetime that will happen...but I think in...if you do it slowly, you know, which I said, corner by corner. And show the world, show people that there's something here and that this focus on the negative, I think it can go. (personal communication, June 19, 2013)

In the above statement, Rick explained that progress takes time, but the Philippines could one day "show the world" its success. Dr. Gabriel agreed that transitioning to more democratic dispositions will take time, and that it was a learning process:

Because people give up so easily on democracy because they think it's not good, but then people are not ready for it. But it's worth it in terms of ...people commit mistakes in the process. That's better. I mean that's one way of exercising the democracy, and learning in the process. So for me it's something that they are growing in as a country, as a nation. And it will take a while. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

Many student participants were influenced by the strength of the curriculum according to both student reflection paper statements, and through anecdotal comments from PCCED members.

Dr. Diego expressed an oft told anecdotal story about how the program was successful in instilling love of country:

Another teacher gave us the anecdote about a high school senior who told him that his whole plan after graduation was to try to migrate to the states. But after the experience of Project Citizen, he had decided to stay in the Philippines and maybe even teach in a provincial school like this teacher who was himself a fantastic example of someone who spoke English very well, when you listen to him, to this guy is smart. And he's in a modest town in the province. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

To summarize the macro-level, although PC was deemed a quality program, PCCED members expressed concern that the effectiveness of PC was difficult to quantify and measure. The effectiveness of participating in PC was not easily measured and quantified, since the benefits were often intangible, like a student learning to have a meaningful debate. Members also conveyed that outcomes of civic education were difficult to observe due to the prolonged amount of time necessary to see results. I now turn to perceptions of effectiveness at the meso-level of analysis.

At the meso-level, PCCED members perceived effectiveness of the Project Citizen program through three categories of evidence. These categories were: (1) the changed attitudes of students, (2) PC project success stories, and (3) the general expansion the program's reach, and its adaptation to other contexts and subjects. However, the inability to acquire formal DepEd adoption of the PC program into the formal curriculum was considered a drawback. According to several evaluations and the tracer study, conducted by the PCCED, students who participated in Project Citizen exhibited changed attitudes in political efficacy, and changed attitudes toward participation in community development. Anecdotal evidence also corroborated the beliefs that as a result of PC, students changed their attitudes about democracy and government, and their role for improving the country. PC student participant Rosalia's reflection paper described her change of heart:

I have realized that, as a citizen, I have been so ignorant about all the problems of the Philippines. I always complain about how inefficient and corrupt our government

officials are but I honestly do not do my part in creating a better Philippine society. I, myself, do not follow rules as simple as using the pedestrian lane. When I saw these people and the major problems they face, I felt so guilty in the hypocritical life I've been living.

Another important meso-level indicator of effectiveness was the many PC project proposals initiated and completed in the local Barangays. Perhaps the most concrete indicator of PC program effectiveness was the fulfilled PC projects. Many PC teams presented their PC project proposals to local government officials, or Barangay leaders, with hopes of convincing the officials to implement their suggestions. In several cases, the student teams were successful. PCCED employee Rosie explained one of these projects:

This is one of the more remarkable stories to me, because they [PC students] were able to assist the local government to build the pedestrian overpass. And the last time I visited them, that I went there, and I always see that it's a Project Citizen project! Because they were able to push their local government, not the Barangay but the local government to support them. So, students are not having troubles crossing the streets because it's a highway. (personal communication, June 11, 2013)

The micro-level goals of PC were clearly reflected in Rosie's statement; it showed great political efficacy for the students to approach not just the Barangay leaders, but the higher authority of the local government unit, to fulfill the planned proposal. So, in addition to many proposals accepted at the Barangay level, there were also some proposals adopted by local governments.

Dr. Pedro reflected on this aspect as well:

I think one of the things that has worked for Project Citizen is that...and I don't know to what I could attribute it, but for some reason our students and their facilitators, even after the showcase, follow it up. They submit their policy proposal to the local government, the local government hears about it, and so we have policies that have actually been adopted by local governments. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Other examples of successfully completed project proposals include: reinforced classroom walls and windows near noisy highways, smoking bans near schools, more officials near schools to

enforce a variety of traffic and pedestrian regulations, the initiation of a community garden, and retaining walls to prevent flooding.

The last perceived success of PC at the meso-level was its overall expansion in terms of geographic reach, and number of participants. The program grew substantially over the last ten years. Even though some of the participants recognized that sustainability was a weakness of PC, many also suggested that the PC program achieved a certain momentum that ensured its continuation. Dr. Pedro explained his view:

It [Project Citizen] has gained critical mass. Because when we started with a handful of teachers, and a handful of schools, and then we had to put the word out there, we had to have...to secure the endorsement of the Department of Education, etc., etc. But at this point, I think it's something that has taken on its own life. But not to say that it's different from what it was before, but in terms of its sustainability, its sustenance. It has achieved that critical mass. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

PCCED employee Helen expressed a similar sentiment but with regard to the PCCED:

We're expanding into different areas; we're getting more staff, and we're being invited in a lot of seminars and forums. Here in the Philippines and abroad. I think that's...and we're doing a lot of networking and well, I think that those are very good indicators that PCCED is somehow emerging from what it used to be. And well, PCCED from what I know has been housed at UA&P, and I think we have been managing to get out of that and get established on our own. And most of our board members right now came from UA&P, but we are getting more members interested outside of UA&P. So I think that's good. (personal communication, June 11, 2013)

Another example of the expansion of PC was the adaptations of the program to other contexts and subjects. The flexibility of the PC program was also a perceived strength. The PC curriculum is used in all fifty states in the U.S., and has been adopted in 75 countries worldwide (Center for Civic Education, 2014). This is evidence that the program has enough flexibility to be useful in a wide variety of contexts. For example, the PCCED adapted PC to one of its other programs called the Barangay Rule of Law Seminar. An adapted version of PC was also

employed by a French foundation aiding the poor in Manila, by the Barangay youth councils, and by a youth leadership program called LeadCom.

PCCED members discussed the possibility of adapting PC to other subjects in school, like art, math, or science. In addition, Dr. Carlos suggested that the PC program be adapted and utilized in the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao to alleviate some of the hostilities there:

But, just this morning during our meeting... this overlaps with what we were discussing, for example the possibility of using Project Citizen as a way to assist in the peace process in Mindanao. For example, if you can have a single team of young people...you know...one half Christian, one half Muslim...trying to solve the problem of Dengue [a mosquito-borne disease] in the community. I mean that's a perfect time for them to see beyond what divides them. You're Christian...You're Muslim...we both get bitten by mosquitos. We both get Dengue [mosquito borne illness]...you know? (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

The perceived effectiveness of Project Citizen at the meso-level was expressed according to several indicators. Project Citizen's inherent flexibility, and its adaptations to other contexts and by other organizations, were perceived as indicators of its effectiveness. In addition, students' transformed attitudes toward community participation, and the completion of PC projects in the local governments and Barangays were other indicators of success.

However, also at the meso-level, the PCCED members mentioned one significant shortcoming of the PC program. The lack of official endorsement by the national DepEd, and its failure to sanction Project Citizen's adoption into the national curriculum, was considered a drawback by many in the PCCED. Maria explained how management of the PC program would be improved if the DepEd adopted it:

Now the priority is K to 12. So it's really hard to put in Project Citizen as one of their priorities. But I guess that's our weakness. I mean if we have DepEd support, we would have a broader reach, we would have a stronger program. And I guess also, funding. I

mean we don't have really like people who could really work fulltime and devote himself or herself to Project Citizen. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Project Citizen teacher and trainer Elena suggested that for many teachers implementing PC was too difficult due to lack of support from their administrators: "I am very lucky because my principal is like that [supportive]. But if you don't have that kind of principal, I don't think that you can continue on the project. So that's more the weakness of Project Citizen" (personal communication, June 15, 2013). Without DepEd endorsement, the reported support from all levels was varied and inconsistent. Elena also stated that a weakness of PC was its limited accessibility to students:

Yeah, that's one of the weaknesses of Project Citizen. And also, it's only limited to the project students that you are handling. Because the school is only handling one group, and one group is only composed of twenty students. And for example, here in this school, we have 5,000 students. (personal communication, June 15, 2013)

Implied in the above statement was that if the program were mandated, then all students would be able to participate and benefit from the program. PCCED employee Rick also recognized the importance of gaining DepEd adoption:

I think there's a need for PC to, slowly...integrate itself into the formal curriculum. We've had many instances where teachers would join PC and would continue doing PC. And that's good, but I think at some point, not this year, but in the near future, we have to make a serious push to really try to get the Department of Education to just take a look at Project Citizen and the success stories. (personal communication, June 19, 2013)

At the meso-level of analysis, PCCED members perceived effectiveness of the Project Citizen program according to several indicators of success. Evidence such as transformed attitudes of students, project success stories, and the general expansion of the program, were commonly suggested indicators of success. However, the inability to acquire formal DepEd

adoption of the PC program into the formal curriculum was considered a drawback. The micro-level evidence is reviewed in the following section.

At the micro-level of analysis, two key themes related to the perceived success of the Philippine PC program were both student and teacher empowerment as indicators of success. These themes, like those at the macro- and meso-level, were directly connected to the PCCED's goals with PC. Since the micro-level goals of PC were to promote a broader conception of the common good, and to cultivate the political efficacy of students and teachers, the indicator of effectiveness was the creation of citizens who expressed these goals.

Since a fundamental goal of the PC curriculum is to cultivate political efficacy, it was logical that stakeholders would gauge success through evidence of student empowerment. Many participants shared comments that highlighted the development of student empowerment. For example, former PC participant and university instructor Cruz stated that PC helps students realize their own potential:

I think the greatest strength of the Project Citizen program is the fact that it enables the students to experience what actual participation is really all about. Because without which I think students may not even realize that they can do something for a community no matter how small the project that they propose. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

PCCED employee Rosie implied working together as a team contributed to the strength of PC and its ability to encourage ownership of political problems and solutions:

For example, in one team, you're comprised of 20 people, implementing...20 young students implementing Project Citizen. Not everyone goes through the Barangay interview. Maybe half of them. But if you're part of the team who's working on a community problem, there's already a sense of ownership. A sense of ownership on the problem, and on the solution. (personal communication, June 11, 2013)

Elena discussed how the empowerment of the students had been a positive influence on Barangay officials. She indicated that the officials became more empowered too, and behaved more responsibly:

They [Barangay officials] are very happy because, especially the Barangay chairman, because they realize that the students nowadays are very much aware about how they are completing their job. So, they are more cautious and they become more responsible for revealing the truth and responding to the issues within their community. I think that's one of the achievements of Project Citizen. (personal communication, June 15, 2013)

Another outcome of student empowerment was students' 'meaningful' participation in the community. As PC teacher Elena related, "The biggest strength to Project Citizen is the program develops critical minded students. And at the same time, after the Project Citizen project, the student has a positive outlook on their community and about themselves" (PC Teacher Elena, personal communication, June 15, 2013). As Elena's statement conveyed, PC participants began to participate in their communities in very meaningful ways. This theme was clearly tied to the PC goal of promoting the common good. Dr. Pedro elaborated:

When they say that now it's more real for me as a community member, it's no longer just an address that I go to. But it's an actual community that I belong to. To me, that stands out because that's an effect beyond education. You know, it's beyond knowing who Rizal is. It's knowing that we are a democracy. It's knowing that this is my community, and this is happening and I should be part of it. So, to me when I read the reflection papers, that really stands out. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Likewise, in PC participant Nathan's reflection paper, he asserted a similar sentiment:

Taking responsibilities in resolving community issues is a way in recognizing your full potentials and helps you overcome your limits. Through this way, character is being transformed. Indeed, Project Citizen makes me a better student, a responsible individual as well as a proactive citizen of my community and of my nation.

For PCCED members, students gaining meaning from participating in the community was an important component in developing students' empowerment and political efficacy. Members

believed that student empowerment was an indicator of PC's effectiveness. Teacher empowerment was also considered a valuable sign of success of the program.

Evidence supporting teacher empowerment as a result of the PC program were found in examples that are both tangible and intangible. One of the best material examples of teacher empowerment was the creation of a lesson exemplar book by teachers in Tagbilaran City School District called *Civic Education: Lesson Exemplars for High School Social Studies Teachers*. The Tagbilaran teachers realized after conducting a run of Project Citizen, that they lacked civic education instructional materials in their social studies courses. The teachers solicited the PCCED for assistance with creating a book of sample lessons to help teachers better implement civic education instruction. The teachers engaged in intensive and voluntary 'writeshops' over a three day period in order to complete the book. All lessons within the book were divided into the four secondary school years of social studies, namely: Philippine History, Asian History, World History, and Economics. In addition to the PCCED, local partners and sponsors assisted with the publishing costs of the books. According to a message from the Superintendent at the beginning of the exemplar book, she considered the book a "milestone" of "curriculum indigenization:"

The problem that surfaced in the delivery of instruction to the students was the absence of curriculum guides for the integration process. Thus the second phase of the project focused on curriculum writing. Another series of 'writeshops' was conducted for this purpose. Critiquing and test run in the classrooms were made, after which inputs for improvement were considered...Because of the cooperation, partnership, and collaboration of various stakeholders...this attempt at curriculum indigenization has been attained. We shall consider this a milestone to use, share with others, evaluate and improve. (PCCED, 2009, p. iii)

Dr. Carlos explained the pride and accomplishment that the teachers felt as a result of completing the book:

Well first we trained the teachers and then the teachers started writing their own lessons. Okay? Well, we sent our own curriculum experts... Dr. Gonzalez, who has a PhD in

education, was an expert on curriculum development, so we sent him there. He's also a member of our board, by the way. We sent him there to train the teachers and the output was really these lesson exemplars. So the teachers are so proud of it, because it's their work...written by teachers for teachers. I mean it's not something that some Manila guy wrote, and imposed on people...or something that the DepEd in Manila is imposing...It's something the teachers made. And the process is something very meaningful for them. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

From both of the above statements, it was evident that publishing this curriculum guide was a significant accomplishment for these teachers. PCCED members viewed the teachers' reflections about their experience with the exemplar book project as indicators of teacher empowerment. In a special "contributors" portion of the book, a teacher explained how difficult, yet rewarding, her experience was:

Our activity, which is doing or making lessons, is very hard for me. I have to do research just to finish the topics I am assigned. The last activity we had was very hard. I have to stay late at night. I thought hard for the improvement of my lesson plan. When I finished doing my topics, I can say that activities like this are a big help for teachers. It is one way of training the teachers to think what is best for the students. (PCCED, 2009)

Another teacher commented about her experience with the 'writeshop' as transformative:

The writeshop was the first experience I ever had since [beginning] teaching. You forget when you are focusing on your work. It [the writeshop] was very difficult and tiring, but the learning that I got from it is priceless. It helped me find my way back to loving teaching. (PCCED, 2009)

This statement expressed one of the rewarding, yet intangible, benefits of the PC program. There were many similar comments from teachers, students, and PCCED members regarding the PC program's benefits.

Since many PC teachers continued participation with the PC program, year after year, PCCED members regarded this as evidence of the program's success. Some of the "old-timers," or experienced PC teachers, returned to volunteer as trainers for PC teacher training seminars, or as evaluators for preliminary showcases. In some areas, teachers also expressed interest in

creating a civic education association as a venue for social studies teachers to communicate and share information, lessons, and insights. Evidence of teacher empowerment was expressed as both tangible and intangible indicators of effectiveness.

However, some PCCED members and PC participants deemed the competition component of the showcases a drawback to the effectiveness of the PC program. The U.S. Project Citizen Teacher's Guide specifically stated, "If students will be participating in a showcase event, it is important that you point out that the showcase is *not* a competition" (italics in original; Center for Civic Education, 2009, p. 2). The PCCED's original intent behind altering this part of the PC process was to encourage more participation from schools. The negative appraisals of the competition stemmed from a belief that teachers and students should be conducting PC for the 'right' reasons. Dr. Diego explains that some teachers conduct PC, but chose not to participate in the showcases for this reason:

We've had teachers with their own initiatives. There was a teacher, for example, who never told her students that there was a kind of competition for PC because this particular teacher wanted to make sure that students participated with rectitude of intention. For the right reasons. And the teacher did it on her own. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

Some PCCED members worried that the goals of promoting the common good and political efficacy were contradicted if students and teachers participated in PC only with the goal of winning the competition. As PCCED employee Jorge explained:

We have documented a few...cases wherein the effect is the reverse. That after they've gone all through the processes trying to propose a solution to the problem, and then in the end, your proposal—nothing happens in the end. So, [their] proposal has not been approved, or did not win the competition. When we interviewed, I think this was in Sorsogon, the student was like, 'ah, we should not have done this in the first place, because nothing will happen in the end.' So it's really discouraging. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

Former PC student participant Cruz suggested that the competition component served to highlight disparities in students' English fluency. He stated, "another ineffective aspect I think is that when I observed the competition, it's somewhat more of a public speaking contest now. Because that's also one of the major components, I think, in the criteria, that the students have to speak eloquently or something" (personal communication, June 17, 2013). In a similar sentiment, PCCED employee Rosie implied that the competition aspect was not fair to students in the outlying provinces:

There are some teachers who said we should not do this as a competition. For example, last year we had Baguio, Bacolod, Bohol, different areas. And in those areas there's only one team representing the area. They will come here to Manila and then present. But there are some coordinators who said that probably we should veer away from competition...All the students will vote and then they come here. But there are those who chose to make it a competition. (personal communication, June 11, 2013)

In this third section, the perceived success of the PC program by PCCED members and participants was considered across the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of the vertical dimension of analysis. At the macro-level, although the PCCED considered PC a quality program, PC's effects were considered difficult to measure and quantify mainly because societal change is a slow process. At the meso-level, indicators of the effectiveness of the PC program were students' attitude changes, success stories of implemented PC projects, and the expansion of PC to other contexts and subjects. However, PCCED members and PC participants also suggested the lack of formal DepEd adoption was a drawback of the program. Lastly, at the micro-level, teacher and student empowerment were considered indicators that the PC goals were effective, but they suggested the competition aspect was a possible ineffective adaptation.

How Was Project Citizen Indigenized to the Local Philippine Context?

In this final section, I offer a possible explanation of how PCCED members overcame the problem of the implementation gap with the PC program, and how they garnered teacher cooperation in the policy borrowing process through indigenizing the program to the local context. Although not an explicit research question, indigenization is a stage within the policy borrowing process according to Phillips and Ochs (2003, 2004), and the research data contained evidence of how this indigenization occurred. In the implementation process, achieving consent of the practitioners is a common theme, and to achieve this consent, the dispositions, attitudes, and behaviors of the teachers must be taken into account (Ali, 2006; Kennedy, Chan, & Fok, 2011; Makinde, 2005; Morris & Scott, 2003; Snyder, Bolin, & Zumwalt, 1992; Waters & Vilches, 2008). Negotiating the tension between the novelty of a new program and the entrenched attitudes and behaviors of those performing the implementation, or what is referred to as closing the *implementation gap*, seems to be a key task for successful implementation (Ali, 2006; Flor, 2008; Makinde, 2005; Morris & Scott, 2003). In the case of Project Citizen, there was an additional factor of negotiating between the DepEd K+12 reform goals, and the goals of the PC program.

As discussed in Chapter 2, critical factors for implementation and indigenization of educational reforms include: 1) overcoming the implementation gap, 2) gaining teachers' cooperation, 3) assuring the program is compatible to the context by being a 'cultural fit,' 4) grassroots adoption, 5) mindfulness of the important role of intangible motivating factors, and 6) sufficient resources and bureaucratic structure to support the chosen reform (Ali, 2006; Makinde, 2005; Phillips & Ochs, 2004; Snyder, Bolin, & Zumwalt, 1992). Recognizing that these factors concerned the important role of teachers in policy implementation, the PCCED successfully

addressed these critical factors in their approach to ‘selling’ the PC program. I identified this strategy for selling the PC program as a component of the indigenization process.

In order to evaluate the indigenization stage of the PC program, I employed Phillips and Ochs’s (2003) four stage policy borrowing framework to analyze how national educational reforms move from one country to another. Although intended for analyzing nationally adopted reforms, I tested whether this framework might be applied to a grassroots reform implementation. This model was indeed adaptable to a grassroots policy adoption, and I especially found Stage IV useful with regard to my research findings. Since Stage IV concerns indigenization, or contextualization, of a reform policy, it was a useful analytical framework for discerning how PC was indigenized to the Philippine context. In Phillips and Ochs’s policy borrowing model, the Indigenization Stage IV includes four steps: (1) impact on existing system, (2) absorption of external features, (3) synthesis, and (4) evaluation. However, little specific information is given as to *how* these steps actually happen. What processes or mechanisms occur to “synthesize” the adopted program to the new context? Is the tension between the reluctance of significant actors, and the goals of the policy makers, actually resolved via the policy? If so, how? For the Project Citizen curriculum, applying this indigenization framework revealed that one possible way that negotiation of policy goals and practitioner acceptance takes place is through indigenized discourse (see Figure 6.2).

The general term discourse in this context denotes the specific language, expressions, and idioms employed to convey ideals and goals. As Silova (2004) contended, with lending and borrowing, “it is important to recognize that transfer can involve not only practices, but also discourses” (p. 77). General Western discourse about democratic institutions, republican government, and citizenship education is reflected within the formal educational institutions in

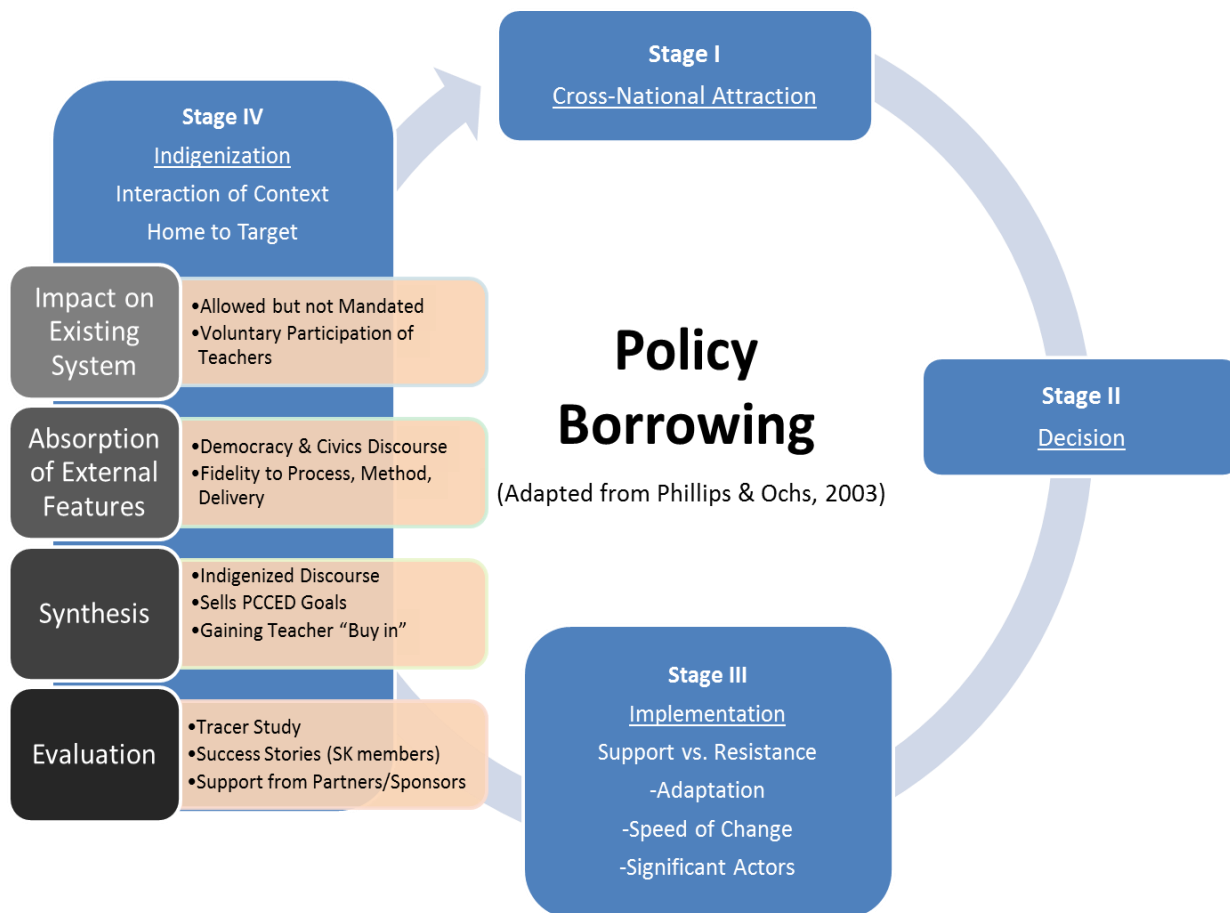


Figure 6.2. Policy Borrowing Model showing indigenization process of Project Citizen.
(Adapted from Phillips & Ochs, 2003)

the Philippines (Karnow, 1989; Valenzuela, 2010; Wong, 1991). This is not surprising given the Philippine education system’s beginnings under the colonial rule of the United States. More specific language about civic “knowledge, skills, and dispositions” is reproduced through the transfer and adaptation of Project Citizen curriculum books, lesson plans, and other curricular documents. This transfer is evidence of the borrowing model’s second step “absorption of external features” (see Figure 6.2) within Indigenization Stage IV (Phillips & Ochs, 2003). Discourse is inevitably transmitted through the adoption of foreign programs, however, how that discourse is then nativized and made familiar through specific and local language, references, and terminology is what I refer to as indigenized discourse. Through the research analysis, I

found many examples of indigenized discourse used to describe the PC program. This indigenized discourse works as a mechanism of synthesis within the Phillips and Ochs model, and is a means of resolving the tension between implementing the new policy and the practitioners' possible reluctance. Put another way, it is how the PCCED sells their vision and goals to secure teacher and student "buy in," or cooperation, to implement the program.

For the PCCED, the purpose of adopting Project Citizen was to assist in their goal of developing better citizens in the Philippines. PCCED members believed the PC curriculum provided a good cultural 'fit' for the Philippines for several important reasons. First, PC encourages active participation within local communities. Second, its focus is cultivating general attitudes, values, and dispositions that are consistent with a modern liberal democracy. And third, PC is a useful medium both to promote the specific cultural values PCCED members deem necessary for democratic success, and to overcome cultural dispositions that inhibit democratic success. Indigenized discourse was used as a mechanism to effectively convey and communicate these aims to both teachers and students. The ultimate objective sought through this communication was that teachers faithfully implement the PC curriculum, and in turn, students receive the intended benefits of the program. In this way, indigenized discourse serves as a synthesis method, or as a means of closing the implementation gap (Ali, 2006; Flor, 2008; Makinde, 2005; Morris & Scott, 2003; Phillips & Ochs, 2004).

Indigenized Discourse Themes

To explicate how indigenized discourse worked as a mechanism of synthesis, I identified several themes of indigenized discourse that contributed to gaining teacher collaboration and buy-in for implementing the PC program. These themes were: *A Nation in Progress*, *The Software of Democracy*, *Making a Difference*, and *Smuggling in Civic Education*. *A Nation in*

Progress represented the goal of developing a positive national identity, *The Software of Democracy* represented the goal of promoting the common good, *Making a Difference* represented the goal of encouraging political efficacy, and *Smuggling in Civic Education* represented the goal of reducing the marginalization of civic education. Through indigenized discourse conveying these themes, the PCCED members were able to persuade teachers to implement Project Citizen, even if it meant doing so outside of school hours, and with limited resources. I now turn to a discussion of these examples of indigenized discourse.

For the first theme, promoting a positive national identity by rebranding the Philippines as a *Nation in Progress* often relied on indigenized discourse invoking national heroes, and heroic historical events. Developing an affirmative and confident national identity is well-articulated in Dr. Carlos's example using a famous revolutionary organization, the *Katipunan*, in his message to stimulate a positive connection with PC:

Well, recently I have articulated these three things inside, using Tagalog. And it's sort of a play on an event in Philippine history. You see, in 1896, the first national revolt against Spain was actually instigated by an organization called the KKK. Kataas-taasan, Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan. It's a rebel organization, founded by Andres Bonifacio. They were inspired, in turn, by the works of Dr. Jose Rizal. Well, recently I, in the last few engagements I have had, I told the audience that you know, in PCCED we are also engaged in, we are promoting, we are trying to address, also the three Ks... plus, KKK has a new meaning, it's no longer the rebel organization. To us KKK is *kaalaman* which is knowledge, *kasayanan* (skills), *kaayusan ng mga kawal* (habits), and the hardest of all to achieve is the right democratic civic habits. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

I attended a meeting where Dr. Carlos used this example of the transformed *KKK*, and the audience of teachers, students, PC officials, and others, responded with knowing smiles and quiet laughter at his analogy with the famous *Katipunan*. This use of discourse, localized to the particular history of the Philippines, seemed to create not only a rapport with the audience, but a sense of pride as well. Through the use of indigenized discourse, PCCED members conveyed

several ideas supporting the idea of *A Nation in Progress*. One, since the Philippines is a new nation, it is the task of the citizens to support a unified concept of nationhood for the development of the nation. Two, as a new democracy, the nation needs time to develop its own democratic culture. And lastly, by continuously contrasting the Filipino experience of democracy with that of the Americans, it creates a separation between the two. This space creates room for a new identity to coalesce.

In the second theme, the goal of promoting the common good is expressed in the theme *The Software of Democracy*. In the Philippine PC teacher's guide, the PCCED quoted de Tocqueville in a section titled, *The Rationale for Civic Education*: "The French political thinker Alexis de Tocqueville noted that 'democracy is not a machine that would go of itself,' that it must be 'consciously reproduced'" (PCCED, 2007, p. 2). This quote does not appear in the U.S. version of the PC manuals. Members of the PCCED often referred to democracy in the spirit of de Tocqueville's 'machine' analogy, however the PCCED transformed the 'machine' into a computer for their own indigenized analogy. PCCED member Rick articulated this idea:

I think what makes a society, a government democratic ... basically you're looking at two things. I like to call it the hardware and the software of democracy. You need institutions and ... the historical tasks of Corazon Aquino were one, help remove the dictator, and two, begin the transition to democracy. And by transition we mean, putting in place, putting back the institutions that Marcos destroyed. So and that's what she did. She organized a peaceful election for congress, so you have a congress that's not padlocked, that's not a rubber-stamp of the president. You have a judiciary, we have a huge problem with our judicial system. It's slow, and you know ... but we have a judicial system that works, and needs fixing, but it's there. We have a free media, some people would say too free. So the institutions are there, but to make those institutions work is another issue. And that's where you focus on citizenship, the software of democracy. (personal communication, June 19, 2013)

As Rick indicated, the 'hardware' of democracy is represented by the institutions that support it, but the 'software' in this analogy is represented by the cultural dispositions commonly united

under the category of ‘citizenship.’ PCCED members conveyed through this discourse that although the hardware, or democratic institutions, exist in the Philippines, they are not functioning productively. Citizenship, through civic education, was the means to make the institutions work effectively. Through teacher trainings and PCCED literature, this discourse was communicated to teachers so that they would understand their particular importance in making democracy ‘work.’ The discourse suggests that through the efforts of teachers, using the PC curriculum to instill democratic habits, they can overcome the perceived lack of democratic dispositions and attitudes within the Filipino culture. And as Rick’s quote above indicated, the PCCED viewed citizenship education and civic awareness as viable solutions for changing cultural attitudes, which would in turn, promote the common good. Dr. Carlos elaborated this idea further:

Here I use the metaphor of the computer. We already imported the hardware, and we understand how it works, okay? So we’ve written...how many democratic constitutions, already. And...we’ve introduced a few innovations of our own, to the American system. I’m not really sure that they’re really good innovations, but we have tweaked and tinkered with American democracy to suit our particular interests... But I think something’s lacking. I guess we have yet to evolve the proper software for it. So, the cultural software, [or] the operating system for democracy. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

By using the metaphor of the computer to represent how democracy works, the members of the PCCED achieve two tasks. First, it suggests a cultural transition through the use of a symbol of modernity and progress—the computer. The “hardware” of democracy represents the established formal governmental and societal institutions, and the “software” represents the desired cultural democratic behaviors developed through civic education. In this way, they are also blending long-standing ideas (democracy) with more novel ones (participatory civic education). And in so doing, this discourse invokes an underlying sense of progress. Second, the impersonal quality of

a machine juxtaposed with the personalized nature of the Filipino culture seems to convey the needed transition from a family-focused cultural disposition to a more widely accepting commitment to the community as a whole.

The third theme of indigenized discourse, *Making a Difference*, represented the PCCED's goal of promoting political efficacy. In order for students to believe that they can 'make a difference' in society, the teachers must first have a developed sense of political efficacy. The PCCED members understood the vital role of the teachers, and the necessity of practitioner buy-in, for successful implementation. In many statements, PCCED members conveyed the importance of 'making a difference' in the community as a means of effecting change in society. Dr. Diego expressed this conviction:

I think number one, teachers have to understand that citizenship involves more than just an awareness of rights, and responsibilities, at least that cognitive awareness that it involves habits and dispositions. They need to look deep into their understanding of citizenship. And they need to understand that that is something that you don't learn overnight. That probably the best time to start would be high school. And that the teachers have to understand that they are not as teachers, they're nation-builders. They're front-liners of democracy. (personal communication, June 18, 2013)

As Dr. Diego stated, teachers were deemed the "front-liners" of democracy and nation-builders by the PCCED. Since PC is a product of the United States, the Project Citizen curriculum was imbued with ideas and notions of democracy inherent in Western society. These ideas were adapted and translated to the Philippine context through discourse that called upon Philippine national heroes, and analogies and metaphors produced to invoke ideas of progress and nation-building. Through this indigenized discourse, the PCCED was able to relate the importance of the PC program, and gain acceptance and participation of the teachers.

Since the marginalization of civic education was a primary reason for adopting the PC curriculum, the last theme of *Smuggling in Civic Education* represents the goal of regaining civic

education content within the formal curriculum. Many members of the PCCED often referred to incorporating civic education principles and ideas into the formal curriculum using ‘insurgent’ language. Words like “infiltrate,” or “smuggle” were often used to describe the manner in which PC is unofficially added to the curriculum. Both Dr. Diego and Dr. Carlos discussed how civic education principles and PC are “smuggled” into the official curriculum. Also, Rick described the early PCCED in similar insurgent terms; “considering that PCCED was small, as I told you it was a guerilla operation. We were managed by teachers who worked in the university and [were] doing part-time work in PCCED” (personal communication, June 2013). In another statement by PCCED employee Jorge, a similar “infiltrate” tone is evident:

The long term goal really is to mainstream civic education in the formal school. That would be a very huge success, but I think that’s the...but until that time, we try to look for ways how to sneak in these civic ideas. Because it’s really hard to work with the Department of Education because it has a very bureaucratic nature. And I think this is the most strategic way that we can do it. (personal communication, June 17, 2013)

To understand the use of this ‘insurgent’ language in the Filipino context, I provide a brief discussion of relevant Philippine history. The heroes of the Philippine revolutionary period of the late 1890s, and the *Katipunan*, or Filipino anti-colonial organization of the same time frame, were often invoked in the PCCED documents, literature, and interviews. It is no surprise that the famous and revered national hero, Jose Rizal, is referenced often; he is the author of two celebrated novels that every Filipino student is required to read—*Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*. Together, these two novels are often referred to as *The Noli* and *The Fili*. In 1956, *The Rizal Law* (Republic Act No. 1425) was passed in the Philippine Congress mandating that schools offer curriculum about Rizal’s life, and the teaching of both of his books. It seems fair to state that the morals and themes in these books are a part of the Filipino psyche, and are very recognizable. Both of these books are stories with anti-colonial and revolutionary

sentiment, for which, ostensibly, Rizal was executed by the Spanish army in 1896. Although *The Noli* is more popular, it is *The Fili* that is mentioned more often by PCCED members. The novel *El Filibusterismo* is loosely translated as *The Subversive*, and perhaps gives more insight into the use of this ‘smuggling’ and ‘infiltrate’ language. Once again, the PCCED members use indigenized discourse invoking national heroes and postcolonial sentiments to engage and encourage participation of teachers.

An important part of implementation success for new policies and programs is gaining teacher cooperation. Through the indigenized discourse themes of *A Nation in Progress*, *The Software of Democracy*, *Making a Difference*, and *Smuggling in Civic Education*, the PCCED was able to effectively market their goals to many teachers, thereby convincing them to participate in the PC program despite the difficulties of conducting the program as an extracurricular activity. In addition, students were also convinced to participate through the same indigenized discourse conveyed both by the teachers and the PCCED members. The use of indigenized discourse seems to bolster Mojares’s (2006) argument for the importance of adapting democratic and civic concepts to the Philippine context: “Filipinos need to develop a discourse on citizenship and democracy in the vernacular since the use of English has caused a situation where such concepts as ‘civil society’ have tended to be ‘alien notions superimposed on the people rather than concepts they themselves evolved’”(p. 47, quoting Diokno, 1997, p. 29). With this discourse, and through the PC program, the concept of democracy is made more real to teachers and students through appropriate citizenship education. Democracy is portrayed not as an intangible esoteric concept, but as an expression of the common good made accessible through concrete participatory activities. In turn, these concrete participatory activities, and their

ability to further common good attitudes, are viewed as contributing to the overall development of the nation.

Chapter Summary

In conclusion, this chapter was devoted to the findings regarding the research questions: *Why was Project Citizen chosen? What are the Philippine Center for Civic Education's main objectives in implementing Project Citizen? And, what is the perceived effectiveness of the program by stakeholders?* I employed the vertical case study method (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014) in order to analyze this part of the case study data. The vertical case study method was a useful data organizational tool, as well as, an advantageous approach to the analysis of this case study due to its balanced concentration on the vertical, horizontal, and transversal dimensions. The macro-, meso-, and micro-level scales of the vertical dimension were used to analyze the three research questions to which this chapter was devoted. I provided a detailed explanation of my interpretation of the research data findings according to these three questions. Additionally, I discussed how Project Citizen was indigenized to the Philippine context through the use of indigenized nationalist discourse which gained teacher cooperation for the implementation of Project Citizen. This indigenized discourse worked as a mechanism of synthesis within the Phillips and Ochs (2003) policy borrowing model, and was a means to secure teacher and student “buy in,” or cooperation, to implement the program.

For the first research question, many contextual factors contributed to why the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy chose Project Citizen for the Philippines. At the macro-level of analysis, like most of the world, Asia was influenced by the globalization of education ideas, and the internationalization of education reform. The Asian economic crisis of 1997, and the World Bank's Education Sector Strategy of 1999, contributed to the adoption of

neoliberal educational policies by many Asian countries, including the Philippines. At the Meso-level, the Philippines adopted the Basic Education Curriculum in 2002, which led to the marginalization of civic education within the schools. Two other factors at the meso-level were public anxiety due to political unrest brought on by the EDSA protests, and poor appraisals of voting habits and voter's education programs. At the micro-level, three factors contributed to the eventual implementation of PC: (1) awareness of U.S. Embassy grant funds, (2) the success of an early civic education program called Civic Education Training Seminars (CETS), and (3) a PCCED member's chance encounter with Project Citizen displays at a conference in Malaysia.

The second research question regarded discerning the PCCED's goals for using the Project Citizen curriculum in the Philippines. At the macro-level, the PCCED's objectives were to develop and improve the global economic standing of the Philippines, and to assist in transitioning the nation from an electoral democracy to a liberal democracy. At the meso-level, the objectives were to overcome cultural dispositions that inhibit the cultivation of democratic behaviors, and to eventually gain formal adoption for PC by the Philippine Department of Education (DepEd). The three sub-goals within the goal of overcoming cultural dispositions that inhibit democratic behavior included: (1) fostering a positive national identity, (2) appreciating the rule of law, and (3) addressing conflict. At the micro-level, the PCCED was most interested in fostering dispositions that would lead to democratic behavior, so they targeted teachers and students in order to encourage a commitment to the common good, and to cultivate political efficacy.

For the last research question, I discussed the stakeholders' perceptions of Project Citizen's effectiveness. At the macro-level, although the PCCED considered PC a quality program, PC's effects were considered difficult to measure and quantify mainly because societal

change is a slow process. The indicators of effectiveness of the PC program at the meso-level were students' attitude changes, success stories of implemented PC projects, and the expansion of PC to other contexts and subjects. PCCED members and PC participants, however, also suggested a drawback of the program was the lack of formal DepEd adoption. Finally, at the micro-level, teacher and student empowerment were considered indicators that the PC goals were effective, but some stakeholders suggested the competition aspect was a possible ineffective adaptation.

The final section discussed how the PC program was indigenized to the local Philippine context. By employing the Phillips and Ochs (2003) policy borrowing model, I found that indigenized discourse acted as a mechanism of synthesis of the indigenization stage of the policy borrowing framework. Since an important part of implementation success for new policies and programs is gaining teacher cooperation, the PCCED members achieved this cooperation with the use of indigenized discourse regarding national heroes and historic events. Through the indigenized discourse themes of *A Nation in Progress*, *The Software of Democracy*, *Making a Difference*, and *Smuggling in Civic Education*, the PCCED was able to effectively market their goals to many teachers, thereby convincing them to participate in the PC program despite the difficulties of conducting the program as an extracurricular activity. In the next chapter, I turn to the concluding interpretations and analysis of the findings, as well as, their implications for future research and practice.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, & CONCLUSION

By examining the case of how Project Citizen is implemented by the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy in Manila schools, I wanted to gain insight regarding if and how democratic education is maintained in a developing nation faced with strong pressures to adopt education policies that may conflict with national goals for democracy (Arnove, 2005; Wainaina, Arnot, & Chege, 2011). Given that the Philippine Department of Education is currently restructuring their entire educational system to mirror global norms, I sought to understand how stakeholders within the educational system perceived this reform's effects on civic education. For this research study, I examined how and why the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy chose to implement the Project Citizen curriculum, with attention to how it was adapted for, and implemented in, the Philippine context. I employed a case study design, relying on interviews, observations, and documents as the main data sources.

Summary of Key Findings

The implementation of Project Citizen in the Philippines is a noteworthy example of a grassroots effort by concerned citizens to address perceived shortcomings within the public school system. Conducted and managed by a small NGO called the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED), the Project Citizen (PC) program grew substantially in its reach and membership since its adoption in 2004. Project Citizen's success was due to the attainment of several interconnected factors. First, in seeking to prevent further marginalization of civic education in the public school curriculum, the PCCED discovered and provided an

alternative experiential and participatory citizenship program to engage students, solve community problems, and promote political efficacy. Second, by focusing on teacher training, the PCCED was able to convince teachers of the PC program's benefits to students and the community, thus successfully imbedding the PC curriculum within the schools. Third, although forced to conduct PC outside of the official school day, social studies teachers willingly and enthusiastically participated in assisting with the implementation of PC, ostensibly due to their personal convictions and belief in citizenship education's ability to alter the political landscape of the nation. Lastly, students agreed to join PC voluntarily, and they actively participated in the program. Due to these factors, the PCCED was able to accomplish PC implementation without the Department of Education's mandate, and with limited resources and personnel.

Contributions to Theory and Literature

This study provides several contributions to theory and literature. First, a grassroots effort to address perceived shortcomings within the national curriculum can be successful. This parallels other research in the Philippines which concluded that smaller, closer to the source, 'grassroots,' or 'bottom-up' reforms have been successful in the Philippines (de Guzman, 2006; Nebres, 2009; Reyes, 2009a). As mentioned in Chapter 2, other grassroots programs in the Philippines were successful because they involved the local community. While the PCCED has also involved local communities, their implementation of PC has exceeded other grassroots programs in its reach and membership. As a grassroots reform, Project Citizen offered resistance to the marginalization of civic education within the national education curriculum brought about by global forces of internationalized education reform (Wiseman & Baker, 2005), and the effects of predominant neoliberal policies (Arnove, 2005; Zadjia, 2009). Still, PC's success remains

tenuous and at risk due to the competing agendas of the PCCED and the Department of Education.

Second, by adapting the indigenization stage of Phillips and Ochs (2003) policy borrowing framework to the grassroots case of Project Citizen, I concluded that the PCCED was able to persuade large numbers of teachers and students to implement Project Citizen through indigenized discourse which integrated historical, patriotic, and nation-building themes. Since PCCED members recognized the key role of the teacher in the process of implementation (Ali, 2006; Makinde, 2005; Morris & Scott, 2003; Voogt & Roblin, 2012), they gained teacher cooperation through marketing the PC program primarily to teachers, as opposed to principals or superintendents. The PCCED members relied on indigenized civic education discourse invoking national heroes and events to convince teachers of their significant role within the democratization of the nation.

Lastly, the PCCED has managed, thus far, to cope with the underlying tension produced between balancing program goals with program sustainability. Although the PCCED maintains the goal of gaining formal adoption by the DepEd to ensure sustainability, the unintended consequences of this solution have yet to be considered by its members. If PC becomes mandatory for all teachers, it is possible that the program's effects could change. The act of mandating a program that promotes democracy may contradict its essential goals. In a similar vein, the PCCED has managed to maintain control over program content even while accepting funding from powerful corporate entities in the Philippines.

In summary, three important contributions to theory and literature suggested by the implementation of Project Citizen in the Philippines are related to how the PCCED: negotiated tensions between competing national and local education reform agendas, gained teacher

cooperation in the implementation process, and balanced program goals with program sustainability. I now turn to a discussion of these contributions to the research literature.

Negotiating Tensions between Competing Agendas

Although the National Department of Education and the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy both intended to stimulate development and to help improve the economic standing of the Philippines with their respective reform agendas, these two organizations differed in their approach to achieving economic development through educational reform. The Department of Education (DepEd) is at the mercy of the national government's agenda for development, and as such must abide by its policies and reforms. Global economic forces exert a strong and coercive influence on developing nations like the Philippines. Due to mandates and regulations that must be met in order to receive financial assistance, the governments of developing nations are often beholden to multilateral lending organizations like the Asian Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank (Ali, 2006; King & Orazem, 1999; Phillips & Ochs, 2004). For example, the Philippine government's debt to the World Bank is substantial: "As of January 2014, the Philippines portfolio amounted to US\$2.9 billion for 18 active projects. Sectors benefiting from World Bank-supported projects include infrastructure, social protection, health, basic education, rural development and environment" (World Bank, 2015). In addition, poor results on international assessments like the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) from the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), or the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), implemented through the multinational and highly powerful Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), have influenced the Philippine government to adopt the

K+12 reform agenda (de los Reyes, 2013). Through a variety of external pressures, the Philippine DepEd adopted educational reforms and policies that conform to a global standard.

In addition, over the last 30 years, a specific and powerful economic pressure for the Philippines has been its reliance on remittances of overseas foreign workers (de los Reyes, 2013; Eversole & Johnson, 2014; Lau, 2011). Given that approximately 25% of the Philippines' employed population is working overseas, and that 10% of the Philippine GDP is from remittances of overseas foreign workers (CIA, 2015; U.S. Department of State, 2015), the Philippines faces unique human capital challenges. To address these challenges, the Department of Education embarked on a massive overhaul of the school system in 2012. The K+12 Basic Education reform's stated goal was to better prepare Filipino students for "college and livelihood readiness," and to ensure that Filipino graduates have the necessary "21st Century Skills" (Official Gazette, 2012). With the addition of 11th and 12th grades, students may now earn certification for many of the high demand overseas jobs like tile-setting or caregiving. The DepEd goals are clearly related to developing "middle-level skills" needed for employment after graduation. In so doing, the Department of Education has complied with market demands to supply better prepared and certified workers for the foreign labor market.

For example, for the Live-in caregiver program in Canada, participants must be functionally literate in English or French, have work experience in a related field, and have the equivalent of a Canadian high school diploma (Barber, 2008). Before the Philippine K+12 educational system, graduating Filipino students would be ineligible for Live-in caregiver employment. The Alberta, Canada government issues an International Education Guide via their International Qualifications Assessment Service (IQAS) for many countries so that prospective employers can assess the quality of prospective candidates' education and/or

training. The IQAS guide for the Philippines is 104 pages long, and it provides background information on the country, many examples of school transcripts, and descriptions of Philippine school education, higher education, and teacher education practices (International Qualifications Assessment Service (IQAS), 2007). According to the guide, a high school diploma from the Philippines is equivalent to completion of 11th grade in Canada. Thus, any prospective migrant workers seeking employment in this service would not be eligible under the previous education system in the Philippines. However, now under the K+12 reform, high school graduates will be eligible for such overseas work programs.

While the DepEd promotes overseas worker readiness through the K+12 reform, the PCCED members use the PC program to promote the idea that Filipino citizens need to stay and work in the Philippines to strengthen development and entrepreneurship. For example, in the Project Citizen 3rd programmatic report, which is a summary report of each PC run given to sponsors and partners, the following anecdotal story about a participating teacher was included as an illustration of the program's success, "[at the teacher appreciation banquet] Edgar shared a story about one of his students deciding not to migrate after graduation after having been exposed to his role in helping the country" (p.4-5). The competing agendas of the DepEd and the PCCED are compared in Table 7.1.

These underlying competing agendas have created a tension between the PCCED and the DepEd especially at the point where the Project Citizen program and the DepEd mandated curriculum meet—within the individual schools. The PCCED members have tried for many years to gain PC adoption into the formal curriculum. The DepEd has responded by allowing the program to exist within the schools as an extracurricular program, and by advertising the two-day PC training seminars as one of many ways to fulfill professional development credits for

Table 7.1

Comparison of Reform Agendas of the Department of Education (DepEd)
& the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED)

	DepEd	PCCED
Reform Agenda	<i>K+12</i>	<i>Project Citizen</i>
Problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shortest school cycle in region - poor performance on PISA - lack of economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - poor voting habits - lack of democratic dispositions - no positive national identity
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nation-building/development - Professionalize labor competencies - Allow migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nation-building/development - Inculcate democratic values - Discourage migration
Civic Ed Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Education as production - Unspecific - Embedded in Social Studies & History - Traditional classroom learning - Teacher-centered 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Education as investment - Specific - Community Project based - Experiential, active participation - Student-centered
Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nationwide - Mandatory (formal curriculum) - Top-Down 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited Areas - Voluntary - Grassroots
Time Frame for Results	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Immediate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Long run; years
Impediments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Funding - Bureaucracy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Funding - Cultural dispositions
Outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Civic education marginalized - Rote memorization of facts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improved political self-efficacy - Proposals adopted by Barangay

teachers. The PCCED members believe that if only the DepEd would adopt PC within the formal curriculum, then the PC program would be truly successful. Presumably, the reach and sustainability of PC would significantly increase, and thus the goals of the PCCED like promoting democratic behavior, and cultivating political efficacy in the youth, would be achieved faster. The DepEd's main priority, on the other hand, is the K+12 restructuring; mandating additional room in the curriculum to be devoted to civic education content is not a priority.

Basic implementation difficulties with Project Citizen include staffing and the relationship with the DepEd. At the national level, PC continues each year as a result of funding through grants and resources provided through sponsors, partner organizations, and volunteers—who contribute to the successful working of the PC program. Yet, PCCED members described the difficulties involved with maintaining PC each year. Without support from the DepEd, teacher recruiting takes up time and resources from the PC budget. These resources could be used elsewhere in the implementation process if PC was mandated by the DepEd. Another issue touched on was the lack of continuity within the DepEd with regard to both staff and agendas. Both of these issues have made procuring official partnership with the DepEd challenging.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there are two frameworks of education that have become commonplace due to the current neoliberal policy trends: *education as investment*, and *education as production* (Samoff, 2007). The DepEd seems to follow the *education as production* framework. In this conception, the process of education is treated as similar to the process of manufacturing with all its concomitant features, such as the notion of efficiency, and the quantifying of inputs and outputs. The PCCED, on the other hand, seems to ascribe to the *education as investment* framework, where common objectives include: fostering critical thinking, fostering national unity, and preparing youth for the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Since these objectives are difficult to measure and quantify, they are rarely included in national reform measures (Samoff, 2007; Williams, 2009).

Teachers are placed in the difficult position of mediating between the competing agendas of the DepEd and PCCED. Once convinced of the marginalization of civic education, and of the benefit of the PC curriculum, participating teachers must negotiate between the demands of the K+12 transition, and the demands of implementing the PC program. In an effort to address these

competing demands, the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED) implemented civic education training programs geared toward helping teachers “smuggle” civic education into the existing curriculum. Although the PCCED members continue to push for increased teacher participation, and hope one day for PC adoption into the formal curriculum, the DepEd still only allows the use of PC in its limited form. At this juncture between the differing agendas, the teachers must sacrifice their time and resources to implement civic education outside of the school day because they are convinced that the PC program can contribute to the overall progress of the nation. In addition, since teachers are willing to give up their spare time to implement the needed civic education content, the DepEd is relieved of responsibility for conceding space for PC in the formal curriculum. The PCCED, the DepEd, and students all benefit from this indirect collusion, albeit at the expense of the teachers. However, many teachers seem enthusiastic and willing to sacrifice their time and energy for the PC program.

If the tension created by the differing goals of the PCCED and the DepEd is mediated by the teachers, then it is important to consider why the teachers are willing to implement PC despite significant sacrifice of their time and energy, without formal mandate by the DepEd, and with little promise of material reward. In the next section, I discuss the contribution to the literature regarding the importance of gaining teacher collaboration, and the teachers’ willingness to participate in PC.

Gaining Teacher Collaboration

The PCCED gained teacher collaboration for the implementation of the Project Citizen program through their recognition of the importance of teacher cooperation in the implementation process. They addressed the emotional and cognitive dispositions of the teachers, as well as, the teachers’ perceptions of the ‘cultural fit’ of the program, through clearly

communicating program goals. In addition, the PCCED sought to gain teacher partnership by empowering teachers to accept their role as nation-builders through indigenizing Project Citizen to the local context with the use of patriotic indigenized discourse.

By adapting the indigenization stage of Phillips and Ochs (2003) policy borrowing framework to the grassroots case of Project Citizen, I concluded that the PCCED was able to persuade large numbers of teachers to implement Project Citizen through indigenized discourse which integrated historical, patriotic, and nation-building themes. The PCCED members marketed the PC program directly to teachers, rather than DepEd officials, superintendents, or school administrators. To accomplish this collaboration with teachers, the PCCED members recognized that they must address teachers' attitudes and dispositions (Makinde, 2005), as well as, the emotional and cognitive elements of the program (Ali, 2006). The PCCED members relied on indigenized civic education discourse invoking national heroes and events to convince teachers of their significant role within the democratization of the nation. This acknowledged importance of the role of the teachers is indicated in PCCED employee Rosie's statement: "that's why in our engagement in the community or for civic education we rely on the teachers. We look at them as partners, more than beneficiaries because they help us in our advocacy towards training everyone to become citizens" (personal communication, June 11, 2013).

The partnership gained through directly seeking collaboration with the teachers is an element of the implementation of Project Citizen that made the endeavor successful. Instead of viewing the teachers as an impediment to the faithful implementation of the program, as often happens in policy implementation (Ali, 2006; Kennedy, Chan, & Fok, 2011; Napier, 2009), the PCCED members viewed the teachers as their main partners. Through this relationship with the teachers, the PCCED could then achieve their overall goals aimed at the students. This

conception of the relationship with the teachers is absent in the DepEd's approach to the K+12 initiative. Policies like the K+12 reform, applied in the traditional 'top-down' manner, do not meet the critical factors of successful implementation in developing nations identified by Makinde (2005). These factors included: (1) communication that is clear and accurate between all stakeholders, (2) sufficient resources (both material and human), (3) taking account of the dispositions or attitudes of the implementers (teachers), and (4) an effective bureaucratic structure. For the K+12 reform, the DepEd did not provide clear communication of objectives via effective training; there were no pilot programs, and a very limited amount of training workshops and training resources (Miralao, 2004). The dispositions of the teachers were not considered either. On the other hand, the PCCED recognized the inherent importance of the teachers, and the factors of clear communication and consideration of teacher dispositions.

The PCCED recognized that the purely 'top-down' approach to policy implementation was usually unsuccessful, and therefore adapted their approach to include teachers as primary stakeholders. In clarifying top-down versus bottom-up approaches to reform implementation, Nebres (2009) referred to Bautista's (2007) identification of two modes of knowledge production in research. Mode one is research determined by academic interests; it is university-based, hierarchical, quality is based on technical merit through peer review, and the utilization of the research, though desired, is not necessary. Mode two is research that is determined by the need to solve concrete problems; it recognizes multiple sites of knowledge production, is less hierarchical, the quality is determined by technical merit and relevance, and utilization is of primary importance. By including teachers and students as important elements for successful implementation of the PC program, the PCCED followed Bautista's mode two approach to knowledge production in research.

The PCCED addressed the effects of the ‘cultural fit’ and other intangibles that are experienced by teachers when adopting a new program. Although difficult to quantify, intangible program elements and experiences can affect teachers on an emotional level, and are linked to the success of reform programs (Ali, 2006; Spillane et al., 2002), and the ‘cultural fit’ of an imported reform also contributes to its success (Hallinger, 2010; Myers, 2007; Wainaina et al., 2011; Waters & Vilches, 2008). Hallinger (2010) identified inconsistent implementation of some policies in Asian countries since Western-inspired, student-centered, constructivist learning ideas are often foreign to Asian teachers and make them uncomfortable. Although Project Citizen is a prime example of this kind of Western-inspired program, the PCCED offered training and support to assist teachers with the new ideas within the PC curriculum. In addition, PCCED members attended to the emotional components of implementation through the use of indigenized discourse invoking nation-building sentiments. In Chapter 6, I identified several themes of indigenized discourse that contributed to gaining teacher collaboration and buy-in for implementing the PC program. These themes were: *A Nation in Progress*, *The Software of Democracy*, *Making a Difference*, and *Smuggling in Civic Education*. Through indigenized discourse conveying these themes, the PCCED members were able to persuade teachers to implement Project Citizen, even if it meant doing so outside of school hours, and with limited resources.

In this section, I summarized how gaining teacher collaboration contributes to the implementation research literature. The PCCED successfully communicated the program’s goals, addressed the emotional dispositions of teachers, and the teachers’ perceptions of the cultural fit of the program. I explained how the use of indigenized discourse contributed to attaining teacher ‘buy-in’ and support of the implementation as well. Addressing teacher

cooperation through these factors contributes to research literature about programs that appeal to the emotional nature of the teacher. Although this appeal is difficult to measure and quantify, it has been shown to contribute to the successful implementation of programs (Ali, 2006; Spillane et al., 2002). In the next section, I address the last key contribution of this study to the research literature.

Balancing Program Goals with Program Sustainability

In this section, I discuss the difficulty of balancing the goals of a grassroots curriculum program with the needs of sustainability of the program. As previously discussed, the PCCED members believed that the goals of Project Citizen were a good cultural fit for the Philippine context due to its focus on developing democratic behaviors. Within the literature regarding citizenship education, it is a common belief that democratic principles must be directly taught; democratic skills are not innate, and require practice in order to cultivate them (Fleming, 2011; Popkewitz, 2009; Villegas, 2007). If a program professes democratic principles, then it should also be structured to function democratically. In PC, this match between content and process is viewed as one of its principal strengths. As the program currently functions in the Philippines, teacher participation in the program is voluntary, and hence democratically determined. Teachers choose whether or not they want to participate, presumably based upon whether they agree with the goals of the PCCED. Goals which are conveyed through the indigenized discourse discussed in the previous section. If the PC program were to be adopted and mandated by the DepEd, the program would lose this essential democratic element. While the program would be more sustainable, forcing teachers to participate in the program might completely contradict its purpose. Although PCCED members understood the important connection between goals and delivery, they still believed that formal adoption of the PC program by the

DepEd will significantly help the overall goals of the PCCED. However, formal adoption would lead to a top-down approach to implementation where the teachers' choice of participation was instead dictated from the DepEd hierarchy.

It is unclear whether the members of PCCED recognize the inherent conflict between teachers' participation in the PC program remaining voluntary, and how the adoption into the formal DepEd might affect the process and goals of the program. Perhaps some members believe that, upon formal adoption, teachers will still have a choice, or that teachers will choose the program if they are allotted classroom time to conduct it. However, there were several statements by members that indicated they believed teachers would be forced to participate if Project Citizen were adopted; as PCCED member Maria stated, "once we have that [DepEd endorsement], then everything will be much easier, because teachers are mandated to do Project Citizen" (personal communication, June 18, 2013).

Another component to the balancing of program goals with program sustainability is the possibility of influence from sponsors and donors. As mentioned in Chapter 4, two of the major financial sponsors of the PC program are large powerful corporations in the Philippines. So far, influence from these corporations is minimal. However, without DepEd funding, and as the program grows, the PCCED must constantly seek funding from other sources. Helen explained a possible new source of funding:

We are trying to reach out to local government units so we're planning to get involved local government units and senators supporting the youth so that they can support a certain area, or fund a certain area so that we will be having more areas to compete for the national showcase. (personal communication, June 11, 2013)

Having senators or other politicians contribute to the PC program presents another challenge to the democratic purposes of the program. One of the primary goals of the PCCED was to promote better citizen voting habits, in order to reduce the election of corrupt officials. Elected

officials contributing financial assistance to PC teams of students seems entirely incompatible with the spirit of Project Citizen. Yet, funds must be acquired for sustainability; without them, the entire program is at risk. Whether funds come from the DepEd endorsement, or from corporations and politicians, there is a possibility that PC goals may be compromised. Perhaps this is a necessary risk for PCCED members with regard to the balance between goals and sustainability; if the program no longer exists, there is no way to further the PCCED goals.

Implications for Future Research and Practice

There are several implications for future research and practice with regard to this study's findings. First, grassroots policy implementation has been promoted as a viable approach to effective education reform, and has been effective in the Philippines. As a grassroots reform, Project Citizen offered resistance to the marginalization of civic education within the national education curriculum brought about by global forces of neoliberal internationalized education reform. Second, successful implementation of policy reforms needs to be indigenized, or contextualized, to the local adopting context, and the role of teachers is a primary consideration for the indigenization process. Third, managing the goals of the reform program with the sustainability of the reform program can be complex and delicate. This section includes suggestions for further investigation by policymakers, researchers, and practitioners.

Given the current power of neoliberal policies, and their sway with national governments globally, examining the nature of adopted education policies helps to shed light on how particular institutions are affected (Camicia & Franklin, 2011; Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002). Since civic education is marginalized in the Philippines, and since many researchers claim that this marginalization is becoming more widespread due to internationalized neoliberal reforms, future research should focus on this phenomenon in other contexts. As Camicia and Franklin (2011)

ask, “are there sites of resistance to the negative effects of the spread of neoliberalism in education that emphasize emancipation, diversity, and social justice?” (p. 312). Project Citizen in the Philippines helps provide understanding about how a grassroots, privately led program infiltrated the national public school system. Other developing countries might benefit from other examples of this kind of resistance to neoliberal influences. Using Apple’s (2006) terminology, future research promoting “thick” concepts of democracy through participatory and active citizenship education might be a means of “interrupting” detrimental neoliberal influence on education reform.

The implementation of Project Citizen in the Philippines was compared to the U.S. implementation of the program. Policymakers and researchers would benefit from a more complete accounting of the many implementations of Project Citizen around the world. A comparison between several developing countries’ implementations of Project Citizen would provide more understanding about various implementation approaches. Especially significant to policymakers might be a collection of case studies comparing nationally implemented programs and grassroots adoptions. In addition, with regard to Phillips and Ochs (2003) policy borrowing framework, future studies might focus on how indigenization actually occurs. Perhaps there exist common mechanisms of synthesis in the indigenization stage. Specifically, whether or not other countries’ indigenization efforts use indigenized discourse could be compared.

Future study might focus on the role of teachers in the implementation of Project Citizen in various contexts. Since this study focused primarily on the metro Manila implementation, first-hand examinations of how outlying provinces conduct Project Citizen should be explored. In addition, researching the possible differences between mandatory and voluntary teacher participation is a consideration for both administrators and policymakers. Teachers’ support from

administrators, colleagues, and the community is a considerable component of successful implementation, and further research might contribute to a better understanding of the role of support structures for teachers in both developed and developing nations.

Lastly, the effects on civic education by outside multilateral agencies and organizations, as well as, country-specific corporations and sponsors, would be beneficial. Multinational organizations such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, or the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) have been found to greatly influence educational policy adoption in developing countries. Steiner-Khamsi (2004) explained how this influence is especially demanding on developing nations:

In low-income countries, the external pressure to reform in certain ways, and the reference to the international community that exerts such a pressure, are not self-induced as in economically developed countries. On the contrary, the pressure from the international community on low-income countries in the form of international agreements (e.g. Education for All, Millennium Development Goals, Fast Track Initiative, etc.) is real... Whether and how these externally induced reforms are locally implemented is an issue of great importance. Borrowing is not copying. It draws our attention to processes of local adaptation, modification, and resistance to global forces in education. (p. 5)

Perhaps if more research is conducted on the specific ways this borrowing pressure leads to “adaptation, modification, and resistance to global forces in education” as Steiner-Khamsi suggests, relief from this constant pressure can be found.

Final Thoughts

An essential goal of the PCCED was to address the marginalization of civic education in the curriculum due to national reforms beginning in 2002 with the Basic Education Curriculum, and continuing to the current K+12 Basic Education initiative. In Chapter 6, I identified several themes of indigenized discourse that contributed to gaining teacher collaboration and buy-in for implementing the PC program. An important theme discussed was *Smuggling in Civic*

Education, which represented the goal of reducing the marginalization of civic education. The works of Rizal are very well-known in the Philippines so the use of the “smuggling” or “insurgent” language may be less significant, since these themes are widely disseminated and reproduced in the school system. However, in the Philippine context, I still find it meaningful that a grassroots organization like the PCCED attempted to propagate its goals and beliefs by smuggling civic education content into the national curriculum of the DepEd, which is itself a colonial remnant whose original purpose was to “tame the hearts and minds” of the rebellious Filipinos after the Philippine American War. This could be interpreted as an attempt to resist and subvert the global neo-liberal influence on the DepEd. An influence that has materialized in a marginalization of civic education, and a stronger focus on marketing students for a global workforce by offering trade certificates in high school for competencies like nail care, tile setting, and care giving (Seameo Innotech, 2012). In order to counter the new DepEd curriculum focus of technical and vocational competencies, PCCED members believed it imperative to foster a “love of country” which they believed is best achieved with civic education. Invoking the native nationalist sentiment of Jose Rizal contributed to this goal. Dr. Carlos summarized this in the following statement:

PCCED is an organization... we are getting a lot of inspiration from the work of Dr. Jose Rizal...and one of the things that Rizal taught us in his novel, for example, in the last chapter of *El Filibusterismo*, where you have the...this hero there, well he’s actually kind of an antihero. Simoun was dying, was complaining to the priest...why did God not give me the chance to get justice?... And the priest said, you know...well that’s because you’re just sowing hatred...you’re not sowing an idea. And the priest said that the glory of saving your country would not go to one who has contributed to its ruin. And then the priest goes into this long speech. But you know, with or without the Spaniards...the Filipinos will still be the same. If they do not learn to love their country, with or without the Spanish, we would have the same problems. So [quoting Rizal] ‘what good is independence if the slaves of today become the tyrants of tomorrow?’ And we haven’t solved tyranny...we simply nativized it. (personal communication, June 21, 2013)

In Dr. Carlos's statement, "sowing an idea" is an important aspect for saving one's country and promoting 'love of country.' Through this indigenized discourse, PCCED members conflate teaching civic education with "sowing" the right ideas, thus conveying the importance of this nation-building activity to the teachers.

Conclusion

In 2004 a civic education program called Project Citizen was chosen and adapted for the Philippines. Implementing this new curriculum in a college classroom, inspired the spread of this grassroots civic education approach, and eventually led to the creation of an organization dedicated to the promotion of democratic values and behaviors in the Philippines. My research goals were to discover how and why PC was adopted, and to examine the ways that it was adapted and indigenized to the Philippine context. The factors that led to the implementation of the PC curriculum, and how it was changed (or not changed) to fit the Philippine context, have been delineated and discussed at length in the previous chapters. Research on the topic of internationalized education reforms acknowledges the considerable effects of globalization on educational systems around the world. The recent advancements in technology, and the accessibility of new knowledge worldwide, have only contributed to the rapid globalization of state-led education ideas and reforms. The Philippines has certainly not been immune to these global forces.

The findings of this research, while limited due to time constraints in the field, revealed that Project Citizen's success was due to the attainment of several interconnected factors. First, in seeking to prevent further marginalization of civic education in the public school curriculum, the PCCED discovered and provided an alternative experiential and participatory citizenship program to engage students, solve community problems, and promote political efficacy. Second,

by focusing on teacher training, the PCCED was able to convince teachers of the PC program's benefits to students and the community. Third, although forced to conduct PC outside of the official school day, social studies teachers willingly and enthusiastically implemented PC, ostensibly due to their personal convictions and belief in citizenship education's ability to alter the political landscape of the nation. Lastly, since students actively participated in the program, the goals of the program were met. Due to these factors, the implementation of Project Citizen in the Philippines was accomplished despite lacking the Department of Education's mandate, and with limited resources and personnel.

Acknowledging and illuminating ways in which educational policy borrowing is not only ineffective, but detrimental to supporting democratic traditions and culture, is the first step to resisting the de-democratizing effects of many current policies. A developing nation like the Philippines already must contend with difficulties such as strengthening institutional infrastructure, overcoming economic shortages, and resisting neocolonial influences, without also contending with fighting the de-democratizing effects of neoliberal national education policies. Building a democratic culture is stymied by neoliberal national educational policies through their marginalization of civic education and thus their ability to produce a citizenry ambivalent to participatory democracy. As Brown (2006) contended, the recent and distinct political rationalities of neoliberalism and neoconservatism converge:

in their de-democratizing effects. Their respective devaluation of political liberty, equality, substantive citizenship, and the rule of law in favor of governance according to market criteria on the one side, and valorization of state power for putatively moral ends on the other, undermines both the culture and institutions of constitutional democracy. Above all, the two rationalities work symbiotically to produce a subject relatively indifferent to veracity and accountability in government and to political freedom and equality among the citizenry. (p.690)

Neoliberal policies are not innocuous to democracy; they play a part in a convergence of ideologies that chip away at democratic principles by allowing the development of a citizenry no longer concerned with promoting democratic goals such as equality, justice, and liberty.

Research must continue to highlight resistance to policies that neglect and abandon the role of schooling and education in nurturing and developing democracy.

REFERENCES

- Abueva, J. V. (1976). Filipino democracy and the American legacy. *Annals Of The American Academy Of Political & Social Science*, 42(8), 114-133.
- Aguilar, Jr., J. V. (2010). The pacto de sangre in the late nineteenth-century nationalist emplotment of Philippine history. *Philippine Studies*, 58(1/2), 79-109.
- Alliance of Concerned Teachers. (2007). What is ACT? Retrieved March 22 from <http://www.actphils.com/whatisact>
- Ali, S. (2006). Why does policy fail? Understanding the problems of policy implementation in Pakistan - a neuro-cognitive perspective. *International Studies In Educational Administration* (Commonwealth Council For Educational Administration & Management (CCEAM)), 34(1), 2-20.
- Andres, T., Quintin, D., Andres, P., & Ilada, C. (1986). *Making Filipino values work for you*. Makati, Philippines: St. Paul Publications.
- Ansell, B. W. (2008). Traders, teachers, and tyrants: Democracy, globalization, and public investment in education. *International Organization*, 62(2), 289-322.
doi:10.2307/40071868
- Antal, C., & Easton, P. (2009). Indigenizing civic education in Africa: Experience in Madagascar and the Sahel. *International Journal Of Educational Development*, 29(6), 599-611.
doi:10.1016/j.ijedudev.2008.10.004
- Apple, M. W. (2006). Understanding and interrupting neoliberalism and neoconservatism in education. *Pedagogies*, 1(1), 21-26.
- Aquino, C.C. (2004). Mula sa kinaroroonan: Kapwa, kapatiran and bayan in Philippine social science. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 32(1), 105-139.
- Arellano, E. L., Barcenal, T. L., Bilbao, P. P., Castellano, M. A., Nichols, S., & Tippins, D. J. (2001). Case-based pedagogy as a context for collaborative inquiry in the Philippines. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching*, 38(5), 502-528.
- Arnove, R. F. (2005). To what ends: Educational reform around the world. *Indiana Journal Of Global Legal Studies*, (1), 79. doi:10.2979/GLS.2005.12.1.79
- Arnove, R.F., & Torres, C.A. (2007). *Comparative Education: The dialectic of the global and the local*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Arshad-Ayaz, A. (2009). Globalisation and marginalisation in higher education. In J. Zadjia, & V. Rust (Eds.), *Globalisation, Policy & Comparative Research* (pp. 61-75). Springer.
doi:10.1007/978-1-4020-9547-4_5

- Baldoz, R. (2011). *The third Asiatic invasion: Empire and migration in Filipino America, 1898-1946*. New York : New York University Press.
- Barber, P.G. (2008). Cell phones, complicity, and class politics in the Philippine labor diaspora. *Focaal—European Journal of Anthropology*, 51, 28-42.
- Bartlett, L., & Vavrus, F. (2014). Transversing the vertical case study: A methodological approach to studies of educational policy as practice. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 45(2), 131-147.
- Bartlett, L., & Vavrus, F. (2014). Studying globalization: The vertical case study approach. *Globalization and Education: Integration and Contestation across Cultures*, 119.
- Bauzon, B.C.V. (2014, July 21). Binay on a roll, remains top poll pick for president. *The Manila Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.manilatimes.net/binay-on-a-roll-remains-top-poll-pick-for-president/113264/>
- Bray, M., & Thomas, R.M. (1995). Levels of comparison in educational studies: Different insights from different literatures and the value of multilevel analysis. *Harvard Educational Review*, 65(3), 472-490.
- Brenner, M. E. (2006). Interviewing in educational research. In J. L. Green, G. Camilli, & P. B. Elmore (Eds.) , *Handbook of complementary methods in education research* (pp. 357-370). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Brickman, W.W. (1956). The theoretical foundations of comparative education. *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 30(3), 116-125.
- Brower, R.S., & Magno, F.A. (2011). A “third way” in the Philippines: Voluntary organizing for a new disaster management paradigm. *International Review Of Public Administration (Korean Association For Public Administration)*, 16(1), 31-50.
- Brown, W. (2006). American nightmare: Neoliberalism, neoconservatism, and de-democratization. *Political Theory*, (6). 690.
- Calata, A. A. (2002). The role of education in Americanizing Filipinos. In Hazel McFerson (Ed.), *Mixed blessing: The impact of American colonial experience on politics and society in the Philippines* (pp. 89-97). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Calleja, N. (2012, June 5). K to 12 system: Grades 1 and 7 teachers face challenge. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. Retrieved from <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/206733/k-to-12-system-grades-1-and-7-teachers-face-challenge>
- Camicia, S. P., & Franklin, B. M. (2011). What type of global community and citizenship? Tangled discourses of neoliberalism and critical democracy in curriculum and its reform. *Globalisation, Societies & Education*, 9(3/4), 311-322.
doi:10.1080/14767724.2011.605303

- Camposano, C. C. (2011). Assessing the use of anthropological concepts in the promotion of civic education and fostering civic engagement: The case of the Philippine center for civic education and democracy. Conference paper.
- Caoli, R. (2005). Reflections on democracy and development in Southeast Asia: Why do the Philippines and Singapore differ. *The Culture Mandala*, 6(2), 1-27.
- Carnoy, M., & Rhoten, D. (2002). What does globalization mean for educational change? A comparative approach. *Comparative Education Review*, 46(1), 1-9.
- Center for Civic Education. (2014). Civitas international programs: Project citizen. Retrieved on February 18, 2015 at <http://www.civiced.org/civitas-program-resources/instructional-materials/project-citizen>
- Center for Civic Education. (2012). We the people: Project citizen. Retrieved from <http://new.civiced.org/pc-program/instructional-component>
- Central Intelligence Agency. (2013). East and South East Asia: Philippines. The World Factbook. Retrieved March 22, 2013 from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rp.html>
- Chao, Jr., R. (2012). Democracy, decentralization and higher education: The Philippine case. *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review*, 12(1), 31-44.
- Chu, Y., Diamond, L., Nathan, A.J., & Chin, D.C. (2008). Introduction. In Chu, Y., Diamond, L., Nathan, A.J., & Chin, D.C. (Eds.), *How East Asians view democracy* (pp. 1 – 38). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Church, A. T. (1987). Personality research in a non-Western culture: The Philippines. *Psychological Bulletin*, 102(2), 272-292. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.102.2.272
- Church, A.T., & Katigbak, M.S. (2000). Trait psychology in the Philippines. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 44(1), 73-94.
- Civitas International Programs. (2013). Mission statement. Retrieved March 30, 2013 from <http://new.civiced.org/civitas-about/mission-statement>
- Cizel, A. (2008). Nation-building in the Philippines: Rooseveltian statecraft for imperial modernization in an emergent transatlantic world order. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 19, 690-711.
- Clarke, G., & Sison, M. (2003). Voices from the top of the pile: Elite perceptions of poverty and the poor in the Philippines. *Development & Change*, 34(2), 215-242. doi:10.1111/1467-7660.00303
- Claudio, L. E. (2013). Postcolonial fissures and the contingent nation: An antinationalist critique of Philippine historiography. *Philippine Studies: Historical And Ethnographic Viewpoints*, 61(1), 45-75.

- Claudio-Perez, M. (2012). Filipino Americans. Retrieved June 23, 2012, from <http://www.filipinosinla.com/filipino.pdf>
- Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. (1918). *Cardinal principles of secondary education*. Bulletin 1918, No. 35, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.
- Committee on the Activity Movement. (1934). *The activity movement* (selections). Thirty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Bloomington, IL: Public School Publishing Company.
- Committee on the Objectives of a General Education in a Free Society. (1945). *General education in a free society* (selections). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Committee on the Activity Movement. (1934). *The activity movement* (selections). Thirty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Bloomington, IL: Public School Publishing Company.
- Constantino, R. (1970). The mis-education of the Filipino. *Journal Of Contemporary Asia*, 1(1), 20. doi:10.1080/00472337085390031
- Corruption in the Philippines: Progress or Payback. (2012, May 5). *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/node/18652177/print>
- Cremin, L. A. (1953). The curriculum maker and his critics: A persistent American problem. *Teachers College Record*, 54, 234-245.
- Crittenden, J. (2011). Civic education. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2011). Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2011/entries/civic-education/>
- Crossley, M., & Vulliamy, G. (1996). Issues and trends in qualitative research potential for developing countries. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 16(4), 439-448.
- Cueto, F. A. (2010, May 24). Lawmaker calls for 77% hike in teachers' wages. Manila Times, (The Philippines).
- Cummings, W. K., & McGinn, N. F. (1997). Introduction. In W. K. Cummings, & N. F. McGinn (Eds.), *International handbook of education and development: Preparing schools, students, and nations for the twenty-first century* (pp. 3-43). New York: Elsevier.
- Dalangin-Fernandez, L. (2012, June 4). Ready or not, K-to-12 curriculum starts. Retrieved from <http://www.interaksyon.com/article/33727/ready-or-not-k-to-12-curriculum-starts>
- Dalton, R. J. (2008). Citizenship norms and the expansion of political participation. *Political Studies*, 56(1), 76-98. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00718.x

- de Guzman, A. B. (2006). Reforms in Philippine basic education viewed from key elements of successful school-based management (SBM) schools. *Educational Research for Policy and Practice*, 5, 55-71.
- de Guzman, A. B., dela Rosa, P., & Arcangel, C. N. (2005). The impact of globalization on teacher education: The Philippine perspective. *Educational Research for Policy and Practice*, 4, 65-82.
- de los Reyes, E. J. (2013). (Re)defining the Filipino: Notions of citizenship in the new K+12 curriculum. *Policy Futures In Education*, 11(5), 549-563.
- Department of Education, Philippines. (2015). History. Retrieved from <http://www.deped.gov.ph/about/history>
- Department of Education, Philippines. (2010). Proposed K + 12 basic education system in the Philippines: Discussion paper. Retrieved from <http://www.scribd.com/doc/55520272/Proposed-K-12-Basic-Education-System-in-The-Philippines>
- Department of Education, Philippines. (2013). The K to 12 basic education program. Retrieved from <http://www.gov.ph/k-12/#about>
- Diokno, B. E. (2010). Evaluating the Philippine primary education system. *International Journal Of Educational & Psychological Assessment*, 5(2), 255-264.
- Dolan, R. (1991). *Philippines: A country study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress. Retrieved June 24, 2012, from <http://countrystudies.us/philippines/>
- Dressel, B. (2011). The Philippines: how much real democracy?. *International Political Science Review*, 32(5). 529-545.
- Dumol, P. (2008). History and self-image. *Developing citizens for a nation in progress: Embedding civic education in the high school social studies curriculum* (pp. 27-31). Manila, Philippines: PCCED.
- Dumol, P. (2013). Reading the foundation dates of Spanish-era parishes in a different key. Conference paper. The Manila Studies Association, Inc. The 22nd Annual Manila Conference.
- Education and the wealth of nations. (1997, March 29). *The Economist*. pp. 20-23.
- Educational Policies Commission. (1937). *The unique function of education in American democracy*. Washington, DC: National Education Association.
- Educational Policies Commission. (1948). *Education for all American children* (selections). Washington, DC: National Education Association.

- Epstein, E. H., & Carroll, K. T. (2005). Abusing ancestors: Historical functionalism and the postmodern deviation in comparative education. *Comparative Education Review*, 1, 62-88. doi:10.1086/426161
- Espinosa, D. (1997). English in the Philippines. *Global Issues in Language Education*, 26, 9. Retrieved June 24, 2012, from <http://jalt.org/global/26Phil.htm>
- Eversole, R., & Johnson, M. (2014). Migrant remittances and household development: an anthropological analysis. *Development Studies Research*, 1(1), 1-15.
- Ezrow, N. M. & Franz, E. (2011). *Dictators and dictatorships: Understanding authoritarian regimes and their leaders*. New York: Continuum Publishing.
- Fairbrother, G. P. (2005). Comparison to what end? Maximizing the potential of comparative education research. *Comparative Education*, 41(1), 5-24.
- Finkel, S.E. (2003). Can democracy be taught. *Journal of Democracy*, 14(4), 137-151.
- Fleming, L. C. (2011). Civic participation: A curriculum for democracy. *American Secondary Education*, 40(1), 39-50.
- Flor, A. (2008). A policy and planning framework on information and communication technology for basic education in the Philippines. *International Journal Of Education & Development Using Information & Communication Technology*, 4(3), 19-44.
- Foster, J., Addy, N. A., & Samoff, J. (2012). Crossing borders: Research in comparative and international education. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32, 711-732.
- Freeman, M., deMarrais, K., Preissle, J. Roulston, K., & St. Pierre, E.A. (2007). Standards of evidence in qualitative research: An incitement to discourse. *Educational Researcher*, 36(1), 25-32.
- Fuller, T. (2000, November 14). The impeachment of Estrada: Day of political tumult in Manila. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/14/news/14iht-phil.2.t_6.html
- Gatmaytan, D. B. (2006). It's all the rage: Popular uprisings and Philippine democracy. *Pacific Rim Law & Policy Journal*, 15(1), 1-37.
- Go, J. (1997). Democracy, domestication, and doubling in the U.S. colonial Philippines. *Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 20(1), 50-61.
- Go, J. (1999). Colonial reception and cultural reproduction: Filipino elites and United States tutelary rule. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 12(4), 337-368.
- Go, J. (2000). Chains of empire, projects of state: Political education and U.S. colonial rule in Puerto Rico and the Philippines. *Comparative Studies In Society And History*, 42, 333-362.

- Gopal, A. (2011). Open borders, closed minds: Current neoliberalist policies in the internationalization of higher education. *International Journal Of Learning*, 18(2), 235-246.
- Gopinathan, S. S. (2006). Challenging the paradigm: Notes on developing an indigenized teacher education curriculum. *Improving Schools*, 9(3), 261-272.
- Gorney, C. (2014). Far from home. *National Geographic*, 225(1), 70-95.
- Griffith, A. D. (1990). Social studies for nation building: A view from a developing society. *Social Studies*, 81(4), 161-65.
- Grindle, M. S. (2004). Good enough governance: Poverty reduction and reform in developing countries. *Governance*, 17(4), 525. doi:10.1111/j.0952-1895.2004.00256.x
- Guerrero, L.L., & Tusalem, R.F. (2008). Mass public perceptions of democratization in the Philippines: Consolidation in Progress. In Chu, Y., Diamond, L., Nathan, A.J., & Chin, D.C. (Eds.), *How East Asians view democracy* (pp. 61 - 82). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Halagao, P. E. (2010). Liberating Filipino Americans through decolonizing curriculum. *Race, Ethnicity & Education*, 13(4), 495-512. doi:10.1080/13613324.2010.492132
- Hallinger, P. (2010). Making education reform happen: Is there an Asian way? *School Leadership & Management*, 30(5), 401-418.
- Heater, D.(2004). *Citizenship: The civic ideal in world history, politics, and education*. Manchester, UK: University of Manchester Press.
- Hebert, T. P., & Beardsley, T. M. (2001). Jermaine: A critical case study of a gifted black child living in rural poverty. *Gifted Child Quarterly*, 45, 85-103.
- Hellsten, S., & Larbi, G. A. (2006). Public good or private good? The paradox of public and private ethics in the context of developing countries. *Public Administration & Development*, 26(2), 135-145. doi:10.1002/pad.406
- Hermida, R. B. (2013). Jürgen Habermas on civil society vis-à-vis the Philippine experience. *Thesis Eleven*, 114(1), 34-47. doi:10.1177/0725513612462857
- Hickling-Hudson, A. (2002). Re-visioning from the inside: Getting under the skin of the World Bank's education sector strategy. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 22, 565-577.
- Hofstede, G. H., Hofstede, G., & Minkov, M. (2010). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind: Intercultural cooperation and its importance for survival*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hogan, T. (2006). In but not of Asia: Reflections on Philippine nationalism as discourse, project and evaluation. *Thesis Eleven*, 84(1), 115-132. doi:10.1177/0725513606060527

- Huat, C. B. (2008). Southeast Asia in postcolonial studies: an introduction. *Postcolonial Studies*, 11(3), 231-240. doi:10.1080/13688790802226637
- Hursh, D. (2011). A review of analyzing education policy during neoliberal times. *Educational Studies*, 47(2), 198-207. doi:10.1080/00131946.2011.554592
- Hutchcroft, P. D. (2008). The Arroyo imbroglio in the Philippines. *Journal Of Democracy*, (1), 141-155.
- Hutchcroft, P. D., & Rocamora, J. (2003). Strong demands and weak institutions: The origins and evolution of the democratic deficit in the Philippines. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, (2), 259.
- International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). (1999). Trends in international mathematics and science study. *Mathematics and science achievement of eighth-graders in 1999*. Retrieved from http://nces.ed.gov/timss/results99_1.asp
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. (2011). Voter turnout data for Philippines. Retrieved from <http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?CountryCode=PH>
- International Qualifications Assessment Service. (2007). International education guide for the assessment of education from the Philippines. Alberta, Canada: Government of Alberta.
- Kandel, I.L. (1936). Comparative Education. *Review of Educational Research*, 6(4), 400-416.
- Karnow, S. (1989). *In our image: America's empire in the Philippines*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Kaut, C. (1961). Utang na loob: a system of contractual obligation among Tagalogs. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 256-272.
- Kazamias, A. M. (2009). Reclaiming a lost legacy: The historical humanist vision in comparative education. In R. Cowen & A. Kazamias (Eds.), *International Handbook of Comparative Education* (pp. 1045-1059). London: Springer.
- Kellner, D. (2002). Theorizing globalization. *Sociological Theory*, 20(3), 285-305.
- Kennedy, K. J., Chan, J., & Fok, P. (2011). Holding policy-makers to account: Exploring "soft" and "hard" policy and the implications for curriculum reform. *London Review Of Education*, 9(1), 41-54.
- Khattari, N., Ling, C., & Jha, S. (2012). The effects of school-based management in the Philippines: An initial assessment using administrative data. *Journal Of Development Effectiveness*, 4(2), 277-295. doi:10.1080/19439342.2012.692389
- Kiang, L., & Takeuchi, D. T. (2009). Phenotypic bias and ethnic identity in Filipino Americans. *Social Science Quarterly (Wiley-Blackwell)*, 90(2), 428-445.

- Kim, M., & Boyle, E. (2012). Neoliberalism, transnational education norms, and education spending in the developing world, 1983-2004. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 37(2), 367-394. doi:10.1111/j.1747-4469.2011.01267.x
- King, E. M., & Lillard, L. A. (1987). Education policy and schooling attainment in Malaysia and the Philippines. *Economics Of Education Review*, 6(2), 167-181.
- King, E.M., & Orazem, P.F. (1999). Evaluating education reforms: Four cases in developing countries. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 13(3), 409-413.
- Kurlantzick, J. (2001). Split Decision. *New Republic*, 224(6), 13.
- Lau, K.Y. (2011). The Philippine labour export policy: A strategy for temporary economic survival, not for long-term development. *Undercurrent Journal*, 8(2), 6-19.
- Lacsamana, A. E. (1998). Academic imperialism and the limits of postmodernist discourse: An examination of Nicole.. *Amerasia Journal*, 24(3), 37.
- Leoncini, D.L.P. (2005). A conceptual analysis of pakikisama. In Rolando M. Gripaldo (ed.), *Filipino cultural traits: Claro R. Ceniza lectures*. Washington, D.C.: Council for Research in Values and Philosophy. (pp. 157-184).
- Litwack, L.F., Jordan, W.D., Hofstadter, R., Miller, W., & Aaron, D. (1987). *The United States: Becoming a world power*, 6th ed. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Lukasiewicz, A. (2011). Migration and gender identity in the rural Philippines. *Critical Asian Studies*, 43(4), 577-593. doi:10.1080/14672715.2011.623523
- Luyt, B. (2007). The Hegemonic Work of Automated Election Technology in the Philippines. *Journal Of Contemporary Asia*, 37(2), 139-165. doi:10.1080/00472330701253734
- Macaraeg, M. (2010). Curing Philippine education maladies: A forum on social studies curriculum and textbooks in basic education by Dr. Maria Serena Diokno. *Ti Similla*, Official Newsletter of the Academic Staff, UP Baguio, Philippines. Retrieved from <http://www.upb.edu.ph/attachments/article/65/Feb10.pdf>
- Macdonald, C. J. (2013). The Filipino as libertarian. *Philippine Studies: Historical & Ethnographic Viewpoints*, 61(4), 413-436.
- Makinde, T. (2005). Problems of policy implementation in developing nations: The Nigerian experience. *Journal Of Social Sciences*, 11(1), 63-69.
- Magno, C. (2010). The Role of Teacher Assessment in a Community Welfare Training Service. *International Journal Of Research & Review*, 5(1), 91-119.
- Marginson, S., & Mollis, M. (2001). The door opens and the tiger leaps: Theories and reflexivities of comparative education for a global millennium. *Comparative Education Review*, 45(4), 581-615.

- Martell, L. (2007). The third wave in globalization theory. *International Studies Review*, 9(2), 173-196.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*, (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- McGeown, K. (2011). Playful Filipino names hard to get used to. BBC News online. Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/9435751.stm
- McGinn, N. F., & Cummings, W. K. (1997). Introduction. In W. K. Cummings & N. F. McGinn (Eds.), *International handbook of education and development: Preparing schools, students, and nations for the twenty-first century*, (pp. 3-41). Kidlington, Oxford, UK: Elsevier Science.
- Mendoza, R., & Nakayama, S. (2003). Makabayan Curriculum for Secondary Schools in the Philippines: The Development of Citizenship. *Educational Research For Policy & Practice*, 2(1), 13. doi:10.1023/A:1024459602954
- Mendoza, S. L., & Perkinson, J. W. (2003). Filipino 'kapwa' in global dialogue: A different politics of being-with the 'other'. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, 12, 177-194.
- Merriam, S. B. (2002). Introduction to qualitative research. In Sharan B. Merriam (Ed.), *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis* (pp. 3-17). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Mills, A., Schechter, S., Lederer, S., & Naehar, R. (2011). Global stories of citizenship: Oral history as historical inquiry and civic engagement. *Oral History Review*, 38(1), 34-62.
- Miralao, V. A. (2004). The impact of social research on education policy and reform in the Philippines. *International Social Science Journal*, 56(179), 75-87. doi:10.1111/j.0020-8701.2004.00476.x
- Mojares, R. B. (2006). Words that are not moving :civil society in the Philippines. *Philippine Quarterly Of Culture And Society*, 34(1), 33-52.
- Mok, J. K. (2002). From nationalization to marketization: Changing governance in Taiwan's higher-education system. *Governance*, 15(2), 137.
- Morillo, H. M., Capuno, J. J., & Mendoza Jr., A. M. (2013). Views and Values on Family among Filipinos: An empirical exploration. *Asian Journal Of Social Science*, 41(1), 5-28. doi:10.1163/15685314-12341278
- Morris, P., & Scott, I. (2003). Educational reform and policy implementation in Hong Kong. *Journal of Education Policy*, 18(1), 71-84.
- Muller, K. (2000, August 26). Ring-in at VIP line-up shows rampant cronyism. *Sydney Morning Herald*, p. 18. Retrieved from <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu>

- Myers, J. P. (2007). Citizenship education practices of politically active teachers in Porto Alegre, Brazil and Toronto, Canada. *Comparative Education Review*, (1), 1. doi:10.1086/508641
- Napier, D. (2009). South Africa's Struggles to compete globally, and to meet internal educational needs. *Curriculum and Teaching*, 24(2), 27-51.
- Napier, D. (2010). Class handout: Universal reform targets in education. Personal collection of Dr. Diane Napier, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
- Napier, D. (2011). Critical issues in language and education planning in twenty first century in South Africa. *US-China Education Review B*, (6b), 58-76.
- National Commission of Excellence in Education. (1983). *A nation at risk*. Washington, DC: US Department of Education.
- National Education Association. (1893). *Report of the committee of ten on secondary school studies*. New York: American Book Company.
- Nebres, B. (2009). Engaging the community, targeted interventions: Achieving scale in basic education reform. *Educational Research For Policy And Practice*, 8(3), 231-245.
- No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107-110, § 115, Stat. 1425 (2002).
- Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines. (2015). *The executive branch*. Retrieved from: <http://www.gov.ph/about/gov/exec/>
- Paredes-Canilao, N. (2006). Decolonising subjects from the discourse of difference. *Journal Of Multicultural Discourses*, 1(1), 6-26.
- Parker, W. (2002). Introduction. In W. C. Parker (Ed.), *Education for democracy: Contexts, curricula, assessments* (pp. vii – xiv). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Pub.
- Patrick, J. J., Vontz, T. S., & Nixon, W. A. (2002). Issue-centered education for democracy through Project Citizen. In W. C. Parker (Ed.), *Education for democracy: Contexts, curricula, assessments* (pp. 93-109). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Pub.
- Pe-Pua, R., & Protacio-Marcelino, E.A. (2000). Sikolohiyang Pilipino (Filipino psychology): A legacy of Virgilio G. Enriquez. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 3(1), 49-71.
- Perkinson, J., & Mendoza, S. L. (2004). Indigenous Filipino pasyon defying colonial euro-reason. *Journal Of Third World Studies*, 21(1), 117-137.
- Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED). (2008). *Developing citizens for a nation in progress: Embedding civic education in the high school social studies curriculum*. Manila, Philippines: PCCED.
- Philippine Center for civic Education and Democracy (PCCED). (2009). *Civic education: Lesson exemplars for high school social studies*. Manila, Philippines: PCCED.

- Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy (PCCED). (2013). About us. Retrieved on March 29, 2013 http://www.pcced.org.ph/#!about_us/c55t
- Phillips, D., & Ochs, K. (2003). Processes of policy borrowing in education: Some explanatory and analytical devices. *Comparative Education*, (4), 451.
- Phillips, D., & Ochs, K. (2004). Researching policy borrowing: Some methodological challenges in comparative education. *British Education Research Journal*, 30(6), 773-784.
- Popkewitz, T. S. (2009). The double gestures of cosmopolitanism and comparative studies of education. In R. Cowen & A. Kazamias (Eds.), *International Handbook of Comparative Education* (pp. 385-401). London: Springer.
- Prior, L. (2009). *Using documents in social research*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Quah, J. T. (2008). Curbing Corruption in India: An Impossible Dream?. *Asian Journal Of Political Science*, 16(3), 240-259. doi:10.1080/02185370802504266
- Quezon, M. (2005). The Philippines are or is? *The Daily Dose*. Retrieved June 24, 2012, from <http://www.quezon.ph/2005/03/28/323/>
- Quimpo, N. G. (2009). The Philippines: predatory regime, growing authoritarian features. *Pacific Review*, 22(3), 335. doi:10.1080/09512740903068388
- Quigley, K. F. (1997). Political scientists and assisting democracy: Too tenuous links. *PS: Political Science And Politics*, 30(3), 564-67.
- Raymundo, S. (2012, June 18). K to 12 lengthens the suffering, increases the burden. *The Inquirer* (Philippines). Retrieved from <http://opinion.inquirer.net/30887/k-to-12-lengthens-the-suffering-increases-the-burden>
- Republic Act No. 9163, Congress of the Philippines, Twelfth Congress. (January 23, 2002). *An act establishing the national service training program (NSTP) for tertiary level students, amending for the purpose republic act no. 7077 and presidential decree no. 1706, and for other purposes*. Retrieved from http://www.lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra2002/ra_9163_2002.html
- Reyes, P.L. (2008). Fighting over a nation: Theorizing a Filipino historiography. *Postcolonial Studies*, 11(3), 241-258.
- Reyes, V. (2009a). Case study of implementation amidst corruption linkages: The national textbook delivery program (TDP) of the Philippine Department of Education. *Journal Of Education Policy*, 24(4), 515-535. doi:10.1080/02680930902823021
- Reyes, V. (2009b). Systemic corruption and the programme on basic education in the Philippine department of education. *Journal Of Developing Societies*, 25(4), 481-510. doi:10.1177/0169796X0902500403

- Rivera, T.C. (2011). Conclusion: Rethinking democratization in the Philippines. In F.B. Miranda, T.C. Rivera, M.C. Ronas, & R.D. Holmes (Eds.), pp. 182-199. United Nations Development Program.
- Rivera, J. R., & See, K. T. (2012). The role of education and government sponsored programs in limiting family size in Pasay, Eastern Samar, and Agusan Del Sur. *DLSU Business & Economics Review*, 21(2), 17-35.
- Rizvi, F. (2007). Postcolonialism and globalization in education. *Cultural Studies: Critical Methodologies*, 7(3), 256-263.
- Robertson, R., & Inglis, D. (2004). The global animus: In the tracks of world consciousness. *Globalizations*, 1(1), 38-49.
- Robinson, W. I. (2007). Theories of globalization. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *The Blackwell companion to globalization* (p. 125-143). Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.
- Rosales, M. L., & Tecson, M. E. (2010). Tracing the history of guns and goons: Proposing a paradigm shift as an answer to institutionalized election violence. *Ateneo Law Journal*, 54(5), 1201-1226.
- Rothstein, R., & Jacobsen, R. (2006). The goals of education. *The Phi Delta Kappan*, (4), 264-272. doi:10.2307/20442237
- Rothstein, R., Wilder, T., & Jacobsen, R. (2007). Balance in the balance. *Educational Leadership*, 64(8), 8-14.
- Rust, V. D. (1991). Postmodernism and its comparative education implications. *Comparative Education Review*, 35(4), 610-626.
- Rutten, R. (2011). Framing superiority and closeness: Bridging the class gap in Philippine electoral politics. *Comparative Sociology*, 10(4), 591-613. doi:10.1163/156913311X590646
- Salazar, Z.A. (2000). The pantayo perspective as a discourse towards kabihasanan. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, 28(1), 123-152.
- Samoff, J. (2007). Institutionalizing international influence. In R. F. Arnove & C. Torres (Eds.), *Comparative education: The dialectic of the global and the local* (3rd ed.) (pp. 1-20). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Schaffer, F. C. (2008). *The Hidden Costs of Clean Election Reform*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Schulzke, M. (2010). Democratization and military reform in the Philippines. *Journal Of Asia Pacific Studies*, 1(2), 320-337.

- Seki, K. (2012). Difference and alliance in transnational social fields: The pendular identity of the Filipino middle class. *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, 60(2), 187-221.
- Shultz, L., & Guimaraes-Iosif, R. (2012). Citizenship education and the promise of democracy: A study of UNESCO associated schools in Brazil and Canada. *Education, Citizenship And Social Justice*, 7(3), 241-254.
- Sidel, J.T. (2014). The Philippines in 2013: Disappointment, disgrace, disaster. *Asian Survey*, 54(1), 64-70.
- Silova, I. (2012). Contested meanings of educational borrowing. In G. Steiner-Khamsi, & F. Waldrow (Eds.), *Policy Borrowing and Lending: World Yearbook of Education 2012* (pp. 229-245). London and New York: Routledge.
- Simkin, K. (1981). Comparative and sociological perspectives on third world development and education. *International Review of Education*, 27(4), 427-447.
- Simons, H. (2009). *Case study research in practice*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Snyder, J., Bolin, F., & Zumwalt, K. (1992). Curriculum implementation. In P.W. Jackson (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Curriculum* (pp. 402-435). New York: Macmillan.
- Socioeconomic classes (SEC) ABCDE explained. (2012, October 12). Retrieved from <http://www.pinoymoneytalk.com/sec-abcde-percentage-population/>
- Spillane, J. P., Reiser, B. J., & Reimer, T. (2002). Policy implementation and cognition: Reframing and refocusing implementation research. *Review Of Educational Research*, (3), 387-431. doi:10.2307/3515992
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Steiner-Khamsi, G. (2009). Comparison: Quo vadis? In R. Cowen & A. Kazamias (Eds.), *International Handbook of Comparative Education* (pp. 1143-1138). London: Springer.
- Steiner-Khamsi, G.(2012). Introduction. In G. Steiner-Khamsi, & F. Waldrow (Eds.), *Policy Borrowing and Lending: World Yearbook of Education 2012* (pp. 1-19). London and New York: Routledge.
- Sweeting, A. (1999). Doing comparative historical education research: Problems and issues from and about Hong Kong. *Compare*, 29(3), 269-285.
- Tanner, L. N. (1983). Curriculum history and educational leadership, *Educational Leadership*, 41(3), 38-42.
- Tanner, D., & Tanner, L. (1990). *History of the school curriculum*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Teves, O. (2001, January 12). Ex-cabinet member accuses Estrada. AP Online. Retrieved from <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu>

- The Philippines 50 Richest. (2014). #2 Lucio Tan. *Forbes Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.forbes.com/profile/lucio-tan/>
- Thompson, M. R. (2010). Populism and the revival of reform: Competing political narratives in the Philippines. *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal Of International And Strategic Affairs*, 32(1), 1-28.
- Tikly, L. (1999). Postcolonialism and comparative education. *International Review of Education*, 45(5/6), 603-621.
- Torney-Purta, J., Lehmann, R., Oswald, H., Schulz, W., & International Association for the Evaluation of Educational, A. (2001). Citizenship and education in twenty-eight countries: Civic knowledge and engagement at age fourteen. Executive Summary.
- Torney-Purta, J. (2002). The school's role in developing civic engagement: A study of adolescents in twenty-eight countries. *Applied Developmental Science*, 6(4), 203-212.
- Tupas, T.R.F. (2003). History, language planners, and strategies of forgetting: The problem of consciousness in the Philippines. *Language Problems & Language Planning*, 27(1), 1-25.
- UNESCO National Education Support Strategy. (2009). UNESCO national education support strategy (UNESS): Philippines. Retrieved from http://www.unesconatcom.ph/docs/education/uness_report.pdf
- UNESCO Institute for Statistics. (2010). Education (all levels) profile—Philippines. Retrieved June 24, 2012, from http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/document.aspx?ReportId=121&IF_Language=eng&BR_Country=6080
- UNESCO, International Bureau of Education. (2010/2011). World data on education (7th ed.): Philippines. Retrieved from http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/WDE/2010/pdf-versions/Philippines.pdf
- U.S. Department of Education, Office of Elementary and Secondary Education. (2002). No Child Left Behind: A Desktop Reference, Washington, D.C. Retrieved from http://www2.ed.gov/admins/lead/account/nclbreference/page_pg41.html
- U.S. Department of State. (2012). Background note: Philippines. Retrieved June 23, 2012, from <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2794.htm>
- U.S. Embassy, Manila. (2012). Holidays. Retrieved from <http://manila.usembassy.gov/wwwholidays.html>
- Valenzuela, E. A. P. (2010). The Philippines. *International Encyclopedia Of Education*, 865-872. doi:10.1016/B978-0-08-044894-7.01579-7
- Vavrus, F., & Bartlett, L. (2006). Comparatively knowing: Making a case for the vertical case study. *Current Issues In Comparative Education*, 8(2), 95-103.

- Villegas, S. (2008). Connecting with the students. *Developing citizens for a nation in progress: Embedding civic education in the high school social studies curriculum* (pp. 9-13). Manila, Philippines: PCCED.
- Vinluan, L. (2012). Research productivity in education and psychology in the Philippines and comparison with ASEAN countries. *Scientometrics*, 91(1), 277-294.
- Vitorio, R. V. (2011). For sale: 7107 islands. The impact of cosmopolitanism on Philippine tourism. *International Journal Of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences*, 5(10), 285-295.
- Volpp, L. (2000). American mestizo: Filipinos and antimiscegenation laws in California. *U.C Davis Law Review*, 33(4), 795-835.
- Voogt, J., & Roblin, N. P. (2012). A comparative analysis of international frameworks for 21st century competencies: Implications for national curriculum policies. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 44(3), 299-321.
- Wainaina, P. K., Arnot, M., & Chege, F. (2011). Developing ethical and democratic citizens in a post-colonial context: Citizenship education in Kenya. *Educational Research*, 53(2), 179-192.
- Waters, A., & Vilches, M.L.C. (2008). Factors affecting ELT reforms: The case of the Philippines basic education curriculum. *Regional Language Center Journal*, 39(5), 5-24.
- Weekley, K. (2006). The national or the social? Problems of nation-building in post-world war II Philippines. *Third World Quarterly*, (1). 85.
- Williams, L. (2009). Globalisation of education policy: Its effects on developing countries. In J. Zadjia, & V. Rust (Eds.), *Globalisation, Policy & Comparative Research* (pp.77-92). Springer. doi:10.1007/978-1-4020-9547-4_5
- Wiseman, A. W., & Baker, D. P. (2005). The worldwide explosion of internationalized education policy. In D.P. Baker & A.W. Wiseman (Eds.), *Global Trends in Education Policy*, (pp. 1-21).
- Wolcott, H. F. (2009). *Writing up qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Wong, S. Y. (1991). The evolution of social science instruction, 1900-86:A cross-national study. *Sociology of Education*, 64, 33-47.
- Woock, R. R. (1981). Sociological analysis and comparative education. *International Review of Education*, 27(4), 411-425.
- World Bank. (2012). Annual report 2012. Retrieved from <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2012/update/02/index.htm>
- World Bank. (2015). Philippines. Retrieved from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/philippines>

- Woods, D. L. (2006). *The Philippines: A global studies handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc.
- Wurfel, D. (2003). Civil society and democratization in the Philippines. In Sato, Y. (Ed.), *Growth and governance in Asia* (pp. 215-224). Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.
- Yean, S.C. (2008). Politics from below: Culture, religion, and popular politics in Tanauan City, Batangas. *Philippine Studies*, 56(4), 413-442.
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods*, 4th ed. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Yu, S. K. (2005). Political Reforms in the Philippines: Challenges Ahead. *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal Of International & Strategic Affairs*, 27(2), 217-235.
- Zajda, J. (2009). Globalisation, and comparative research: Implications for education. In J. Zajda, & V. Rust (Eds.), *Globalisation, Policy & Comparative Research* (pp. 1-12). Springer. doi:10.1007/978-1-4020-9547-4_5

APPENDIX A

Consent/Informational Letter

Hello. Kumusta.

I am a graduate student in the Department of Education at The University of Georgia in the USA. I invite you to participate in a research study I am conducting for my dissertation. The title of the research study is *Examining the Implementation of Project Citizen in the Philippines*. The purpose of this study is to examine the implementation of the Project Citizen curriculum by the Philippine Center for Civic Education and Democracy.

I am asking people who are somehow involved in the Project Citizen program to be participants.

As PCCED representatives, teachers, DepEd officials, or parents, your participation will involve allowing me to discuss with you your ideas and opinions about the Project Citizen program, civic education, and democracy, through an audio-recorded interview of about one hour.

For participants affiliated with the PCCED, and teachers, I may also ask to observe you in your participation of activities involving Project Citizen which would not last more than 2 hours.

For teachers, I may ask to observe you as you deliver lessons related to the implementation of Project Citizen material.

Involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits which you would otherwise be entitled. If you decide to stop or withdraw from the study, the information/data that can be identified as yours up to the point of your withdrawal will be kept as part of the study and may continue to be analyzed.

Your identity will be kept confidential through the use of a pseudonym, or a different name. The Principal Investigator and I will be the only ones with access to the actual identity that corresponds to the pseudonym. The results of the research study may be published, but your name or any identifying information will not be used. Much of the published results will be presented in summary form only. If the researcher uses any direct quotes from your interviews, the researchers will delete or alter any information that could identify the quotation as yours, or be affiliated with your school or place of work.

The findings from this project may provide information on how to best conduct civic education. Through participating in this study, you will have the personal satisfaction of knowing that you have helped to contribute to a better understanding of the link between civic education and democracy, which could in turn contribute to the cultivation of democratic knowledge and dispositions to aid in democracy development in Philippine society. Since the information sought for this study is not of a sensitive nature, there is little risk or discomfort associated with this research.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call me, Tanya Walker, at _____, or send an email to me at tanya40@uga.edu. You may also contact my Major Adviser, Dr. Kathleen deMarrais, at Kathleen@uga.edu. Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant should be directed to The Chairperson, University of Georgia Institutional Review Board, 629 Boyd GSRC, Athens, Georgia 30602; telephone (706) 542-3199; email address irb@uga.edu.

By allowing me to interview and/or observe you, you are agreeing to participate in the above described research project.

Thank you for your consideration! Please keep this letter for your records.

Sincerely,

Tanya

APPENDIX B

Interview Protocol

Introduction*: *Thank you for allowing me to interview you. If it is ok with you, I will be recording our conversation. The purpose of this is so that I can get all the details but at the same time be able to carry on an attentive conversation with you. I assure you that all of your comments will remain confidential, and your identity will remain confidential as well. I will assign to you a pseudonym, where your responses can be used, however, your identity will remain confidential. For the record, you agree to me recording this interview and you have signed the consent form?*

Purpose: *Well, I'm Tanya Walker, and as part of my dissertation research, I am conducting a study about the PCCED and Project Citizen. So in the course of our conversation, I'm going to ask you some questions about your role and work with the PCCED, and your connection to Project Citizen. So, please take your time in answering these questions and feel free to pass on any questions that you don't care to answer. I really just want your honest opinions and perceptions—there are no right or wrong answers to these questions.*

Do you have any questions before we start?

1. So, tell me a little about yourself.

Where did you grow up? Do you have a large family?

Where do you live now? What do you like to do when you're not working?

2. What brought you to the PCCED? Tell me the story.

What is your role with the PCCED? Have you always been in this position?

Tell me about the kinds of things you do here.

What is your favorite aspect of what you do here, and why?

3. What is your understanding of citizenship education, or put another way, tell me what citizenship education means to you.

Explain the aspects or components in a good citizenship education curriculum.

Why is it important? Are there certain aspects that are more important than others?

Tell me about your own experiences in school with citizenship education.

Can you think of any particular citizenship lessons or school experiences? Tell me about them. Any other times?

4. Why is it important for people to be good citizens?

Give me an example of a person who is a good citizen.

What do they do? How do they act? What do they believe?

5. What is the connection between citizenship and democracy?

In what ways is democracy important to Filipinos, specifically?

How is democracy different for Filipinos than, say, Americans?

6. What role does the PCCED play in the education of youth?

Why is this role important?

In your opinion, what are the main objectives of PCCED?

Is the PCCED meeting those objectives? How, specifically? What are some examples?

7. What are the main goals of the Project Citizen program?

How did you learn about Project Citizen?

What are the strengths and weaknesses of the Project Citizen curriculum?

How do you feel about how it is implemented in the schools?

8. In what ways is Project Citizen effective, or ineffective?

Tell me about a few of your favorite experiences with the Project Citizen program.

What is the best aspect of Project Citizen, or in other words, if you could only pick one good thing about Project Citizen, what would it be? Why?

* part of this section was adapted from an example interview protocol found online at http://www.webpages.uidaho.edu/ele/scholars/Results/Workshops/Assessment_Institute/Research/planning%20documents.pdf

APPENDIX C

Summary of Documents

Summary of Documents			
Category	Documents		
Project Citizen Student Products	Portfolios Reflection essays		
Project Citizen Philippines	Teacher Guide Project Citizen judging criteria Evaluator guidelines Interview guides Portfolio guides Training guides & programs Workshop schedules Certificates of recognition		
Project Citizen evaluation	Tracer study Focus group transcripts Student survey data Teacher survey data Qualitative content analysis		
PCCED—general	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>Website pages Facebook pages Brochures Emails Sponsorship package information Programmatic reports Policy proposal updates Press releases Program manuals</td> <td>Advertisements Lesson exemplar book Training powerpoints Training documents Memorandums of agreement Memos Meeting agendas Solicitation letters Conference papers</td> </tr> </table>	Website pages Facebook pages Brochures Emails Sponsorship package information Programmatic reports Policy proposal updates Press releases Program manuals	Advertisements Lesson exemplar book Training powerpoints Training documents Memorandums of agreement Memos Meeting agendas Solicitation letters Conference papers
Website pages Facebook pages Brochures Emails Sponsorship package information Programmatic reports Policy proposal updates Press releases Program manuals	Advertisements Lesson exemplar book Training powerpoints Training documents Memorandums of agreement Memos Meeting agendas Solicitation letters Conference papers		
PCCED—budget	Budget proposals Final budgets Requests for payment Requests for reimbursement		
PCCED—logistics	Teacher participant lists School participation lists Showcase schedules Volunteer lists		
Department of Education	Website pages Department executive memos Department advisories		

Legislation	Constitutional excerpts Department of Education Orders
Center for Civic Education	CCE website pages Civitas website pages Project Citizen website pages Project Citizen student manual Project Citizen teacher guide