

VOICE OR CHATTER? case studies

Open Data and Citizen Engagement, Philippines

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A GRAND CHALLENGE FOR DEVELOPMENT

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Table of Contents

1. Executive Summary	2
2. Rationale and Context	3
2.1. Context Setting	4
2.2. Forming the Task Force	5
2.3. Preparatory work	6
3. Methodology	7
3.1. Methods	7
4. Analysis	8
4.1. Adoption of Open Data	8
4.3. Public Engagement	10
4.4. Demand-led Open Data Portals	13
4.5. Aligning Supply and Demand-Then and Now	13
5. Conclusion	15
References	17
Annex 1: Analytical Matrix	19

1. Executive Summary

When Benigno Aquino III ran for the position of President of the Philippines in 2010, he ran on the campaign slogan "*Kung walang corrupt, walang mahirap*" (when there is no corruption, there is no poverty). Following his win, the administration initiated reforms in government that focused on improving financial management, budget transparency, government procurement, and local government transparency. Key among these was in 2011 when the Philippines became one of the founding partners of the Open Government Partnership (OGP), which aimed to provide an international platform for domestic reformers committed to making their governments more open, accountable, and responsive to citizens.

As an OGP partner, the country is required to come up with OGP Action Plans that cover a twoyear period. The stated goal of the Philippines' 2012 OGP Action Plan was creating a "single portal of information" that complies with basic open data standards. In the 2013-2015 OGP Action Plan, the government committed to "provide more accessible government data in a single portal and open format." The 2015-2017 Action Plan continued this by committing to pro-actively release government data in open formats through the Open Data portal.

The Philippine OGP Action Plan was managed by the Cabinet Cluster on Good Governance and Anti-Corruption, one of the thematic clusters established during the term of then President Benigno Aquino III. The Open Data Policy was managed by the Open Data Philippines (ODP) Task Force, which comprised representatives from the Office of the Presidential Spokesperson (OPS), Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office (PCDSPO), and the Department of Budget and Management (DBM).

In 2013, the idea of an open data program was introduced by the World Bank to senior officials from the Office of the President of the Philippines. The concept was positively received because its inherent value for transparency and public engagement was aligned with the political priorities of the Aquino administration. The initiative was also recognized as a low-hanging fruit and a tangible expression of the government's commitment to good and open governance. Further, the novel idea of open data was leveraged to package and reframe the government's numerous transparency initiatives, especially those heavy on data sets.

This case study explores the introduction and implementation of open data by the Government of the Philippines. It first presents the government's enabling motivations and how the program was conceived, then looks into the introduction and implementation of open data in the Philippines using Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration as the analytical lens. It focuses on the key policy, technology, data, and public engagement components of the ODP implementation, including significant milestones and critical issues. The study aims to show how these work streams and the program itself, as designed from the start, dealt with aligning the supply and demand sides of open data. It then assesses how effective open data has been as an ICT tool to achieve transparency and accountability and make significant shifts in meaning, power, and norms in the context of citizen engagement. At the same time, it looks at how such signification, domination, and legitimation – or the lack thereof – affected the effectiveness of the ODP as well.

The findings of the study show that although open data has huge potential to transform egovernance, such potential has not been maximized. One reason is the lack of appreciation of the relevance and usefulness of open data, both by the public and by some officers of key government agencies. This translates to the question of how relevant the published data is to these stakeholders, how it has been used and how it could have been used. The analysis shows that some of the barriers that prevent government agencies from embracing an overall culture of openness are buried and ingrained into organizational cultures and therefore require deepreaching institutional reforms.

Another key finding is that of limited involvement of the public in activities related to open data. Although some forms of public consultation were conducted, participation was limited to a select group, largely because of a deliberate recalibration of the Open Data Task Force's uptake strategy.

2. Rationale and Context

The global open data movement has been growing rapidly. More than half of the 92 countries surveyed by the recent Open Data Barometer have open data programs and registries in place, proving that open data is entering the mainstream at a steady pace (Open Data Barometer, 2016). While appreciation, readiness, maturity, and impact vary across countries and sectors, there is global momentum towards opening up more data from governments, civil society, private sector, global institutions, and a host of other entities. This is reinforced further by the rise of international platforms such as the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development Data, International Open Data Charter, and the OGP.

Open data, in this study, adopts the working definition from GovLab, "Open data is publicly available data that can be universally and readily accessed, used and redistributed free of charge. It is structured for usability and computability (Verhulst, et.al., 2016)."

Open data is the idea that public information should be accessible to the public online and is important because it can be applied to a variety of information created or collected by public entities. It is a manifestation of the idea of open government and can help improve the measurement of policies, better government efficiency, deeper analytical insights, and greater citizen participation, and is a boost to local companies by way of products and services that use government data. According to a study conducted by GovLab involving 19 case studies, open data can

- help improve government by tackling corruption, increasing transparency, and enhancing public service and resource allocation
- empower citizens through new ways of communicating and accessing information
- create new opportunities by fostering innovation and creating jobs, and
- help solve big public problems by allowing citizens and policy makers access to new forms of data-driven assessment of problems at hand.

In 2011, the Philippines became one of the founding members of the Open Government Partnership, a multilateral initiative that aims to secure concrete commitments from governments to promote transparency, empower citizens, fight corruption, and harness new technologies to strengthen governance. One of the Philippines' commitments included in the 2012 OGP Action Plan is the creation of a "single portal of information" that complies with basic open data standards.

Access to information and open data are crucial elements identified in the Philippines Digital Strategy (PDS) of 2011-2016 that can help provide for a transparent government and efficient services. However, there is a need to assess how these elements have been used and implemented to achieve the national development goals set by the country as it keeps up with the digital age. Keeping this in view, this study attempts to address the following research questions;

1. Under what conditions can ICT-mediated citizen engagement support and promote democratic governance?

- 2. How do processes of signification, legitimation, and domination in ICT-mediated citizen engagement, particularly in the Open Data Philippines initiative, give rise to new governance regimes?
- 3. How does technology disrupt the way in which citizens understand their social contract?

2.1. Context Setting

The National Computer Center (NCC) was established in 1971 to rationalize the country's use of information technology for national development (Rye, 2002 and Siar, 2005 as cited in Alampay, 2007). National Information Technology plans were developed to include more specific programs and activities that delineate the roles and responsibilities of the government and the private sector. Such policy instruments were complemented by Administrative Order (AO) No. 232, instructing all government agencies and its instrumentalities including local government units to undertake electronic connectivity through the Internet thus putting in place an effective and more efficient communication and information system among government offices (Alampay, 2007).

Republic Act No. 8792 or the eCommerce Act of 2000 paved the way for national government agencies and local government units to embrace electronic systems in their daily transactions. The law defined government's policies on electronic transactions and provided the legal framework for the country to engage in e-commerce.

In line with the eCommerce Act, the NCC initiated the eLGU project, which marked the beginning of computerization in the Philippine government. As the government's desire to incorporate ICT in governance continued, the Commission on Information and Communication Technologies (CICT) was created in 2004 to take into account the convergence of telecommunications, broadcasting, and computer technologies in addressing the fragmented implementation of ICT policies and programs in the country (Alampay, 2007). CICT became the primary institution for developing IT policies, programs, and projects for the government.

In 2010, the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) established the Full Disclosure Policy (FDP), which requires the officials of local government units (LGUs) to fully disclose particular financial transactions of their respective LGUs to keep their constituents informed on how the LGU budget is managed, disbursed, and used. The DILG utilized ICT in the implementation of the FDP through the online FDP Portal, which enabled the public to view, download, and print financial documents of LGUs to allow the constituents to understand how their local government budgets are spent.

Another development in government transparency was the launch of the OGP in 2011, to provide an international platform for domestic reformers committed to making their governments more transparent, accountable, and responsive to citizens. As one of the eight national governments in the OGP steering committee, the Philippine government is required to embrace the Open Government Declaration, to deliver a concrete action plan developed with public consultation and feedback, and to commit to independent reporting on its progress (Philippines: Open Government Partnership).

One of the commitments of the Philippines as part of the OGP was the creation of a central information portal. Initially, this was pursued through the creation of an online platform for the Official Gazette of the Philippines, which provided public access to speeches and laws. Because the Official Gazette portal did not include access to government datasets, the Open Data Philippines (ODP) portal (data.gov.ph) was launched in 2014. The ODP portal aims to "make national government data searchable, accessible, and useful." The ODP website is a consolidation of datasets of different government agencies and allows users to find specific information. It "encourages the public to participate by submitting applications and visualizations based on the public data."

Governance of the ODP is entrusted to a task force composed of representatives from the Office of the Presidential Spokesperson (OPS), the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office (PCDSPO), and the Department of Budget and Management (DBM). This task force issued Joint Memorandum Circular (JCM) No. 2014-01, which notifies the agencies of the ODP initiative and their respective roles and responsibilities. The JMC covers all Departments, agencies, state universities and colleges, and government-owned and controlled corporations. The JMC mandates government agencies to develop and maintain a centralized online platform for the publication of government data. The ODP Task Force also issued Joint Memorandum Circular No. 2015-01, which provides agencies specific guidelines on open data implementation.

2.2. Forming the Task Force

The genesis of the open data program was seeded by the World Bank Manila Office when, in March 2013, it introduced the concept of open data to senior officials from the OPS, PCDSPO, and DBM.

Within the same month, all three offices arrived at a consensus to designate personnel to meet and build the program with support from the World Bank. At that time, open data seemed data and ICT-intensive. But rather than simply passing it on to statistical and ICT agencies, the agencies took it on as a governance reform initiative. As recommended by a working group convened by the World Bank:

In general, national Open Data policies are most successful when they are led by the Office of the President or Prime Minister, or by a central government ministry such as planning or economy. This reflects the wide and cross cutting nature of Open Data initiatives and the need to have leadership from a ministry that is able to coordinate all relevant parts of government. (World Bank Group, 2014)

At the time the Task Force was formed, the Information and Communication Technology Office (ICTO), an attached agency of the Department of Science and Technology (DOST) was contemplating the development of an information system similar to an open data portal. It was, however, meant to be more of a repository of all government data, whether for public consumption or not. When the Task Force conveyed the plan to implement an open data program to ICTO, the latter agreed to put its data repository system on hold, reevaluate it, and possibly build on what the Task Force would develop to avoid duplication and promote interoperability of systems.

2.3. Preparatory work

In the program's earliest days, the following were the immediate priorities: designating specific personnel to implement the program, building the open data portal, and strategizing on how to generate public interest and demand for open data.

From these priorities, it was decided that the then Presidential Spokesperson Secretary Edwin Lacierda would function as the program's executive champion. Day-to-day operations would be led by two co-lead coordinators: one from the DBM and the other from OPS. DBM took the lead in generating the supply of datasets, coordinating with government agencies, and building the demand side of the program. These DBM teams tasked with these functions were housed under the Office of the Chief Information Officer. Meanwhile, PCDSPO took on the development of the open data portal to align it with the Official Gazette by housing the program's technical and creative teams.

With this ad hoc open data team established, the focus from April to August 2013 was building data.gov.ph. World Bank outsourced the development of the portal to a firm based in the US, who based the portal on the information architecture, functionalities, and design decided by the open data team. The beta version of the portal was ready by August 2013.

Meanwhile, the first wave of trainings was conducted in July 2013 through a one-day open data champions masterclass for senior officials from more than twenty agencies, ranging from directors to undersecretaries, and a two-day boot camp for technical personnel from the same select agencies delving on introductory open data topics and skills. To further demonstrate the impact of open data, the World Bank invited the program managers of Moldova's open data program to this particular set of trainings. As the program matured, the World Bank continued to provide support in an advisory capacity and linked the Philippine Task Force with open data practitioners abroad.

It is worth noting that while the World Bank Manila Office was instrumental in creating the idea of an open data program, designing and conducting the first wave of trainings for agencies, and building the platform, the Philippine Task Force encountered challenges in dealing with the World Bank team as well. For instance, the Philippine technical team had to tweak or redevelop certain components of the Open Data platform that was originally built by the team that was contracted by the World Bank.

In terms of public outreach, the team decided early on to conduct at least one civil society consultation, which was held in Davao City in August 2013, and a hackathon to make an early mark with the technology community. The first hackathon, held in November 2013, challenged participants to build web or mobile applications using open budget data. These public engagement activities aimed to demonstrate that the open data program was as much about public participation as it was about releasing datasets to the public.

The launch of the open data program and portal was initially scheduled for late November 2013 but was postponed to January 2014 due to typhoon *Haiyan*, which struck the country in the second week of November.

Ultimately, both the program and the portal, formally labeled as Open Data Philippines and data.gov.ph, were unveiled in January 2014 during the Good Governance Summit, a forum attended by the then President Benigno Aquino III (Official Gazette, 2014).

3. Methodology

Advances in technology drive organizational changes. Technology transforms the way people communicate and engage. Even governments have adopted technology to reach out to the public, in the same way that citizens have taken to using technology to engage their own governments. With the continuous evolution of ICT use and access, what new rules emerge and how do they legitimize new forms of participation? Is power re-distributed between government and citizens? This study uses Anthony Giddens' structuration framework as a lens to unpack the interplay of structure and agency and how ICT figures into this.

Using Giddens' structuration theory (1979), particularly the duality of structure, to explain the relationship between action and structure in a complex information environment, this study will look at how open data can be used by the government and citizens to generate shared meaning.

The study focuses on the following overarching research questions;

- 1. Under what conditions can ICT-mediated citizen engagement support and promote democratic governance?
- 2. How do processes of signification, legitimation, and domination in ICT-mediated citizen engagement give rise to new governance regimes?
- 3. How does technology disrupt the way in which citizens understand their social contract?

Zeroing in on the Philippines' Open Data experience, the study then attempts to examine the ICTmediation aspect of the Open Data Initiative, particularly the types of technology and ICT channels used, the assumptions behind these choices, and the vision and strategies of e-participation from the point of view of the Open Data Steering Committee and the DBM.

3.1. Methods

There is a dearth of research assessing open data and its impact, especially in the Philippines. This case study is an attempt to explain the relevance of open data in the country.

In-depth discussions with two former members of the Open Data Task Force were conducted to gain an insider view on the historical background of the introduction of open data in the Philippines and the challenges encountered by the Task Force in implementing the project. To frame the analysis within Giddens' structuration theory, the following questions were employed:

- 1. What concepts and assumptions about governance, transparency, accountability, citizen participation, and public service delivery, informed citizen engagement in ODP?
- 2. What civil society formations were active in defining citizen engagement with government, and how active were they in the Open Data and OGP agenda?
- 3. What were the policies and standards, if any, that mandated and promoted citizen engagement in ODP?
- 4. What were the processes and protocols, if any, for monitoring people's participation in ODP, particularly how data released under the initiative were used and re-used either by intermediaries or the public?
- 5. What was the role of technologists outside of government (e.g., tech community, via the hackathons) in the techno-design of ODP? How much were technologists (inside or outside government) a real part of the decisions on what technologies were deployed and how?

The case study likewise relied on available secondary data on the country's open data program. These included the country's OGP action plans, the country's OGP Self-Assessment Report (March 2015) of its OGP National Action Plan for 2013-2015, as well as the Independent Reporting Mechanism (IRM) report assessing the country's OGP commitments for its Second National Action Plan. Another source is the Third Edition of the Open Data Barometer Report, which showed that the Philippines jumped from ranking 53rd out of 86 countries surveyed in the previous report, to 36th out of 92. The study also looked into a few examples of how individuals or groups used open data to benefit others.

4. Analysis

The potential of open data for governance is irrefutable, and the Philippine Open Data Task Force embarked on the initiative with a view towards making the government more open, accountable and responsive to citizens by providing accessible government data in a single portal and open format. However, an examination through the lens of Anthony Giddens' structuration theory reveals that the project falls short in enabling a transformation of the state-citizen relationship.

This research tried to look at the shifts in meanings and power, as well as new norms of engagement that are emerging with the introduction of technology and how these new norms are legitimizing the structures and procedures of e-government. It did so by focusing on open data in the Philippines and how it is being practiced, and examined how transformative open data has been.

The findings show that open data has the potential to transform governance, including the delivery of services and citizen participation. It can create opportunities that will benefit the public. However, such potential has not been maximized due to a low level of understanding and appreciation of what open data is all about, and limited public engagement in the development of open data.

4.1. Adoption of Open Data

By the end of June 2016, over 3,000 files of data were available in data.gov.ph. However, as the Open Data Task Force focused on national government agencies in the executive with regard to promoting the program and cooperation in the release of open data, these files came from a select few agencies in the executive branch. As stated in the JCMs issued by the Task Force, the judiciary, legislature, and independent constitutional bodies were only encouraged to practice open data, but were not required to.

The publication of data was not an issue among senior officials of government agencies. There was acceptance among them of the need for greater transparency and buy-in to the project of opening up open data sets. The primary challenge was getting agencies to publish data in open and machine-readable formats, which required a wider paradigm shift in the culture of the agencies. While most agencies were quick to recognize both the opportunities and risks and move ahead with it, some agencies seemed unable to tolerate the risks of open data.

For those agencies that decided to practice open data, the challenges were varied. A common issue was the lack of capacity in information management. Some agencies had no personnel tasked with managing agency data in the first place. Even for those that had provided or had decided to provide staffing, there was a shortage of personnel with technical skills on data. The Task Force realized that data is yet to be treated by government agencies as an asset to be managed. A clear proof of this was when the Task Force requested agencies to submit an Agency Data Inventory (ADI), and less than 20 agencies submitted their inventories (Open Data Philippines, 2015). The common feedback was that creating an inventory of data was new to most agencies. Before the ADI was requested, even maintaining a metadata inventory was not common practice among government agencies.

Nevertheless, some agencies demonstrated exemplary compliance. For example, the Department of Finance developed its statistics microsite as the Department's open data portal. Similarly, the Department of Social Welfare and Development created their open data microsite. The Department of Justice made compliance with open data a requirement to their performance-based bonus. The Philippine Government Electronic Procurement System (PhilGEPS) possesses the biggest open data API in the Philippine government, with millions of procurement records (Open Data Philippines, 2015). The country's Bottom-up Budgeting program, an inter agency initiative, likewise practiced open data by building its own portal not only for transparency, but also for monitoring and evaluation purposes. An exemplary dashboard in the portal is the one developed by the Bureau of Customs, which visualized imports data that had never been published before.

With varying levels of how open data was accepted by agencies, the Task Force rolled out a tool called Benchmark on Readiness for Open Agency Data (BROAD), which assesses the readiness

of agencies to implement open data (Open Data Philippines, 2015). It looks at how agencies assess themselves in the following areas: leadership, strategic or policy framework, data management systems, organizational structure, engagement practices, knowledge and skills, financing and budget, and technological infrastructure. This was applied to 23 agencies to get a better idea of how to engage with each agency.

Based on the benchmarking, the following insights emerged, on the conditions under which open data initiatives are effective:

Leadership and formal authority is key. There has to be a directive from senior leadership and / or a written issuance on the practice of open data even before the first step begins. While agencies such as DILG, DOF, and PhilGEPS initiated their open data initiatives from unwritten directives of key senior officials, there were those such as DOJ and DSWD that initiated their open data practice through written and formal orders. A formal policy instrument is key in ensuring that open data practice is strategic and sustainable. According to one of the key informants, the Task Force believed that executive champions and policies – at least internal department orders – would "build a hydra" inside the government that would continue open data practice and would endure organizational and leadership changes.

One case where this element of executive leadership came into play was that of the Bureau of Customs (BOC). One of the key informants from the former Open Data Task Force cited the role of former Commissioner John "Sunny" Sevilla as instrumental in revolutionizing data governance in the Bureau. Sevilla, a "data guy," personally processed and released BOC data, a first in the agency's history. Also under Sevilla's leadership, the BOC launched *Customs ng Bayan*, a microsite that makes key customs data publicly accessible. They also launched a separate Customs section on the National Open Data portal. In an article about *Customs ng Bayan* published on Rappler.com, a group of analysts pointed out that by June 2014, the BOC had released extensive information on about 90,000 import entries, which was accompanied by a call for the public to help analyze and fact-check the released datasets. The data released included key information such as product type, country of origin, and duties and taxes collected. The authors asserted that the initiative could have led to higher revenues for the agency and that it could have played a significant role in sustaining reforms beyond the Aquino administration (Mendoza *et.al* 2014).

Implementation follow-through. In addition to designating a senior official to lead the open data initiative, there is also a need to designate at least one technical level personnel to ensure that the directives are followed through. On numerous occasions, excitement and willingness from the senior officials did not translate into immediate action as the directive lost its energy as it went down to technical implementation. On the other hand, there are also success stories about the initiative taken by technical personnel. One developer eventually became instrumental in implementing the BROAD tool and creating the open data action plan of the National Anti-Poverty Commission.

Iterative, rather than 'big bang' approach to publishing open data. The most effective way of letting agencies take the first step was getting them to publish data that already existed internally and then iterate further. The recommendation of the Task Force was for agencies to begin by identifying a tabular dataset that can clearly be released to the public and simply publish it both on their agency website and data.gov.ph as is, even if in PDF formats and without metadata. The next step then could be publishing the same dataset in open data format either by scraping the PDF or recovering the original dataset in .CSV or .XLS format, even in cases where it has not been properly structured or curated. Following this, measures could be taken for structuring the dataset in machine-readable form, creating metadata, and recovering related documents that further

contextualize the dataset. Most agencies that were early adopters of open data practice started their practice this way.

Widespread implementation of open data appears to be daunting as most agencies do not have robust interoperable information systems or a culture of treating data as assets. In fact, some of the agencies had never released any data to the public or even had any data archive prior to the ODP implementation. One such agency is the Bureau of Customs, whose first dataset was released by then-Commissioner Sevilla in 2013. Not only did the Task Force have to deal with institutional capacity issues, the biggest challenge was transforming the mindset and attitudes of officials on the value of open data.

4.3. Public Engagement

It was clear with the discussions with one member of the Task Force that the ODP was not targeted towards the general public but towards intermediaries such as government agencies and NGOs who can then make use of and disseminate the data to specific sectors and users that have a need for it. As the informant stated, their mindset was that open data is not actually for the public and a supply chain is needed for it to get to the public. This supply chain consists of civil society and government agencies as data and information intermediaries. These sector-specific "infomediaries" are then the ones that process and relay such data to the wider public. However, as with government agencies, NGOs in the Philippines do not have sufficient appreciation of the value of data as an asset. This made it the priority of the Task Force to train and build champions not only within the government but in civil society as well.

Most events with civil society organizations (CSOs) were structured as both an orientation on basic open data principles and a consultation of priority datasets. By 2015, these evolved to capacitybuilding activities upon the invitation of civil society partners. For instance, a common request from CSOs was for trainings on data scraping, to address challenges of working with data locked in unreadable files such as scanned copies of spreadsheets.

An example of a concrete output arising from such civil society consultations is the scraped data from the Department of Interior and Local Government's Full Disclosure Policy Portal (FDPP). In the open data skills trainings conducted by the Task Force with local civil society organizations outside Metro Manila, a common feedback received was the need to make available two specific datasets from the FDPP as open data: the dataset on Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA) and on funds for Disaster Risk Reduction and Management (DRRM). Considering these results, the DILG committed to make more datasets available in open data formats.

On a strategic level, the Task Force considered forming an open data advisory board, similar to the UK's Public Sector Transparency Board. The idea was to form a group comprising leading voices from civil society, media, and the private and technical sectors so that the open data program can integrate perspectives from key constituencies and broaden its impact.

Apart from CSOs, the other priority sector for public outreach was the technical community. The main form of outreach was through the three hackathons that the Task Force organized. The first one, in November 2013, focused on the national budget, using data provided by the DBM (Open Data Philippines, 2013). This led to the development of a complex API holding budget data from 2009 to 2012. Interestingly, one hackathon participant was a member of the House of Representatives. The second one, in May 2014, was on disaster risk reduction and management of data from relevant agencies and most especially from Project Nationwide Operational Assessment of Hazards (Project NOAH). The third hackathon, held in November 2014, was in

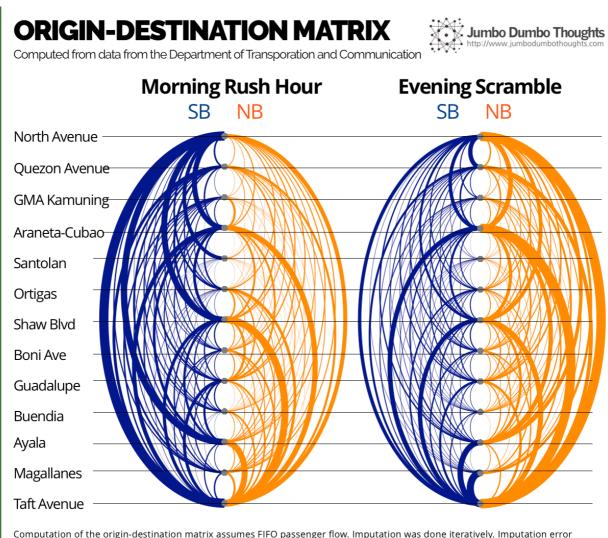
partnership with the Procurement Service, with participants using data from PhilGEPS. Another customized API was built for this hackathon, which continues to be in use on the existing procurement dashboard in the open data portal.

A critical takeaway from these hackathons is the issue of sustainability of the winning applications - whether these be civic in nature or with a business model. To date, none of the winning apps have been pursued and maintained successfully. While the hackathons may have introduced the concept of open data in the government to the technical community, the viability of open data apps, civic or commercial, remains unexplored in the Philippines.

Nevertheless, some of the data released under the ODP initiative has been used by researchers and media. For example, Troy James Palanca, an economist and data scientist, produced data visualizations of MRT (Metro Rail Transit) ridership and capacity based on data provided by the Department of Transportation and Communication. He has also done visualizations of data from the Department of Education and the Commission on Elections. The MRT visualization and analysis, for one, was picked up by Philippine media outfits Rappler and GMA News to direct public attention to the issue of MRT capacity.

Another success story when it comes to public engagement is the CSO alliance that was formed in the province of Cotabato as a result of open data engagement. E-Net, a network of educators from all over the Philippines first engaged with open data because of its advocacy in increasing and strengthening the Special Education Fund (SEF) for the province. The network then implemented the Open Data Project for Special Education (ODPSE) under the Open Data for Transparency Project, which was managed by the World Wide Web Foundation's Open Data Lab Jakarta and funded by the Southeast Asia Technology and Transparency Initiative (SEATTI) (E-Net Philippines, n.d.). The project enabled a group of *ustadz* or Islamic teachers to use data released under the FDP, specifically SEF budget data, in negotiating with local government officials to grant their funding request. As a result, the LGUs agreed to cover their salaries and uniforms. Another key outcome of the project was the creation of a new civil society alliance of more than a dozen CSOs that use open data tools for their advocacies (Cañares, 2016).

Figure 1. Visualization of Metro Rail Transit Passenger Flow



2017

Computation of the origin-destination matrix assumes FIFO passenger flow. Imputation was done iteratively. Imputation error of ~4% remains, due to imbalance of entries and exit.

Source: Department of Transportation and Communication (Palanca, 2015)

4.4. Demand-led Open Data Portals

On the whole, open data and its related projects were unilaterally initiated by the Task Force or government agencies. In the course of the program's implementation, there were opportunities wherein open data initiatives were launched as a response to public demand. Notable examples are the Foreign Aid Transparency Hub (FAITH) and the Philippines Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) contracts portals.

Foreign Aid Transparency Hub. When typhoon *Haiyan* struck and the relief efforts poured in, especially from other countries and international organizations, demand for transparency and accountability on the donations was a hot topic and subject of media scrutiny. As a response, the Task Force developed and launched the Foreign Aid Transparency Hub, a microsite providing open data on calamity assistance pledged and given by countries and international organizations. This was immediately put up a week after typhoon *Haiyan*, in November 2013.

In the beginning, the data published were a compilation of official reports submitted by select government agencies. Later on, the portal included a functionality whereby Philippine embassies abroad were provided with login accounts for them to input donations, as reported by the donor countries.

While limited to donations and assistance from foreign sources, the portal provided a degree of confidence that the government monitored the donations pouring in and put it out in the public domain. It also published how much was pledged by each donor versus how much was received in the country, whether by the Philippine government or non-government relief agencies. This particular data point attempted to quell concerns on the disparity between how much was being pledged as reported in the media and how much was actually donated and received.

PH-EITI contracts portal. With EITI implementation and open data being both commitments in the Governance Cabinet Cluster and to OGP, both initiatives decided to collaborate to enable the Philippines EITI process to be a model open data initiative as well. The highlight of this was the development of the contracts portal where in over 40 mining, oil, and gas contracts, with thousands of pages of annexes, were published using open data practices.

This was pursued by the Philippines-EITI Multi-Stakeholder Group and its secretariat because it was a key demand from civil society organizations in the extractives sector. Publication of the contracts and annexes itself, never done prior to the EITI process, was an exercise in transparency as lobbied by CSOs active in the EITI. The next step was releasing these documents in open formats available for convenient parsing and review by researchers, civil society, and other key stakeholders.

4.5. Aligning Supply and Demand-Then and Now

For governments hoping to adopt open data in policy and in practice, simply making data available to the public is not enough to make that data useful. Open data, though straightforward in principle, requires a specific approach based on the agency or organization releasing it, the kind of data being released and, perhaps most importantly, its targeted audience.

Open data from the government end was driven more by supply than by demand. Perhaps this was also the reason why some sectors or groups in government failed to fully appreciate open data. While there were efforts to introduce open data to the public through the portal, there was not much thought given to how the data provided by government agencies could be of use to them. Some public trainings were conducted for specific sectors, but these were few and sparse. Again, the digital divide was another challenge. Only those with connectivity would have access to the limited data that was published by government.

The longstanding lack of a Freedom of Information (FOI) law in the Philippines may have limited the appreciation of open data as a measure to step up transparency, both by the public and within government. Considering the absence of such law, the Task Force set out to structure the policies, technologies, and processes to make the program about building a culture of openness in the supply side.

While thousands of data that were never published before were pushed out because of the program and a new practice of open data was introduced to the government and the public, evidence of reuse of open data remain minimal. The challenge moving forward is building on the initial momentum and supporting the maturing of the program.

With a change of political administration in July 2016, the agencies managing the program changed as well, and the ODP is now being handled by the Presidential Communications Operations Office (PCOO). However, the new leadership has not set any clear direction for the program apart from intending to harmonize it with the Freedom of Information program.

With change comes the opportunity to evaluate the program from new and different perspectives. For example, the global movement on Sustainable Development Data, in light of the Sustainable Development Goals, may provide a new source of energy for the program. As the program sought to build an ecosystem, the new managers could work with the private sector and how their open data, not only government data, could lead to innovation and benefit society as a whole. As the introduction and implementation of open data under the Aquino administration was framed as a governance reform initiative, the new leaders can better highlight now the benefits of open data for commercial application and economic growth.

In December 2016, President Duterte signed Executive Order No. 9, creating an Office of Participatory Governance (OPG) under the Office of the Cabinet Secretary. The OPG is tasked to promote and ensure the direct participation of various stakeholders in the crafting and formulation of policies and programs to address concerns at the grassroots level and to initiate programs and projects that will facilitate citizen empowerment and participation in governance at the national, regional, and local levels. This, along with the Duterte administration's overall thrust towards responsive and effective leadership, has the potential to steer, or at the very least assist in, continuation of the ODP, specifically in institutionalizing openness as a key element of participatory governance.

However, what seems to be the most critical problem to be addressed is the deep-seated institutional issues that plague the Philippine government at all levels. There needs to be a drastic shift from the government culture of fear to that of openness, and this is not limited to open data. It involves even basic policies such as storing and managing government records. For instance, one of the key informants pointed out that up until 2013, the Commission on Audit had a policy that mentioned the use of floppy disks.

Applying Giddens' structuration lens, there has to be basic-level uprooting and rebuilding of the structures themselves, which will then complement the change in the agents as described above. Giddens asserts that social systems are driven and enacted by the constant interplay of structure and agency, which also creates social order.

Therefore, in looking at the struggle of the open data initiative to penetrate mainstream governance in the Philippines, one must look both at the agents (government and civil society) driving open data and the structures (the overall Philippine government) they operate in.

5. Conclusion

The last few years have seen the use of ICT-mediated processes for citizen engagement in the Philippines. All government agencies and most local government units have developed their own websites to inform the public about the work that they do, and in most instances to gain feedback. Social media is also widely used. In fact, in the 2016 national elections, candidates took to social media, especially Facebook, to promote their advocacies. Social media is said to have helped Duterte win the presidency (Guerrero, 2016). However, further study is needed to investigate the real impact of social media engagement in the broader context of transformative citizenship.

A few government agencies have also started crowdsourcing inputs from the public on proposed plans and policies of their respective agencies through electronic means. While this is not part of an open data initiative, some agencies seize the opportunity offered by technology to be able to reach out to and consult with a larger crowd. However, this is not yet a trend and there is no policy regarding such method of consultation.

Then, there is also open data that anyone can freely access, use and share. The Philippine experience with Open Data has revealed that while citizen involvement in open data initiatives increases knowledge, civic skills, and public engagement in governance processes and has the potential to contribute to decision-making, these effects are perceptible only to those taking part. When the number of participants is often small and particular groups are underrepresented, the benefits to individual democratic citizenship are far more conclusive than the benefits to democracy as a whole. As the new administration embarks on the path of harmonizing the Open Data and FOI initiatives, the primary challenge it must address is ensuring that the citizens have the access to the necessary infrastructure, technical capacity and literacy, and most importantly, it must be able to identify the data and / or information that citizens need, based on evidence. More importantly, administrators of the ODP should keep in mind that the quality of participation is necessary to ensure that the program meets its goal of contributing to participatory governance.

The use of ICTs in citizen engagement may be able to increase outreach but may not be necessarily transformative. The Philippine Open Data example reveals that for information access to be enabling, it has to be made available to the public in a format that they understand. They should also be made to understand its importance and effective uses. Furthermore, open data initiatives cannot succeed without an institutional framework and culture of openness, which includes interoperability of systems in government. Another aspect of developing such culture of openness is changing the attitudes of both government and public towards open data, as well as developing their technical capacity for information management. At the same time, for open data to be effective and for the public to appreciate it, they have to be involved in how it is being developed and used. The holding of public consultations, trainings for local government and CSOs, including the holding of competitions such as hackathons, all contribute to public involvement. Civil society should be engaged in the entire lifecycle of open data practice – from design to implementation to monitoring and evaluation. However, to ensure that what degree are the inputs and suggestions coming from the public are being used and incorporated, institutional mechanisms need to be strong.

Another factor that could significantly contribute to transformative citizen engagement is the formation of networks or coalitions of like-minded organizations with similar advocacies. This was clearly demonstrated by the success of the Open Data Project for Special Education in Cotabato, as cited in an earlier section. Likewise, the *Right to Know Right Now* coalition has been pushing for a Freedom of Information law for almost two decades, spanning multiple presidencies and Congresses. Although the coalition has not achieved its ultimate goal of having an FOI law passed, its active existence over time has built a wide-reaching network of advocates and solid and consistent points of advocacy. Such efforts gained partial fruition in the issuance of E.O. No. 02 in 2016.

Shifts in values and power play key roles in building a regime of openness in an environment like the Philippines. Philippine government agencies operate in a culture so deeply entrenched that a change in norms would have an effect in power dynamics as well, and vice versa. One relevant example cited by the Task Force was that some government employees were reluctant to release data for fear that they will be penalized by higher-ups, or that they will release wrong information to the public.

Such government culture tends impede new norms from emerging and serves as a barrier in building new governance regimes.

It can be said that although the initiatives described above introduce new platforms for citizen engagement, they do little to recast and redefine long-existing norms in Philippine governance. There is a need to further study how such initiatives can fully transform traditional governance structures and norms of citizen engagement.

The persisting digital divide and gaps in access in the Philippines is indicative of how the country lags far behind technological development. Unless these basic-level issues are first addressed, there will be little to no shifts in the agency of actors.

Most importantly, all these issues must be looked into and addressed with the politics of data in mind. Like in all other structures, power permeates all aspects of intervention, and the restructuring/re-structuration of data governance in the Philippines can only happen with significant shifts of power among existing agents (i.e., government agencies and certain parts of civil society), and must expand to include the larger public.

It is with these learnings and considerations in mind that we make the following recommendations:

- 1. Paradigm shift in the treatment of open data. Open data has to be appreciated for what it can do for governance. Data is a public good that can help make government work more efficiently and lead to better delivery of services for citizens.
- 2. Develop government-wide policies that employ the key principles of openness availability and access, reuse and redistribution, and universal participation (Open Knowledge International, n.d.) in the entire lifecycle of all government operations. This includes strengthening and ensuring effective implementation of existing interoperability frameworks.
- 3. Engage in campaigns and other initiatives to elevate the awareness of the public on the importance of open data in democracy. Efforts must be made to bridge whatever technological or cultural gap exists that may be intimidating the public from engaging in Open Data and/or FOI.
- 4. Engage multiple stakeholders from various sectors (civil society, academe, private sector) and regions in the process of FOI legislation.
- 5. Develop a continuous and programmatic multi-stakeholder monitoring process for FOI and Open Data initiatives to ensure that the needs of the public are being met and appropriate ICTs and channels are being utilized. Administrators of and contributors to the Open Data platform (the supply side) must be able to monitor and analyze how the data they provide is being used by the public and by civil society.
- 6. Pass a FOI law that covers offices and agencies in all branches of government, not just the executive. The principles of openness and transparency that underlies both FOI and Open Data must also be embedded / assimilated in the regular work of all government offices.
- 7. Invest in Internet access options beyond individual Internet access, to promote uptake of Open Data and FOI portals. Ensure that alternative options are available for those that would like to request or access information but do not have meaningful Internet access or the technological capability to process the available data.
- 8. Ensure interactivity and reciprocity in the design of FOI and Open Data mechanisms. Citizens must be able to engage critically with the information made available to them, not merely access or consume it. Feedback mechanisms, whether ICT-enabled or through consultative processes, must be kept in place to guarantee that citizen voice is heard and acted upon.
- 9. Develop ways by which the data and information made accessible by FOI and Open Data policies may be used for participatory rule-making and other democratic practices. Both

content and platform must be designed and implemented with a view towards enabling the public to participate in governance.

These recommendations are aimed towards building conditions in which ICT-mediated citizen engagement can better support and promote democratic governance. Specifically, the present study shows that to fully enable transformative citizen engagement, there must be an elimination of the digital divide, civil society participation in all stages of engagement, and institutionalization of participatory governance through legislation that will transcend leadership changes. Initiatives such as that on open data must also be seen as more than just a transparency initiative but an effort to build a broader culture of openness. As the Philippine experience in open data demonstrates, ICT-mediated citizen engagement can only effect significant changes in governance when operating within a set of established norms and values that encourage participation and democratic distribution of power and resources.

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Govt-End Analysis	Institutional Mediation Structures	ICT Mediation Structures
1.1. Signification / shift in meaning	a. What vision of citizen engagement informs emerging governance practices?	d. In the technological design of e-participation, what meanings and assumptions about participation, citizen will, citizen voice, citizen agency and deliberation are reflected?
	Greater efficiency, improved services, better accessibility of public services, and more transparency and accountability. These in turn will spur economic activity and improve social service delivery, thus improving standards of living (PDS 2011-2016).	People with access to technology can engage government, participate in deliberations, discussions even without being physically present. At the same time, feedback can be fast.
	b. What implicit and explicit premises underscore this vision?	
	An ICT-enabled transparent government will empower citizens and stakeholders. Open data is designed to encourage free flow of information within the government and between the government and the public. This is, in turn, hoped to improve efficiency in the delivery of government services and encourage public participation.	
	c. How is network governance or PPPs in governance changing the meaning of citizen participation?	
	The government will use PPPs and competitive processes to get the required quality and cost-efficient services from the private sector (PDS). PPP therefore facilitates the sharing of ideas and resources between the public and private sectors.	

Govt-End Analysis	Institutional Mediation Structures	ICT Mediation Structures
1.2 Legitimation / shift in norms	a. How are transparency, government responsiveness and social inclusion recast / redefined in emerging governance structures and	d. How do digitally mediated structures and processes (MIS, big data, biometrics, platform algorithms) influence norms of e-participation design, delivery and uptake?
	<i>practices?</i> Open Data makes a wide range of data and information available to the public. These are information that	The use of open formats makes digital data and key information accessible and useful to a greater number of people. Data portability, or the ability of data to be used in and compatible with different platforms
	 encourages accountability of government to the public. b. What are the emergent norms of citizen engagement (including policies for e-information, e-consultation, e- 	Big data analytics can be used to monitor and visualize the 'bigger' picture based on individual unprocessed data from various sources For example, Troy Palanca did a data visualization of MRT ridership and this has helped riders know when the MRT's capacity is at its peak. Palanca used MRT ridership data that was
	decision making)? Use of big data for visualization; also to get the big picture of things in order to make informed decision	released by the Department of Transportation and Communication.
	c. How are norms of decision making changing?	
	The government is willing to take into account the e-inputs of citizens into the decision making process. The government informs its citizens on what decisions have been taken based on the consultation process.	
	A government connected to its citizens makes it possible to build consensus or gather feedback in a shorter period of time.	
	Social media plays a big role now in politics, including elections. In the case of the Philippines, the incumbent President was catapulted to office largely as a result of his strong social media following.	

Govt-End Analysis	Institutional Mediation Structures	ICT Mediation Structures
	Another example of shifts in decision-making norms is that the government consulted with the people after finishing the draft of the cybersecurity plan. The plan was published online to solicit comments.	
1.3 Domination / shift in power	 a. What changes are evident in the following areas and how do they change state- citizen power: in the locus of authority in the layers of intermediation in transparency, accountability and inclusion? In the locus of authority, there needs to be leadership to encourage the use of open data. In the layers of intermediation, the use of ICT-mediated tools and apps cuts the red tape. One need not go through a third party to voice their concerns or transact with the government. In transparency and accountability - Publication of contracts and budgets (PhilGEPS); publication of donations for typhoon Haiyan (FAITH) make government projects and transactions more transparent. b. How are various interests and competing claims accommodated and addressed? The more influential, or the bigger the number, or the louder the voice - then the claims are accommodated and addressed. 	c. How do techno-design structures and processes of government shift power between state and citizen? They allow citizens to participate in processes that were previously unavailable to them. They provide information that were previously not accessible to them. Not all techno-design structures and processes of government are user friendly and easy to navigate. Because not everyone is able to access, there should be parallel tech and non- tech efforts.

Govt-End Analysis	Institutional Mediation Structures	ICT Mediation Structures
Citizen-End Analysis 1.1. Signification / shift in meaning	In many cases, issues or claims brought to the attention of media get government attention and are acted upon. Institutional Mediation a. What assumptions about governance and public service delivery inform citizen engagement? Government is there to serve public interests. Public service should be defined by the needs and demands of the citizens. b. What new civil society formations define citizen engagement with government? (eg., new democratic movements) Like-minded organizations and groups with similar advocacies coming together to form networks or coalitions (e.g., Right to Know Right Now coalition of Freedom of Information advocates; Transparency and Accountability Network)	ICT Mediation Structures ICT Mediation C. How are citizenship practices recast through new ICT channels? Submission of application forms through online means; Voting (automated elections); Electronic payments (e.g., taxes, government contributions); Texting government agencies; Use of social media to express one's views; NBI clearance application, passport application; PhilGEPS for government contracts d. How do emerging techno-mediated citizen engagement spaces (portals, mobile-apps, twitter townhalls) impact citizen agency, dialogue, negotiation and voice and right to be heard? Almost all government agencies, as well as local government units, have websites that provide information. Many have feedback mechanisms. There is a need to inform citizens about available government apps, as well as make them understand its relevance to them so that they may use them. Facebook and Twitter accounts are used mostly for announcements and not much to engage with public (C. David, 2016). However, even this kind of information delivery is limited to those with access to the internet. In the case of open data, hackathons were
		organized to engage the public on the use of open data. Unfortunately, there was not much support to the winning app.
1.2 Legitimation / shift in norms	a. How do new regulatory frameworks enhance / restrict citizen voice? (right to free speech / assembly, content regulation, censorship)	c. In what way have ICT capabilities become intrinsic to performing citizenship and exercising citizen voice? (i.e., learning to be a citizen) While social media, especially Facebook, are

Govt-End	Institutional Mediation	ICT Mediation Structures
Govt-End Analysis	Institutional Mediation Structures Provisions in certain laws are excessive. For instance, Sec. 4 (c) (1) of RA 10175 or the Cybercrime prevention act is about cybersex. It is overly broad and denies women their choices and the right to their sexuality. Another section of the same Act is on cyber libel, the	ICT Mediation Structures popular, they have not been transformed into viable tools whereby citizens can actively engage their government. There is a need to educate and capacitate citizens to appreciate and know how ICT and ICT mediated tools such as open data can benefit them. Involved citizens generally have positive attitudes about the process and the outcome, whereas those who do not participate are less supportive.
	penalty of which is one degree higher than offline libel. Libel or defamation has been decriminalized in other countries.	Supportive.
	NTC Memorandum Circular No. 0101, S. 2014 bans porn sites in a move to crack down on child pornography (based on RA 9775 or Anti-child pornography Act). This directive has resulted in full blockage of entire sites.	
	This has raised concern about censorship and the possibility of infringement of the right to access and free expression. This could also provide means for the government to block content they find objectionable.	
	Leadership is crucial. In the case of open data, if an official of a government agency understands its relevance, then relevant data is released in the proper format.	
	b. How are citizen perceptions of government responsiveness altered?	
	If government is able to provide portals, platforms, or other means to respond to needs of citizens, they are	

Govt-End Analysis	Institutional Mediation Structures	ICT Mediation Structures
	seen as responsive. For example, the ustadz from Mindanao found open data provided by government as useful to them. It is a matter sometimes of knowing what data there is and how to use it.	a What taabaa aanabilitiga madiata aitizan
1.3 Domination / shift in power	 a. How is power distribution evidenced in civic life (citizen participation, citizen will, citizen voice, citizen agency and deliberation)? ICT has provided citizens with tools to engage government, to express themselves, and to voice out their concerns and ideas, but only those with access and also skills can partake in such engagement. b. Do emerging spaces of citizen engagement reflect / promote pluralism and diversity? (Are ICT mediated spaces in citizen engagement becoming echo chambers reinforcing the status quo or are they disruptive?) They are divisive in the sense that only those with access to ICT and those with capacity and knowledge are able to exploit various uses of ICT for their empowerment. They are disruptive in the sense that there are new tools and practices that citizens use to call on their governments. 	 c. What techno-capabilities mediate citizen engagement online? Literacy / Knowledge of how to navigate the web, how to use social media, available mobile apps. d. How do patterns of access impact political voice? Those without access are often marginalized, and their voices are weaker. Quality of access has to be considered, too. For example, those using Free Basics are unable to access full news stories on Facebook (only the headline is displayed). Thus their capacity to comment and/or gain knowledge is affected. There is access but it does not allow them to be critical in their engagement.

Citizen-End Analysis	Institutional Mediation	ICT Mediation
1.1. Signification /	a. What assumptions about governance and public service	c. How are citizenship practices recast through new ICT channels?

Citizen-End Analysis	Institutional Mediation	ICT Mediation
shift in	delivery inform citizen	
meaning	engagement? Government is there to serve public interests. Public service should be defined by the needs and demands of the citizens.	Submission of application forms through online means; Voting (automated elections); Electronic payments (e.g., taxes, government contributions); Texting government agencies; Use of social media to express one's views; NBI clearance application, passport application; PhilGEPS for government contracts
	b. What new civil society formations define citizen engagement with government? (eg., new democratic movements)	d. How do emerging techno-mediated citizen engagement spaces (portals, mobile-apps, twitter townhalls) impact citizen agency, dialogue, negotiation and voice and right to be heard?
	Like-minded organizations and groups with similar advocacies coming together to form networks or coalitions (e.g.,	Almost all government agencies, as well as local government units, have websites that provide information. Many have feedback mechanisms.
	Right to Know Right Now coalition of Freedom of Information advocates; Transparency and Accountability Network)	There is a need to inform citizens about available government apps, as well as make them understand its relevance to them so that they may use them.
		Facebook and Twitter accounts are used mostly for announcements and not much to engage with public (C. David, 2016).
		However, even this kind of information delivery is limited to those with access to the internet.
		In the case of open data, hackathons were organized to engage the public on the use of open data. Unfortunately, there was not much support to the winning app.
1.2 Legitimation	a. How do new regulatory frameworks enhance / restrict citizen voice? (right to free speech / assembly, content regulation, censorship)	c. In what way have ICT capabilities become intrinsic to performing citizenship and exercising citizen voice? (i.e., learning to be a citizen) While social media, especially Facebook, are
	Provisions in certain laws are excessive. For instance, Sec. 4 (c) (1) of RA 10175 or the Cybercrime prevention act is about cybersex. It is overly broad and denies women their	popular, they have not been transformed into viable tools whereby citizens can actively engage their government. There is a need to educate and capacitate citizens to appreciate and know how ICT and ICT mediated tools such as open data can benefit them.
	choices and the right to their sexuality.	Involved citizens generally have positive attitudes about the process and the outcome, whereas those who do not participate are less

Citizen-End Analysis	Institutional Mediation	ICT Mediation
•	Another section of the same Act is on cyber libel, the penalty of which is one degree higher than offline libel. Libel or defamation has been decriminalized in other countries.	supportive.
	NTC Memorandum Circular No. 0101, S. 2014 bans porn sites in a move to crack down on child pornography (based on RA 9775 or Anti-child pornography Act). This directive has resulted in full blockage of entire sites.	
	This has raised concern about censorship and the possibility of infringement of the right to access and free expression. This could also provide means for the government to block content they find objectionable.	
	Leadership is crucial. In the case of open data, if an official of a government agency understands its relevance, then relevant data is released in the proper format.	
	b. How are citizen perceptions of government responsiveness altered?	
	If government is able to provide portals, platforms, or other means to respond to needs of citizens, they are seen as responsive. For example, the ustadz from Mindanao found open data provided by government as useful to them. It is a matter sometimes of knowing what data there is and how to use it.	
1.3 Domination / shift in power	a. How is power distribution evidenced in civic life (citizen participation, citizen will,	c. What techno-capabilities mediate citizen engagement online?

Citizen-End Analysis	Institutional Mediation	ICT Mediation
	citizen voice, citizen agency and deliberation)?	Literacy / Knowledge of how to navigate the web, how to use social media, available mobile apps.
	ICT has provided citizens with tools to engage government, to express themselves, and to voice out their concerns and	d. How do patterns of access impact political voice?
	ideas, but only those with access and also skills can partake in such engagement.	Those without access are often marginalized, and their voices are weaker.
	b. Do emerging spaces of citizen engagement reflect / promote pluralism and diversity? (Are ICT mediated spaces in citizen engagement becoming echo chambers reinforcing the status quo or are they disruptive?)	Quality of access has to be considered, too. For example, those using Free Basics are unable to access full news stories on Facebook (only the headline is displayed). Thus their capacity to comment and/or gain knowledge is affected. There is access but it does not allow them to be critical in their engagement.
	They are divisive in the sense that only those with access to ICT and those with capacity and knowledge are able to exploit various uses of ICT for their empowerment.	
	They are disruptive in the sense that there are new tools and practices that citizens use to call on their governments.	