

Participation of Persons Deprived of Liberty in Disaster Risk Reduction in Philippine Jails

KATHLEEN E. PULANGCO
President Ramon Magsaysay State University

LOUISE ANTONETTE T. SANDOVAL
Philippine Army

AIZEL G. BUENAVENTURA
University of Perpetual Help System Dalta

KERR JOHN N. CARLOBOS
Provincial Government of Agusan Del Sur

KATE ANJELA C. RELAMPAGOS
Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila

LOUISE RACHEL R. SANTIAGO
Department of Foreign Affairs

JOSELLE S. VELASCO
San Sebastian College-Recoletos

Incarceration facilities in the Philippines are vulnerable to impacts of natural disasters. The lack of research and policy intervention in this area of prison management and governance, coupled with existing natural hazards and other vulnerabilities, makes persons deprived of liberty (PDLs) a high risk but low priority minority group in disaster management. This study looks into the situation of PDLs in four selected Philippine jails, namely, city jails of Caloocan, Manila, and Tacloban, and San Mateo Municipal Jail. It presents the recurring patterns and observable behavior of PDLs during disaster events and the level of their participation in disaster risk reduction management (DRRM) programs. Current prison management policies prohibit PDLs from assisting with the prison administration. However, a gap in policy and practice caused by lack of personnel and resources makes the participation of PDLs necessary. Although further research is needed to identify the underlying mechanisms and relations, findings suggest the advantages of formalizing PDL participation in DRRM to achieve better operationalization of DRRM-related activities and attaining orderly prison management.

Keywords: *participation, Philippine jails, persons deprived of liberty, disaster risk reduction and management, natural hazards*

Philippine jails and prisons, similar to other communities, are vulnerable to disasters. Persons deprived of liberty (PDLs) acknowledge that they are surrounded by threats, such as illness, violence, and hunger, among others. However, Gaillard et al. (2016) argue that “natural hazards rank high amongst the threats inmates and prisoners face in Philippine jails and prisons” as it “disrupt[s] inmates’ and prisoners’ daily routine” (pp. 5-6). Aside from the risk posed by the occurrence of disaster events, rehabilitation facilities also suffer from the recurring problems of lack of resources, overcrowding, deprivation of social networks, and other internal vulnerabilities. Since jails and prisons in the Philippines are overcrowded, a larger number of PDLs are exposed to potential harm when such facilities are located within hazard-prone areas (Gaillard et al., 2016, p. 6). To cope with these internal conditions and aggravating events, PDLs devised a social system inside the jail where they utilize their capacities and skills to prepare for and respond to a disaster event.

When disasters strike, the struggles of PDLs are often hidden from public view. This topic has also received minimal attention from both scholars and policymakers as manifested by the lack of studies exploring the vulnerabilities of prisons and PDLs in facing hazards and how to strengthen their capacities to mitigate, prepare for, respond to, and recover from the effects of disasters. Upon review of policy documents in the Philippines, it was observed that there are no existing provisions that specify the situation, role, and participation of PDLs in disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM). Faced with more pressing issues such as improving facilities, dealing with sanitary and health concerns, and managing limited resources, DRRM-related activities are pushed aside. These issues show the need to strengthen DRRM policies in correctional facilities. However, the lack of resources is already a major challenge in itself. Responding to disasters seems to rank low in terms of priority of jail administrators. This challenge pushes PDLs to look for an alternative solution through participation.

Though the existence of studies on PDL involvement during disaster planning and preparedness remains to be scarce, some existing information prove that PDLs have the capacity to act and even help the community during disasters. One example is the firefighting force CALFIRE crews composed of PDLs of California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (Brooker, 2013 as cited in Smith, 2016, p. 14). These teams are responsible for responding to emergencies such as fires, earthquakes, search and rescues, and other community emergencies. Another case showing the potential of PDL participation in disaster response is the formation of the *bui* squad or prison squad in Palu Detention Center during the Palu earthquake in Indonesia in 2019 (Rayda, 2019). The squad came to the assistance of various organizations in distributing food, clearing rubbles, and other activities to help rebuild the city.

In light of recent catastrophic events that affected jails and PDLs, Gaillard et al. (2016) looked into the gaps in policies and practices in how the Bureau

of Jail Management and Penology (BJMP) and Bureau of Corrections (BuCor) addressed DRRM-related issues and concerns in jail facilities, specifically in Metro Manila during Typhoon Ondoy in 2009 and in Eastern Visayas during Typhoon Yolanda in 2013. The study noted the conditions of the facilities as well as the high congestion of PDLs that make them more vulnerable to hazards. Gaillard et al. also examined the capacities of PDLs to respond to disasters given the social structure that exists in the Philippine prison system. The study also took note of specific practices of PDLs in Philippine jails in responding to disaster events. In one of the cases presented, Gaillard et al. underscored the effective utilization of PDL participation in San Mateo Municipal Jail during Typhoon Ondoy. The administrators of the said facility tapped the PDL social system in organizing them for DRRM.

According to Gaillard et al. (2016), the informal PDL social system is the primary inter-relational support system being operationalized by the PDLs to meet their basic needs, especially during disasters. The *brigada*, the highest social network among PDLs, is comparable to people's organizations and is often related to gangs (Candaliza-Gutierrez, 2012). The brigada plays an important role in the overall informal governance inside jail facilities. It gives support to build infrastructures and additional assistance to PDLs in times of major emergencies or disasters in exchange for political allegiance (Gaillard et al., 2016). This tapping of available resources shows that PDLs have capacities that may be used in times of disasters.

Various studies underscored the essential role of participation in DRRM. The Hyogo Framework acknowledged the essential role of participation in DRRM. Priority for Action 1 of the Hyogo Framework states that "governments or nations must ensure that disaster risk reduction (DRR) is a national and local priority through community participation" (Phiri, Van Nikerk, & van Eeden, 2016, p. 5) to address local needs. In the context of community-based disaster management, people's participation treats community members as "the main actors and propellers... as they also directly share in the benefits of disaster risk reduction and development" (Victoria, n.d., p. 276). Participation is a way of empowering citizens by allowing them to take pride in making a difference and being entrusted with responsibilities in pursuing disaster mitigation and preparedness. This empowerment leads to ownership and commitment to plans and programs, which result in a concerted action towards DRRM. When DRR is put into the context of the locality and capacities of which are recognized, it produces appropriate and doable solutions that are, at the same time, cost-effective and sustainable (Victoria, n.d.). Without active participation, community members may become reliant on relief and emergency supplies without reducing their risks and vulnerabilities to future disasters.

As demonstrated in the experiences of CALFIRE, the bui squad of Palu, and the PDLs of San Mateo Municipal Jail, PDLs have the capacity to become

responders to emergencies and not mere receivers of service. However, there is a need for focused studies on the participation of PDLs in DRRM-related activities. Taking off from the study of Gaillard et al. (2016) on policies and practices as regards disaster risk reduction, this study zeroes in on determining PDL participation in DRRM-related activities in selected Philippine jails. It identifies how PDLs participate in DRRM as well as the extent and significance of their participation. It also explores the recurring factors that affect the participation of PDLs in DRRM-related activities in jails. This study modifies Arnstein's ladder of participation model to integrate the National DRRM Framework (National Disaster Risk Reduction Management Council [NDRRMC], 2011) to suit with the situation within jails. Finally, the study recommends possible courses of action for further improvement of DRRM in Philippine jails.

Framework and Methodology

To determine how PDL participation affects DRRM in jails, case studies were conducted on the male dorms of Manila, Caloocan, and Tacloban City Jails and the San Mateo Municipal Jail. The cases were chosen due to their history and experience of disaster events. These locations are particularly vulnerable to flooding and are hazardously placed near fault lines. Tacloban City Jail suffered from storm surges brought about by Typhoon Yolanda in 2013. The Manila City Jail is also susceptible to fire risks due to informal settlements in its perimeter. On top of the existing natural hazards, PDLs in these jails are also suffering from persisting vulnerabilities such as lack of access to resources, deprivation of social networks, and other internal vulnerabilities.

Since measuring tools necessary to establish a causal relationship between participation and the effectiveness of DRRM are lacking, the study limits itself to the participation of PDLs and how it affects the four aspects of DRRM (NDRRMC, 2011) in jails, namely (1) prevention and mitigation, (2) preparedness, (3) response, and (4) rehabilitation and recovery.

Framework

The framework of this study shows the relationship of the extent of participation of PDLs, modeled after Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969), with the disaster risk reduction and management plans and activities as provided in the Philippine National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management (NDRRM) Framework, drafted and adopted by the NDRRMC in 2011 in compliance with Republic Act 10121 or the DRRM Act of 2010.

Indicators used in this study are largely based on the NDRRM Framework in consideration with their applicability to the special nature of prisons (see Table 1). For disaster preparedness, indicators include prison/community awareness,

contingency planning, local drills and simulation exercises, and local disaster response plan. Meanwhile, indicators for disaster response are information dissemination relating to disasters and early recovery mechanism.

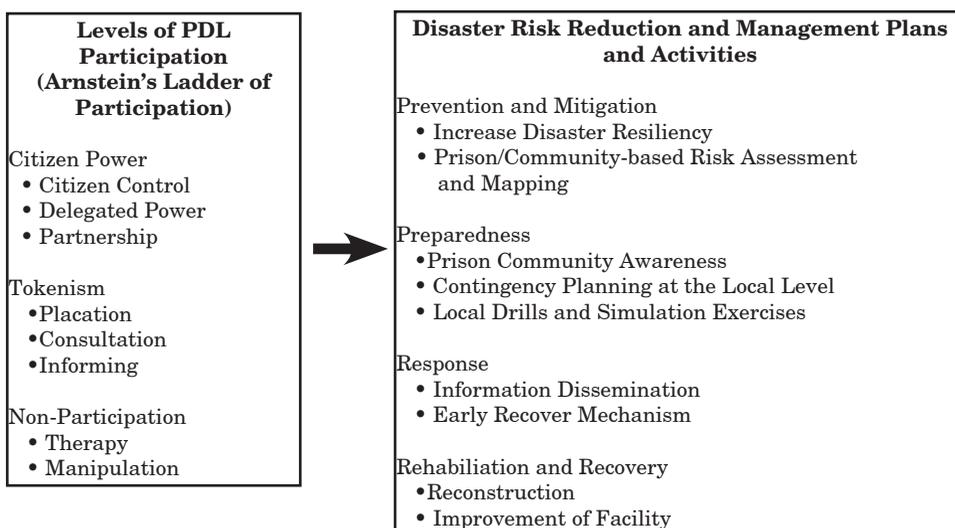
Table 1. DRRM Aspects, their Expected Outcomes, and Key Result Areas/Indicators

DRRM Aspect	Expected Outcome	Key Result Area/Indicator
Prevention and Mitigation	Avoided hazards and mitigated their potential impacts by reducing vulnerabilities and exposure and enhancing capacities of communities.	Increased disaster resilience of infrastructure systems – Existing infrastructures are improved or reinforced for decreased disaster risk. Prison/Community-based risk assessment and mapping – The evaluation and identification of potential risk, hazard, or vulnerability present for the appropriate implementation of risk reduction measures.
Preparedness	Established and strengthened capacities of communities to anticipate, cope, and recover from the negative impacts of emergency occurrences and disasters.	Prison/Community awareness – The PDLs are informed regarding the hazards, risks, vulnerabilities, and threats present in the community. Contingency planning at the local level – There is a contingency plan and PDLs are involved in developing the said plans in each jail. Local drills and simulation exercises – These are preventive measures to do in case of emergency.
Response	Provided life preservation and met the basic subsistence needs of affected population.	Information dissemination – PDLs have access to information especially during disaster events. Early recovery mechanism – This includes the presence of emergency assistance operations, spontaneous recovery initiatives, and long-term recovery.
Rehabilitation and Recovery	Restored and improved facilities, livelihood, and living conditions.	Reconstruction – It refers to the restoration of the living conditions prior to the occurrence of a disaster in the community. Improvement of facilities – Recovery measures that help restore the assets of the community while increasing resilience for future disasters and emergencies.

Adopted from NDRRM Framework (NDRRMC, 2011, pp. 18-19)

The researchers adopted the ladder of participation and related them to the indicators of disaster preparedness and response to determine how and to what extent do PDLs participate in DRRM related activities as well as to identify the significance of this participation in reducing their vulnerability. Given this, the framework of the study shows the extent of participation of the San Mateo Municipal Jail, Caloocan City Jail, Tacloban City Jail, and Manila City Jail in disaster preparedness, as reflected in the ladder of participation. Disaster response is the independent variable while the dependent variable is how the DRRM activities are affected by their participation. The framework shown in Figure 1 explains how the different levels of participation affect the DRRM-related activities.

Figure 1. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework



Indicators of Participation

Participation, adopted from the definition of Arnstein (1969), is the involvement of PDLs in sharing information, setting goals and policies, and operating programs. There are three categories of participation under this ladder, namely, non-participation, tokenism, and citizen power.

There are two levels under non-participation category: manipulation and therapy. Manipulation is manifested through a rubber stamp type of PDL participation. Therapy, on the other hand, uses conditioning to solve the problem.

The second category, tokenism, has three levels. The lowest level is informing, which involves a one-way communication process. The next level is

consultation, and then followed by placation (highest level), which both involves a two-way communication process. Placation, however, differs from consultation in such a way that the participants—in this case, the PDLs—are allowed to propose DRRM-related activities yet still under the control of an authority, which is the BJMP. The last category under the ladder of participation is citizen power, which also has three levels. Partnership happens when power is redistributed to all the stakeholders, meaning both the BJMP and PDLs have decisionmaking powers. Delegated power, on the other hand, allows PDLs to have dominant decisionmaking powers, and both the BJMP and PDLs can veto programs. In terms of citizen control, which is the highest level of participation, PDLs are fully in charge of the policy and managerial aspects of the program.

Methodology

This study utilizes a qualitative research design to determine how the participation of PDLs affects disaster response and preparedness. Using this study design, the researchers gathered data on: (1) the existing DRRM plans of the jail, (2) response mechanism of PDLs during disaster events, and (3) the level of their participation in DRRM programs and initiatives inside the jail. The data gathering method includes interviews with the BJMP wardens of Caloocan City Jail, San Mateo Municipal Jail, and Tacloban City Jail, and the chief records officer of Manila City Jail. Two sets of focus group discussions (FGDs) composed of 10-12 PDLs were also conducted in each jail. Additionally, the researchers gathered relevant records from the administrations in each jail, such as the jails' contingency plans, geohazard maps, and jail profiles, to add to the pool of information used in the analysis of data. To aid in the organization of data from interviews and FGDs, NVivo 11 software was used. Lastly, qualitative analysis was used to determine (1) the participation of PDLs in DRRM, (2) the level of their participation, and (3) the importance of PDL participation in the implementation of DRRM policies in jails.

Findings

Informal System Inside the Jail

A common observation in all four jail facilities is the presence of an informal social system. This informal social system is hierarchical with dominant PDLs acting as prison officers by assuming authority and taking on responsibilities in the day-to-day management of the cells or dormitories. This informal system was born out of the need for survival inside the jail. Given the lack of personnel, the jail administrators are tapping PDLs who assumed leadership positions to maintain the order in the cells, and ensure and monitor the needs and well-being of the PDLs. It is through this system that the jail administrators are able to communicate jail policies as well as to know the needs of the PDLs. Except from

some minor differences in the terms, designations, roles, and responsibilities of the PDL officers in the four jail facilities are almost similar. Table 2 provides a summary and comparison of the existing PDL social systems in all four case studies.

In Manila City Jail, they have what they call advisers, who are like counselors. These are PDLs who have previously done time at the New Bilibid Prison. They are believed to have the wisdom that could only come from having spent years in the national penitentiary. Each cell in the Manila City Jail also has an officer called chief rosary who acts as the cell’s spiritual leader. Unlike the *kulturero*/secretary in Manila City Jail who is mainly in charge of keeping records, the *kulturero*/secretary-treasurer in San Mateo Municipal Jail is the one responsible in reminding and informing the PDLs of the evacuation plan whenever a disaster is anticipated. There is also a treasurer in Tacloban City Jail whose main responsibility is to collect and safekeep pooled funds, which they can use for medicine and other emergency expenses.

Table 2. Informal System Inside the Four Jails

Roles	Designation in Respective Jails			
	Manila City Jail	Caloocan City Jail	San Mateo Municipal Jail	Tacloban City Jail
Representative of Dormitories	-	<p><i>Pangkalahatang mayor / chief coordinator</i> — the representative of the dorm during the weekly Monday meetings with BJMP officers. He is expected to take charge in implementing order among PDLs in the dormitory under his jurisdiction.</p> <p>Vice mayor/ assistant coordinator — serves as assistant to the pangkalahatang mayor.</p>	-	<p>Chief expediter — each of the two dorms has a chief expediter who serves as the overall head of the dorm and maintains a direct line to the jail warden through meetings.</p>

<p>Representative of Cells</p>	<p>Mayores — serves as the chairman and overall head of the cell who maintains a direct line to the jail warden through meetings. Some of the responsibilities of the mayores are to disseminate information to fellow PDL; communicate the requests of the PDLs to the BJMP officers; gather information sourced from lower rank PDL officers or from actual interaction and word-of-mouth; plan for development; coordinate the gathering of resources and support (financial, moral etc.); and make decisions for the general welfare of the whole cell to the extent of the degree of authority allowed by the PDL officers.</p> <p>Mayor / bise mayores - serves as alter ego of the mayores. He assists in the overall management of the affairs of their cell.</p>	<p>Mayor/coordinator — acts as the overall head of the cell. He attends to the needs of his cellmates.</p>	<p>Chief coordinator/mayor — the overall head of the cell. Some of the responsibilities of the chief coordinator/mayor are to disseminate information to fellow PDLs and send requests of the PDLs to the BJMP officers.</p> <p>Assistant coordinator/vice mayor</p>	<p>Expediter — serves as cell representative.</p>
<p>Maintains Peace and Order</p>	<p>Bastonero — equivalent to sergeant-at-arms inside the cell, in charge of maintaining peace and order.</p>	<p>Bantay-bayan — equivalent to sergeant-at-arms inside the cell, in charge of maintaining peace and order as well as monitoring the daily headcount of PDLs in each cell.</p>	<p>Bastonero</p>	<p>Trustees — equivalent to sergeant-at-arms inside the cell, in charge of maintaining peace and order.</p>
<p>Handles Concerns on Health & Cleanliness</p>	<p>Chief of medicine – in charge of the first aid kit.</p> <p>Bantay kalusugan –each cell has a PDL who is trained in first-aid. They address the health needs and concerns of their fellow PDL.</p>	<p>PDL trustees — tasked to identify PDL suffering from illnesses and to accompany them to the clinic. They also monitor the intake of medicine of their fellow PDLs.</p>	<p>Coordinator</p>	<p>Health worker (HW)</p>

<p>Mediates Dispute</p>	<p>Jury — each cell has a PDL in charge of running an unofficial justice system to mediate in disputes between PDLs.</p> <p>Paralegal — PDLs who serve as paralegal during mediations. These PDLs are often degree holders or at the very least have taken undergraduate law-related units.</p>			<p>Paralegal</p>
<p>PDL Monitoring</p>	<p>Kulturero - serves as liaison inside the cell who keeps track of fellow detainees' records, ensures they are prepared for court hearings, and is in charge of the daily head count</p>	<p>Pangkalahatang kalihim – tasked to consolidate detainees' records in each dormitory. All queries and important matters pass through him before the mayor pangkalahatan.</p> <p>Kalihim – three to four PDLs are designated as kalihim of the brigada/ pangkalahatan, who are assigned to attend to keep the records of their fellow PDL from different cells which they submit to the general secretary for consolidation. They also attend to the immediate concerns of their fellow PDLs. They report all PDL concerns to the general secretary, who then reports to the mayor pangkalahatan.</p>	<p>Gater – checks the headcount, maintains a list of PDLs per cell, and makes sure that all the PDLs are accounted for.</p>	

Housekeeping and Sanitation	Metro aids – PDLs who are tasked with ensuring cleanliness in the cells.	Kabo — These PDLs are chiefly tasked with ensuring the cleanliness of brigada.	Coordinator — tasked to oversee different departments, such as laundry, kitchen, housekeeping, health, and disaster. There are also coordinators for special services, religious services, visitation services, livelihood, and alternative learning system.	Coordinator — tasked to oversee different departments, such as laundry, kitchen, housekeeping, and health.
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Manila City Jail

The Manila City Jail, like many other jails in the country, suffers from congestion due to an occupancy rate that exceeds the intended capacity of the jail. The two-hectare facility in Sta. Cruz (Arcangel, 2016) district houses 5,798 PDLs (as of 1 January 2018; Tupas, 2018), exceeding its original capacity of 1,127 PDLs (Bureau of Corrections, n.d.) with only 12 personnel overseeing the jail population per shift.

Through the years, the PDLs of Manila City Jail are experiencing the effects of the infrastructural damage of the jail, resulting in flooding, roof leaks, and cramped spaces. In addition to this, the facility recently encountered frequent fire incidents that started from informal settlements that surround the jail facilities.

Although Philippine jails formally adhere to a management model of non-utilization of PDLs in administrative tasks, the jail administrator interviewed for the study admitted that scarce financial and manpower resources make the policy of non-utilization of PDLs in administrative tasks not feasible. Although not completely permitted policy-wise, the Manila City Jail spokesperson stated that they have enlisted PDLs' participation as a coping mechanism where a local informal system is entrusted with a limited amount of authority. In times of actual disasters, the participation and cooperation of PDLs are crucial for the success of the implementation of operation plans (OPLANs).

The jail administrator highlights the effectiveness of the Good Conduct Time Allowance (GCTA), a mechanism that reduces time to be served by PDLs

based on good behavior as provided by RA 10592 (CNN Philippines Staff, 2019), as inducement for PDL cooperation. The administrator also believes that the PDLs should be recognized as a partner, especially during disasters, in the policy level. Lastly, he recommends engaging PDLs as co-owners of the plans in facility development and PDL welfare.

Prevention and Mitigation

Increased Disaster Resilience of Infrastructure. The extent of PDL participation for this indicator is limited to placation. Due to their experience of frequent flooding that reached knee-deep, the PDLs came up with a suggested solution of soil consolidation as a means to elevate the ground level. The PDLs, through their mayores raised this suggestion to the BJMP officers during their regular meeting for approval, and has proven to be an effective measure against flooding. This initiative was funded by the PDLs themselves through the fund collection mechanism they have devised where the PDLs contribute according to their capacity. After experiencing fire incidents, the PDLs also developed a fire protection initiative of collecting water in barrels.

Prison/Community-Based Risk Assessment and Mapping. Therapeutic community meetings or *simbol* serve as avenues for PDL leaders to know the sentiments of their constituents, which they raise during their weekly dialogue with the BJMP officers. The PDLs are consulted by the BJMP officers in determining the prison conditions that might pose risks and threats, and/or aggravate existing vulnerabilities. The existence of these regular meetings is a manifestation of consultation as an extent of PDL participation in prison/community-based risk assessment.

Preparedness

Prison/Community Awareness. The extent of PDL participation for this indicator is limited to consultation. The mayores, who hold special power as the highest leader of their respective community, are the only ones entitled to have direct communication and discussion with key BJMP officers during monthly engagement meetings. During these meetings, updates on the upcoming activities (e.g., Fire Prevention Month Celebration, schedule of drills, etc.) are announced by the BJMP officers, while concerns within the jail such as the worsening condition of overcrowding and/or necessary improvements of the facilities are raised by the mayores. Every morning, the PDLs conduct simbol meetings where the PDL leaders relay the announcements given by the BJMP officers, and hear the concerns of their constituents that they will raise on their next meeting with the officers.

Contingency Planning at the Local Level. To effectively operate in the event of disasters, OPLANs, which serve as the jail's preparedness and contingency

plan, outlines the plan of action and tasking matrix of jail officers. The utilization of PDLs to assist personnel in evacuation or movement of PDLs is not recognized nor prescribed by the policies of the BJMP. Thus, the actual practice is inconsistent with the policy.

The level of PDL participation in the formulation of the OPLANs is limited to informing. Although PDLs are delegated with some degree of authority, PDLs are only afforded information that are deemed vital to them. The location of evacuation areas as well as the steps and procedures for immediate response during disasters are disclosed to the PDLs, but other confidential information (e.g., location of the command center) are not disclosed for security reasons. It is also evident in the FGDs that the PDLs in general have limited knowledge regarding the contingency plan. In fact, most of the PDLs are not fully aware of the existence of the said document.

Local Drills and Simulation Exercises. The frequency of conducting drills inside the jail depends on the priority of the jail warden, the availability of local agencies such as the Bureau of Fire Protection (BFP), and the number of selected PDLs allowed to participate in these activities. In their experience, only dorm representatives participate in the fire drills, while PDLs from selected dorms participate in the earthquake drill. According to the first batch of PDLs who participated in the FGD, none of them have participated in any drill, even if some of them have been in the facility for three years already. In fact, they have not heard of such activity.

The extent of PDL participation in the implementation of drills and simulation exercises is consultation. Suggestions or feedback of PDLs, are taken into account after the drills and simulation exercises. This is their channel to voice out recommendations to the BJMP officers. However, there is no guarantee that their suggestions and feedbacks will be actually integrated in the plans and be implemented.

Response

Information Dissemination. The role of PDLs in information dissemination is invaluable in establishing an effective communication network inside the jail. In their experience in the most recent fire incident, the PDLs used their alternative alarming instrument called the *batingting* (a makeshift metal bell) to make other PDLs and BJMP officers aware of the fire affecting the two dorms. The mayores was the first person to order the evacuation as he was at the scene when it happened. The said decision was made even before the evacuation order from the BJMP officers.

The extent of PDL participation in information dissemination is placation. According to PDLs, their knowledge from fire drills is sometimes not actually

followed in times of disaster. It is important to note that the final decision still lies with the BJMP officers. However, they allow the PDLs to have some degree of authority in cognizance of the PDLs' capabilities in disaster response.

Early Recovery Mechanism. The informal structures inside the PDL communities also assign them roles to play during disaster response. PDLs are either assigned to do the headcount, secure order, and/or serve as health officers. Mayores, on the other hand, can also make decisions such as ordering the evacuation of other PDLs as an immediate response. However, the final decision of whether or not to let them proceed with the evacuation still lies on the officers on duty. In this case, they decided to let the PDLs follow the decision of the mayores to evacuate for they deemed it to be a prudent decision during that situation. Therefore, plocation is the extent of PDL participation in the early recovery mechanism.

Rehabilitation and Recovery

Reconstruction. The extent of PDL participation in rehabilitation and recovery is plocation. The PDLs participated in post-disaster activities, like restoration, repair, cleaning, and salvaging of usable equipment and facilities, and raised emergency funds while waiting for the allocation from the LGU.

Improvement of Facilities. The extent of PDL participation in the improvement of facilities is plocation. The PDLs helped in identifying structural damages that needed to be repaired. They checked the electrical system and identified poor installation. The PDLs raised their concerns to the officers to address the problems. They improved the walls of the kitchen area and built concrete walls where they moved their portable camping stove, along with other flammable materials. Additionally, the PDLs built an elevated area made from wooden planks that serves as an evacuation area everytime there is flooding in the jail. It is commonly used as an extended area to accommodate more PDLs in each dorm. These initiatives were developed by the PDLs for improved fire safety considering the susceptibility of the jail. The PDLs proposed these initiatives to the BJMP officers and the latter approved these projects as they deemed it useful for the well-being of the PDLs.

Caloocan City Jail

The Caloocan City Jail, constructed in the early 90s, has 12 cells which can each hold nine PDLs. (Melican, 2013). However, as of 31 January 2019, the actual PDL population inside the facility is 2,737, way over the ideal capacity of 167 PDLs. This means that the facility has a congestion rate of 1,537%. The jail currently has 29 custodial jail officers and 17 escort jail officers overseeing the 11 PDL cells. Flooding is also common in the area, but recent road and drainage pump repairs considerably reduced the risk of flooding.

To respond to the recurring needs and existing risks, both the jail administrator and PDLs manifest the PDLs' participation to minimize the risks inside the jail facility. The warden considers security, above all, as the primary factor in decisionmaking.

Prevention and Mitigation

Increased Disaster Resilience of Infrastructure. The extent of PDL participation in increased disaster resilience is limited to consultation. An example of this was the recent effort to minimize flooding through the use of a water pump, which was an initiative of the jail administration. This was the result of the regular meetings between the jail administrator and the cell mayors wherein the PDLs voice out their pressing issues, concerns, and suggestions.

Prison/Community-Based Risk Assessment and Mapping. Aside from jail mapping, the Caloocan City Jail employs a geohazard map that contains the physical layout and terrain of the jail that are vital in identifying vulnerable areas. The geohazard map is important in the creation of the contingency plan for the jail. While the jail prioritizes security above all, the administration acknowledges the inputs from the PDLs while still reserving the right to final decisionmaking. Given that the PDLs are allowed to voice out their suggestions and concerns through their cell leaders during the weekly meetings, the level of participation for this aspect is consultation.

Preparedness

Prison/Community Awareness. The jail administration acknowledges the informal hierarchy formed inside the jail as well as the extent to which they utilize this hierarchy. The warden recognizes that the PDLs are deputized due to the jail's lack of resources, particularly in manpower. Like most jails, PDLs in Caloocan City Jail are allowed representation for meetings and table discussions with the administration. In their case, the jail leadership conducts meetings with cell mayors every Monday, Saturday, and Sunday. Internally, the PDLs organize their own meetings every Sunday. While representation is available, the participation of PDLs is limited to informing. All information and decisionmaking authority lie with the jail administration and are merely cascaded for information to the PDLs during table discussions and meetings between the administration and the mayors and pangkalahatang mayor.

Contingency Planning at the Local Level. While training jail officers and the conduct of table discussions are highly regarded, the jail warden also acknowledged the role of PDLs as augmentation to the limited number of jail staff given the jail population. However, the jail warden repeatedly emphasized that the jail administration and personnel must be the ones who are informed and who will plan and operationalize the OPLANs for evacuation and disaster

response. Internally, the jail prioritizes incident command system training for jail officers. With regard to the creation of OPLANs or the contingency plans of Caloocan City Jail for various calamities and events, the participation of PDLs is not considered for security purposes. Thus, the extent of participation of PDLs in this aspect is limited to informing.

Local Drills and Simulation Exercises. For simulation exercises, the extent of PDL participation is limited to consultation. PDLs are allowed to give their feedback and suggestions on the said activity when they conduct assessment, but there is no guarantee that their ideas would be operationalized. Due to congestion and lack of personnel, the conduct of simulation exercises or dry runs are conducted with a smaller group of PDLs randomly chosen to participate. These simulation exercises are conducted with focus on testing how knowledgeable and capable the jail officers are rather than educating the PDLs. Additionally, aside from disseminating information and communicating with other PDLs, PDL representatives are not given any specific functions during drills. To gauge the effectiveness of the OPLANs, the jail administration takes into account inputs and feedback provided by the PDLs during the dry run activities and applies adjustments to the plans accordingly.

Response

Information Dissemination. Due to the lack of personnel and pre-existing conditions such as overpopulation and jail congestion, the jail administration employs cell leaders or the mayors in the dissemination of information and communication. However, the PDLs are not given roles beyond that of communicating with other PDLs, maintaining order, and encouraging cooperation within the facility. In the same way, any concerns, suggestions, issues, and feedback from the PDLs are taken into account and deliberated upon. The two-way flow of communication reflects that the level of participation of PDLs in this aspect is consultation.

Early Recovery Mechanism. In the early recovery mechanism, the PDLs are mere receivers of information from the jail administration and they are only allowed to perform what the personnel instructs them. This was manifested during the response to the flooding event in 2014 where the PDLs had to wait for the directive of the jail personnel before initiating any action. The PDLs recounted the flooding event where the water level rose to the second *tarima* (bunk beds) and they had to wait for confirmation and instructions before moving to a higher ground. In this area of disaster response, the level of participation is limited to informing.

Rehabilitation and Recovery

Reconstruction. After flooding events, PDLs need to seek the permission of the jail authorities to conduct measures for rehabilitation and recovery within the

jail. Once the request for such action is approved, coordinators from the PDLs take on specific tasks such as cleaning and reconstruction. While the PDLs may initiate efforts for rehabilitation and recovery, the jail administration still has the final decision on the efforts to be undertaken, which reflects consultation participation level.

Improvement of Facilities. Likewise, the level of participation of PDLs in the aspect of improvement of facilities is limited to consultation. As long as measures taken are not deemed to be a threat to the level of security imposed inside the facility, the PDLs may initiate a renovation like increasing the elevation of tarima. Additionally, the PDLs, as the primary users of the facilities of the jail, helped in identifying areas or facilities that need to be repaired. These issues are then coursed to the jail warden through the regular meetings and are acted upon accordingly.

San Mateo Municipal Jail

Compared to other jails that have developed increased exposure to risks due to the gradual degradation through time, the San Mateo Municipal Jail was built on limited available land with insufficient attention given to disaster vulnerability. It was built on a flood-prone unelevated area below the main road.

As of February 2019, the jail report indicates a population of 557 PDLs in the male dormitories and 120 in the female dormitories. With a total cell area of 115 square meters for the four dormitories and ideal capacity of 34 PDLs, the congestion rate of San Mateo Municipal Jail is at 2221%. The jail has 39 effective personnel to oversee and address the needs of the entire jail population. Recent attempts to increase the space were made through vertical expansion of the buildings at the cost of increased vulnerability to earthquakes.

Aside from having contingency plans or OPLANs, the participation of PDLs is highly encouraged in preparation and response to disasters. Due to the lack of personnel, the use of an informal management system is evident inside the jail. In comparison to the other jails included in this study, the San Mateo Municipal Jail has high regard and appreciation for the PDLs' participation and contributions regardless of the existence or absence of a disaster event. The warden highly utilizes the PDLs as a "force multiplier" in the jail. Given this openness of the jail administration and the willingness of the PDLs to participate, good communication between the two parties is in place. This openness also enabled the PDLs to realize their capacities while the jail officers utilized their participation for better DRRM practices. Consequently, the PDLs also benefit from this cooperation through the GCTA mechanism that may possibly help shorten their prison sentences.

Prevention and Mitigation

Increased Disaster Resilience of Infrastructure. The San Mateo Municipal Jail was originally designed as a single-story building. To mitigate frequent flooding due to the facility's proximity to the Marikina River, another floor was added, which was funded by the LGU. The PDLs helped in the construction under the supervision of jail administrators. Hence, the level of participation of the PDLs for this indicator is limited to informing.

Prison/Community-Based Risk Assessment and Mapping. In terms of risk assessment and mapping, the jail administration expresses the vital role of PDLs in identifying risks within the prison cell. The warden conducts weekly meetings with the PDL leaders where the PDLs' concerns and/or suggestions are raised. The level of participation for this indicator is consultation since the administration solicits information from the PDLs. The information gathered is then used in creating the operation plans for the jail.

Preparedness

Prison/Community Awareness. The level of participation of PDLs in this indicator is consultation. During the weekly dialogues with the warden, the PDL coordinators are informed regarding the policies and protocols inside the jail. The PDL coordinators would then relay the information to their cell mates through their regular meetings. The coordinators are also in charge of orienting new PDLs. It is also during these regular meetings where the PDLs are given the opportunity to communicate with the BJMP officers regarding the conditions inside the prison cell that pose hazards and worsen vulnerability.

Contingency Planning at the Local Level. OPLANs serve as the jail's preparedness and contingency plan. Like the other jails, contingency plans are formulated by the administration. San Mateo Municipal Jail has different OPLANs for different disasters (e.g., OPLAN Baha [flood], OPLAN Sunog [fire], OPLAN Lindol [earthquake], etc.). The level of participation of the PDLs in contingency planning is consultation. According to the warden, the PDLs provided inputs, which are necessary in the crafting of the plans. The dorm coordinators represent their constituents during the weekly dialogue with the warden. During these meetings, the warden urges the PDLs to report the conditions inside their dorms and identify concerns related to the formulation of the contingency plan.

Local Drills and Simulation Exercises. The jail administration conducts training on disaster response. Considering the jail's location, flood-related drills are more frequent. Different agencies, such as the LGU, the BFP, and Red Cross, are invited to provide fire drills and first aid training for the PDLs. Another initiative of the warden is the OPLAN Olympic where the actions of the jail officers and the PDLs are being assessed by the warden. Likewise, PDL

representatives are encouraged to give their thoughts, feedback, and suggestions with regard to the implementation of drills and exercises during the meetings with the BJMP officers. The existence of these meetings is a manifestation of consultation as the level of PDL participation for this indicator.

Response

Information Dissemination. The PDL coordinators play a crucial role in maintaining an effective communication network inside the jail. When Typhoon Ompong struck in 2018, the PDLs had to evacuate to a nearby elementary school. The chief cell coordinators called *mayor* acted as leaders of their respective cells and reminded their cellmates what to bring in the evacuation area. They instructed their constituents on what to do in accordance with the rules given to them by the BJMP officers. Meanwhile, the secretary-treasurer helped the *bastonero* (sergeant-at-arms inside the cell) in informing and reminding the PDLs to behave and maintain peace and order during the evacuation period. The *gater* has the list of the names of the PDLs, and is in charge of checking the headcount to ensure that the PDLs are all accounted for.

Based on these actions, the extent of PDL participation in information dissemination in responding to disasters is limited to informing. The PDLs relied on the BJMP officers' instructions, which the PDLs followed diligently out of willingness and trust on the latter that everything they are asked to do is only for their safety.

Early Recovery Mechanism. During the onslaught of Typhoon Ompong, the flooding submerged the first floor and led to the prompt evacuation of PDLs. The warden emphasized the effectiveness of activating the incident command system (ICS) in responding to disasters. During FGDs, the PDLs demonstrated familiarity with the protocols during disasters. For this indicator, the participation of the PDLs falls under consultation. The evacuation process went smoothly through the cooperation and coordination between the PDLs and the jail administrators.

Rehabilitation and Recovery

Reconstruction. After the evacuation order had been lifted, instructions were given by the jail administrators for the PDL jail aids to take the lead in cleaning debris and retrieving flooded items. Considering the importance of firsthand information from the PDLs regarding the conditions inside the cells, BJMP officers arrange informal meetings as an avenue for the PDLs to air their concerns and/or suggestions. It is also an opportunity for the PDLs to report the identified damages. As manifested in the abovementioned statements, the level of participation of PDLs in reconstruction is consultation. The warden highly encourages the participation of the PDLs in post-disaster activities as it is deemed vital in augmenting the lack of personnel and resources.

Improvement of Facilities. In terms of improvement of facilities, the PDLs' suggestions are solicited by the BJMP officers. Thus, the participation of PDLs for this indicator is consultation. During the interview with the warden, it was mentioned that the PDLs are expressing their worries about the safety of the facility. According to him, he has already raised the request to the local government for an immediate relocation of the detention facility to a higher ground.

Tacloban City Jail

The Tacloban City Jail is plagued by recurring issues such as health concerns, congestion, and lack of jail personnel. With an intended capacity of 200 PDLs, the Tacloban City Jail houses 1,024 PDLs as of February 2019. The 25-cell facility is watched over by 20 jail personnel.

The Tacloban City Jail was chosen as a subject of the study as its experience during the onslaught of Typhoon Yolanda provides information and insights on the disaster preparedness and emergency protocols of the facility. Located on a higher ground, the jail facility is not susceptible to flooding. In fact, the PDLs and jail personnel expressed low perceived risk during typhoons despite being near the coastline.

When Typhoon Yolanda struck in 2013, around 600 PDLs from the Leyte Provincial Jail and Tacloban City Jail left the facilities to check on their family members and aid the recovery efforts. As of January 2014, less than 150 of them have yet to return to the prison facilities (Aragon, 2013).

Regardless of the presence of a disaster event, the Tacloban City Jail administration highly recognizes the significant role of PDL participation in various jail activities. Similar to the other jails, the administration also recognizes the importance of informal governance in jail, which is considered as one of the most essential mechanisms in their day-to-day jail activities and operations. The PDLs employ an informal hierarchy that is tagged differently than other jails in the Philippines but the same tasks are performed by those playing equivalent roles. The expeditors (equivalent to a mayores) are headed by the commander or chief expediter and they serve as the main bridge of communication between the PDLs and the BJMP personnel. Following them are the coordinators who perform specific tasks such as leading the housekeeping department and maintaining the peace and order within the cell. A trustee is similar to the bastonero who plays an important role in maintaining crowd behavior in each cell. Each cell also has its own appointed health worker, treasurer, and paralegal.

Prevention and Mitigation

Increased Disaster Resilience of Infrastructure. The level of participation of PDLs in the aspect of increasing disaster resilience of facilities and infrastructure is consultation. This is apparent during the regular meetings with PDLs every Monday, which is commonly referred to as the therapeutic community (TC) where the discussions between the BJMP personnel and the PDLs take place. Through the TC, the PDLs may express the resource and facility requirements and needs that can no longer be accommodated within the cell.

Prison/Community-Based Risk Assessment and Mapping. Through the TC, the PDLs and jail administration convene to discuss the OPLANs. The administration believes that the PDLs have firsthand information on the hazards and risks in jail facilities. Thus, they can provide valuable information that is to be considered in creating the OPLANs and planning the simulation exercises. The level of participation of PDLs in this aspect is consultation since the presence of TC and expediter meetings indicates the presence of an avenue where PDLs provide information that is solicited by the jail administration.

Preparedness

Prison/Community Awareness. During the TC, the jail administration relays important information and announcements that are relevant to the PDLs. Aside from this, regular meetings between the jail administration and the expediters are conducted to disseminate policies and protocols inside the jail and other announcements such as training, drills, and other activities that concern the general jail population. These venues also allow the PDLs to voice out their concerns and issues such as the lack of basic resources, broken facilities, health concerns, and other needs that warrant the attention of the jail administration. If the information is of a delicate matter, the expediter is first called in by the warden for discussion. After which, the information is disseminated by the expediters per cell and are communicated within the cell groups. This indicates that the level of participation of PDLs in this aspect is consultation.

Contingency Planning at the Local Level. With regard to the formulation of OPLANs, PDLs are not given the chance to engage in the formulation process and they are bound to just receive instructions from the BJMP officers. Although they are firsthand actors who know best when it comes to the context they are situated in, there is only a one-way flow of information and they are not able to express criticisms regarding the OPLANs. Thus, the PDL participation in disaster-related activities particularly in the formulation of OPLANs is limited to informing.

Local Drills and Simulation Exercises. Due to the constant change in the jail population and the state of jail facilities, OPLANs are constantly updated

to better suit the safety and security needs of the jail. To test the efficacy and efficiency of these changes, the jail administration conducts simulation exercises (SIMEX) with the PDLs as the main actors and participants. For each OPLANs formulated inside the jail, the PDLs perform the drills or simulation exercise to test the knowledge or know-how of both the PDLs and the BJMP personnel. Prior to the conduct of the SIMEX, the PDLs are given training, such as rescue operation, basic life support, and first aid, which were taught by resource speakers from the local government. Subsequent to the execution of the SIMEX, the PDLs may offer their observations, suggestions, and critique to the OPLANs and the SIMEX. The administration, in turn, considers these as output of the SIMEX and as input in updating the OPLANs. Given this, the participation of the PDLs in the area of local drills and simulation exercises is consultation.

Response

Information Dissemination. Communicating with the PDLs may be a long and arduous task especially in times of disaster. During evacuations, the coordinators, who are tasked to maintain the peace and order in the cell, also perform the role of starting the headcount. Once the entire cell population is accounted for, the PDLs wait for the security confirmation before proceeding with the evacuation plan. This, however, is different to what transpired during the devastation of Typhoon Yolanda. In the immediacy of the disaster event, the PDLs exhibited individualistic reactions when they evacuated to higher grounds on their own. The BJMP officers just let them evacuate on their own. Thus, the PDL participation for this indicator is placation.

Early Recovery Mechanism. In this aspect, the level of PDL participation in disaster response falls under placation. After the devastation of Typhoon Yolanda, the actions undertaken by the PDLs were done out of their own will and not because it was part of the existing contingency plan. The jail officers could have decided to either let the PDLs leave the facility or enforce coercion among PDLs to comply with their instructions. Those who chose to stay within the jail facility provided assistance to their relatives who sought refuge inside the jail. The PDLs provided clean clothes, food, water, and other aid to their relatives. Those who later on returned to the jail facility were awarded additional time allowance through the Special Time Allowance for Loyalty (STAL). Compared to other jails, the Tacloban City Jail PDLs are more familiar with the STAL.

Rehabilitation and Recovery

Reconstruction. The level of participation of PDLs in reconstruction is placation. With the supervision of the BJMP personnel, the PDLs started cleaning debris brought in by the strong winds and recovered materials that may still be reused. In addition to this, the PDLs also made use of the pooled funds collected by the treasurer. This practice has been going on for years. In case the

funds are lacking, and an emergency presents itself, the PDL leaders such as the expeditors augment the fund shortage using their personal funds.

Improvement of Facilities. With regard to the improvement of facilities in Tacloban City Jail, the administration solicits inputs on what to improve and reinforce inside the jail facility. However, the current state of the overcrowded jail pushed for the proposal to move the facility in a more spacious area. This proposal is still underway and is for approval by national government agencies. In the meantime, the PDLs, through the TC and expeditors' meeting with the jail administration, offered suggestions for facility improvement inside the jail. These proposals, however, are to be considered by the administration and are to be decided upon before implementing them. Given this, the PDL participation in this aspect is consultation.

Analysis and Discussion

After identifying the status of PDL participation in all of the major stages of DRRM, a side-by-side comparison of the situations in each jail shows us certain patterns by which PDL participation happens, and how it takes place (see Table 3). Another glaring point of similarity is how informal structures play a very important role in PDL participation. As shown in Table 2 in the previous section, an informal system of governance is observed in all four jails. The informal system allowed the PDLs to have representatives—such as mayores of Manila City Jail, cell leaders of Caloocan City Jail, jail aids of San Mateo Municipal Jail, and expeditors of Tacloban City Jail—to have easier communication between BJMP officials and the PDLs. Another exceptional thing about this informal system is the delegation of tasks to the PDL leaders inside their cells, which aids the BJMP officials in simple tasks like the maintenance of peace and order inside the cell, monitoring the health and well-being of PDLs, and delivery of services and day-to-day jail operations.

All of the jails efficiently utilize the PDLs through their participation in the different activities supervised and administered by BJMP officials. In line with this, different institutions and government agencies, such as the BFP for fire drills, Red Cross for first aid trainings, PNP for security, and the local government itself, are also partnered with BJMP to further enrich the activities.

In prevention and mitigation, the levels of PDL participation are mostly at the level of *consultation*, usually accomplished through dialogues with informal representatives of the PDLs. This shows a certain respect for the firsthand knowledge of the PDLs who experience the impact of disasters themselves. However, there is no guarantee that their sentiments are actually translated into policy by the jail administration. At the level of preparedness, PDL participation is mostly at *consultation* and *informing*. Preparedness exercises like drills,

trainings, etc., are organized by the jail administration in partnership with the LGU and other agencies and organizations, and brought down to PDL level for execution, with limited inclusivity for the PDLs. While PDL feedback towards these exercises are sometimes welcomed, like prevention and mitigation, there is no guarantee that they have actual effect on future iterations of the exercises. PDL participation becomes *placation* and *informing*, however, at the level of response. While the jail administration has the formal right to make decisions during this time, snap judgment decisions by informal PDL leaders, especially during information dissemination at the time of the disaster itself, are what take precedence for the PDLs. In contrast, early recovery mechanisms are usually handed down from the jail administration. During rehabilitation and recovery, it is common to see initial efforts for recovery and restoration of facilities managed and funded by the PDLs due to bureaucratic hurdles to resources. Feedback as to what is needed for full recovery is also welcomed from them. At this level, PDL participation is at *placation* and *consultation*.

Table 3. Level of PDL Participation in Disaster-Related Activities of the Four Jails

Indicator		Manila	Caloocan	San Mateo	Tacloban
Prevention and Mitigation	Increased Disaster Resilience of Infrastructure	Placation	Consultation	Informing	Consultation
	Prison/Community-Based Risk Assessment and Mapping	Consultation	Consultation	Consultation	Consultation
Preparedness	Prison/Community Awareness	Consultation	Informing	Consultation	Consultation
	Contingency Planning at the Local Level	Informing	Informing	Consultation	Informing
	Local Drills and Simulation Exercises	Consultation	Consultation	Consultation	Consultation
Response	Information Dissemination	Placation	Consultation	Informing	Placation
	Early Recovery Mechanism	Placation	Informing	Consultation	Placation
Rehabilitation and Recovery	Reconstruction	Placation	Consultation	Consultation	Placation
	Improvement of Facilities	Placation	Consultation	Consultation	Consultation

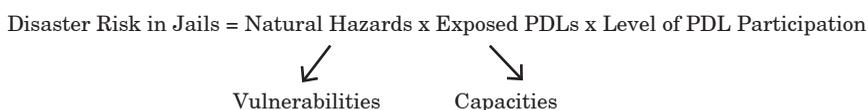
Two recurring themes are observed in these findings. First, feedback is usually welcome from the PDLs, but there is no guarantee with regard to the integration of inputs in the plans and changes in programs. Second, gaps and scarcity in resources and manpower are filled by PDL initiatives, especially during response and recovery. These observations provide a picture as regards PDL participation and how it works in the four jail facilities studied.

In addition, certain institutional factors were determined to have effect on PDL participation in DRRM. First, the attitudes and perceptions of the warden towards DRRM, particularly on whether the warden considers it a priority or not, have an effect with regard to opportunities for participation of PDLs. However, the jail administration's attitude toward DRRM is related to past disaster experiences of the jail. The frequency of disaster events experienced by a jail facility often means an increased vulnerability to certain hazards and the probability of the recurrence of those disaster events. This makes disaster preparedness an obvious priority for jail administrators in facilities that have high disaster vulnerability. Another factor is the available institutional incentives for cooperation with the jail administration during the disaster event, such as the GCTA and the STAL. However, both the GCTA and STAL reward compliance rather than initiative, which results in passive participation from the PDLs. Finally, informal structures inside PDL circles are very important at all levels of DRRM. While at times informal PDL leaders may even take decisionmaking roles, they mostly act as bridge of information between jail administration and the general populace of the PDLs.

Conclusion

According to Gaillard et al. (2016), a “disaster is a situation and a process involving a hazardous event, which has consequences in terms of damage, livelihoods disruption, and/or casualties” (p. 3). The potential for a disaster to occur is referred to as disaster risk (Gaillard et al., 2016). Disaster risk has various components, such as natural hazards, vulnerability, and capacity. Based on the findings of this study, however, this framework does not encapsulate the entirety of the variables in existence inside jail facilities. In addition to the three components of disaster risk, the research suggests that PDL participation, as an additional component, plays a vital role in determining disaster risk in the context of Philippine jails (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Disaster Risk in Jails



The level of PDL participation, as the last component, is affected by both the willingness of the PDLs to enforce their existing capacities and factors in variables that affect the level of their participation. Capacity, as a component, takes into account the existing internal and external networks of the PDLs that they may utilize or resort to when dealing with a disaster event. This, however, does not take into account other factors such as motivators and demotivators to PDL participation. Attitude or perception of the warden, past disaster experiences, GCTA and STAL, and security issues and concerns are emerging themes that are specific to disaster risk reduction and management in jails.

The extent of participation of PDLs in the four facilities in different activities all fall under *tokenism* category. Based on the findings and analysis, participation of PDLs significantly and notably affects the DRRM-related activities under the four aspects of DRRM. Furthermore, participation of PDLs is invaluable to information dissemination and communication, maintenance of peace and order, and augmentation of the lack of resources in jail facilities. The participation of PDLs is affected by factors such as the attitude or perception of the warden, past disaster experiences, the time allowance incentives, and security issues.

Building on PDL participation as a component of disaster risk in jails, Arnstein's ladder of participation is reformulated to reflect the findings on the level of participation of PDLs in the context of Philippine jails.

Figure 3. Ladder of PDL Participation in Philippine Jails



In this framework, the third and fourth levels of participation in Arnstein's ladder—informing and consultation—are adapted to suit the context of Philippine jails. As shown in Figure 3, the lowest level is informing, which involves a one-way communication process. In contrast, there is already a two-way flow of communication at the consultation level through the regular meetings attended by the PDL leaders and BJMP officers. However, the input from the PDLs gathered through this process would be considered upon the deliberation of administrators. In this framework, the third and highest level of

PDL participation in jails is grassroots planning. This is considered the highest level of PDL participation, which recognizes the capacity of PDLs to participate in DRRM activities while maintaining the power structure inside the jails. The PDLs, in this level, are allowed to formulate plans and activities on their own, which they can propose subject to the approval of BJMP officers. The plans can still be declined particularly when the opinions or contents are unfavorable or infeasible from the perspective of the jail administrators. In this sense, the final decision is still in the hands of the BJMP officers who are accountable to the outcomes of their decision. The PDL leaders also have some degree of accountability to their fellow PDLs.

Recommendations

For BJMP. The researchers see the need to institutionalize a DRRM office tailored accordingly in the context of jails. Although different DRRM-related initiatives are already in place, a centralized office that will attend specifically to the DRRM of jails will ensure the consistency and continuation of different programs and projects. An important feature in this division is the strengthening of skills training and development for PDLs as effective force multipliers, whose capacities may be tapped whenever needed.

Along with the institutionalization of a BJMP DRRM Division, the extent of PDL participation in the three mentioned DRRM activities—formulation of OPLANs, simulation of exercises and drills, and response mechanism—should fall under the tokenism category. In the formulation of OPLANs, the researchers recommend that the extent of PDL participation should be at the level of informing while ensuring that their awareness on the existing plans is strengthened. For the simulation of exercises and drills, it is proposed that the level of PDL participation be up to consultation level. In consideration of the response mechanisms, the BJMP should give the PDLs the opportunity to plan and respond accordingly to the situation that may arise while still being subject to the supervision and authority of the jail administrators.

Apart from these, the researchers also recommend that the BJMP implement a program that would raise the awareness for time allowance incentives such as the GCTA and STAL. BJMP can incorporate this program in their alternative learning system curricula or in their regular meetings with the PDLs. Increasing their awareness regarding the GCTA might increase the participation of PDLs not only in the DRRM programs but also in other activities.

For policymakers. The study brought to light the dire situation of PDLs that makes them more vulnerable to disaster risks. Based on the findings of the study, the researchers see the urgent need to provide the PDLs a better budget allocation for different DRRM plans and activities and to improve jail facilities

to reduce disaster risks. Policymakers can also facilitate the institutionalization of support mechanisms from relevant government agencies and the voluntary sector to increase the capacities of PDLs to prepare for, respond to, and mitigate disaster risks.

For further study. As a subsequent exploratory study and extension of Gaillard et al.'s (2016) study on the state of DRRM in Philippine jails, future research on the field of DRRM or jail management can further look into the impact of PDL participation on the effectiveness of DRRM initiatives and activities in other jail facilities. Further studies can also be done on the nuances of the informal system of PDLs and how it can be better tapped for PDL participation.

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Kathleen E. Pulangco is Instructor 1 at the College of Accountancy and Business Administration of President Ramon Magsaysay State University in Iba, Zambales. She finished her bachelor's degree in Public Administration at the University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman. For questions and concerns regarding their study, she can be reached at kathleen.pulangco@gmail.com.

Louise Antonette T. Sandoval works as a researcher at the Philippine Army in Fort Bonifacio in Taguig City. She obtained her bachelor's degree in Public Administration at the UP Diliman.

Aizel G. Buenaventura is studying law at the University of Perpetual Help System Dalta. She graduated from the UP Diliman with a degree in Public Administration.

Kerr John N. Carlobos is Community Development Assistant I at the Provincial Government of Agusan Del Sur. She obtained her Bachelor of Public Administration degree from the UP Diliman. She is currently taking up Masters in Management major in Public Service Management at Saint Joseph Institute of Technology in Butuan City.

Kate Anjela C. Relampagos is a sophomore law student at the Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila. She completed her bachelor's degree in Public Administration at the UP Diliman.

Louise Rachel R. Santiago works as a training specialist at the Department of Foreign Affairs. She obtained her bachelor's degree in Public Administration at the UP Diliman.

Joselle S. Velasco is studying Law at San Sebastian College-Recoletos. She graduated from the UP Diliman with a degree in Public Administration.

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Declaration of Ethical Practice

The researchers guarantee the use of appropriate and ethical process in all aspects of the research from data gathering, analysis, and presentation. Ethical procedures were followed before, during, and after conducting the interviews and FGDs. The information obtained from the research are kept with confidentiality with due consideration for the respondents' privacy and to avoid harm on their part.