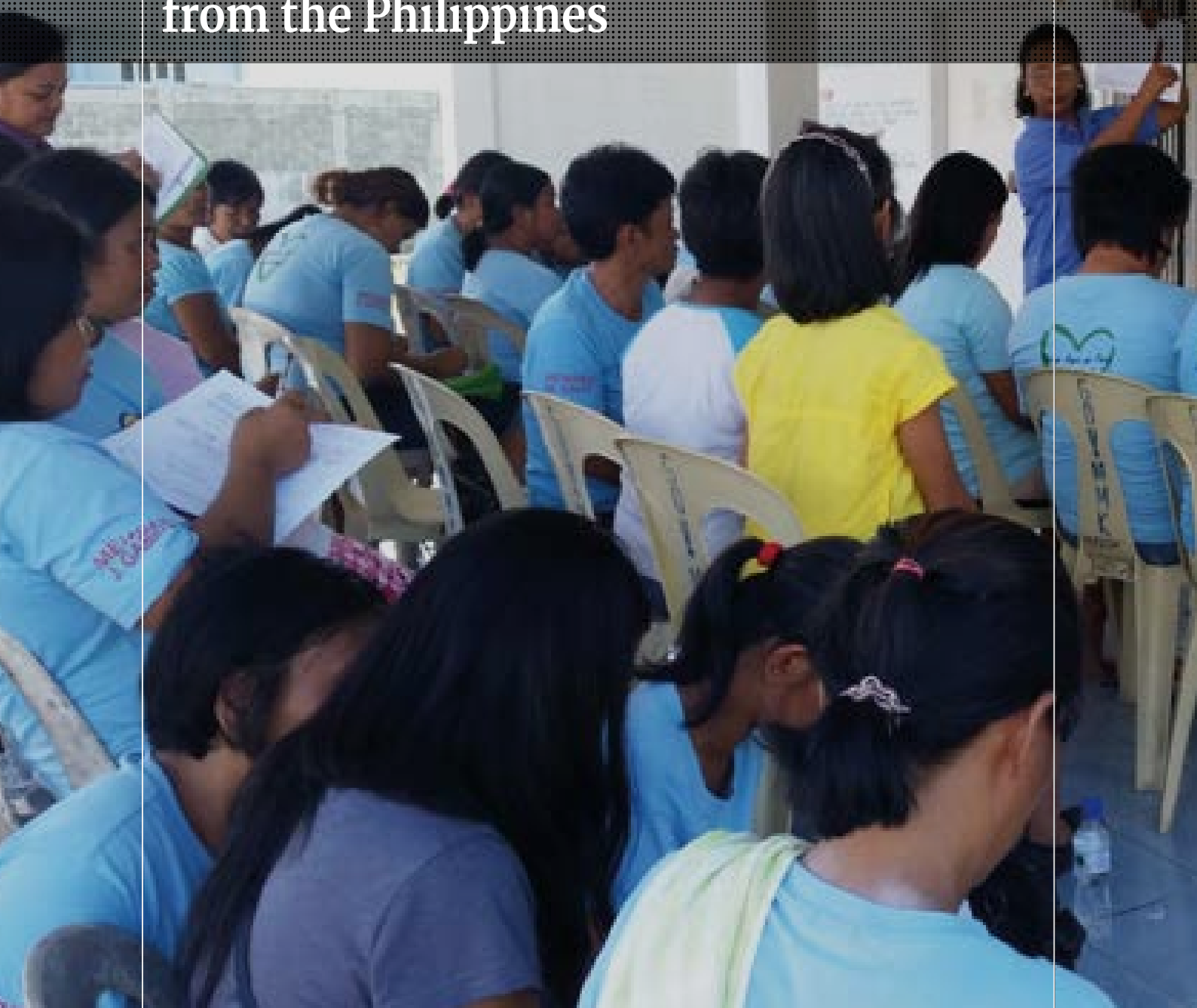MAKING ALL
VOICES COUNT

A GRAND CHALLENGE
FOR DEVELOPMENT

The effect of civic leadership training on citizen engagement and government responsiveness: experimental evidence from the Philippines

Lily L. Tsai, Nina McMurry and Swetha Rajeswaran

MIT GOV/LAB

RESEARCH REPORT

The effect of civic leadership training on citizen engagement and government responsiveness: experimental evidence from the Philippines

Authors

Lily L. Tsai is the Founder and Faculty Director of the MIT GOV/LAB and Associate Professor of Political Science at the MIT. Her research focuses on accountability, governance and political participation in developing contexts, particularly in Asia and Africa. In 2015, she was awarded MIT's James A. and Ruth Levitan Prize for innovative and creative scholarship. Her book, *Accountability Without Democracy: Solidary Groups and Public Goods Provision in Rural China*, received the 2007/08 Dogan Award from the Society for Comparative Research for the best book published in the field of comparative research. She has a BA from Stanford University, USA, an MA from the University of California, Berkeley, USA, and a PhD in government from Harvard University, USA.

Nina McMurry is a doctoral candidate in political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and an MIT Governance Lab (MIT GOV/LAB) Graduate Research Fellow. She studies political behaviour and government accountability in developing democracies, with a focus on the role of intermediaries and non-state actors. Her dissertation examines the effects of state recognition of indigenous political institutions on local governance in the Philippines. She has also conducted field research in Guatemala, South Africa and South Sudan. Prior to starting her PhD, Nina worked on civil society and local media development initiatives in South Sudan. She holds a BA in Political Science from Stanford University, USA.

Selva Swetha Ayyampalayam Rajeswaran is a Senior Research Support Associate at the MIT GOV/LAB. Previously, she worked in impact evaluation and evidence-based policy research roles at the Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab, and at a think tank developing a reconfigured health system for rural India. She has a Master's in public policy from the University of Texas, Austin, USA, and a Bachelor's from the University of Warwick, UK.

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Contents

Summary

What are the effects of providing civic leadership training to community leaders from marginalised groups? Can it lead to increased participation by new leaders in local government processes, and increased government responsiveness to the needs of the poorest and most marginalised? Does it have the unintended consequence of these new leaders being co-opted by local politicians?

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Governance Lab (MIT GOV/LAB), in partnership with a coalition of local civil society organisations led by Concerned Citizens of Abra for Good Government (CCAGG), explored these questions in the Northern Luzon region of the Philippines. We investigated the impact of civic leadership training on citizen participation and government responsiveness through an experimental pilot intervention, which was implemented in eight municipalities, randomly selected from a total of 16 municipalities included in the study. The remaining eight acted as control municipalities.

The intervention targeted 'parent leaders' – individuals already identified as community leaders in a large-scale government conditional cash transfer (CCT) programme that aims to benefit the 'poorest of the poor' in the Philippines. Parent leaders, who are themselves beneficiaries of the CCT programme, are selected by fellow beneficiaries to act as liaisons between beneficiaries and the CCT implementing agency in each community. Many parent leaders have previous leadership experience and higher levels of education relative to other beneficiaries; however, as beneficiaries themselves, they still have relatively low socio-economic status.

CCAGG and its partners designed a training intervention to build the capacity of parent leaders as 'community facilitators for change' who can represent the interests of the poor, not just in the context of the CCT programme, but in local governance more broadly. In doing so, the partners sought to use the programme as a vehicle for political empowerment, as well as economic empowerment.

Our research collaboration evaluated the impact of this model on the political participation of parent leaders, and the responsiveness of local government officials to the needs of marginalised groups. In addition, we assessed the potential for unintended political consequences of the leadership training in the Philippines, where strong clientelist networks can influence electoral mobilisation. In particular, we considered the possibility that leadership capacity-building might make parent leaders more attractive to politicians as 'vote brokers' – individuals who can deliver the votes of their fellow beneficiaries in exchange for personal gain.

The findings from this research collaboration will contribute to our understanding of leadership capacity-building interventions in similar contexts, and help inform decisions about the scaling up of this particular model throughout the Philippines (this is currently being considered). The research yielded several initial, high-level lessons.

Civic leadership training for parent leaders increased their political participation and engagement. We tested the impact of civic leadership training on 12 outcomes that measure political engagement. For 11 out of the 12 outcome measures, the treatment and control groups showed a difference in the expected direction. Compared to parent leaders who did not receive the training, newly trained parent leaders' greater engagement was evident in several ways, for example higher attendance rates at local town hall meetings and participating more directly with local officials (e.g. asking questions and providing comments). Parent leaders who received training also demonstrated greater knowledge of government regulations and citizens' rights.

While most of these differences were not significant in a statistical sense (unsurprising given the small number of municipalities in the study), many of them were large, and the consistent pattern across so many outcomes provides suggestive evidence that the training increased political engagement among parent leaders.

There were changes in government responsiveness. While there was little difference in citizens' perceptions of government responsiveness to their complaints and concerns, local government officials in the communities where parent leaders were trained complied at higher rates with government transparency regulations (e.g. posting budgets in public places, reporting on budgetary revenues and expenditures during town hall meetings). Trained parent leaders also reported interacting with local officials outside of town hall meetings more frequently than untrained parent leaders. These differences, while not statistically significant, suggest that the impact of the training intervention may have gone beyond parent leaders, and extended to behavioural changes among local government officials.

There was no evidence of parent leaders being co-opted. In fact, reported rates of co-option, measured with a series of questions about election-related engagement and personal assistance received from officials, were lower on average in the municipalities where parent leaders had been trained. However, the postponement of local elections (originally scheduled to take place during the study period) made this hypothesis difficult to assess.

1. Introduction

1.1 Conditional cash transfers in the Philippines

This research examined the effect of a civic leadership training programme provided to beneficiaries of the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps) in the Philippines.[1] This large-scale government conditional cash transfer (CCT) programme currently serves over 4.4 million households, making it the fourth largest CCT programme in the world, based on population coverage (World Bank 2017). It aims to reduce poverty by providing cash directly to beneficiaries who comply with social welfare programmes focused on child health, nutrition and education.

Specifically, the programme provides families with cash grants on the condition that parents attend regular training sessions on responsible parenting, keep their children in school, and ensure that children and pregnant women in the household seek certain basic health services regularly. The programme targets poor families with school-aged children, and beneficiaries are selected by the programme's implementing agency, the Department of Social Welfare and Development, through a national household poverty-targeting system. Locally elected officials are deliberately excluded from the selection process to prevent abuse of the programme for political gain (Hayakawa, van de Brink and Posarac 2015).[2]

The 4Ps has successfully achieved many of its goals, particularly in terms of increasing school attendance and the use of health services by poor people (World Bank 2013). The civic leadership training intervention that is the focus of this research, known as Project i-Pantawid, built on the existing infrastructure of the 4Ps. It was intended to sustain the gains made and ensure that the increased uptake of public services translated into longer-term improvements in well-being for beneficiary families.

1.2 Project i-Pantawid

In this study, we evaluated a pilot project called 'Guarding the Integrity of the Conditional Cash Transfer Program for the Philippines', also known as Project i-Pantawid.[3] This project was implemented in three different batches, each targeting a different group of municipalities. Each intervention involves a set of training modules, one per month; it takes approximately one year to complete the full set of modules. This research was focused on the project's third batch.

The project is implemented by members of the Northern Luzon Coalition for Good Governance, a consortium of civil society organisations (CSOs) based throughout the northern Philippines, and led by Concerned Citizens of Abra for Good Government, a CSO based in Bangued, Abra Province. It is supported by the World Bank Global Partnership for Social Accountability.

Project i-Pantawid focuses on civic education, civic skills and leadership training. It aims to empower 4Ps beneficiaries to:

- help monitor the implementation of the 4Ps

- hold elected officials and service providers accountable for improving the quality of local services

- increase beneficiaries' participation in local governance more broadly.

The project builds on two programmatic innovations unique to the 4Ps, which are applied throughout the Philippines: family development sessions and parent leaders. Family development sessions are monthly lectures that CCT beneficiaries must attend as one of the conditions for receiving cash grants. They focus on topics such as responsible parenting, substance abuse, and health and nutrition, and are usually delivered by the staff of local government agencies, religious leaders or local CSOs.

Parent leaders are chosen by fellow CCT beneficiaries, and act as liaisons between beneficiaries and the Department of Social Welfare and Development. Their typical duties include organising fellow beneficiaries for meetings, helping track beneficiaries' compliance with the conditionalities of the programme, assisting beneficiaries with paperwork, and communicating information from the Department of Social Welfare and Development to beneficiaries. They serve at the level of the *barangay*, or village, the lowest administrative unit in the Philippines. On average, there are two to three parent leaders in each *barangay*, depending on

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1   This study was filed with the Evidence in Government and Politics registry prior to the completion of endline data collection (ID: 20170807AA).

2   This model, while considered effective by many at insulating the programme from political 'capture', has proven controversial in recent years. See, for example, GMA News Online (2016).

3   See: https://ptfund.org/project/i-pantawid

RESEARCH REPORT

The effect of civic leadership training on citizen engagement and government responsiveness: experimental evidence from the Philippines

the number of CCT beneficiaries.[4] Each beneficiary is assigned to a specific parent leader's group.

Project i-Pantawid aims to build the capacity of parent leaders and expand their role further, so that they can act as civic leaders, or 'facilitators of change', and represent the interests of the 'poorest of the poor' in their communities. The project's training interventions aim to develop parent leaders' civic skills and leadership capacity. Once a month, parent leaders gather for a training workshop focusing on the content for the family development session to be held later that month, so that they can lead this session themselves (usually these are led by a government official, local non-governmental organisation representative or church leader).

The training workshop, run by a CSO facilitator and usually held at a municipal hall or other public space, focuses on parent leaders' civic skills and civic values, and teaches them how to teach the material to other CCT beneficiaries. Through this process, parent leaders learn and practise skills such as public speaking and how to mobilise CCT beneficiaries.[5] Project i-Pantawid also modifies the content of family development sessions to focus more explicitly on civic education, including modules on the duties of local officials, the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and local government budgeting.

In addition to these monthly training events, Project i-Pantawid organises 'interface' meetings between parent leaders, 4Ps beneficiaries, and health and education service providers. Parent leaders then mobilise and organise CCT beneficiaries to work with these service providers to evaluate the quality of service provision, discuss their respective scores and develop joint action plans to address any shortfalls identified. Parent leaders also take a leadership role during meetings in which CCT beneficiaries form a social contract with the mayor of each municipality. This contract outlines the responsibilities of both beneficiaries and the mayor, both to the 4Ps and to their communities.

The expansion of parent leaders' role – to include broader engagement with authorities, and to represent citizens' interests – raises the potential for both positive impacts and unintended, negative impacts. For example, the training aimed to build the capacity of parent leaders to organise their marginalised communities around shared goals and navigate existing channels of power. This could lead to improved social accountability in local governance and increased representation of these

groups' interests. On the other hand, it could make these leaders more attractive to political elites as 'brokers' – people who can deliver votes at election time.

Recognising this possibility, Project i-Pantawid includes a 'values formation' component. This aims to socialise parent leaders and 'inoculate' them against clientelistic politics, through the teaching and discussion of civic values over a sustained period. However, the efficacy of this type of training may be limited in the face of economic incentives from politicians, and the entrenched system of vote-buying and patronage in the Philippines.

1.3 Rationale for this research

Capacity-building workshops and training events abound in developing countries. Many of these focus on what Watkins, Swidler and Hannan (2012: 299) call "the technology of talk", in which CSOs "talk to members of their community about the importance of participation and empowerment for their future prosperity". These interventions are often conceptualised as educational initiatives that inform citizens about their rights and entitlements (Reinikka and Svensson 2011; Björkman and Svensson 2009), the performance of their government officials (Molina 2014) and, increasingly, the options available to them for voicing their dissatisfaction (Pandey, Goyal and Sundararaman 2009).

But as randomised evaluations[6] of these interventions accumulate, the evidence of impact is mixed at best (Lipovsek and Tsai, forthcoming; Khemani 2016). There is a growing consensus that information provision by itself rarely works (Kosack and Fung 2014; Lieberman, Posner and Tsai 2014). What else is needed? One answer is that citizens lack not only information about why and how they should participate, but also the *skills* needed for participation, and *opportunities* to put those skills into practice.

Scholars and practitioners have long recognised the need for civic skills. Verba, Schlozman and Brady's (1995) dominant resource-mobilisation model of political participation in the United States suggests that, independent of income and access to education, one of the ways in which under-resourced populations can overcome inequalities in participation is by acquiring civic skills, through activities organised by churches and other community groups. They found that the opportunities that such groups provide to exercise civic skills were less socially stratified than in other contexts.

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4 In our sample, the highest number of parent leaders in a *barangay* was six, and the lowest was zero (in this case, one parent leader served two adjoining *barangays*).

5 The training workshops are held at the municipal level. Administratively, the Philippines is divided into 81 provinces, which in turn are divided into cities / municipalities. Each of these is governed by a mayor and vice-mayor, along with a legislative municipal council.

6 Randomised evaluation is a conventional term in development studies – see Poverty Action Lab (nd).

Social movement theory also highlights the importance of tools and actions, or 'repertoires of contention', that are shared through group-based mobilisation and grass-roots activism (Tilly 2002; Tarrow 1998). Studies of civil society and social capital have found that the skills and templates provided by associational life and dialogue are critical for inter-group cooperation (Varshney 2003; Putnam 1993) and the development of a public sphere in which society guides the state effectively (Habermas 1989).

Consistent with these theories, several of the interventions that have demonstrated an impact on participation included concrete opportunities for practising participation skills. In the intervention evaluated by Björkman and Svensson (2009), for example, citizens had repeated opportunities to practise speaking up in 'interface meetings' with local health workers that were facilitated by local non-governmental organisations. In Olken's study in Indonesia (2007), non-elite villagers were extended formal invitations to public accountability meetings with government officials to encourage community-level monitoring of local development projects. In Pandey *et al*.'s study of an information campaign on public school performance in India (2009), eight to nine public meetings were held in each village, providing parents with opportunities to question and engage in discussion with members of school oversight committees. Raffler's intervention (2016) consisted of a training workshop for councillors and local bureaucrats, providing them a platform to clarify the division of roles between them and reinforce the councillors' monitoring mandate.

Targeting individuals who have already been identified as potential leaders among marginalised groups can boost the efficacy of civic education interventions. Previous theoretical literature also suggests that focusing explicitly on building leadership capacity within communities – in particular, by enabling community leaders to improve their mobilising, organisational and public-speaking skills – is necessary for increasing citizen engagement. Leaders can overcome obstacles to collective action (Olson 2009; Ostrom 1990) in situations when one person's complaint or action is unlikely to make a difference.

Studies of developing contexts suggest that the civic skills needed for interaction with government authorities are often a crucial gap for participation and engagement by ordinary citizens. People often find the state to be 'opaque' (Webb 2012; Ghertner 2011; Chatterjee 2004; Fuller and Benei 2000), and lack an understanding of government decision-making processes and how to engage with government authorities (Lieberman *et al.* 2014; Carter 2013; Folscher 2010). The extensive body of research on 'brokers' in these contexts notes that some of the main resources they have to offer are their practice, personal experience and skills in 'navigating the system' (Krishna 2011, 2002; Boone 2003; Manor 2000; Jennings 1997; Duara 1991). When citizens need to make claims, or engage with the state, they seek the help of these intermediaries – and are often willing to pay them, in cash or with political support, in exchange for the benefit of their skills (Webb 2012; Corbridge and Kumar 2002; Ruud 2000).

Existing literature and practice thus suggests that we need to go beyond civic education, and build leadership capacity by providing new opportunities for community leaders to put the skills they learn through workshops into practice. Yet there are a number of reasons why this approach may still be insufficient for increasing citizen engagement among marginalised groups.

First, this approach may not equip participants with sufficient ability and / or confidence to take action. Structural inequalities and discrimination undermine people's sense of worth and confidence, and political participation is less likely among people with fewer resources (Han 2009).

Second, the extensive literature on clientelism predicts that poor and marginalised individuals are the easiest for politicians to co-opt and buy off (Stokes, Dunning, Nazareno and Brusco 2013). Given the material benefits at stake for complying with politicians, even increased civic education and leadership capacity may not be enough to lead people to question local authorities or effectively sanction poor performers at the ballot box. This literature also suggests that individuals with large social networks and civic skills are more likely to be recruited as vote brokers (Cruz 2013; Stokes *et al*. 2013). If building leadership capacity among leaders from marginalised groups enables clientelist exchanges, it could ultimately undermine the quality of governance, rather than improving it.

Finally, equipping community leaders with the organisational and public-speaking skills needed for engagement may do little to overcome their fear of political retaliation from authorities (Tsai and Xu 2017; Givens 2011; Michelson 2007; Shi 1997). In developing democracies, where the rule of law is weak and there are no guarantees that one will not be punished in some way for criticising authorities, complaining about government performance can be a risky prospect. Newly developed participation and leadership skills may very well go unused in these contexts.

1.4 Building civic skills in the Philippines

In many ways, the political context of the Philippines provides a 'hard test' for the theory that a civic skills training programme for community leaders can work.

Patronage and clientelism are pervasive, making co-option by politicians a clear concern. *Barangay* officials also have a high degree of discretion over resources and governance, which may increase the risk and uncertainty associated with making complaints about their performance.

In the context of the CCT programme, beneficiaries have several reasons to feel beholden to *barangay* officials. A common refrain in the *barangays* is that CCT beneficiaries assume *barangay* officials have a role to play in their selection for the programme – but in fact, the CCT programme is administered by the Department of Social Welfare and Development, with no involvement from *barangay* officials.

At the same time, compared to other developing countries, the civil society sector in the Philippines is highly developed in terms of organisation and political sophistication. Many CSOs are good at identifying potential allies in government and building relationships with them. Indeed, it is not unheard of for individuals to alternate between civil society and government. This 'revolving door' can make it easier for CSOs to negotiate the political system and command a certain status in working with local officials.

The unique innovations[7] of the 4Ps in the Philippines provide an exciting opportunity to investigate whether new community leaders and networks can be created, organised and mobilised for civic engagement and social accountability. It is unusual among CCT programmes in that it creates a formal structure of beneficiaries and parent leaders. This creates an institutional framework, reinforced by frequent programming and organised activities, which provide the 'scaffolding' for community leaders to organise citizens – and for politicians to co-opt them into political efforts.

Given this context, the increased civic participation of parent leaders, and any action they take towards disrupting their existing power differential with *barangay* officials, is significant and merits attention. In an ideal world, we would be able to isolate the benefits of fostering civic skills among parent leaders from the information provided through civic education. However, we know from previous studies that information obtained via civic education is unlikely, by itself, to have an impact in this type of context. Therefore, assessing this 'treatment bundle' can only provide an initial assessment of whether civic skills training is effective.

Project i-Pantawid sought to substantially enhance the role of parent leaders. As a result, it provides a valuable opportunity to evaluate the impacts – both positive and negative – of such training. The results of our evaluation are discussed in more detail in the rest of this report, beginning with background and motivations, followed by an overview of the pilot intervention and research design, outcomes of interest, hypotheses and results, qualitative illustrations, and summary and implications.

2. Research design

In this study, we evaluated a group of 16 municipalities in which Project i-Pantawid began between May and July 2016. By the time of our data collection, which began in April 2017 (during the third batch of interventions), the project had been running in these municipalities for between 9 and 11 months.[8]

2.1 Characteristics of the study sample

In our study sample, the typical parent leader is female, aged between 40 and 49, and has completed high school. Most (88%) were chosen by fellow CCT beneficiaries, either through an election or a consultation process, but 9% were chosen by the Municipal Link,[9] and 2.5% by a *barangay* official. Like all CCT beneficiaries, the parent leaders are all among the poorest 20% of the country's households – the 4Ps' target population. Appendix 1 contains summary statistics about the parent leaders in our sample.

2.2 Treatment and control municipalities

To evaluate the impact of Project i-Pantawid, we randomly assigned the training programme to eight out of 16 total municipalities in the study sample. Before this iteration of Project i-Pantawid started, participating CSOs were asked to submit two potential municipalities in which they could implement the project. Municipalities in each pair had to be in the same province, have similar income levels, and be similar in

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7 While many Making All Voices Count projects and research examined technology innovations, our focus was the policy innovations in the 4Ps.
8 The first and second iterations began in February 2015 and November 2015, and covered five and seven municipalities, respectively.
9 A member of the Department of Social Welfare and Development, who serves as liaison between the Department and the municipality.

terms of population and number of CCT beneficiaries. The CSOs were also required to secure prior permission from the mayors in both municipalities.

One municipality from each pair was randomly selected by the research team to be part of Project i-Pantawid. The selected municipalities are hereafter referred to as 'treatment municipalities', and the others (where the project was not implemented) as 'control municipalities'. The 16 municipalities in the study span five provinces in Northern Luzon: Ifugao, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, La Union and Pangasinan.

We collected data on attitudinal and self-reported behavioural outcomes from Project i-Pantawid through face-to-face interviews with *barangay* officials, parent leaders and CCT beneficiaries. All *barangays* within

each municipality were included in the survey. Within each *barangay*, we aimed to interview four *barangay* officials and six randomly selected CCT beneficiaries. Together with a third-party survey firm, MIT GOV/LAB trained interviewers, and then supervised them during the data-collection process. Between April and August 2017, we conducted face-to-face interviews with 4,998 respondents from 441 *barangays* (see Table 1).

In addition to the survey, we trained participant observers (hired by the same third-party firm) to observe *barangay* assembly meetings in 333 of the 441 *barangays* in the sample. The data from these observations are still being analysed and are thus not included in the main analysis; however, qualitative findings are included in Section 5.

Table 1. Respondents by municipality status (treatment / control)

Respondent type	Control municipalities	Treatment municipalities	Total
CCT beneficiary	1,283	1,319	2,602
Barangay official	834	837	1,671
Parent leader	361	342	703
Parent leader and official (dual-role)*	11	11	22
Total respondents	**2,489**	**2,509**	**4,998**
Number of *barangays*	216	225	441

* A small number of parent leaders were also *barangay* officials. In the following analysis, they are treated as officials.

3. Outcomes of interest

3.1 Main outcomes

We investigated the impact of the civic leadership training provided by Project i-Pantawid on three main outcomes of interest: (1) political participation by parent leaders; (2) government responsiveness, as perceived by parent leaders, and in terms of compliance with government regulations on transparency and citizen feedback; and (3) the co-option of parent leaders by officials.

In this section, we discuss each of these outcomes and the variables that we used to measure them. We created one index for each outcome by aggregating several different variables, standardising each variable and taking the equally weighted average, as recommended by Kling, Liebman and Katz (2007).[10] To

minimise 'noise', variables for which 95% of *barangays* had the same value within the full sample were omitted from the analysis.[11]

1. Political participation by parent leaders

One expected outcome from the civic leadership training provided by Project i-Pantawid was that parent leaders would participate more in local government processes. One of the main forums for citizen participation in the Philippines is the *barangay* assembly, a 'town hall' meeting at which *barangay* officials disseminate information about their activities and budgetary decisions, and solicit questions and comments from citizens. *Barangay* assemblies typically take place twice a year, in March and October.

[10] Variables are standardised by subtracting the mean of each variable from each observation and dividing by the standard deviation of that variable within the control group. The index is created by taking the average of the standardised component variables.

[11] The inclusion of variables with little to no variation in an index can make it more difficult to detect meaningful differences between the treatment and control groups.

The March assemblies coincided with the end of the Project i-Pantawid intervention in our study sample. We were therefore able to measure citizen participation at the *barangay* level by recording the attendance of ordinary citizens and parent leaders at the assembly, their level of participation in terms of comments and questions voiced to officials, and the general level of interest in local politics and community affairs among parent leaders.

Table H1L[12] lists the survey questions used to construct the index for citizen participation.[13]

2a. Government responsiveness I: as perceived by parent leaders

Another expectation of the project was that civic leadership training for parent leaders would lead to greater responsiveness by officials towards marginalised groups. Community leaders who undergo leadership training may be able to elicit greater responsiveness, through mechanisms such as being more effective – and feeling that they are more effective – at communicating their concerns, communicating their concerns more often, and mobilising other citizens to put pressure on officials to respond to questions and concerns.

One way of measuring government responsiveness is to look at citizens' perceptions of government responsiveness. In our research, we measured this by asking: do parent leaders see *barangay* officials as being responsive to questions and complaints from citizens?

Table H2A lists the questions used to construct the index for government responsiveness, as perceived by parent leaders.

2b. Government responsiveness II: barangay officials' compliance with government regulations about transparency and citizen feedback

Another way of measuring government responsiveness is to look at the behaviour of *barangay* officials, and whether they comply with government regulations that require them to inform citizens about local government finances and the available channels for citizen input into local government decision-making processes. Specifically, these regulations include the need to: inform citizens in advance of the time and place for a *barangay* assembly; provide information about budgetary revenues and expenditures; report on present and future public projects in the *barangay*; and enable citizens to ask questions during the *barangay* assembly.

Table H2B details the variables used for this index, which aggregates responses from both parent leaders and other CCT beneficiaries.

3. Co-option of parent leaders by officials

One potential unintended consequence of training community leaders is that these leaders may become attractive targets for co-option by elected officials and may be recruited for vote-brokering during elections. Unfortunately, the *barangay* elections originally scheduled for October 2016 were postponed, initially until October 2017. This made it impossible to measure any effects on co-option during actual elections, as the dates when our survey took place meant it was likely to be too early to detect direct electoral co-option in anticipation of the October 2017 elections.

In October 2017, just weeks before the rescheduled elections were set to take place, the elections were postponed for a second time, until May 2018. This possibility was being discussed publicly during the time of our survey, which created substantial uncertainty surrounding the date of the next elections and may have further delayed pre-campaign activities.

Nevertheless, we proceeded by evaluating differences in co-option between treatment and control groups, with the understanding that if we were to find any impacts during a period when elections were not upcoming, it could be expected that this impact would intensify during an actual election season.

The variables used to construct the attempted co-option index are detailed in Table H3.

3.2 Secondary outcomes

To better understand some of the mechanisms through which civic leadership training for parent leaders may (or may not) lead to greater citizen participation, government responsiveness or elite co-option, we also assessed the impacts of the training interventions on several secondary outcomes.

1. Levels of civic knowledge among parent leaders / CCT beneficiaries

One way in which leadership training for parent leaders could increase citizen participation and government responsiveness is by increasing the knowledge – of both parent leaders and other CCT beneficiaries, who receive it from the parent leaders – about core local government institutions and regulations for decision-making and transparency. We created separate indices for parent leaders and CCT beneficiaries; the questions asked are listed in Table H1M.

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12 The specific survey questions included in each index can be found in Appendices 3A and 3B.

13 A version of this index that uses responses from non-parent leader CCT beneficiaries is included as a secondary outcome. This is because, while we expect the main effects of the programme to be realised through parent leaders, there may also be spill-over effects to other beneficiaries.

2. *Levels of self-efficacy among parent leaders and CCT beneficiaries*

The level of self-efficacy – the sense that an individual has about her or his ability to influence the decision-making of others – has been shown to be important in political participation (Almond and Verba 1963). We created separate indices for parent leaders and CCT beneficiaries; and the questions asked, which are often used in public opinion surveys to measure internal efficacy, are listed in Table H5.

3. *Perceptions of inequality between citizens and officials*

Another mechanism through which leadership training may lead to greater citizen participation and government responsiveness is by decreasing the sense – felt by both citizens and officials – that theirs is a hierarchical relationship, in which citizens are expected to obey or defer to officials unquestioningly. We asked a series of questions to construct indices measuring subjective perceptions of inequality between citizens and officials. The index construction is described in Table H6.

4. *Interactions between citizens and officials*

The training provided by Project i-Pantawid could increase government responsiveness by increasing the amount of face-to-face interaction between parent leaders and local officials. While Project i-Pantawid does not directly facilitate interactions between parent leaders and elected officials at the *barangay* level, it may give parent leaders greater confidence to approach them. It may also be the case that more conversations and personal interactions between parent leaders and elected officials provide the latter group with more information about the community mobilisation skills and networks of parent leaders, and provide more opportunities for co-opting these leaders and recruiting them into patron–client relationships for vote-brokering.

We asked parent leaders about the levels of interaction between themselves and a variety of officials at the *barangay* and municipal levels. The index construction is described in Table H7.

5. *Levels of collective action by parent leaders and CCT beneficiaries*

Assessing the impact of the training intervention on the level of collective action among parent leaders and CCT beneficiaries was of interest for a number of reasons. Training parent leaders could increase their motivation and ability to organise CCT beneficiaries to voice questions and concerns to local officials, thus contributing to greater government responsiveness. However, a greater ability to organise collective action could also make parent leaders more attractive targets for co-option, or as organisers of citizen compliance with top-down initiatives, such as mandated contributions of labour to village clean-up campaigns. Table H8 lists the variables used for this index.

6. *Local officials' acknowledgment of parent leaders in* barangay *assembly meetings*

We were interested in assessing whether training parent leaders made local officials more or less likely to increase the prominence of such leaders during *barangay* assembly meetings. We selected these forums because they are perhaps the most significant public forum for *barangays*. Variables for this index were constructed using either parent leader and / or CCT beneficiary responses, as indicated in Table H9.

Political participation by CCT beneficiaries, and perceptions of government responsiveness by CCT beneficiaries, are considered secondary outcomes. While we expect the intervention to operate primarily through its impact on parent leaders, we also test for potential secondary effects on CCT beneficiaries who are not parent leaders. These indices are constructed as described, but using responses from CCT beneficiaries rather than parent leaders, unless otherwise noted.

4. Hypotheses tested and results

We tested 16 hypotheses relating to the impacts of the training interventions on the outcomes described in Section 3. Due to the small sample size – 16 municipalities – we did not assess the statistical significance of an average 'treatment' effect using conventional standard errors that rely on distributional assumptions. Instead, we use a non-parametric permutation procedure to test a sharp null hypothesis of a constant zero treatment effect (Efron and

Tibshirani 1993). This is intended to tell us whether we can reject the sharp null hypothesis: that none of the municipalities was affected by the intervention (see Appendix 2 for more details).

To address the increased risk of falsely rejecting the null hypotheses – a risk introduced by testing the effect of the intervention on multiple outcomes – we applied a multiple testing adjustment. However, in accordance with our pre-analysis plan, we report both unadjusted

RESEARCH REPORT

The effect of civic leadership training on citizen engagement and government responsiveness: experimental evidence from the Philippines

p-values obtained from the permutation test and p-values adjusted for multiple testing (see Appendix 2).[14]

Tables 2 and 3 summarise our hypotheses and the indices that measure our outcomes of interest. The four hypotheses in Table 2 are our *primary hypotheses*, and the 12 hypotheses in Table 3 are the *secondary hypotheses*. Our primary hypotheses involve our main outcomes of interest (see Section 3.1). Our secondary hypotheses assess whether the training interventions affect these main outcomes through more intermediate outcomes, which are associated with greater engagement, and whether the interventions affected the engagement and participation of CCT beneficiaries who are not parent leaders (see Section 3.2).

For each hypothesis, we report: the direction of the difference from control to treatment; the estimated effect size of the treatment; and the statistical significance of this difference. Effect sizes are reported for standardised indices measuring each outcome. These effect sizes are generally comparable across outcomes, so a larger effect size indicates that the treatment may have had a more sizable impact (than others) on a particular outcome.

In the column on statistical significance, we follow the standard of a 0.05 significance level for the p-values, obtained by permutation inference after adjusting for multiple hypothesis testing. If the difference was not significant at this level, we did not reject the sharp null hypothesis that none of the municipalities was affected by the intervention, but noted this finding in the column reporting statistical significance. However, to benchmark our results against the results reported in other studies, which often use other

Table 2. Primary hypotheses and results

No.	Hypothesis*	Index	Observed effect	Effect size	Statistical significance
H1L	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will lead to greater participation by those leaders in local government processes	Citizen participation (parent leaders)	Increases, as expected	0.77	Not significant (unadjusted p-value significant at 0.10 level)
H2AL	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will lead to greater perceived responsiveness by officials to those groups (among group leaders)	Government responsiveness (perceived – parent leaders)	Decreases, not as expected	−0.49	Not significant
H2B	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will lead to greater compliance with procedures for transparency and citizen participation	Government responsiveness (compliance)	Increases, as expected	0.37	Not significant
H3	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will lead to attempted co-option of those leaders by elected officials	Co-option	Decreases, not as expected	−0.30	Not significant

* Hypotheses appear as stated in our pre-analysis plan.

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14 The p-value represents the probability that we would find a difference as large as, or larger than, the one we found if the treatment had no effect on any municipality. The smaller the p-value, the less likely it is that the difference we find is due to random chance. Note that this differs from a conventional hypothesis test that yields a probability of observing the effect we observe, given that the 'true' effect of the intervention is zero (Efron and Tibshirani 1993).

Table 3. Secondary hypotheses and results

No.	Hypothesis	Index	Observed effect	Effect size	Statistical significance
H1M	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will lead to greater participation by members of groups in local government processes	Citizen participation (CCT beneficiaries)	Increases, as expected	0.01	Not significant
H2AM	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will lead to greater perceived responsiveness by officials to groups (group members)	Government responsiveness (perceived – CCT beneficiaries)	Increases, as expected	0.11	Not significant
H4L	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will increase knowledge of local government processes and procedures	Civic knowledge (parent leaders)	Increases, as expected	1.39	Not significant (unadjusted p-value significant at 0.05 level)
H4M	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will increase knowledge of local government processes and procedures among members of groups	Civic knowledge (CCT beneficiaries)	Increases, as expected	0.38	Not significant
H5L	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will lead to greater self-efficacy among those leaders	Self-efficacy (parent leaders)	Increases, as expected	0.35	Not significant
H5M	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will lead to greater self-efficacy among members of groups	Self-efficacy (CCT beneficiaries)	Increases, as expected	0.38	Not significant
H6L	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will decrease perceived power differentials between leaders and officials (as perceived by leaders)	Power differential (parent leaders)	Decreases, as expected	−0.51	Not significant
H6M	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will decrease perceived power differentials between members of groups and officials (as perceived by group members)	Power differential (CCT beneficiaries)	Decreases, as expected	−0.11	Not significant

RESEARCH REPORT

The effect of civic leadership training on citizen engagement and government responsiveness: experimental evidence from the Philippines

Table 3. *Continued*

No.	Hypothesis	Index	Observed effect	Effect size	Statistical significance
H6O	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will decrease perceived power differentials between members of groups and officials (as perceived by officials)	Power differential (officials)	Decreases, as expected	0.16	Not significant
H7	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will increase interactions between leaders / members and officials	Interaction	Increases, as expected	0.44	Not significant (unadjusted p-value significant at 0.10 level)
H8	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will increase citizen participation in local collective work	Collective work	Increases, as expected	0.48	Not significant
H9	Civic leadership training for community leaders from marginalised groups will increase the salience of groups to government officials	Salience	Decreases, not as expected	−0.55	Not significant

levels of significance and do not use multiple testing adjustments, we also report in this column whether the difference would be considered statistically significant without adjustment at other, conventionally used levels of significance.

Overall, there is a consistent pattern across both primary and secondary outcomes measuring citizen engagement in terms of behaviour, attitudes and skills. This consistent pattern of positive differences suggests that the training intervention was effective in its intended goals: it increased citizen engagement, though the small number of units in the study make it difficult to detect statistical significance. Given the substantively large effects for many of these outcomes, these results support the case for expanding this pilot intervention to further municipalities. The remainder of this section discusses these results in more detail.

4.1 Results for primary hypotheses

Citizen participation in local government processes was much higher among the treatment group of parent leaders, who received civic leadership training, than the control group (Table 2, H1L). However, this difference did not meet the level of statistical significance specified in our pre-analysis plan.[15]

Table 4 outlines the differences between the treatment and control groups for the individual components of our participation index. Looking at these, it becomes clear that most or all of the difference in our index is driven by parent leaders' participation and engagement, rather than the participation of ordinary CCT beneficiaries or other citizens in a *barangay*. Parent leaders in the treatment group score their interest in local community politics and affairs as 3.8 on average (mean), while parent leaders in the control group report an average score of 3.5.

Even more meaningful differences exist in terms of parent leaders' behaviour in *barangay* assemblies. The mean percentage of parent leaders attending a *barangay* assembly in the treatment group was 89%, compared to 80% in the control group. Similarly, the mean percentage of *barangays* in the treatment group reporting that their parent leaders made comments

15 The unadjusted p-value for this difference is 0.08. To benchmark these findings against findings reported in previous studies, it is worth noting that many studies do not use multiple hypothesis-testing adjustments. In such studies, this difference would be considered statistically significant at a 90% confidence level.

during the *barangay* assembly is 25%, as opposed to 19% in the control group.

By contrast, there was little difference between the treatment and control groups in the attendance of CCT beneficiaries. The treatment group actually had slightly lower rates of attendance by ordinary residents than the control group (although this difference is small, just 4%).

Keeping in mind that none of the differences was close to being statistically significant by any standard, other large differences between treatment and control groups that merit further investigation include the following.

- Compliance with government regulations on transparency and citizen input (H2B) was higher among *barangay* officials in the treatment group. Much of the overall difference in compliance was due to the treatment group's much higher rates of compliance with regulations on budget transparency (e.g. posting a written budget in a publicly accessible place and verbally presenting budgetary information during *barangay* assembly meetings).

- The co-option of parent leaders (H23) was substantially lower in *barangays* in the treatment group, with little evidence of increased clientelism in their relationships with politicians. This is consistent with the generally positive impacts on civic engagement that these leaders have had. There was little difference in citizens' perceptions of government responsiveness to citizen complaints and concerns (H2AL).

4.2 Results for secondary hypotheses

As stated, our hypothesis was that Project i-Pantawid operates primarily through its impact on parent leaders, but we were also interested in potential 'downstream' effects on other CCT beneficiaries as secondary outcomes. All but one of the 12 secondary outcomes showed a difference between treatment and control in the expected direction (Table 3). Again, this consistent pattern increases our belief in the potential of civic leadership training to increase citizen engagement.

The differences between secondary outcomes in treatment and control municipalities about which we are most confident are:

- the civic knowledge of parent leaders (H4L): newly trained parent leaders showed greater knowledge of the governance system and citizens' rights[16]

- feelings of self-efficacy (H5L): they also expressed stronger beliefs that people like them could influence government decisions[17]

- the level of face-to-face interactions between parent leaders and local officials (H7): the average percentage of parent leaders who reported speaking to local officials – both *barangay* and municipal officials – with whom they had never previously spoken was higher in treatment municipalities. They also interacted more frequently with *barangay* and municipal officials.[18]

As an example, *barangays* in treatment municipalities saw more interactions between parent leaders and the

Table 4. Differences between control and treatment groups in the citizen participation index (H1L)

General interest in engagement	Control	Treatment
Self-reported interest of parent leaders in local community politics and local community affairs (on a scale of 1–5, with 5 being the highest)	3.5	3.8
Behavioural engagement in the most recent *barangay* assembly	**Control (%)**	**Treatment (%)**
Average percentage of parent leaders in a *barangay* that attended	80	89
Average percentage of *barangays* that reported that the parent leader made comments during the assembly	19	25
Average percentage of *barangay* residents who attended	55	51
Average percentage of CCT beneficiaries who attended	86	86

16 The unadjusted p-value for this difference is 0.02. Benchmarking these findings against others reported in previous studies that are not adjusted for multiple hypothesis testing, this difference would be considered statistically significant at a 95% confidence level.

17 The unadjusted p-value for this difference is 0.10, which would be considered statistically significant at a 90% confidence level in studies that do not adjust for multiple hypothesis testing.

18 The unadjusted p-value for this difference is 0.09, which would be considered statistically significant at a 90% confidence level in studies that do not adjust for multiple hypothesis testing.

barangay captain than those in control municipalities (a difference of 7%), and more interactions between parent leaders and the *barangay* treasurer or secretary (17% more). They also saw more interactions between parent leaders and the municipal mayor (14%), and with someone from the mayor's office, including the mayor (57%).

The level of collective work activities within *barangays* (H8) was higher in treatment *barangays*, as expected, but we are less certain about this difference. On average, *barangays* in the treatment group organised more collective work activities (e.g. village sweeping, school cleaning, community patrols) and beneficiaries participated in these activities at higher rates.

Estimated differences in perceptions of the power differential between officials and citizens (H6L, H6M, H6O) were highly uncertain.

As we expected, there was little evidence that the impacts of the training interventions extended to CCT beneficiaries and citizens who did not receive the civic leadership training (i.e. those who were not parent leaders). Although the differences in citizens' attitudes and behaviour between the treatment and control groups were consistent with the intervention potentially affecting citizen engagement positively, these estimates were, for the most part, highly uncertain.

Finally, there was some indication that *barangay* officials may have changed their behaviour in response to changes in the parent leaders who completed civic leadership training. We hypothesised that more active parent leaders would increase their prominence during *barangay* assemblies, and that *barangay* officials would be more likely to discuss parent leaders' activities during these assemblies. Instead, we found that *barangay* officials in the treatment group were significantly *less* likely to mention parent leaders during assembly meetings. This suggests that the impact of the training interventions was not limited to the parent leaders who received the training, but that changes in their behaviour may have led to changes in the behaviour of *barangay* officials.

5. Interpreting citizen voice and engagement qualitatively

5.1 Unpacking citizen participation: voice and engagement in *barangay* assemblies

The results discussed in Section 4 suggest that parent leaders who received civic training participated in local government processes at higher rates than those who did not receive the training. But what does citizen participation mean in this setting? Our index of participation draws primarily on indicators of attendance and voice in *barangay* assembly meetings, the primary forum available to citizens for voicing their requests and concerns to *barangay* officials publicly.

The *barangay* assembly is a 'town hall' meeting at which *barangay* officials disseminate information about their activities and budgetary decisions, and solicit questions and comments from citizens. Generally, officials use these meetings to report on which public projects have been, or will be, carried out; provide information about government regulations that higher levels want delivered or underscored to the public; and make public service announcements about topics such as fire safety or, during 2017, the anti-drugs campaign launched by President Rodrigo Duterte.

Our index of citizen participation was constructed from survey responses to five questions – four of which related to participation at the *barangay* assembly meeting by parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries and other citizens. As noted in Section 4.1 and Table 4, the differences in citizen participation between the treatment and control groups were largely driven by higher rates of attendance in *barangay* assemblies by parent leaders, and higher numbers of comments and questions voiced by parent leaders during these meetings. For ordinary CCT beneficiaries, however, there was little difference in attendance, and for non-beneficiary residents, the treatment group actually had slightly lower rates of attendance than the control group.

In this section, we take a closer look at the nature of parent leaders' participation in *barangay* assembly meetings, drawing on qualitative information collected through two channels. First, we trained participant observers[19] hired by a local research firm to log all comments and questions made by citizens and local

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19 *Barangay* assembly observers were English teachers in public elementary schools, contracted through the Department of Education. They were either residents of the *barangay* they observed, or taught in that *barangay*'s elementary school. They were instructed not to give too much prior notice to the *barangay* captain about their observation, and only inform him the day before it started.

officials during assembly meetings in 333 *barangays* held from mid-March to May 2017.[20] Second, we personally observed six *barangay* assembly meetings on an opportunistic basis (primarily determined by the timing of assemblies, which coincided with our training sessions for survey enumerators) to collect our own observations and help us cross-check and interpret the information collected by the participant observers.

We used these data in two ways to illustrate what citizen participation, and interactions between citizens and local officials, look like in reality.

1. In Section 5.2, based on a preliminary reading of the *barangay* assembly logs, we construct a typology of citizens' comments and questions. This demonstrates the variety that exists in citizen voice and engagement with local officials, and provides concrete examples of what citizens actually say in *barangay* assemblies.[21]

2. In Section 5.3, we narrate the proceedings of one *barangay* assembly that we personally attended in the treatment group. This illustrates how citizens and officials interact dynamically in these public forums, and contextualises the significance and limitations of these interactions. Benchmarked against the typology of citizen input across all *barangay* assemblies, we can see that the input voiced by parent leaders and citizens falls at the critical end of the spectrum.

5.2 Typology of parent leaders' participation in *barangay* assembly meetings

We found that parent leaders voiced a range of comments and questions during *barangay* assemblies, ranging from supportive comments to criticisms of *barangay* officials. The following types of input are listed here, illustrated with examples taken from the assembly logs submitted by *barangay* observers. The six types presented are ordered from positive to negative, with 1 being participation that is most positive towards *barangay* officials, and 6 the most challenging of their authority.

1. Positive comments that express agreement with the officials:

- "I agree with him [the *kagawad*].[22] We should have a popularity contest for the *barangay* fiesta."

2. Factual / logistical questions or statements:

- "Is there a penalty for non-participation in the *barangay* fiesta?"

3. Complaints about other residents of the *barangay* (note that this type of comment pertains to the behaviour of citizens, not officials):

- A parent leader complained that business establishments in the *barangay*, such as bars, were not complying with agreed curfew times. The *barangay* captain acknowledged this point and said he would seek municipal advice on how to deal with them.

- At the end of a speech by an officer from the Department of Interior and Local Government about the problems of drugs and gambling, a parent leader asked for help from the *barangay* officials to help control the CCT beneficiaries who gamble. The officer advised all beneficiaries against gambling, which is illegal.

4. General suggestions that do not explicitly challenge the authorities:

- A parent leader suggested that every family should send a member to participate in the school-cleaning activity; the *barangay* captain agreed.

5. Requests made to officials on behalf of the community:

- A parent leader requested streetlights for *Sitio* [neighbourhood] Six, which the *barangay* captain immediately approved.

- A parent leader made a request on behalf of the CCT (4Ps) beneficiaries, which was approved: "May we request, from the *barangay* fund, an amount for purchasing the needs of 4Ps members [in] our *barangay*?"

6. Critical comments or suggestions / questions challenging authority:

- "May we request [that] the income and expenditures of [the] *barangay* [are] posted in two to three different places – maybe at the

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20 In total, 108 of the 441 *barangay* assemblies were unobserved: 41 were held in early to mid-March, before the recruitment and training of observers could be completed; 26 were held in January / February 2017, ahead of the government-issued guideline date of 25 March 2017; in 14, the observer was unavailable on the day of the assembly; in 13, no observer could be recruited through the Department of Education; in 7, the observer did not know the date of the assembly because it was rescheduled; in 5, the observer remained unreachable, and the status of observation is not known; in 2, the observer reported that no assembly had taken place. Of the 333 *barangays* observed, data is available only from 322. Data sets from 11 *barangay* assemblies, though observed, were not submitted by the observer).

21 We only received the complete set of *barangay* assembly data in October 2017. At the time of writing, we have not yet coded this for systematic analysis of differences between treatment and control groups, although we plan to look at these differences in the next phase of our research.

22 A *kagawad* is an elected member of the *barangay* council; each council consists of a captain, secretary, treasurer and seven *kagawads*.

elementary school, *barangay* hall and [an] outpost?"

- After the treasurer's financial report for the previous year was presented, a parent leader asked: "What did you spend all the money on? You need to provide us [with] more information." The Treasurer proceeded to elaborate on the breakdown of the expenses.

- During the question and answer section of the assembly, a parent leader suggested that health equipment, such as the glucometer and nebuliser, should be available at all times (which was not happening as it should be), and that the head *barangay* health worker[23] should keep them to avoid conflicts.

5.3 When citizens engage: the case of Barangay Salog's assembly meeting

Until all the data from our observations of *barangay* assemblies are processed and analysed, we cannot provide concrete findings about the relative distribution of these types of citizen engagement in *barangays*, or differences in their use in treatment and control municipalities. However, we can illustrate how citizen participation played out in one treatment *barangay*, which we will refer to as Salog.[24]

The Salog assembly that was observed was characterised not only by relatively high levels of citizen participation, but by participation that explicitly challenged and criticised local officials. In this section, we use observations from the assembly to explore the potential and limitations of engagement by parent leaders and citizens in this context.

Background

Salog is located in a highly developed province in the Philippines. It is relatively small, with around 900 residents and 200 households. Like many other *barangays* in the area, Salog consists of several scattered settlements (*sitios*), with fields interspersed among small clusters of houses. Relative to *barangays* in other municipalities, Salog appears to receive a lot of funding and projects coming from higher levels of government.

It is located in a municipality where dominant political families have been engaged in intense, and sometimes violent, conflict for the last few years. This conflict has impinged on *barangay* governance, with the former *barangay* captain reportedly fearing for his life and

fleeing abroad after falling out of favour with the current municipal mayor. Regular meetings of *barangay* captains in this municipality, normally scheduled for each month, have not taken place for most of the year, reportedly due to security concerns. The new *barangay* captain in Salog, who took office recently, seems to act with great caution. Meetings are only held in carefully considered locations.

The observed barangay assembly

As with many *barangays*, Salog holds its assembly meeting in a dedicated public space (similar to a village square). In some *barangays*, such spaces are paved in concrete and covered with roofs made of grass or corrugated tin sheets. In other places, *barangay* officials conduct the assemblies in schoolyards or on the steps of public buildings.

The assembly that we observed in Salog started an hour late and was relatively brief, lasting one hour (from 9am to 10am). Twenty-five people, mostly CCT beneficiaries, arrived promptly at 8am. By 9am, the crowd had more than doubled, with 30 women and 22 men in attendance. The officials cleared the chairs near to the stage, in an attempt to get participants to sit nearer to them, but the seats closest to the front remained empty.

Attendance was low relative to the other *barangay* assembly meetings we observed, possibly due to the Friday morning market, where many of the residents, who are vegetable farmers, sell their produce. Nevertheless, given that Salog has approximately 200 households, and that the norm is for each household to send one person, it is likely that as many as one quarter of the *barangay*'s households were represented.

The meeting began, as most assemblies do, with prepared remarks from each of the officials. These lasted a few minutes each and provided updates on *barangay* affairs. These remarks were then followed by an open forum for comments and questions from the crowd, during which several citizens provided updates. In most assemblies that we observed, including Salog, citizens rarely spoke during the first part of the meetings; instead, their participation usually came during the open forum.

The parent leader's participation

Salog has one parent leader, Carmen, who is in her early 40s and has served in the position since the inception of Project i-Pantawid in the municipality, in 2012. She was appointed by the Municipal Link, rather than elected by fellow beneficiaries. She also works in the *barangay*'s day care centre.

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23 A *barangay* health worker is a volunteer who provides frontline primary care services.
24 The name Salog, and the names of the individuals quoted, have been changed to preserve their anonymity. We have also eliminated details that could, either individually or in combination, identify the *barangay*. While *barangay* assemblies are public, and therefore not subject to confidentiality requirements, the case description provided includes information obtained from the survey; respondents were told this would not be disclosed alongside any personally identifiable information.

Consistent with our hypothesised concerns about parent leaders being attractive targets for politicians to co-opt, Carmen reported being approached to work as a party coordinator for the 2016 elections, but said she did not accept the offer. She also reported that recently, she has been interacting with the *barangay* captain and officials less than she used to, perhaps only once in the past 6–12 months.

At the observed *barangay* assembly meeting, however, she spoke for the CCT beneficiaries and asked probing questions directed at the *barangay* officials. In one of her exchanges, she told the officials that they should take more responsibility for the cleanliness of the *barangay*, and that they should ask all members of the community to clean the village and village school, rather than just the CCT beneficiaries. As noted, officials often mislead CCT beneficiaries by linking, either implicitly or explicitly, their cash transfers to additional work 'owed' to the *barangay*, when in fact their cash transfers are not tied to such duties.

By demanding that everyone in the community should take responsibility for these chores, Carmen showed that she was aware of the rights of CCT beneficiaries, that she cared about representing their interests, and that she felt sufficiently confident and skilled to challenge the *barangay* officials for not protecting their rights.

In response, the *barangay* officials conceded her point, but told her that she and the beneficiaries should take the initiative to inform each household of the dates of the cleanings, so that everyone knew when to participate. By acknowledging the legitimacy of her criticisms in front of the *barangay*, the officials gave the CCT beneficiaries public backing for refusing to shoulder the burden of these duties on their own. However, they put the onus to inform the community back on the beneficiaries; it is unclear whether the CCT beneficiaries will be able to enforce compliance from their neighbours, particularly those with higher status.

Carmen followed this comment with a related criticism. Observing that the *barangay* officials are on duty for 24 hours a day at the *barangay* hall (as part of the community crime watches that are required by the national anti-drugs campaign), she said that they should spend some of that time on the upkeep of public spaces, for example cleaning the *barangay* hall and mowing and weeding the grounds: "Now, they [the officials] are just sitting while on duty." Put on the spot in front of the community, the officials again conceded Carmen's point and agreed to start mowing the grass around the *barangay* hall.

As Table 4 shows, parent leaders made comments during assemblies in only 19% of control group *barangays*. The fact that Carmen not only made inputs

during the assembly meeting, but asked questions that were pointed and critical of the *barangay* officials, makes her an example of a highly active parent leader – one with unusually high confidence and efficacy in her actions. As a result, she is able to represent the interests of CCT beneficiaries and hold *barangay* officials accountable for governance and the provision of public services.

Citizen participation

After remarks by various officials from the *barangay* council, the *tanod*,[25] the *barangay* health worker and the head of the senior citizens' group provided brief updates on their groups' activities. The head reported on the total number of senior citizens in Salog, following the deaths of two people since the last assembly. She also announced that the death aid provided to each person's family was 100 pesos.

Following on from the parent leader's comments, a male citizen was similarly critical of the *barangay* officials, asserting that those on duty at the *barangay* hall ought to keep the area clean. In response, the *barangay* secretary acknowledged his point, admitting their mistake and requesting patience towards officials who may have shirked some of their duties. But after this, he gently noted: "All must have self-discipline. There are a lot of things to be done in the *barangay*, and we should have peace and unity."

Another middle-aged male citizen then called *barangay* officials to account for their administration of a government welfare assistance programme, in which livestock are distributed to citizens on a rotating basis. In this exchange, the speaker alluded to possible wrongdoing by the officials in the disbursal and allocation of the livestock.

To begin with, he asked the *barangay* officials (in this case, *kagawads*) to report on the status of the pig disbursement.

> Citizen: "What happened with the pig [disbursement]?"
>
> *Kagawad*: "At present, there are three pigs available for [disbursement]. Two [others] have died."
>
> Citizen: "Please [proceed with] the pig [disbursement]. It [the scheme] hasn't passed onto others since 2002."
>
> *Kagawad*: "The first issued pigs are dead. At present, we have only three pigs."

The citizen then turned to the disbursement of cows in the programme, and asked the officials whether these were indeed distributed to *barangay* residents, as per the programme's requirements.

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25 A *tanod* is a *barangay* police officer; this is separate from those of the Philippine National Police. A *tanod* reports to the *barangay* captain.

Citizen: "What about cow [disbursement]?"

Kagawad: "That was issued to [person 1]. He gave it to [person 2] to take care, but unfortunately it died."

Citizen: "Is [person 2] from this *barangay*?"

Kagawad: "At the time of [disbursement], he was residing in the *barangay*, but he later built his house in [a nearby *barangay*]."

In response to this, the citizen expressed dissatisfaction with how the *barangay* officials have administered the programme and asked them how they are going to do better. The discussion became confrontational, and another *barangay* resident, a CCT beneficiary, jumped into the discussion.

Citizen: [Addressing all *barangay* officials] "This should be solved. How can we solve the problem?"

Kagawad: "We shall have a meeting to decide what is the right thing to do, estimate its value, and decide [on] the qualified recipient."

Citizen: "You should bring forth the value of pig as money for the next [disbursement]."

Kagawad: "The money is ready. Qualified applicants will be chosen for the pig [disbursement]."

CCT beneficiary: "It is better to buy a pig than to give money to the recipient, because people will spend money on other things, not pigs."

Kagawad: "If you don't trust your fellow citizens, you will not have a bright future!"

Reflections

While we do not yet know how representative Salog is of other treatment *barangays*, it suggests what relatively high engagement by parent leaders and citizens looks like. On one hand, it demonstrates that *barangay* assembly meetings can provide an opportunity for citizens to voice their questions and concerns to officials. Citizens – even those from the poorest, least educated, and lowest status households in the community – can become confident enough to utilise these opportunities to speak up, criticise *barangay* officials for their behaviour, and call them to account for their decisions. Salog also illustrates how parent leaders can become new community leaders, representing previously marginalised voices.

As we had feared based on our preliminary fieldwork, the case of Carmen being approached by officials shows how this new status – as leaders who can mobilise poor people – makes parent leaders an attractive target for politicians. But there is another positive here: consistent with components of the leadership training that seek to socialise parent leaders as civic leaders and 'inoculate' them against such approaches, Carmen turned down this offer.

On the other hand, the case of Salog suggests that there are limitations to citizen engagement in these assemblies. It remains unclear the extent to which citizens can sanction *barangay* officials for incompetence or wrongdoing, or create incentives for better performance. In Salog, *barangay* officials responded positively to 'low-cost' suggestions, but were more resistant to changes with higher stakes.

For example, Carmen and another citizen suggested that *barangay* officials set a good example to the rest of the community by using their time during crime watches to clean the hall and public square. This is, essentially, a request that officials do a little more than just sit around. This suggestion has few political consequences and is therefore easier for officials to implement. By contrast, criticisms of the livestock allocation programme related to the distribution of valuable resources, which are often distributed to political supporters. Problems like these, which have deeper political roots, are more difficult for citizens – even active and engaged ones – to change.

6. Summary and implications

The initial results from the Project i-Pantawid intervention suggest that civic training for community leaders has the potential to increase citizens' participation and engagement in local governance. Parent leaders who received the civic training attended local town hall meetings at higher rates and spoke up at these meetings at more often, compared to those who didn't receive training. They also had higher levels of interest in local community politics and affairs, higher levels of knowledge about local government systems and citizens' rights, stronger self-belief (i.e. that someone like them could influence government decisions), and more face-to-face interactions with local officials.

Project i-Pantawid provided civic education to all CCT beneficiaries, both parent leaders (directly) and 'ordinary' beneficiaries (via parent leaders 'cascading' this education at family development sessions). However, although the project was intensive and sustained over a long period of time (relative to other civic education and empowerment interventions), the effects on knowledge, attitudes and behaviour were, for the most part, limited to parent leaders.

These findings suggest two important lessons, which suggest possible directions for future research on the effects of civic leadership and education initiatives on citizen participation and government responsiveness.

The first is the importance of putting civic skills into *practice*, rather than simply providing information. All CCT beneficiaries in Project i-Pantawid municipalities were provided with information about their rights and the government's responsibilities, and were involved in evaluating government performance through scorecards and interface meetings. However, only the parent leaders had monthly opportunities (for more than a year) to practise their leadership, organisational and public-speaking skills – all of which are essential to interacting with government officials and influencing their decisions. Further, only parent leaders were tasked with 'cascading' or disseminating information from their monthly training workshops to the other CCT beneficiaries in their *barangay*. This was a further opportunity to put their skills into practice, as they were required to speak in public settings, answer questions during meetings and explain materials.

The second direction is the potential benefits of focusing explicitly on building leadership capacity within communities, in addition to providing information to individual citizens. In particular, targeting individuals who have already been identified as potential leaders among marginalised groups may boost the impact of civic education interventions. Since only people with pre-existing leadership roles were given opportunities to use their participation and leadership skills, we cannot disentangle these two mechanisms in the current study, but looking separately at these mechanisms could be fruitful for future research.

There were also indications from our research that local officials were starting to shift their behaviour in response to these changes among parent leaders. Though further investigation is needed into all of these preliminary findings, the data suggest that Project i-Pantawid is achieving some of its intended goals.

Given that there are many development initiatives aimed at empowering poor and marginalised groups, we asked which characteristics of Project i-Pantawid

and its implementers might have contributed to this effectiveness. Taking into account learning exchanges and ideas from long-term collaborating partners, we suggest the following are critical aspects:

- **Local leadership.** Project i-Pantawid is well run by a coalition of organisations that have worked together before. These organisations are embedded in an active and established civil society sector, and have deep roots and long-standing relationships with local communities. They are also all local to Northern Luzon, not managed by a lead organisation in the capital.

- **Sustained programming.** Building on the findings of a thorough pilot initiative, Project i-Pantawid was designed to provide sustained, intensive training, occurring once a month for 11–14 months. In addition, our research focused on the third iteration of the project. The first two iterations allowed for adjustments to the management and design of the programme, based on the experience of implementing organisations and feedback from beneficiaries. This meant that the training provided improved over time.

- **Support within government.** Project i-Pantawid was designed with active support from the national and local offices of the Department of Social Welfare and Development. This connection was made possible in part due to a constructive working relationship between the project's implementers and the Department's secretary at the time, who had come from a CSO background.

These characteristics, combined with our preliminary findings on the impacts of the intervention, illustrate how both constructive and adversarial dynamics between citizens and officials can be at play within the same programme.[26] There was constructive engagement between local civil society actors and the national government, which meant the project was successful and may have helped to increase citizen participation and engagement.

At the same time, there were suggestions in our research findings that increased citizen engagement by newly trained parent leaders may have led to changes in the relationships between citizens and local *barangay* officials, with these becoming more adversarial. In these instances, constructive engagement between civil society actors and sympathetic higher-level government authorities may have enabled citizens to take advantage of political resources from outside of their communities to change this dynamic and disrupt the pre-existing equilibrium between themselves and *barangay* officials.

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26 On collaboration and confrontation, see: Guerzovich and Tsai (2014); Fung and Kosack (2013); Joshi and Houtzager (2012); O'Meally (2013); Guerzovich (2010); Menocal and Sharma (2008); and Keck and Sikkink (1998).

The effect of civic leadership training on citizen engagement and government responsiveness: experimental evidence from the Philippines

Most researchers view constructive engagement and adversarial tactics as being in opposition to each other, and there has been a growing consensus that the political context in which a social accountability project is implemented should influence a CSO's choice of political strategy. However, the case of Project i-Pantawid raises the question of whether constructive engagement and adversarial strategies can operate at different levels within the same initiative, and suggests they may in fact be mutually dependent on one another.

Appendix 1. Characteristics of parent leaders in study sample

Table A1. Profile of parent leaders

Gender	Number	%
Female	670	95.31
Male	33	4.69
First year of tenure	**Number**	**%**
2008	8	1.14
2009	28	3.98
2010	32	4.55
2011	79	11.24
2012	187	26.60
2013	89	12.66
2014	71	10.10
2015	56	7.97
2016	85	12.09
2017	68	9.67
Place of birth	**Number**	**%**
This *barangay*	307	43.67
Another *barangay* in this municipality	97	13.80
Another municipality	114	16.22
Another province	184	26.17
Outside the Philippines	1	0.14
Highest level of education completed	**Number[27]**	**%**
Some elementary school	19	2.71
Completed elementary school	35	4.99
Some high school	97	13.82
Completed high school	300	42.74
Completed senior school (Grade 12)	1	0.14
Some university	132	18.80
Completed university degree	75	10.68
Technical or trade school	32	4.56
Some higher-level professional degree/graduate level	8	1.14
Completed higher-level professional degree/graduate level	3	0.43

27 One respondent answered 'Other: Alternative Learning System'. That answer is about the type of education, not level, so her response was excluded from this table.

The effect of civic leadership training on citizen engagement and government responsiveness: experimental evidence from the Philippines

Ethnicity	Number	%
Member of an indigenous peoples' community	111	15.79
Non indigenous peoples' community	592	84.21

Age (years)	
Mean	42.69
Range	23–67

Table A2. **Parent leaders' employment in local governance**

Have you ever held an elected or staff position in the *barangay* government?	Number	%
Yes – currently hold a position	20	2.84
Yes – have held a position in the past	49	6.97
Yes – have held a past position and currently hold a position	98	13.94
No	536	76.24

Table A3. **Positions held in *barangay* government**

Past positions held in *barangay*	Number
Health worker	85
Tanod	6
Secretary	6
Treasurer	6
Kagawad	5
Other(s)	43
Current positions held in *barangay*[28]	**Number**
Health worker	83
Tanod	5
Other (e.g. day care worker, record keeper, nutrition advisor, service point officer)	29

Table A4. **Positions held in municipal government**

Have you ever held a position in the municipal government?	Number	%
Yes – have held a past position and do not currently hold a position[29]	17	2.41
Yes – currently hold a position[30]	7	1.00
No	678	96.44
Refused to answer	1	0.14

28 A parent leader who currently holds an elected position in the *barangay* council (e.g. captain, treasurer, secretary, or a member of the *kagawad*) is considered an official for the purpose of this analysis, and not part of the parent leader sample.

29 Positions stated include: enumerator for census (Department of Social Welfare and Development appointee); janitor; casual sweeper; *barangay* teacher substitute (Department of Education appointee); staff for community-based monitoring system.

30 Positions stated include: catering staff; clerk; administrative aide; midwife (casual status).

Appendix 2. Statistical analysis conducted

Estimation

Each research hypothesis was tested by taking the difference in means of the respective index values between treatment and control municipalities:

$$\hat{\tau} = \frac{1}{N_T}\sum_{i=1}^{N} D_i Y_i - \frac{1}{N_C}\sum_{i=1}^{N}(1 - D_i)Y_i$$

where: Y_i is the index value for municipality i; D_i is a binary indicator of the treatment status for municipality i; N_T is the number of treatment municipalities; and N_C is the number of control municipalities.

Due to the small sample size (n = 16), we did not assess statistical significance using conventional standard errors that rely on distributional assumptions. Instead, we used a non-parametric permutation procedure to test a sharp null hypothesis of a constant zero treatment effect (Efron and Tibshirani 1993):

$$H_0: 0 = Y_i(1) - Y_i(0) \ \forall \ i$$

In addition, we applied a multiple-testing adjustment to address the increased risk of falsely rejecting the null hypotheses (introduced by testing the effect of the intervention on multiple outcomes). Specifically, we used the Benjamini–Hochberg procedure to control the False Discovery Rate (Anderson 2008).[31]

For the purposes of this adjustment, our four primary hypotheses and our 12 secondary hypotheses were treated as two separate 'families' of hypotheses, meaning that the adjustment was applied separately to the primary and secondary hypotheses. For all outcomes, we report both unadjusted p-values obtained from the permutation test, and p-values adjusted for multiple testing.
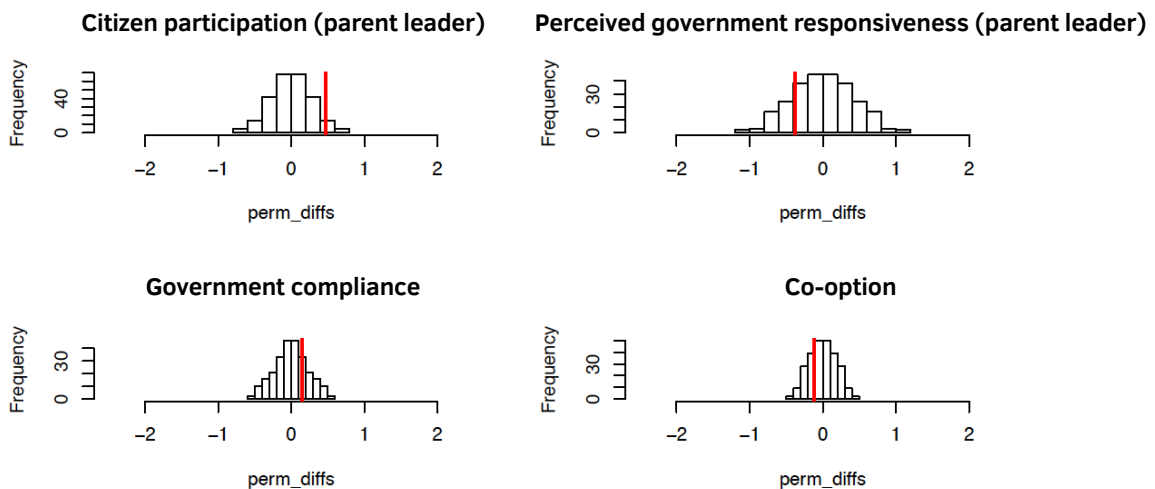
Note that for three of the indices, the results reported would be considered statistically significant by a conventional standard (either 0.05 or 0.10) if tested alone. However, they drop below conventional levels of statistical significance when taking into account the penalty for multiple testing.

Graphical results

The following plots show the results from the permutation tests for each of the 16 indices. The permutation test assessed how likely it would be to observe the difference between treatment and control observed in the study (the estimated effect size) if the treatment had no effect on any municipality.

- The histograms represent a distribution of hypothetical effect size estimates, generated from every possible random assignment of treatment.
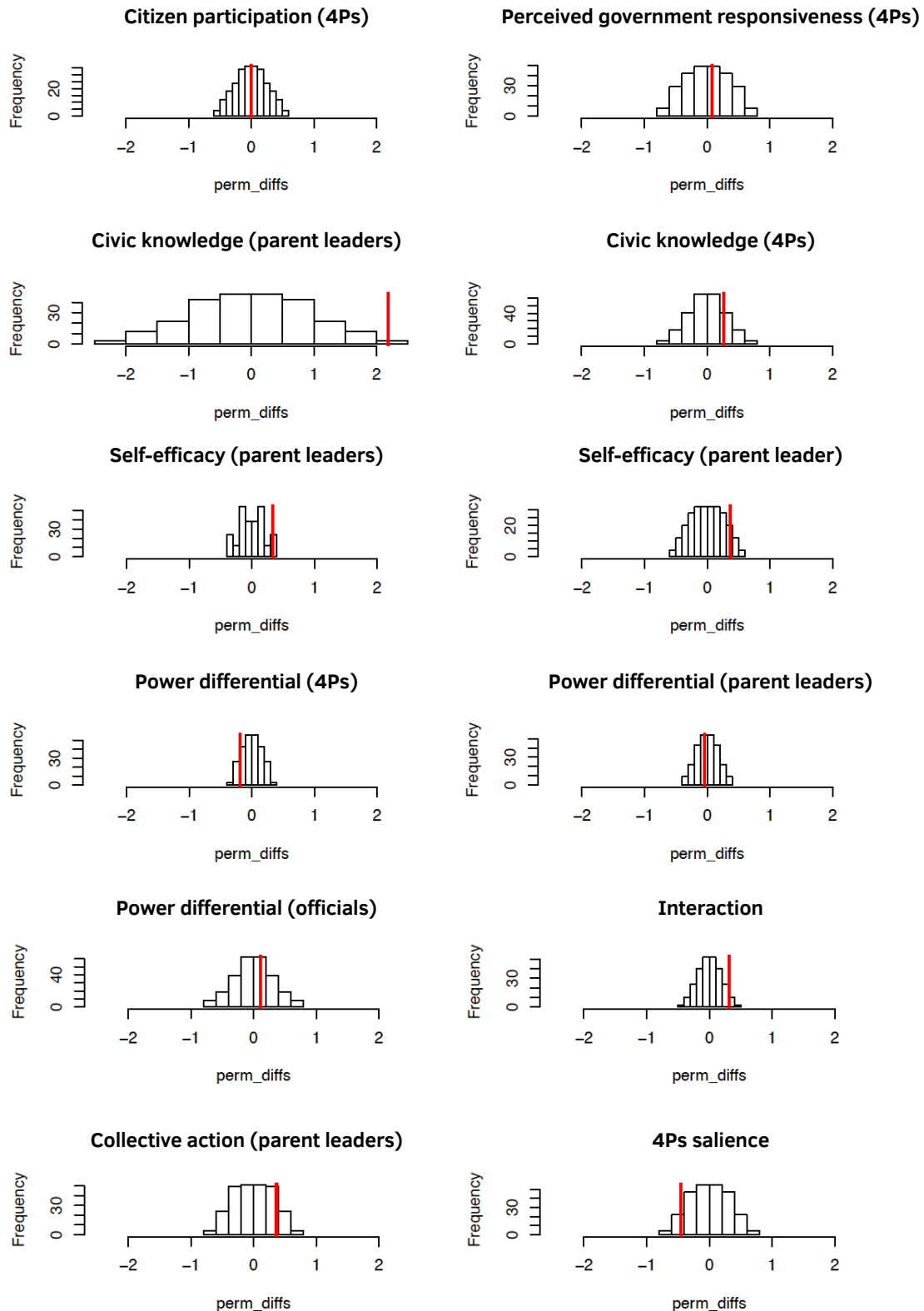
Figure A1. Permutation plots for primary hypotheses

31 While the Benjamini–Hochberg procedure is more powerful than other potential methods – meaning it is more likely to result in Type I error – we believe it is appropriate in this case. Given its small sample size, this study should be considered more akin to a plausibility probe than a 'definitive' impact evaluation, and even suggestive evidence of effects on different types of outcomes is potentially important for policy-makers.

The effect of civic leadership training on citizen engagement and government responsiveness: experimental evidence from the Philippines

- The red line represents the actual estimated effect size. The farther the red line is from the centre of the distribution, the less likely it is that the result occurred by chance.

According to convention, a result is considered statistically significant if less than 5% of hypothetical randomisations produce effect sizes as or more extreme than the actual effect size.

Figure A2. Permutation plots for secondary hypotheses

Appendix 3A. Indexes for primary hypotheses

The following tables list the variables used to create the four primary hypotheses. Variables which we expected (ex ante) to have low variance are indicated with an asterisk (*).

Table H1L. **Variables in the citizen participation (parent leaders) index**

Variable	Survey question	Respondent type(s)	*Barangay*-level aggregation
attend_assembly	Did you attend the last *barangay* assembly held in your *barangay*?	Parent leaders	Percentage of parent leaders in the *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.
attend_assembly_ citizens	How many people were present in the last *barangay* assembly?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	Average number of people (other than officials) reported by respondents. This number is standardised by the *barangay* population.[32]
attend_ assembly_4p	How many CCT beneficiaries were present in the last *barangay* assembly?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	Average number of CCT beneficiaries reported by respondents. This number is standardised by the number of CCT beneficiaries in the *barangay*.[33]
comment_ assembly	Did you personally make any comments or ask any questions during the *barangay* assembly?	Parent leaders	A binary variable, coded as '1' if *any* parent leader in the *barangay* answered 'Yes', and '0' otherwise.
interest_local	Thinking about your local community, how interested are you in local community politics and local community affairs?	Parent leaders	*Barangay*-level average of the five-point interest scale response.

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[32] Responses to this question are aggregated from all parent leaders and CCT beneficiaries who reported being present at the *barangay* assembly. This aggregated number is included in both versions of the index. Responses to this question are categorical, with the following options: 30 or fewer; 31 to 60; 61 to 100; 101–200; and more than 200. For each response, we took the mid-point of the category and divided by the estimated number of households in the *barangay*. The estimated number of households was calculated using *barangay* population figures and the national average household size (4.4) from the 2015 Census of Population. For responses in the top category (more than 200), we used the mid-point between 201 and the estimated number of households in that *barangay*, divided by the estimated total number of households.

[33] Responses to this question were aggregated from parent leaders and CCT beneficiaries who reported being present at the *barangay* assembly. This aggregated number is included in both versions of the index. Responses to this question are categorical, with the following options: 20 or fewer; 21 to 50; 51–100; and more than 100. For each response, we took the mid-point of the category and divided it by the number of CCT beneficiaries in the *barangay*. For responses in the top category (more than 100), we use the mid-point between 101 and the number of CCT beneficiaries in the *barangay*.

Table H2AL. Variables in the government responsiveness (perceived – parent leaders) index

Variable	Survey question	Respondent type	*Barangay*-level aggregation
welcome_questions_bgy	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most *barangay* officials welcome questions from citizens	Parent leaders	*Barangay*-level average of the five-point agreement scale response to the statement.
welcome_complaints_bgy	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most *barangay* officials are open to complaints from citizens	Parent leaders	*Barangay*-level average of the five-point agreement scale response to the statement.
welcome_questions_muni	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most municipal officials welcome questions from citizens	Parent leaders	*Barangay*-level average of the five-point agreement scale response to the statement.
welcome_complaints_muni	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most municipal officials are open to complaints from citizens	Parent leaders	*Barangay*-level average of the five-point agreement scale response to the statement.

Table H2B. Variables in the government responsiveness (compliance) index

Variable	Survey question	Respondent type(s)	*Barangay*-level aggregation
*assembly_ happened**	Was there a *barangay* assembly held this year (2017)?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	A binary variable, coded as '1' if a majority of respondents in a *barangay* answered 'Yes' or 'Scheduled, but yet to take place'.[34]
assembly_notice	How many days in advance were you notified about the time and place of the *barangay* assembly?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	For each respondent, we construct a variable that takes the values 1, 0.5, or 0, for 'notified seven days or more', 'notified less than seven days'; and 'not notified', respectively. Then we take the *barangay*-level average.
*mention_budget**	What topics were raised by *barangay* officials independently, not in direct response to citizen questions?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	A binary variable, coded as '1' if a majority of respondents in a *barangay* (who reported attending the *barangay* assembly) reported that officials mentioned the budget in the *barangay* assembly; and '0' otherwise.
*mention_future**	What topics were raised by *barangay* officials independently, not in direct response to citizen questions?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	A binary variable, coded as '1' if a majority of respondents in a *barangay* who reported attending the *barangay* assembly reported that officials mentioned future projects in the *barangay* assembly; and '0' otherwise.
*mention_updates**	What topics were raised by *barangay* officials independently, not in direct response to citizen questions?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	A binary variable, coded as '1' if a majority of respondents in a *barangay* (who reported attending the *barangay* assembly) reported that officials mentioned updates on past projects in the *barangay* assembly; and '0' otherwise.
*questions_ allowed**	Were citizens allowed to ask questions of officials during the meeting?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	A binary variable, coded as '1' if the majority of respondents in a *barangay* (who reported attending the *barangay* assembly) answered 'Yes'.
*present_budget**	Did *barangay* officials present budget figures in writing?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	A binary variable, coded as '1' if the majority of respondents in a *barangay* (who reported attending the *barangay* assembly) answered 'Yes'.
budget_posted	(i) Have you seen, or heard about, a *barangay* budget or financial statement posted on a bulletin board at the *barangay* hall in your *barangay*? (ii) Have you seen, or heard about, a *barangay* budget or financial statement posted on a bulletin board in other places in your *barangay*?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	For each respondent, we code 1, 0.5, or 0, for *barangay* hall and other public place, one of these only, neither or only posted in officials' office. The *barangay*-level average of this variable is used in the analysis.

34 For cases of 'ties' − *barangays* in which an equal number of relevant respondents did and did not answer 'Yes' − the *barangay* was coded in a way that mitigated against finding a treatment effect in the hypothesised direction. This rule was used for all binary variables coded at the *barangay* level based on a majority of responses..

Table H3. Variables in the co-option index

Variable	Survey question	Respondent type	*Barangay*-level aggregation
employed_bgy	Have you ever been employed by the *barangay* (including both elected positions and staff positions)?	Parent leaders	Percentage of parent leaders in the *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.
employed_muni	Have you ever been employed by the municipal government (including both elected positions and staff positions)?	Parent leaders	Percentage of parent leaders in the *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.
asked_party_watcher*	Were you asked to work as a party watcher for a particular candidate for the upcoming 2017 *barangay* elections?	Parent leaders	Percentage of parent leaders in the *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.
accepted_party_watcher*	If yes, did you accept to work as a party watcher for a particular candidate?	Parent leaders	Percentage of parent leaders in the *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.
asked_coordinator*	Were you asked to work as a coordinator for a particular candidate for the upcoming 2017 *barangay* elections?	Parent leaders,	Percentage of parent leaders in the *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.
accepted_coordinator*	If yes, did you accept to work as a party coordinator for a particular candidate?	Parent leaders	Percentage of parent leaders in the *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.
asked_support_other*	Have you been asked to support a candidate in any other way, aside from working as a party watcher or coordinator, during the upcoming October 2017 *barangay* elections?	Parent leaders	Percentage of parent leaders in the *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.
accepted_support_other*	If yes, did you accept to support a candidate in any other way, aside from working as a party watcher or coordinator, during the upcoming October 2017 *barangay* elections?	Parent leaders	Percentage of parent leaders in the *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.
assistance_income	Did you have assistance from the *barangay* or municipal officials to start these activities? [Referring to income generating activities]	Parent leaders	Percentage of parent leaders in the *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.

Appendix 3B. Indexes for secondary hypotheses

Table H1M. Variables in the citizen participation (CCT beneficiaries) index

Variable	Survey question	Respondent type(s)	*Barangay*-level aggregation
attend_assembly	Did you attend the last assembly held in your *barangay*?	CCT beneficiaries	Percentage of parent leaders in the *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.
attend_assembly_citizens	How many people were present in the last *barangay* assembly?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	Average number of people (other than officials) reported by respondents. This number was standardised by the *barangay* population.[35]
attend_assembly_4p	How many CCT beneficiaries were present in the last *barangay* assembly?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	Average number of CCT beneficiaries reported by respondents. This number was standardised by the number of CCT beneficiaries in the *barangay*.[36]
comment_assembly	Did you personally make any comments or ask any questions during the *barangay* assembly?	CCT beneficiaries	A binary variable, coded as '1' if any parent leader in the *barangay* answered 'Yes'; and '0' otherwise.
interest_local	Thinking about your local community, how interested are you in local community politics and local community affairs?	CCT beneficiaries	*Barangay*-level average of the five-point interest scale response.

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35 See footnote 32.
36 See footnote 33.

Table H2AM. Variables in the government responsiveness (perceived – CCT beneficiaries) index

Variable	Survey question	Respondent type	*Barangay*-level aggregation
welcome_questions_bgy	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most *barangay* officials welcome questions from citizens	CCT beneficiaries	*Barangay*-level average of the five-point agreement scale response to the statement.
welcome_complaints_bgy	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most *barangay* officials are open to complaints from citizens	CCT beneficiaries	*Barangay*-level average of the five-point agreement scale response to the statement.
welcome_questions_muni	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most municipal officials welcome questions from citizens	CCT beneficiaries	*Barangay*-level average of the five-point agreement scale response to the statement.
welcome_complaints_muni	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most municipal officials are open to complaints from citizens	CCT beneficiaries	*Barangay*-level average of the five-point agreement scale response to the statement.

Table H4. Variables in the civic knowledge index

Variable	Survey question	Respondent type(s)	*Barangay*-level aggregation
heard_bdc	Have you heard of a *barangay* development council (BDC)?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	Percentage of parent leaders in the *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.
ask_ira	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement: Ordinary citizens have the right to ask *barangay* officials how much the Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA) of the *barangay* was last year, and to be provided with this information"	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	Percentage of respondents in the *barangay* who answered 'Strongly agree' or 'Agree'.

Table H5. Variables in the self-efficacy index

Variable	Survey question	Respondent type(s)	*Barangay*-level aggregation
welcome_questions_bgy	How much influence do you think someone like you can have over *barangay* government decisions?	Parent leaders / CCT beneficiaries	*Barangay*-level average of four-point scale response, which takes the values: 4 = a lot; 3 = some; 2 = a little; 1 = not at all.
welcome_complaints_bgy	How much influence do you think someone like you can have over national government decisions?	Parent leaders / CCT beneficiaries	*Barangay*-level average of four-point scale response, which takes the values: 4 = a lot; 3 = some; 2 = a little; 1 = not at all.

Table H6. Variables in the power differential index

Variable	Survey question	Respondent type(s)	*Barangay*-level aggregation
afraid_officials	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement: Most people are at least a little afraid of *barangay* officials	Parent leaders / CCT beneficiaries	*Barangay*-level average five-point agreement scale response to the statement, with strong agreement coded as '1' and strong disagreement is coded as '5'.
fear_retaliation	How much do you personally fear retaliation if you report a complaint about a government official?	Parent leaders / CCT beneficiaries	*Barangay*-level average. This can take the following values: a lot / some / a little / not at all", coded as 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively.
able_criticise	In your opinion, are people nowadays able to criticise the government without fear? Please answer on a scale from 1 to 7, with 7 being the most fear	Parent leaders / CCT beneficiaries	*Barangay*-level average of seven-point scale response to the statement, re-coded so that '1' is the most fear and '7' is the least fear.
opinions_matter_officials	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement: Citizens' opinions matter just as much as the opinions of *barangay* officials	Parent leaders / CCT beneficiaries / Officials	*Barangay*-level average of five-point agreement scale response to the statement.
equal_value	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement: Citizens and *barangay* officials are essentially equal in their value to the community	Parent leaders / CCT beneficiaries / Officials	*Barangay*-level average of five-point agreement scale response to the statement.
opinions_matter_citizens	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement: My opinion matters just as much as that of a *barangay* official	Parent leaders / CCT beneficiaries	*Barangay*-level average of five-point agreement scale response to the statement.

Table H7. Variables in the interaction index

Variable	Survey question	Respondent type	*Barangay*-level aggregation
talked_bgy_officials	Since becoming a PL, have you talked with *barangay* officials that you never talked to before you became a PL?	Parent leaders	Percentage of respondents in a *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.
talked_muni_officials	Since becoming a PL, have you talked with municipal officials that you never talked to before you became a PL?	Parent leaders	Percentage of respondents in a *barangay* who answered 'Yes'.
spoken_captain	Over the past six months, how often have you spoken with the *barangay* captain in person?	Parent leaders	*Barangay*-level mean of frequency option responses.[37]
spoken_kagawad	Over the past six months, how often have you spoken with a *barangay kagawad* in person?	Parent leaders	*Barangay*-level mean of frequency option responses.
spoken_sectreas	Over the past six months, how often have you spoken with a *barangay* treasurer or secretary in person?	Parent leaders	*Barangay*-level mean of frequency option responses.

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37 Frequencies for this set of questions were coded as follows: 180 for 'Every day or almost every day'; 72 for 'Not every day, but several times per week'; 24 for 'About once a week'; 18 for 'Not every week, but several times per month'; 6 for 'About once a month'; 5 for 'Not every month, but more than three times over the last six months'; 3 for 'Only 2–3 times over the last six months'; 1 for 'Only once over the last six months'; and 0 for 'Never'.

Table H7. *Continued*

spoken_mayor	Over the past six months, how often have you spoken (in person) with someone from the mayor's office, including the mayor?	Parent leaders	*Barangay*-level mean of frequency option responses.
spoken_mc	Over the past six months, how often have you spoken with any member (or members) of the municipal council in person?	Parent leaders	*Barangay*-level mean of frequency option responses.

Table H8. **Variables in the collective work index**

Variable	Survey question	Respondent type	*Barangay*-level Aggregation
collective_activities	In the past six months, which of the following has been organised in your *barangay*? Please select all that apply.	Parent leaders	*Barangay*-level average.[38]
collective_participation	People do not always have time to participate in community activities, even if they want to help out. Did you personally participate?	CCT beneficiaries	Percentage of respondents in a *barangay* who answered 'Yes' to any activity.[39]

Table H9. **Variables in the salience index**

Variable	Survey question	Respondent type(s)	*Barangay*-level aggregation
mention_pl	During the meeting, did *barangay* officials mention the 4Ps parent leaders for any reason?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	A binary variable, coded as '1' if the majority of parent leaders and CCT respondents in a *barangay* (who reported attending the *barangay* assembly) answered 'Yes'.
mention_4ps	During the meeting, did *barangay* officials mention the 4Ps beneficiaries for any reason?	Parent leaders, CCT beneficiaries	A binary variable coded as '1' if the majority of PL and CCT respondents in a *barangay* who reported attending the *barangay* assembly answered 'Yes'.
collective_4Ps	Were 4Ps members specifically asked or required to participate?	Parent leaders	For each event or activity mentioned, we coded the response as '1' if the respondent answered 'Yes, asked but not required' or 'Yes, required'; and '0' if the respondent answered 'No'. We took the mean for each respondent (across all activities mentioned), and the average of respondent-level means for each *barangay*.

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[38] Because parent leaders are often asked to mobilise beneficiaries to participate in community activities, they will have greater awareness regarding the total number of activities that were organised and are likely to provide more accurate responses to this question.

[39] Only CCT beneficiary responses to this question were used. Because parent leaders are typically tasked with mobilising beneficiaries to participate in events, they are very likely to participate personally in any events that are organised. Here, we intend to capture variation in participation, conditional on events being organised.

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About Making All Voices Count

Making All Voices Count is a programme working towards a world in which open, effective and participatory governance is the norm and not the exception. It focuses global attention on creative and cutting-edge solutions to transform the relationship between citizens and their governments. The programme is inspired by and supports the goals of the Open Government Partnership.

Making All Voices Count is supported by the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the US Agency for International Development (USAID), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) and the Omidyar Network, and is implemented by a consortium consisting of Hivos, IDS and Ushahidi.

Research, Evidence and Learning component

The programme's Research, Evidence and Learning component, managed by IDS, contributes to improving performance and practice, and builds an evidence base in the field of citizen voice, government responsiveness, transparency and accountability (T&A) and technology for T&A (Tech4T&A).

Web   www.makingallvoicescount.org
Email   info@makingallvoicescount.org
Twitter @allvoicescount

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The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Governance Lab (MIT GOV/LAB) is a research group of political scientists focusing on innovation and practitioner–research collaborations in citizen engagement and government responsiveness. MIT GOV/LAB collaborates with CSOs, funders and governments on research that builds and tests theories about how innovative programmes and technologies can improve civic participation and make governments more accountable to citizens. It is located in MIT's Department of Political Science in Cambridge, MA, USA.

Web   www.mitgovlab.org
Email   mitgovlab@mit.edu
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