Putting research knowledge at the heart of development

Evidence for what?

Exploring the definition & political value of evidence-informed policy making according to Philippine Mayors

60 St Aldates
Oxford
United Kingdom
OX1 1ST

t +44 (0)1865 249909
f +44 (0)1865 251060
inasp@inasp.info
www.inasp.info

Company registration number 04919576
Registered charity number 1106349

Table of Contents

Author:	Anne Lan Kagahastian-Candelaria, Ph.D.
Email:	akcandelaria@yahoo.com
File name:	Evidence for what?
Date submitted:	27/11/2013
Date last updated:	19/06/2014 15:50:00

This study would have not been possible without the guidance and support of the INASP, particularly the patience and supervision of Antonio and Alex. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Jessica Sandra Claudio, the team's full-time research assistant, as well as the research teams who were involved in the design as well as the data collection and analysis phase, namely: Czarina Medina and Merry Ann Lacson-Sanchez of the Union of Local Authorities of the Philippines (ULAP); and Leann de Leon and Bladymir Mancenido of the League of Municipalities of the Philippines (LMP). My gratitude also goes to the mayors who took part in the surveys and focus group discussions that allowed us to further understand the intricacies of local policy-making. Last but not the least, I would like to sincerely thank former mayor Sonia Lorenzo, currently Executive Director of ULAP, for sharing her expertise in local policy-making, for her role in bridging the practitioners to the policy scholars and her unwavering support and commitment to EIPM in the country.

Introduction

Ideally, policy-making, or the process that governments undertake to decide what it should and should not do (Dye, 1972), should be guided by sound technical assessments and scientific evidence because of the social, political and moral consequences these decisions bring upon the lives of its citizens. However, in reality, a more rational and scientific approach to policy making is hard to achieve because of its highly political nature. More often, policy-making becomes a pragmatic process driven by the politicized (and even personal) aspirations of politicians – particularly whether or not such policies can get them re-elected.

Background of the study

Philippine politics have been studied extensively over the years (Anderson, 1988; Constantino, 1970; Franco, 2001; Hutchcroft, 1998; Lande, 1965; Mc Coy, 1993; Sidel, 1999) and by far, the most dominant framework used by scholars is that it is a machination of the elite – whether local bosses, oligarchs, families or colonial master.

Throughout its socio-political history, the Philippine state has been very vulnerable and incoherent, which made the consolidation of its bureaucratic institutions a very difficult journey. It is therefore not surprising that despite the Philippines having the most experience with democratic institutions compared with its Asian neighbours, beginning in 1898 with the Malolos republic's representational character, its people are the most frustrated.

In particular, elections in the Philippines have been described by many as flawed despite the fact that the country has one of the longest experiences in electoral politics among developing countries (Rivera, 2011). The electoral process has been marred by violence, coercion, organized manipulation, domination of elite families and unstable political parties driven by clientelistic rather than programmatic concerns.

The complexities of its politics are compounded further by its geography and cultural diversity. It is, after all, an archipelago comprising of 7,107 islands, over a hundred ethnic groups, about 76 to 78 major languages and more than 500 dialects. Politically, the Philippines is a unitary state, and therefore, local government units are still under the direct supervision of the national government. In 1991, the Local Government Code was passed in an attempt to decentralize key responsibilities to the local government units aimed at increasing local autonomy. The code included provisions which affected the assignment of functions across different levels of government, revenue sharing between the central and local government, devolved resource generation and utilization powers to local governments and the participation of civil society in various aspects of local governance.

Despite this, however, local governments still have difficulty fulfilling their new roles because it required them to be effective in planning and mobilizing local resources. Effective planning and resource mobilization entails having strong institutions, technically capable local bureaucrats and a wide local policy network that includes civil society – all of which takes time to operationalize. But given the demands of the people to deliver goods and services immediately, local government officials are dis-incentivized from working within the more rational parameters of policy making (such as evidence-based policy making). More likely, they will succumb to patronage politics that promises them a quicker way to deliver.

Thus, public management in local Philippine politics will always be confronted with the battle between what is technically/scientifically accurate and what is politically acceptable. Former San Isidro Nueva Ecija Mayor Sonia Lorenzo, now Executive Director of the Union of Local Authorities of the Philippines (ULAP), often articulates that the only way to reform politics in the Philippines is to give politicians an alternative frame of governance that can deliver goods and services fast and at the same time translate these into votes. While it is true that these politicians are policymakers who are mandated to deliver public goods and services, they are first and first most, political animals with political ambitions.

Research question, hypotheses & significance of the study

In an ideal polity, governance is driven by decisions based on information generated from research that is accurate and reliable. But in the real world, the use of research evidence (from here on, shall be referred to as 'evidence' for brevity) by policy makers however is scarce. Particularly in less developed countries, the lack of access as well as the capacity to generate and utilize research by policymakers makes evidence-informed policy making (EIPM) difficult to achieve (Newman, Capillo, Famurewa, Nath, & Siyanbola, 2012). That there is a gap between the "scientific" community and the policymakers is not contested here. However, to be able to bridge this gap, two things must be achieved: (1) there is a need to nuance EIPM as defined and interpreted by the policy researchers and scholars vis-à-vis how it is understood by the policymakers themselves; and (2) how this is constructed, consumed and given value (if any) by the policymakers themselves.

This study is therefore interested in doing two things:

1. to bridge the understanding and importance of EIPM between those who produce the research and those who consume it for policy purposes; and
2. to evaluate the political (i.e. winning an election) value of EIPM in local policy making.

In doing so, this study investigated how EIPM is 'constructed' by policy makers themselves and whether the use of this "EIPM" gets them re-elected.

This study believes that to lobby for EIPM in less developed countries, this approach must be balanced with not only the managerial but also the political aspects of the environment upon which policies are actually created and implemented. This study therefore acknowledges the critical role of policy elites whose perceptions and values shape the rules of engagement in the policy process. Given this complex elite-driven policy environment, this study hypothesized that perhaps rationality means "making do" instead of "making calculated sense". And extending this further, perhaps rationality also mean "making do as long as I am allowed to do".

Ultimately, this study strongly lobbies for a more inclusive understanding and working definition of EIPM for it to be useful in developing countries, particularly the Philippines. And hopefully not only will the gap between policy advocates and policymakers be bridged but also that EIPM may present itself as a political alternative electoral reform agenda in a country whose operational politics revolve around patronage, violence and personalism.

Review of related literature

The review of related literature constructs the study's assumptions and operational framework. It is divided into three parts. The first part nuances evidence-informed policy making (EIPM) and the challenges it poses to scholars and practitioners alike in developing countries. The second part briefly narrates policy making in a decentralized context focusing on how governance of Philippine municipalities, the subject of this inquiry, is legally and operationally framed by the 1991 Local Government Code. Finally, the last part talks about factors that affect local policy-making in the Philippines.

Evidence-informed policymaking: Principles & prospects in developing countries

Policymaking is a delicate and intricate process of making decisions to address an issue or public problem. Dye (1972) offers a very brief but pragmatic definition of public policy: “whatever governments choose to do or not to do” (p.18). Others present a more complex definition such as Frederich’s (1963) “a proposed course of action of a person, group or government within a given environment providing obstacles and opportunities which the policy was proposed to utilize and overcome in an effort to reach a goal or realize an objective or purpose” (p. 79) and Brooks’ (1989)“.. the broad framework of ideas and values within which decisions are taken and action, or inaction, is pursued by governments in relation to some issue or problem” (p.16).

Within these definitions lies what Colebatch (2002) identifies as central elements about decision-making in the context of governing maybe derived: (1) order which implies that policy is not an arbitrary or impulsive action; (2) authority which denotes a legitimizing action such as endorsement from authority figures; and (3) expertise which requires some general knowledge of both the problem and what can be done about it. However, it must also be noted that these attributes may not be equally present at all points in the decision making process and in fact, may work against one another (Colebatch, 2002).

As a problem-solving process, the most common and widely-held view is that policymaking is a rational and linear activity that is bounded by a sequential series of steps or phases. This model begins with the recognition and definition of the issue that needs to be solved, followed by identification and weighing possible alternative courses of actions, which leads to the eventual choosing and implementing of the best and most rational solution, and ending with possibly the evaluation of the outcomes.

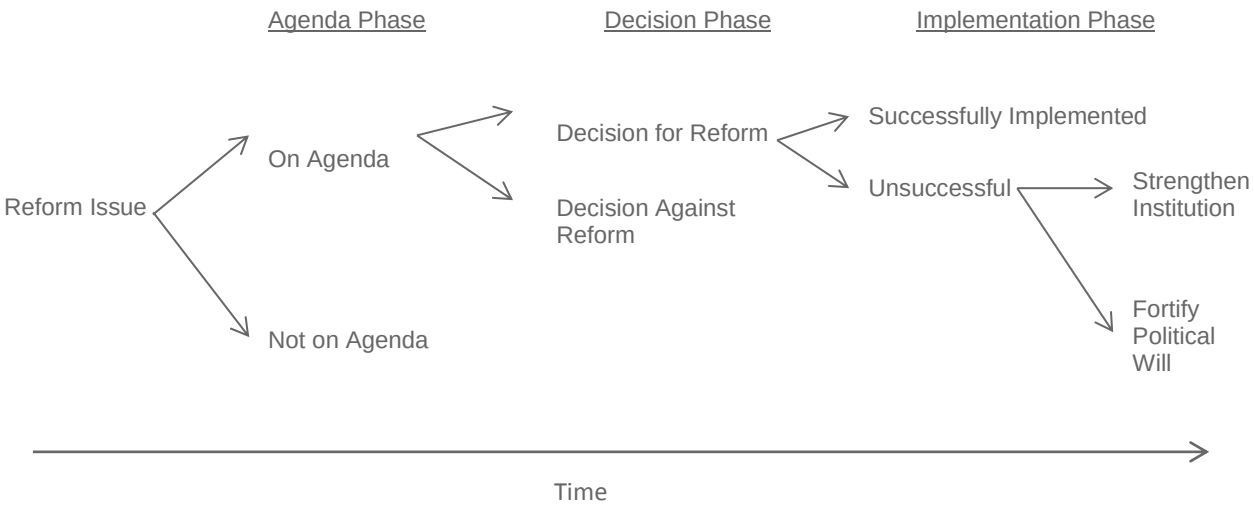

Figure 1. The linear model of public policy (Grindle & Thomas, 1990)

Critical in this linear frame of the policy process is its implied value for the pursuit of policies that are based on the best (i.e., rational) available evidence. According to Oxman, Lavis, Lewin, & Fretheim (2009), evidence is commonly understood as a fact/s known through observation or experience intended to support a conclusion. This definition suggests two things: (1) that there exists a certain degree of neutrality from the evidence itself and the person observing the phenomenon; and (2) the observer is understood as a person of expertise who is responsible in the collection and interpretation of the facts. In a way, this is what policy literature calls evidence-based policymaking or “the analysis

of many forms of empirical data as a guide to the creation, modification or retention of effective public policies" (Bevir, 2009, p. 82). Evidence-based policymaking (EBPM) seems to have emerged from the evidence-based medicine movement that began in the early 1990s (Oxman, Lavis, Lewin, & Fretheim, 2009; Bevir, 2009).This perhaps explain why most literature written about EBPM revolves around health policies where a scientific abstraction of facts (for example, randomized controlled trials) tends to be more appealing.

However, the rigidness of EBPM became its weakness when applied to social issues other than health which requires other forms of evidence that may not necessarily come from scientific observations. Aside from the methodological problems, EBPM's barrier is also organizational which includes the lack of incentives and funding to allow the technical teams to execute such rigorous process for policymaking purposes (Jacobs, Dodson, Baker, Deshpande, & Brownson, 2010). And even with the advances in health research, evidence culled from these studies is seldom incorporated into policy decisions (World Health Organization, 2012). This last observation aptly questions the utility of EBPM in real world policymaking. Why would policymakers invest in an expensive process of culling evidence which would prove to be not of use in the end?

Brownson, Royer, Ewing, & McBride (2006) fittingly observe that the logic that policymaking follows is very different from that of the scientific project. This perhaps explains why there was a shift in the language being used policy researchers and think tanks – from evidence-based to evidence-informed policymaking (EIPM). This shift reflects four important departures from the EBPM framework:

1. it places the responsibility of decision-making back to the policymakers (versus the 'expert-dependent' approach);
2. it acknowledges that evidence is just one of the many factors that affect policy decisions;
3. it asserts that evidence is not an ends in itself, but it is a means to generate new knowledge to make it more useful; and
4. it recognizes the decision-making process is nonlinear.

An emerging definition of EIPM from contemporary policy circle communities puts it as the systematic and regular use of a range of research as one of many sources of information to inform policy (Newman, 2012; Capillo, 2012; Newman, Capillo, Famurewa, Nath & Siyanbola, 2012).

This new way of appreciating the place of evidence in the policymaking environment opened the policy process to a wider range of stakeholders such as activists and community organizers who were not confident to engage initially due to the technical and rigorous requirement of EBPM. It also included less developed and emerging economies whose policymakers had to immediately deal with critical and complex social issues with very little technical expertise and funding. Many of these emerging societies also had to simultaneously deal with underdeveloped local economies, substandard social development and weak political institutions.

Grindle and Thomas (1991) describes the policy environment of developing countries as centralized, relatively closed systems, operated by informal processes of representation and vulnerable regimes. As such, policy elites within government play a much more decisive role compared to their Western counterparts. To understand why policy elites choose certain policies over another, context is key. Historically, many of these countries were colonies who inherited structures that were meant to serve the interest of their colonial masters. Ironically, they kept the bureaucratic structure which the colonial government established (Hughes, 2003). This complicated their public management because the rigid colonial bureaucracies were now operating within the context of neglected legislatures, weak political parties, and strong elites. The fact that a single model of administration, particularly those derived from theories and procedures of the West, was instigated to help 'modernize' developing countries obfuscated governance further (Turner & Hulme, 1997).

Policy elites in developing countries also had to carry a substantial amount of 'memories of similar policy experience' which influences their perception of what works and what doesn't work (Grindle & Thomas, 1991). Hence, value systems also play a critical part in third world policymaking as these shape the way new information is assessed and managed. This is contrary to Western experience of values as a determinant of policy per se. In other words, while more developed countries view policymaking as the process by which values are authoritatively allocated, developing countries view values as filter upon which policymaking is distilled.

Critical therefore in understanding how policies are made in developing countries is the way policy knowledge is constructed, controlled and consumed by policy elites. It is not simply 'evidence for evidence's sake'. Rather, it is the interplay between policy knowledge and practice that makes policymaking in the third world complex and unpredictable.

Policymaking in a decentralized context: The Philippine experience

In simple terms, decentralization means a transfer of responsibility from central to local agents of authority to be able to provide effective delivery of services with the end goal of reducing economic and social inequalities among its people. There are various dimensions and degrees of decentralization but for the purposes of this paper, we focus on two: administrative and political.

Administrative decentralization is also called deconcentration. It is the transfer of administrative responsibilities from central bureaus of agencies to a subordinate field office. Deconcentration involves mainly a redesigning of the organization to decongest the workload of the central government by establishing and/or assigning field offices and field staff in the regions, provinces and town or districts. Therefore, it is basically an internal efficiency measure and does not involve a downward transfer of decision-making authority (Schiavo-Campo, Sundaram, & Vista-Baylon, 2001).

Shifting decision-making powers from central to the local level of government is called devolution. Devolution is considered political decentralization because it entails a higher degree of independence so as to enable local governments to formulate and implement policies without the intervention of central government (Schiavo-Campo, Sundaram, & Vista-Baylon, 2001). For devolution to work, subnational governments must be able recruit their own staff, raise their own money, and interact with other units in society. As opposed to deconcentration, devolution involves a more institutionalized external efficiency measure through citizens' participation in managing local affairs.

Decentralization seems to be an inevitable governance mechanism for the Philippines being a country that is geographically dispersed and culturally diverse[1] . Thus it is not surprising that local autonomy is not something new. Laurel (1926) states that the archipelago was dotted by local villages (known as barangays) that were territorially and politically autonomous from one another. These barangays were each governed by a monarchical chieftain referred to as datu, panginoo or pangolo (Ortiz, 1996). By the mid-20th century, post-colonial Philippines passed several legislations concerning local autonomy. Republic Act 2264, entitled "An Act Amending the Laws Governing Local Governments by Increasing their Autonomy and Reorganizing Provincial Governments", is the country's first local autonomy law. It provided, among many things, greater fiscal, planning and regulatory powers, to cities and municipalities. The second one is Republic Act 2370, known as "The Barrio Charter Act", vested taxation powers virtually transforming the country's smallest political unit into quasi-municipal corporations (Brillantes, Jr., 1998). Access to resources as well as the broadening of administrative decision-making powers was granted further with the enactment of Republic Act 5185 or the "Decentralization Act of 1967." However, the abolition of local elections and the highly centralized authoritarian setup during the Martial Law period from 1972 to 1986 hindered, if not wipe-out, the gains of local autonomy in the country. Although the Marcos regime promulgated Batas Pambansa Bilang 337 or the Local Government Code of 1983, it was difficult to implement full autonomy when the President, a dictator, is given the power to supervise and control local governments.

The 1986 People Power, a non-violent and bloodless revolution that overthrew the Marcos dictatorship, installed President Corazon Aquino, who replaced local officials all over the country with Officers-in-Charge (OIC) as a way to stabilize the transition to democracy (Brillantes, Jr., 1998). In 1987, a new Constitution was adopted which included provisions concerning local autonomy. Particularly, this is articulated as a state policy as stated in Article II Section 25 of its 1987 Constitution, to wit: "The State shall ensure the autonomy of local governments." Thus, despite the long history of decentralization attempts in the Philippines, it was only at this point that the state's effort to attain local autonomy was seen as legitimate and genuine.

[1] An archipelago located in the Southeast Asian region, the Philippines is home to some 92.34 million people (as of May 2010 according to the National Statistics Office) bounded by 76 to 78 major language groups and 500 dialects (http://www. Tourism.gov.ph/SitePages/generalinformation.aspx (Retrieved June 10, 2013).

In 1991, three years after the new constitution was ratified, Republic Act 7160 otherwise known as the 1991 Local Government Code (LGC) was promulgated. This law frames and rationalizes the current design of decentralization in the country. The immediate impact of the Code was the rearranging of the structure of local governments in order to facilitate their transformation as self-reliant communities and active partners in achieving national development goals through local initiatives. However, being a unitary[2] state, the extent of local autonomy is limited and confined within the formal bounds set by the central government. As such, local government units are not sovereign entities but are political subdivisions of the state.

The local government units are organized into three tiers or levels: barangay (village) – the smallest political unit in the country; city and municipality – a cluster of barangays that are either urbanized (for cities) or non-urban (for municipalities); and province – a cluster of cities and municipalities, the largest local political unit in the country. They are created on the basis of land area (as certified by the Land Management Bureau), population (as certified by the National Statistics Office) and average income in the last three fiscal years (as certified by the Department of Finance). The Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) is a special political region created in pursuance of the constitutional mandate to provide an autonomous area in Muslim Mindanao. Currently, there are 80 provinces, 137 cities, 1,497 municipalities and 42,025 barangays in the country.

Table 1: Minimum requirements for creation of local governments (according to the 1991 Local Government Code)

	Land Area	**Population**	**Annual Income in the last 3 years**
Barangay		2,000 5,000* **highly-urbanized*	
Municipality	50 sq. km	25,000	P2.5 Million
City	100 sq. km	150,000	P20 Million
Province	200 sq. km	200,000	P20 Million

[2] The Philippines is a presidential unitary state, headed by the president, who functions as the head of state, head of government and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The president is elected by popular vote to a six-year term and is not eligible for re-election. The two co-equal branches of government are the bi-cameral legislature comprised of 24 Senators and 287 Congressional Representatives, and the judicial branch headed by the Supreme Court.

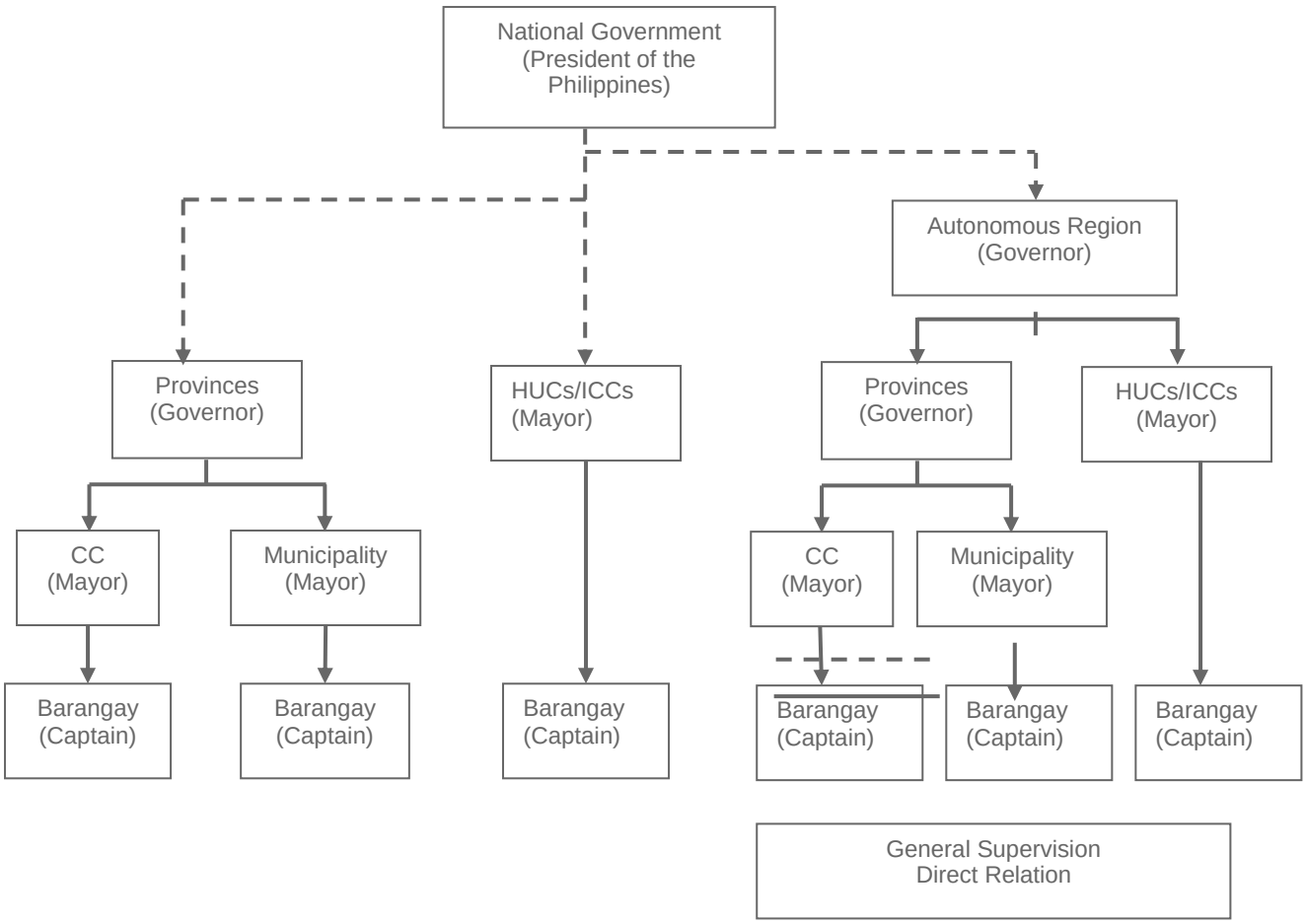

Figure 2. Political Subdivisions of the Philippine

Philippine municipalities: A political & public management perspective

Particularly for this study, the focus is on the municipality. A municipality is a political corporate body made up of a cluster of barangays that are not urbanized. It is endowed with the facilities of a municipal corporation, exercised by and through the municipal government in conformity with the law. It serves primarily as a general purpose government for the coordination and delivery of basic, regular, and direct services and effective governance of its inhabitants. It also has been granted corporate personality enabling it to enact local policies and laws, enforce them, and govern its jurisdiction. It can enter into contracts and other transactions through its elected and appointed officials and can tax. It has at least 25,000 inhabitants or a contiguous territory of at least 50 square kilometers (except where the territory comprises two or more islands) and an annual income of at least Two Million Five Hundred Thousand Pesos (PHP 2,500,000).

The Mayor, who acts as its local chief executive, heads a municipality. The municipality also has a set of legislative officials called the Sangguniang Bayan (Municipal Council) led by the Vice Mayor. Their constituents directly elect the Mayor, the Vice Mayor, and all the members of the Municipal Council every three years. They are allowed to serve in the same post for a maximum of three consecutive terms (or a total of nine consecutive years).

Aside from the reconfiguration of institutional arrangements and structures, there were also significant 'systems' changes brought about by the Code, particularly through devolution. Among the many forms of decentralization, devolution is the most empowering form because it seeks to create independent local government units through the transfer of certain political power by the central government. The end goal of which is to develop local governments as institutions that are able to plan, finance, implement and monitor programs with little or no direct control from central authorities (Atienza, 2006).

First, the code devolved the delivery of basic services, particularly health (field health and hospital services and other tertiary health services), agriculture (agricultural extension and on-site research), environment and natural resources (community-based forestry projects), social services (social welfare services) and public works and infrastructure projects funded out of local funds. Some aspects of education (school building program), tourism (tourism facilities and promotion), telecommunication services and housing projects were also devolved. Aside from basic services delivery, municipalities are also responsible in addressing other local issues and concerns such as peace and order (including insurgency and terrorism), local economy and poverty, and disasters and calamities (Development Partners, Inc., 1992).

Second, the regulatory and licensing powers of the national government were also transferred to local governments. These include the reclassification of land, enforcement of environmental laws, inspection of food products and quarantine, enforcement of the National Building Code, operation of tricycles, processing and approval of housing subdivision plans and the establishment of cockpits and cockfights.

Third, it increased financial resources available to local governments. The Code empowered municipalities (and all LGUs for that matter) to create their own sources of revenues and to levy taxes, service fees, and other impositions provided that such power is consistent with the fundamental principles governing local taxation[3] . Aside from taxation powers, the Code allots 40% of the total internal revenue taxes collected by the national government to LGUs. This share of the LGUs from national government collection is called the Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA), which is distributed to the barangay (20%), municipalities (34%), cities (23%) and provinces (23%). IRA's distribution share is based on population (50%), land area (25%) and equal sharing (25%) formula. The year prior to the Code's implementation, Brillantes, Jr. (1998) notes that only 4% were allocated by the national government as IRA shares for local governments. Finally, 40% of the gross collection on natural wealth is automatically given to the LGU where exploitation occurs (ex: mining taxes, etc.).

Fourth, it mandated the direct participation of civil society in local policy making. In effect, the code provided the legal infrastructure to institutionalize participatory governance at the local level. Particularly, non-governmental organization (NGO) and people's organization (PO) representatives were automatically included as members in local special bodies. There are five local special bodies, namely: Local Development Council, Local Prequalification, Bids and Awards Committee, Local School Board, Local Health Board and Local Peace and Order Council.

Finally, the Code laid the foundation for LGUs to be more entrepreneurial. Concretely, they are given corporate powers to enter into agreements and contracts with the private sector to facilitate business activities such as build-operate-transfer schemes, floatation of bonds, joint-venture undertakings and the likes.

Factors that affect policy-making among local government units in the Philippines

Given the parameters and depth of local autonomy as framed in its 1991 Local Government Code, the decentralization program of the Philippines has been considered as one of the most far reaching in the developing world (Guess, 2005). Despite this however, local development has been uneven and the quality of local governance remains unsatisfactory for scholars and practitioners alike. To start with, the complexities of decentralization as a management strategy also make it one messy project. The capacity requirements that decentralization demands upon local governments are not only expensive but also intense. And even though the 1991 Local Government Code expanded and made accessible available resources to help local governments manage and sustain decentralization, there remain structural and political gaps that need to be addressed.

Firstly, as decentralization expanded the role of LGUs, it also increased their expenditure responsibilities. Among the LGUs, the pressure to cope with this financial burden is felt most by the municipalities who have the least conducive environment to spur local economic activity as well as the

[3] Under the law, a municipality may levy taxes, fees and charges not levied by the province such as taxes on business, fees and charges that cover the cost of regulation, inspection and licensing, fees for sealing and licensing of weights and measures, and fishery rentals, fees and charges.

least flexibility in terms of setting tax rates. Most municipalities in the country are classified as 3rd and 4th class, which means they only earn between 25 million to less than 45 million pesos annually (approximately between US$ 609,700 and US$ 1 million). In addition, municipalities continue to receive the least financial support (in terms of real value) from the national government in the form of the Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA). According to the Department of Budget and Management (DBM), there are 33 municipalities are 100% IRA-dependent (27 of them are from the ARMM). This implies that municipalities are still unable to generate locally sourced revenue despite the existence of local autonomy mechanisms since 1991. At the same time, this also implies the failure of the Code to severe the strings that bind local governments to the national government.

Secondly, democracy thrives on the basis of pluralism, often based on a dynamic and robust electoral environment. Superficially, it seems that democracy thrives at the local level of Philippine politics because local leaders are elected at large every three years through a simple plurality vote (first-past-the-post). However, local elections are also marked by violence caused by weak political parties and abundance of political dynasties (Rivera, 2011). In the same work, Rivera (2011) also cites several works on electoral politics in the Philippines. What is common among these themes is the depiction of Philippine politics as elitist and nepotistic (Teehankee, 2002). This portrayal of the elite as an extension of one's family is so entrenched that it becomes 'normal'. This is corroborated by a study conducted by the Institute of Philippine Culture in 2005. The participants, who hailed from poor communities around the country, were asked about their thoughts on what a 'leader' is, to which they replied: "a leader's position is akin to that of a parent" (Institute of Philippine Culture, 2005, p.27). Even government agencies use this as frame for local chief executives' behaviour and conduct once elected, an example of which is the Governor's Guide to the First 100 Days written by the Local Government Academy of the DILG where governors are reminded of their role as "Father/Mother of the Province" (Local Government Academy, 2007, p. 14).

Finally, while the Code institutionalized participatory policy making at the local level, the question of whether or not these spaces for direct participation are appreciated and used to their full extent remains. According to the Philippine Council for NGO Certification (PCNC), there are as many as 60,000 non-profit non-governmental organizations registered in the country today. While this represent the robust and vibrant presence of civil society in the Philippines, their extent of participation in local level policy making remain uneven (Atienza, 2006).

The challenge therefore of policy making at the local level is not so much about the absence of structural support for participatory governance. Rather, it is the ability of the local chief executive to harness the full potential of the powers given to him – amidst the chaotic electoral context – so as to effectively manage the needs of his/her constituency within the three-year timeframe of his/her term. In the end, mayorship is not a walk in the park. The roles and functions of the municipal mayor are complicated and demanding. The mayor is a manger, a controller, a supervisor, law enforcer, resource mobilizer and user, orchestrator of basic services and facilities delivery (Development Partners, Inc., 1992). As such, to champion evidence-informed policy-making at the level of municipalities, one must understand how mayors navigate and at the same time capitalize on this very complex policy environment.

The review of related literature suggests that policymaking in developing countries does not follow the traditional views of the West. The role of policy elites should also not be downplayed due to the historical and institutional contexts of public management in their respective countries. Particularly in the Philippines, the decentralization project in 1991 gave local policy elites – the mayors – the power and authority to lead in the planning and implementation of their municipality's local development. Despite the legal provisions that increased mayor's capacity to generate resources, local government units remain to be dependent on the allocations from the national government. In between, mayors are expected by their constituents to solve local issues. It is in this context that the interplay between policy knowledge and choice of action (or inaction) is situated.

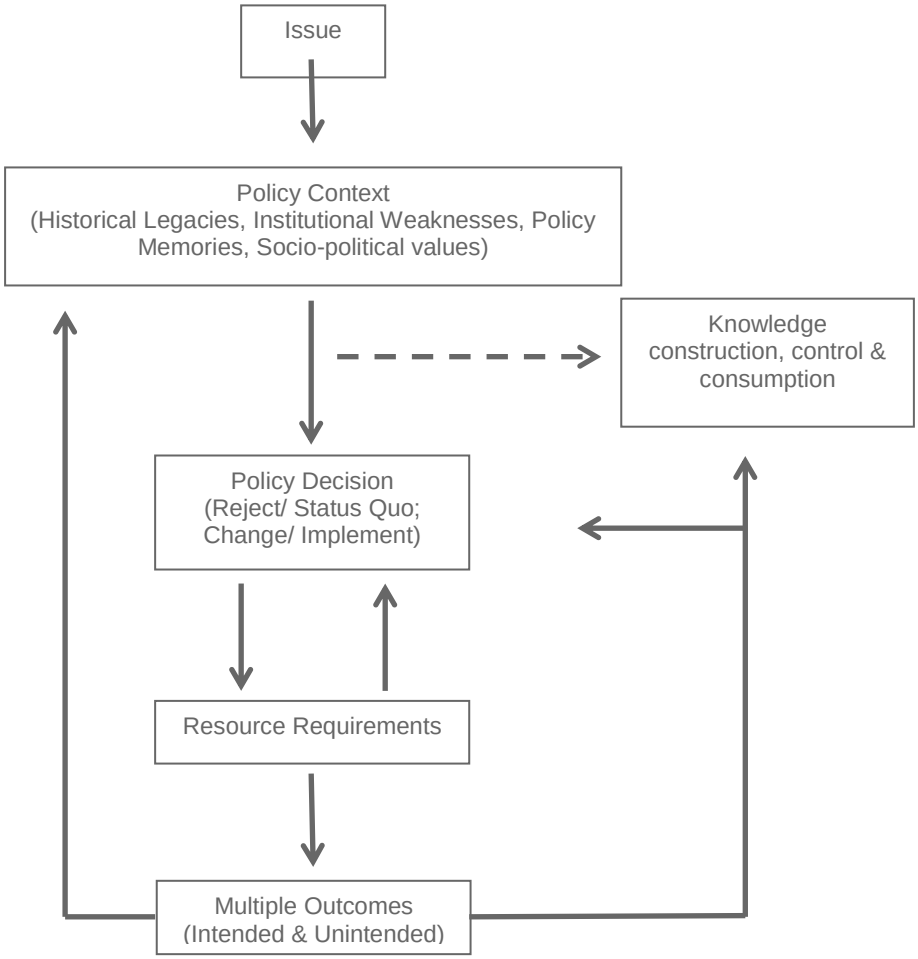

Figure 3. Analytical Framework of the Study: Elite-driven policymaking in Developing Countries

Methodology

This study investigated how EIPM is constructed and understood by local policy mayors and whether or not EIPM is a significant factor in winning an election, particularly in municipalities[4] in the Philippines. The caveat of course is that how EIPM was framed and defined in the literature may not have the same definition operationally on the ground. Due to the activist intention of this study (i.e., this study seeks to actively lobby for local policy making that is more rational and inclusive), designing the study was participatory and inclusive as well. This is aligned to what social science scholars refer to as "community-based research" which implies 'research with and not simply on members of a community' (Root, 2007, p.565). Community-based research implies that the power over the agenda, tone and even instrumentation of the research is shared between the social scientist and the community which is the subject of interest of the study. While the literature on community-based research defines the 'community' in a geographical manner, this study would like to expand this definition to refer to community as a collective entity that shares a common goal – such as, in the case of this research, the local policy community. In line with this, the study was done collaboratively with the two local policy community networks in the Philippines – the Union of Local Authorities of the

[4] Local government structure in the Philippines is organized into three tiers:
(1) provinces headed by governors;
(2) cities and municipalities headed by mayors; and
(3) barangays(or villages) headed by the barangay captain.

Philippines (ULAP) and the League of Municipalities of the Philippines (LMP). Research agenda was shared between the partners including the choice of method and instrumentation.

It was agreed upon that the study used a mixed method design to better understand how local policy makers construct EIPM and concurrently what is its political value to them.

The study was done in three phases.

Phase 1

In the first phase, informal interviews with three former municipal mayors were conducted to better understand the context and language of policy making in municipalities. These interviews helped the team craft, pre-test and refine the survey instrument that was used in the second phase of the study. The pre-test also elicited an important methodological concern that helped the team manage Phase 2 of the study – that to generate a more accurate response, the survey should be administered by the team and not be self-administered by the mayors themselves. Hence, even though the survey was designed to be self-administered, it was implemented as a one-on-one structured interview instrument. To manage uniformity across the members of the team, an interview protocol/ survey guide was prepared to standardize the data collection process.

Phase 2

In the second phase of this study, a survey was conducted among incumbent municipal mayors[5] who ran for re-elections in May 2013. Ninety-six municipal mayors were randomly surveyed during their Annual General Assembly last December 4 and 5, 2012. The League of Municipalities of the Philippines (LMP) distributed additional survey forms to municipal mayors during their meetings. There were a total of 120 municipal mayors surveyed. Out of the 120, 91 were re-electionists. From the 91, we excluded a total of 14 respondents: four were from ARMM (which was beyond the scope of our study), six were replaced by a relative as a last-minute replacement candidate, one was killed in an ambush on her way to a campaign sortie, and three municipalities have yet to release official election results. Hence, the study ended up with 77 valid respondents.

Instrumentation[6]

The survey is divided into two parts:

Part 1 included personal information about the respondents that may have a bearing on their being re-elected. These are: gender, age, current term of office, highest educational attainment, profession prior to entering politics, and the presence of immediate family members in other locally and nationally elected posts. These factors were based on the partners' experience as well as existing literature about Philippine electoral politics.

Part 2 solicited the respondent's perceived use of EIPM in three local policy areas:

a. health – a fully devolved basic service;

b. education – a public good that remains to be a central government responsibility (particularly basic education or primary and secondary levels); and

c. social welfare services –by law is a fully devolved service area, but lately the responsibility is being shared with the central government via its conditional cash transfer program dubbed Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps).

For each of these policy areas, three types of information sources relevant to policy-making in the context of the Philippine municipalities were identified:

[5] Mayors from the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) was excluded from this study because its political dynamics and structure is different as well as for security reasons

[6] Please see Appendix A for a sample of the instrument used.

1. objective primary sources are documents, reports and studies generated by either national or local government agencies and/or other research bodies such as civil society groups and academe that contained empirical and verifiable sources of information;
2. objective secondary sources are written data or reports that have been recorded and may have been interpreted already by the bodies and agencies concerned and are usually detached from the Mayor; and
3. subjective sources are information that come from persons, usually laden with the element of trust, the mayor tend to consult with on a regular basis.

Respondents were then asked how often they consult these sources of information for decision-making purposes using a 5-point Likert scale (5 – Always, 4 – Almost Always, 3 – Sometimes, 2 – Rarely, 1 – Never). We added "0" in the Likert scale to represent the answer "I am not familiar with this" as suggested by the former three mayors whom we consulted for the instrument.

Table 2: Types of information sources vis-à-vis policy areas

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">Types of Information Sources</th><th colspan="3">Policy Areas</th></tr>
<tr><th>Education</th><th>Health</th><th>Social Welfare Services</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Objective Primary</td><td>• School Improvement Plan
• District Education Development Plan
• Basic Education Information System</td><td>• Health Data Maps
• Disease Surveillance
• Regional and National Health Statistics</td><td>• Community-based Monitoring System (CBMS) or KALAHI-CIDSS
• NAPC Poverty Maps
• National Household Targeting System for Poverty Reduction (NHTS-PR) Database
• Data from the National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB)
• Data from the National Statistics Office (NSO)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">• Studies done by Higher Education Institutions
• Studies done by Civil Society / Research Centres
• Municipal Development Plan
• Provincial Development Plan
• International Agreement and Standards</td></tr>
<tr><td>Objective Secondary</td><td>• DepEd Policy Papers / Briefs
• Local School Board Recommendation</td><td>• DOH Policy Papers/ Briefs
• Local Health Board Recommendation</td><td>• DSWD Policy Papers / Briefs
• Local Development Council Recommendation</td></tr>
</table>

	• Recommendation from the Local Council • Priorities of the Party		
Subjective	• School District Supervisor • School Principals	• Municipal Health Officer • Barangay Health Workers	• Municipal Social Welfare Officer
	• President's State of the Nation Address • Barangay Captain (Village Leader) • Congressman (Congressional District Representative) • Governor		

Phase 3

In the last phase, two round table discussions were conducted to generate in-depth insights as to what the results generated by the data collected from the survey mean and imply. A total of six former mayors were invited to participate in the RTD. Representatives from ULAP, INASP and LMP also participated in the RTD. The lead investigator of this study facilitated both discussions.

The findings of community-based research may sound anecdotal to research experts but what is more important is not how well relationships between variables were established but how the members of the community learned as a result of their participation (Humphreys & Rappaport, 1994). As evidenced in the direct participation of the policy network partners, the technical staff who were assigned in this research not only learned from each other's rich experiences working with mayors but also learned about and appreciated EIPM as a concept and as a policy strategy. The study generated great interest among officers and staff of both ULAP and LMP. During the course of the research, the lead investigator has been invited by both policy communities to sit down in two consultation meetings and to moderate a forum for mayors on local education governance.

Results and analysis

The results and analysis section is broken down into three sections. The first part describes the respondents of the research. The second part details the perceived use of EIPM that generated insights as to how mayors understand EIPM. Finally, the last part presents the cross tabulation results of this perceived use of EIPM as well as other non-EIPM factors vis-à-vis winning the recently concluded May 2013 local elections. The narratives gathered during the one-on-one structured interviews as well as the inputs from the two round table discussion are weaved in the results presentation so as to provide depth to the quantitative data generated.

Profile of the respondents

The respondents surveyed were mostly males (62 out of 80, or 77.5%), within the age bracket of 50-59 years old (41.3%), with relatives at locally elected positions (54.5%). Majority are second term municipal mayors (40 out of 80 or 50.6%). Seventy percent (or 56 out of 80) of the respondents are college-graduates, and 32.5% (26 out of 80) worked in the business sector prior to being a municipal mayor.

Table 3 shows the respondents' demographic characteristics broken down into whether they won or not in the last May 2013 elections. The proportions of those who won still follow the overall distribution of the respondents: most election winners are college-graduate (69.6%), males (78.6%), within the 50-59 age bracket (42.9%), in their second terms (58.9%), from business (32.1%) and politics background (26.8%). 55.4% have relatives in local positions.

Table 3: Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

	TOTAL (N)	Win		Lose	
		Freq	in % of n	Freq	in % of n
Gender					
Male	60	44	78.6	16	76.2
Female	17	12	21.4	5	23.8
Total	77	56	100.0	21	100
Age					
20-29	1	0	0	1	4.8
30-39	9	8	14.3	1	4.8
40-49	21	16	28.6	5	23.8
50-59	31	24	42.9	7	33.3
60-Above	15	8	14.3	7	33.3
Total	77	56	100.0	21	100.0
Term as Mayor					
First Term	29	19	33.9	10	50
Second Term	39	33	58.9	6	30
Third Term	8	4	7.1	4	20
Total	76	56	100.0	20	100
Educational Attainment					
Elementary	1	0	0	1	4.8
High School/Secondary	4	2	3.6	2	9.5
College/University	53	39	69.6	14	66.7
Post-Graduate (MA, PhD, MBA, etc.)	19	15	26.8	4	19.0
Total	77	56	100.0	21	100.0
Previous Work Prior to Becoming Mayor					
Business/Entrepreneurship	25	18	32.1	7	33.3
Education	3	3	5.4	0	0
Health/Medical Profession	6	3	5.4	3	14.3
IT/Technology-Related	1	1	1.8	0	0
Banking/Finance/Commerce	5	4	7.1	1	4.8
Law	4	3	5.4	1	4.8
Politics/Public Service	18	15	26.8	3	14.3
None	1	1	1.8	0	0
Others	14	8	14.3	6	28.6
Total	77	56	100.0	21	100.0
Presence of Relatives in					
National Positions only	1	1	1.8	0	0
Local Positions only	42	31	55.4	11	52.4

Both National and Local Positions	5	4	7.1	1	4.8
None	29	20	35.7	9	42.9
Total	77	56	100.0	21	100.0

"Rational" policy making in the eyes of the mayors

As mentioned earlier, this study intends to bridge the gap between the scientific community's understanding of evidence informed policy-making and that of the policy makers. In doing so, the study used a carefully crafted instrument that presents a comfortable and inclusive range of possible sources of information, ranging from the more objective data sets and studies produced by both the public and private sectors to the more subjective sources such as persons that mayors consult with for policy purposes.

Table 4 summarizes the responses for the three types of information sources vis-à-vis the policy areas under investigation. The results of the survey reveal that an overwhelming majority of respondents say that they use the three types of information sources "Always". In fact, only 1.3% of them admitted they rarely use such identified source/s. The results suggest two things: (1) that the respondents do not want to be perceived as 'not doing what they're supposed to', or (2) that they seem to treat all types of information source as equally important, meaning they tend not to impose a hierarchy or weight among sources of information for policy-making purposes.

Table 4: Perceived use of different information sources per policy area

	5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**Total**
	Always	Almost Always	Some times	Rarely	Never	I am not familiar with this	
Health							
Objective Primary	39 52%	32 42.7%	3 4%	1 1.3%			75 100%
Objective Secondary	41 53.9%	32 42.1%	3 3.9%				76 100%
Subjective	50 65.8%	25 32.9%	1 1.3%				79 100%
Education							
Objective Primary	30 40%	35 46.7%	10 13.3%				75 100%
Objective Secondary	35 46.7%	38 50.7%	2 2.7%				75 100%
Subjective	46 57.9%	30 39.5%	1 1.3%	1 1.3%			76 100%
Social welfare services							
Objective Primary	34 47.2%	32 44.4%	6 8.3%				72 100%
Objective Secondary	44 58.7%	30 40%	1 1.3%				75 100%

Subjective	45 60.8%	27 36.5%	2 2.7%				74 100%

In addition, participants also mentioned other sources of information that the survey instrument did not include. Table 5 summarizes these other sources of information – most of which can be categorized as objective secondary.

Table 5: Other sources of information according to the respondents

Information Source	Policy Areas		
	Health	**Education**	**Social Welfare Services**
OBJECTIVE PRIMARY			
OBJECTIVE SECONDARY			
Commission on Higher Education Policy Memos		x	
Dept. of Budget & Management Briefs	x		x
Dept. of Interior & Local Government Briefs	x		x
PhilHEALTH	x		
Media / Social Networking	x	x	x
Websites	x	x	x
Terminal Reports of Seminars	x	x	x
Business Organizations	x	x	x
Youth Organizations		x	
Religious Sectors	x	x	x
Vulnerable Groups (Women, PWDs, Seniors)			x
SUBJECTIVE			
Ex-Mayor	x	x	x
Vice Mayor	x	x	x
Regional Directors	x	x	x
Wife/ Spouse	x	x	x

Upon further consultation and probing with former mayors who acted as consultants to this research, it was mentioned that mayors tend to receive tons of information on a daily basis but do not have the time to differentiate and scrutinize the objectivity of such information. They also disclosed that they tend to rely on people whom they assume to have read or are familiar with more objective sources of information such as school principals, municipal health officer and leaders of various local organizations. This somehow redefines Table 4, particularly, the bottom half of the secondary sources (business organizations, youth organizations, religious sectors, and vulnerable groups). It is possible that mayors consult these organizations through their personal network with the formal and informal leaders. Hence, what seem to be objective secondary sources of information may actually be

'subjective' after all. The mayors admit that even though consultation (documents and people) is part of their decision making process, ultimately they decide what policies are best based on their experience (especially for seasoned mayors) and knowledge about their respective communities.

In summary, the results show that while the scientific community and other public policy research institutions define rational policy-making as being based upon empirical evidence (whether evidence-informed or evidence-based), this study suggests that local policy makers consider personal network, experience and local knowledge as the most rational way of deciding what policies are best for their respective communities. Put it another way, mayors tend to rely on information from the most-trusted sources – those within their own realm of policy environment.

Political value of EIPM

Both the academia and think-tanks find EIPM valuable because it gives policy-making rationality and objectivity. However, to the policy makers, policy-making becomes valuable if these decisions provoke their constituents to vote for them the next elections. To understand EIPM's political value, the study used chi-square to test whether there is an association between wining the May 2013 local elections and perceived use of the three types of sources of information for making policies. Table 6 presents the summary of p-values for evidence-related factors.

Table 6: Perceived use of evidence-related factors & winning

	X^2	*p*-value	Cramer's V
Education			
1. Use of Objective Primary & Winning	***7.351***	***0.025***	***0.313***$^{+}$
2. Use of Objective Secondary& Winning	1.110	0.574	0.122
3. Subjective &Winning	3.359	0.340	0.210
Health			
1. Use of Objective Primary &Winning	0.707	0.872	0.097
2. Use of Objective Secondary& Winning	0.215	0.898	0.053
3. Subjective &Winning	0.387	0.824	0.071
Social welfare services			
1. Use of Objective Primary &Winning	1.369	0.504	0.138
2. Use of Objective Secondary& Winning	0.460	0.795	0.078
3. Subjective & Winning	1.183	0.553	0.126

Results show that it is only the perceived use of objective primary source of information in education that has a moderately strong association (Cramer's V=0.313) with winning and this is statistically significant (p=0.025). Particularly, those who claim to have always used objective primary information sources as input for local education-related policies are most likely to win an immediate election. At the onset, the researchers were baffled by this result because among the three policy areas that were considered for this study, the delivery of education as a public good is not a devolved function. This means that education remains to be the ultimate responsibility of the national government – from extensive policies such as hiring, firing and promotion of school personnel as well as curriculum and textbooks, to the most minute policy such graduation protocols and celebration of various important events (ex: United Nations Day, Buwan ng Wika or Mother Tongue Month, etc.). The fact that the 1987 Constitution[7] guarantees that education is given the highest budget share among government

[7] Article XIV, Section 5 paragraph 5 of the Philippine Constitution

agencies proves that the policy making remains to be a top-level agenda. The only decentralized feature of education as provided for in the 1991 Local Government Code is the School Building Program. This program gives the school principals the responsibility to lead the planning, implementation and monitoring of school building and other infrastructure-related construction projects.

During the RTDs, the participants were asked their thoughts about this result. They all agree that while education is not a devolved function, it is the most relevant concern to all constituents because it is a 'universal' need. One mayor participant briefly explained what this meant: "You go to the health centre if you are sick. You are given social welfare services if you are poor or destitute. But you go to school regardless of your health condition and social status." While it was pointed out that health and poverty-alleviation programs (under social welfare services) are deemed important, they are also branded by the people as either "the governor's" (for the former) or "national government's" (for the latter). As a devolved function, health requires extensive resources. Thus, usually local health infrastructure and programs are heavily supported by the provincial government (or the governor). For social welfare services, the more "felt" or "obvious" program is the 4Ps or the conditional cash transfer program that is fully-funded by the national government. The locally-funded social welfare programs, such as those emergency-types or short-term one-time cash grants, are not as intensive and therefore less felt by the people. In other words, one need not belong to a social, economic or political category to be qualified to attend school. Therefore, when mayors focus their energies and resources in 'education-related' policies and projects, almost all constituents would immediately notice and associate this as "the mayor's". And when people notice the "brand" of work that you do, it is most likely they will vote for you in the next elections.

It also emerged during the RTDs that public schools are the most visible public structure in all communities. Almost all barangays (or villages) have at least one public school (either primary or secondary)[8] . The mayors agree that the public school act as a hub to a good number of community activities, most of which are not necessarily related to education. They are de-facto polling stations during elections, evacuation centres during times of disasters, venue for community service activities (such as medical and dental missions) of local civic groups, place for community festivities, as well as sites for community assemblies that the barangay captain (or village leader) or the mayor may call for. Hence, beyond its purpose of providing a conducive learning space for children, it seems that public schools also provide a conducive social and political space for the adults in the community. The by-product of this expanded character of the public school is the development of a very intricate and intense relationship between the politicians (barangay captains and mayors), the professional bureaucrats (school principals and teachers) and the people of the community. Simply put by one of the mayors during the RTD: "We (all) connect best in education."

The association between winning and non-EIPM related factors such as age and educational background were also tested. Table 7 presents the summary of p-values for non-evidence related factors.

Table 7: Non-evidence related factors & winning

	X^2	*p*-value	Cramer's V
1. Gender & Winning	0.050	0.822	0.026
2. Age & Winning	7.167	0.127	0.305
3. Term of Office & Winning	***5.715***	***0.057***	***0.274***
4. Educational Attainment & Winning	4.099	0.251	0.231
5. Previous Work Experience & Winning	6.323	0.611	0.287

[8] According to the Department of Education, there are a total of 46,407 (38,659 elementary and 7,748 secondary) public schools scattered among the 42,027 barangays in the country as of 2012.

6. Presence of Relatives in other elected posts & Winning	0.740	0.864	0.098

In the above table, the term of office and winning displayed a statistically significant relationship (p=0.057). In particular, second termers are more likely to win the next round of elections compared to first termers.

During both RTDs, the participants were asked to nuance such result. The participants disclosed that second termers would always have an advantage over first termers simply because they've proven to their constituents what kind of politician they are and what they are capable of doing. As long as they are not embroiled in a serious graft case, then they present themselves as a candidate that is more predictable and hence, less risky. Participants also talked about second termers as having more "kapital" or "pondo" or roughly translated as capital or funds, which refers to having implemented many projects and programs (given that they have served as mayors for six[9] years). These projects can be considered as a social and political capital or sorts given that these have been simmering within the community for some considerable amount of time.

In summary, the results suggest that perhaps it was in fact, the strategic use of education that may have affected the respondents' winning the local elections and the use of objective sources of information was just 'riding along'. To put it bluntly, mayors' use objective or subjective sources of information does not matter, as long as he/she prioritizes education-related policies and programs, he/she would most likely be voted in the next elections. There is, therefore, an urgent need to reassess EIPM's value beyond its empirical function so that it becomes a useful political tool for local policy makers who honestly want to do it right and do it well, but not at the expense of losing the next elections.

Conclusion & recommendations

While the field of policy science is a very robust and active one, Colebatch's (2002) observation that the concept of policy cannot and should not be 'owned' by social scientists is apt. This study has shown that policy-making is both a formal and informal process that encompasses a wide range of participants who consciously and subconsciously construct the meaning of policy according to their own circumstances.

To begin with, this study ascertained that the policy environment at the local level is a very personal space. Mayors take into account information for policy based on trustworthy sources, which also happens to be the most accessible (compared to those coming from national government agencies and research institutes whose offices are found mostly in the National Capital Region). Hence, while the statutory provisions demands policy making to be people-centred, participatory and evidence-based, the rules of the game remain to be in the hands of the local chief executives. This is similar to the experience of Latin American countries, where executive power was used to empower the right set of people and teams to design and implement education reform (Grindle M. S., 2004). Therefore in Philippine municipalities, what seems to be at work is a leader-led local policy making model that is paradoxical to decentralization's governance philosophy.

Moreover, this study also realized that the use of evidence in informing policy per se did not deliver the votes but it was, in fact, the choice of issue, particularly education, which did. The fact that people perceive education as the responsibility of the local government even though it is not a devolved function says a lot about the political value of local education policies at the level of municipalities. Public schools remain to be the most valuable and strategic public structure in all types of communities. Therefore it is not difficult to imagine how public opinion (and votes) is directly shaped by local education policies and vice versa. While the law still places the burden of education in the hands of the central government, that mayors are well aware of the political value of education as a public good will definitely incentivize them to increase spending on it.

[9] Each term is three years. Being a second termer means one has been incumbent for at least six straight years.

Recommendations

This study began with the premise that EIPM is the systematic and regular use of a range of research as one of many sources of information to inform policy. However, evidence suggests that for local policy makers, 'EIPM' is the regular use of a range of information that is not only 'good enough for now' but more importantly 'trustworthy'. For mayors, 'trustworthy' means coming from sources within his/her personal space. But for social scientists, 'trustworthy information' means evidence culled from research characterized by robust methodology. While we cannot deny the research community the essentiality of science in their work, we also must acknowledge that it would be difficult to demand from mayors that they prioritize information that are outside the bounds of his/her personal space.

Hence, the first recommendation is a very pragmatic one. That perhaps the best strategy for EIPM advocates is to think of how robust sources of evidence can be placed within the personal space of the local chief executive. Universities and think-tanks, in producing their research, have long accused of being too detached from the real world. While this 'distance' has kept their perspective more objective (and therefore scientifically sound), it made their work too far away from the actual policy environment of local chief executives especially at the level of municipalities and villages.

Which brings to the second recommendation of this study: that for EIPM to be relevant to merit a slot in the personal space of local policymakers, it must first of all offer something that is already useable. For local policymakers, policymaking is and will always be practically problem solving. Therefore, mayors will always choose information that offers something that is not only pragmatic but also immediately doable. While the normative aspect of policy science is important, this may be not what is needed to increase the demand for EIPM by local policy makers especially in communities where development remains to be elusive.

Third, because policymaking is problem solving, perhaps the best way to advocate for EIPM is to not advocate it per se. As seen in the Philippine experience, there will always be "winnable" issues. It would then be strategic to align the advocacy on the use of evidence in policies concerning this "winnable" issue. By placing EIPM on issues that has the most political weight, it not only produces programs and policies that are sound but also it raises the promise of winning the next elections for policy makers.

Lastly, that mayors appreciate the use of evidence if can produce immediate political value is a given. Convincing mayors to look at evidence for evidence's sake is a futile engagement. What is needed therefore is a more anthropological methodology on policy research that challenges the idea that policymaking is a legal-rational activity of the state. This 'way of proceeding' asserts that policy-making is a process that is continuously shaped, informed and interpreted by socialization where actors may at times seems disparate and decisions are constantly shifting (Wedel, Shore, Feldman, & Lathrop, 2005). This study's design is informed by and constructed with ex-local policymakers who still maintain close links with peers who are incumbents. As a result of this engagement, the lead investigator has already been invited to give inputs, moderate discussions and provide insights to several local policy networks as to how best to proceed with a more evidence-informed policy making in local education.

Footnote: Some recent (and promising) development in local governance

In the last three years under the current Aquino administration, there seems to be a deliberate move to incentivize local governments to carry out their mandate efficiently and effectively. There are three interrelated initiatives that are worth mentioning as a footnote to this study. It is important to present these recent developments concerning public management because they can provide the necessary space for EIPM to anchor itself in the policy environment of Philippine municipalities and even perhaps at the level of province.

The first is the development of indices that seeks to provide a holistic metrics for local government performance. The result of this is the Local Governance Performance Management System (LGPMS) version 2.1, which evolved from a series of performance measurement tools that were created and implemented by the national government over the last twenty years. The LGPMS is a web-based self-assessment tool that evaluates the level of performances and productivity of LGUs in areas of governance, administration, social services, economic development, and environment. In doing so, it is able to generate a holistic perspective of governance from administration and fundamentals of good

governance to social, economic and environmental services. It also streamlines management systems of government as this new version integrates the LGU Scorecard on Health designed by the Department of Health and the Local Tourism Statistics developed by the Department of Tourism. In 2011, the LGPMS was able to generate a 98.8% data entry from provinces, cities and municipalities in the country (Bureau of Local Government Supervision, 2011).

Second is the set of awards and incentives systems that are being placed by the DILG to monitor and encourage excellent performance of local governments. The first of these is the Seal of Good Housekeeping (SGH), a project that recognizes LGUs good performance in internal housekeeping in the aspects of accountability, transparency and participation. The award has three categories based on Memorandum Circular No. 2012-78 issued by the DILG last April 25, 2012: Bronze (no adverse or disclaimer COA opinion and full compliance to the Full Disclosure Policy), Silver (good to excellent performance based on the CSC Report Card Survey on the ARTA implementation, functionality of the Bids and Awards Committee, and full compliance to the posting requirements of PHILGEPS) and Gold (above benchmark LGMPS performance, presence of Internal Audit Office, functionality of local special bodies, joint ventures of cooperative arrangements with POs and NGOs in the delivery of basic services, capability building, livelihood projects, agri- and other socio-economic development endeavours, and IP representation in local legislative body and local policy-making bodies). The SGH underwent many revisions based feedback coming from the LGUs themselves, particularly in terms of its “achievability”. This co-construction of the awards metrics proved to be valuable because it enabled the national government to frame the rewards based on the ground experience of LGUs. As of 2011, 77% of LGUs are already Seal recipients (Bureau of Local Government Supervision, 2011). The second emerging award is the Seal of Good Local Governance, which requires LGUs to meet criteria based on (a) disaster preparedness, (b) social protection and service delivery for the basic sectors such as women, children, persons-with-disabilities, indigenous peoples, and, (c) any of the sets of requirements for (c.1) law and order, (c.2) business-friendliness of government, and (c.3) environmental compliance. Both Seals are set to be implemented in 2014.

Third is the set of financial subsidies made available to local government units that put premium on transparency and accountability using the metrics of the Seal of Good Housekeeping and Seal of Good Local Governance Programs. The most significant incentives are placed under the Performance Challenge Fund (PCF), which is given to eligible LGUs in the form of counterpart funding for local development projects that are aligned with the national government strategic thrusts and goals. The fund aims to encourage the convergence of local development projects with the national government’s priority programs vis-à-vis the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, tourism, disaster risk and reduction (Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010) and solid waste management (Ecological Solid Waste Management Act of 2000). Other incentive mechanisms are also already in place, such as the Pamana Awards, and the Loan Availment Program. These are all implemented by the DILG.

These developments seem to be in line with what Welch & Wong (1998) identify as the three major global pressures that bureaucracies have to deal with: information technology as a powerful instrument in modernizing and democratizing bureaucracies, global institutions (characterized by the Millennium Development Goals race) that has a formal authority over individual countries and the pressure on public sector efficiency and productivity.

This study has indeed produced some insights that may have great implications on how social scientists view EIPM’s utility in less developed local communities. To some extent, it also presented EIPM to the local policy network in a less intimidating, more pragmatic, manner. At best, the main lesson that can be generated from the experience of Philippine mayors is that it for EIPM to be relevant and useful, it must be both politically valuable and managerially simple.

Bibliography

Anderson, B. (1988). Cacique democracy in the Philippines: Origins and dreams. New Left Review, 169, 3-31.

Atienza, M. L. (2006). Local Governments and Devolution in the Philippines. In T. S. Tadem, & N. M. Morada, Philippine Politics and Governance (pp. 415-440). Quezon City: University of the Philippines.

Bevir, M. (2009). Key concepts in governance. London: Sage Publications.

Brillantes, Jr., A. B. (1998). Decentralized Democratic Governance under the Local Government Code: A Governmental Perspective. Philippine Journal of Public Administration, 42 (1&2), 38-57.

Brooks, S. (1989). Public policy in Canada: An introduction. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc.

Brownson, R. C., Royer, C., Ewing, R., & McBride, T. D. (2006). Researchers and policymakers: Travelers in parallel universes. American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 30 (2), 164-172.

Bureau of Local Government Supervision. (2011). BLGS Annual Report. Department of Interior and Local Government. Quezon City: Department of Interior and Local Government.

Colebatch, H. (2002). Policy (2nd Edition). Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Constantino, R. (1970). Dissent and counter-consciousness. Manila: Erehwon.

Development Partners, Inc. (1992). The Mayor's Handbook (Second Edition). Quezon City: League of Municipalities in the Philippines.

Dye, T. (1972). Understanding public policy. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Franco, J. (2001). Elections and democratization in the Philippines. New York: Routledge.

Frederich, C. J. (1963). Man and his government. New York: McGraw Hill.

Grindle, M. S. (2004). Despite the odds: The contentious politics of education reform. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Grindle, M., & Thomas, J. (1990). After the decision: Implementing policy reforms in developing countries. World Development, 18 (8), xx.

Grindle, M., & Thomas, J. (1991). Public choices and policy change: The political economy of reform in developing countries. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Guess, G. M. (2005). Comparative Decentralization Lessons from Pakistan, Indonesia and Philippines. Public Administration Review, 65 (2), 217-230.

Hughes, O. (2003). Public management and administration: An introduction. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Humphreys, K., & Rappaport, J. (1994). Researching self-help/mutual aid groups and organizations: Many roads one journey. Applied and Preventive Psychology, 3, 217-231.

Hutchcroft, P. (1998). Booty capitalism: The politics of banking in the Philippines. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Institute of Philippine Culture. (2005). The vote of the poor: Modernity and tradition in people's views of leadership and elections. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University.

Jacobs, J. A., Dodson, E. A., Baker, E. A., Deshpande, A. D., & Brownson, R. C. (2010). Barriers to evidence-based decision making in public health: A national survey of chronic disease practitioners. Public Health Reports, 125 (5), 736-742.

Lande, C. (1965). Leaders, factions and parties: The structure of Philippine politics. New Haven: Council on Southeast Asian Studies, Yale University.

Laurel, J. P. (1926). Government in the Philippine Islands. Manila: La Pilarica Press.

Local Government Academy. (2007). Critical Steps for the First 100 Days: A Guide for Governors. Pasig City: Department of Interior and Local Government.

Mc Coy, A. (1993). Anarchy of families: State and family in the Philippines. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Newman, K., Capillo, A., Famurewa, A., Nath, C., & Siyanbola, W. (2012). What is the evidence on evidence-informed policy making? (Draft Report). Oxford: International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications.

Ortiz, J. (1996). The Barangays of the Philippines. Quezon City: Hiyas Press.

Oxman, A. D., Lavis, J. N., Lewin, S., & Fretheim, A. (2009). Support tools for evidence-informed health policymaking: What is evidence-informed policymaking? Health Research and Policy Systems, 7 (Suppl 1) (S1), 1-7.

Rivera, T. (2011). In search of credible elections and parties: The Philippine paradox. In F. Miranda, T. Rivera, M. Ronas, & R. Holmes, Chasing the Wind: Assessing Philippine Democracy (pp. 46-94). Manila: UNDP.

Root, M. (2007). Community-based research. In W. &. Outhwaite, The Sage Handbook of Social Science Methodology (pp. 565-577). London: Sage Publications.

Schiavo-Campo, S., Sundaram, P., & Vista-Baylon, H. (2001). Decentralization: What, when and how. In S. Schiavo-Campo, Improving public administration in a competitive world (pp. 155-186). Manila: Asian Development Bank.

Sidel, J. (1999). Capital, coercion and crime: Bossism in the Philippines. Stanford: Standard University Press.

Teehankee, J. (2002). Electoral Politics in the Philippines. In A. Croissant, G. Bruns, & M. John, Electoral Politics in Southeast and East Asia (pp. 149-202). Singapore: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Turner, M., & Hulme, D. (1997). Governance, administration and development: Making the state work. London: MacMillan.

Wedel, J. R., Shore, C., Feldman, G., & Lathrop, S. (2005). Toward an Anthropology of Public Policy. Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, 600, 30-51.

Welch, E., & Wong, W. (1998). Public Administration in a Global Context: Bridging the Gaps of Theory and Practice between Western and Non-Western Nations. Public Administration Review, 58 (1), 40-49.

World Health Organization. (2012). Evidence-informed health policymaking in low and middle-income countries. WHO Report on International Forum on Evidence-informed Health Policymaking in Low and Middle-income Countries. Geneva: WHO.

Appendix A: Sample of Survey Instrument Used

BASIC INFORMATION (SALIGANG IMPORMASYON):

Instruction: Please check the MOST appropriate box for each question.
Panuto: Lagyan ng tsek ang kahon na may pinaka-angkop na sagot para sa bawat katanungan.

1. Gender *(Kasarian)* ☐ Male *(Lalaki)* ☐ Female *(Babae)*

2. Age*(Edad)* ☐ 20-29 ☐ 30-39 ☐ 40-49 ☐ 50-59 ☐ 60 above

3. Your current term as Mayor*(Kasalukuyang termino bilang Mayor)* ☐ First ☐ Second ☐ Third

4. Highest Educational Attainment *(Pinakamataas na Antas ng Edukasyon na inyong natapos)*
   ☐ Elementary *(Elementarya)*
   ☐ Secondary *(High School)*
   ☐ Technical/ Vocational
   ☐ College / University*(Kolehiyo)*
   ☐ Post-graduate *(Halimbawa: MA, MBA, Ph.D.)*

5. In which industry did you work for prior to being Mayor? *(Ano po ang inyong hanapbuhay bago kayo naging Mayor?)*
   ☐ Business/ Entrepreneurship
   ☐ Education
   ☐ Health/Medical profession
   ☐ IT/ Technology-related
   ☐ Banking/Finance/ Commerce
   ☐ Law
   ☐ Politics / Public Sector
   ☐ Entertainment/ The Arts
   ☐ None _____
   ☐ Others_____

6. Do you have relatives (up to the 3rd degree) by affinity and/or consanguinity who are currently occupying one or more of the following:
   (Mayroon po ba kayong isa o mahigit pa ma kamag-anak [hanggang pinsan sa asawa] na kasalukuyang naka-pwesto sa):
   a. nationally-elected position [example: Senate, VP, President] ☐ Yes ☐ No
   b. locally-elected position [example: Congress, Governor down to Barangay – including Sanggunian] ☐ Yes ☐ No

7. In the upcoming May 2013 elections, are you running again as Mayor?
   (Sa darating na eleksyon sa May 2013, kayo po ba ay tatakbo ulit bilang Mayor?)
   ☐ Yes (pls. proceed to 8.a) ☐ No (pls. proceed to 8.b)

   8.a If YES: In the same municipality? ☐ Yes ☐ No
   KUNG OO: Sa pareho bang munisipyo?

   8.b If NO: Are you running:
   Kung HINDI: Kayo ba ay tatakbo para sa:
   (1) for a higher elected position (*mas nakatataas na posisyon)* [i.e.,Sangguniang Panlalawigan and up] ☐ Yes ☐ No
   (2) for a lower elected position (*mas mababang posisyon* [i.e.,Vice-Mayor to Barangay Kagawad] ☐ Yes ☐ No

DECISION MAKING FACTORS:

Instruction: Please write in the box the number that corresponds to the most appropriate answer per item.
Panuto: Isulat ang kahon ang numero ng pinaka-angkop na sagot para sa bawat katanungan.

5 = Always *(Madalas/ Palagi)*
4 = Almost Always *(Halos Palagi)*
3 = Sometimes *(Paminsan-minsan)*
2 = Rarely *(Bihira)*
1 = Never *(Hindi KahitKailan)*
0 = I am not familiar with this *(Hindi ko alam kung ano ito)*

How often do you consult the following when making decisions in relation to:
Gaano kadalas ninyong sinasangguni ang mga sumusunod sa inyong pagdedesisyon patungkol sa:

A. EDUCATION *(EDUKASYON)*	**How Often**	**Notes/Remarks**
School Improvement Plan		
District Education Development Plan		
Basic Education Info System		
DepEd Policy Papers / Briefs		
Local School Board recommendations		
School District Supervisor		
School Principals		
B. HEALTH *(KALUSUGAN)*		
Health Data Maps		
Disease Surveillance		
Health Statistics (DOH Regional Office)		
Health Statistics (DOH National)		
DOH Policy Papers / Briefs		
Local Health Board recommendations		
Municipal Health Officer		
Barangay Health Workers		
C. SOCIAL WELFARE		
Community Based Monitoring System (CBMS) or KALAHI-CIDSS		
NAPC Poverty Maps		
National Household Targeting System for Poverty Reduction (NHTS-PR) Database		
Data from the National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB)		
Data from the National Statistics Office		
Studies done by higher education institutions		
Studies done by civil society groups		
DSWD Policy Papers / Briefs		
Recommendations made by the Sanggunian		
Local Development Council recommendations		
Municipal Social Welfare Officer		

5 = Always *(Madalas/ Palagi)*

4 = Almost Always *(Halos Palagi)*

3 = Sometimes *(Paminsan-minsan)*

2 = Rarely *(Bihira)*

1 = Never *(Hindi Kahit Kailan)*

0 = I am not familiar with this*(Hindi ko alam kung ano ito)*

How often do you consult the following when making decisions in relation to:
Gaano kadalas ninyong sinasangguni ang mga sumusunod sa inyong pagdedesisyon patungkol sa:

	Education	**Health**	**Social Welfare**
Studies done by higher education institutions			
Studies done by civil society groups			
Recommendations made by the Sanggunian			
Municipal Development Plan			
Provincial Development Plan			
Priorities of the local chapter of your party			
State of the Nation Address (SONA)			
International Agreements and Standards			
Barangay Captains			
Congressman			
Governor			

Please enumerate other sources of information (can be a person, organization, document, website, etc.) you consider/consult when making decisions concerning: *Paki-lista ang iba pang basehan/ batayan(maaaring tao, samahan, dokumento, website, atbp.) ng inyong pagdedesisyonng mga bagay-bagay patungkol sa:*
a. Education
b. Health
c. Social Services

Thank you very much. *Maraming salamat po.*

Research Partners

Evidence for what?