

**Problematizing ‘financial support’ of
women within social welfare policies and
practices in Makati City, Philippines**

By

Cheryl Lyn Espanto Cagara

Thesis Supervisor

Dr. Helen Jacqueline McLaren

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ABSTRACT

The problem of spousal financial support for women in post-separation relationships has been increasingly reported at the Makati Social Welfare Department (MSWD) in Makati City, Philippines from 2013 up to the present. This problem is primarily framed as a question of financial insecurity than a question of hegemonic masculinity and changing patterns of gendered power and relations (Cook and Natalier 2015, p. 28). The purpose of this exploratory study is to understand how the social welfare practices and policies constitute 'deprivation of financial support' as 'economic abuse' experienced by women in the context of conjugal separation in Makati City, Philippines. Case management practices and their implications for women/mothers and men/fathers as social welfare clients are also considered. This paper argues that the traditional gender norm (Butler 1990) of women's economic dependence on men is performatively reproduced through the practice of compromise agreement at the local social welfare agency.

This thesis is informed by an analysis of national policy on violence against women and their children (VAWC) and its translation into case management protocols and case files of 'women in especially difficult circumstances' clients at the MSWD. Guided by Carol Bacchi's 'What's the Problem Represented to be?', or the WPR Approach (Bacchi 1999; 2017), this study interrogates the potential *gendering*, *heteronorming*, and *classing* effects of the Anti-VAWC Act of 2004 policy and MSWD case management protocols that shape and reproduce the social experiences of 'men' and 'women' (Bacchi 2017, p. 21) as gendered, social welfare clients. Secondary data from 50 intake forms, 25 Compromise/support agreements, and MSWD case management protocols were analysed to arrive at the findings and conclusion.

Findings indicated that the current national policy on VAWC, translated into social welfare practices, constitutes 'deprivation of financial support' as a problem of post-relationship disagreements that may be 'fixed' through amicable settlement and compromise/support agreement. The 'fixing' of the problem reproduces gendered norms through the use of discursive texts. These texts, such as 'caring' but 'dependent' mothers, and 'providing' but 'abusive' fathers implicitly play out in agency frameworks that guide case management. Findings also suggest that the current case management practices of mediation, compromise, and referral for legal services have taken for granted women's subjective differences and economic consequences as solo parents, which render the case management processes insensitive to gender inequality. Support for women's economic empowerment programs and gender-sensitive case management practices are recommended in this study.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed:

CHERYL LYN ESPANTO CAGARA

05 July 2019

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ACRONYMS

CEDAW- Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women

DSWD- Department of Social Welfare and Development

IPV- Intimate Partner Violence

LGU- Local Government Unit

MSWD- Makati Social Welfare Department

NCRFW- National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women

PAO- Public Attorney's Office

PCW- Philippine Commission on Women

PNP- Philippine National Police

PSA- Philippine Statistics Authority

VAW- Violence against Women

VAWC- Violence against Women and their Children

WEDC- Women in Especially Difficult Circumstances

WPR- "What the problem is represented to be?" Approach

WWS- Women's Welfare Section

WWTSSVAW- Women Working Together to Stop Violence Against Women

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Problem Area

Women's experiences of financial abuse in predominantly heterosexual relationships do not always end after leaving an abusive relationship (Toews and Bermea 2017, p. 2167; McInnes 2004, p. 363). Post-separation, financial abuse in relationships continues especially when there are children to support (Humphreys and Thiara 2003; Holt 2017; Archer-Khun 2018). While relationships or legal unions are dissoluble, their parental roles for children remain permanent (Parkinson 2013). It is common in post-separation situations that women face the financial issue of meeting her and her children's needs most especially when they had been economically dependent on their partner's income during their relationship (Adams et al. 2008, p. 568; Andre et al. 2006, p. 534; Anitha 2019, p. 3). In the Philippines, women do have the option to seek legal remedies from the courts and local governments when their former partners deliberately withhold or deny them financial support. For the purposes of this study, financial support could also mean child support. Under the Family Code of the Philippines 1987, "Support comprises everything indispensable for sustenance, dwelling, education, in keeping with the financial capacity of the family" (Official Gazette 1987, p. 47). It was in 2004 when the withholding or deprivation of financial support by the non-custodial parent, usually by fathers, was recognized as a category of violence against women under economic or financial abuse through the passage of Anti-Violence against Women and their Children Act of 2004 or the Republic Act 9262 (PCW 2004).

The deprivation of financial support is considered a controlling strategy in post-separation that restricts women's access and control over their economic resources (PCW 2004). The Philippines has no child support welfare scheme, but it has put in

place a legal system of resolving financial support and custody disputes. Women who are confronted with the problem of not receiving financial support are assisted either by the family court (Official Gazette 1997, p. 1) or by the local social welfare agencies (PCW 2004, pp. 68-69). This study examines the cases of women-clients who were denied or deprived of financial support by their former male partners as reported in the Makati Social Welfare Department, Makati City, Philippines.

Studies on financial support as a form of economic abuse

Cook et al. (2015, p. 57) argue that financial support remains a personal and policy challenge, but it is not strongly tackled across research, decision-making, and practice. In the literature, the deprivation of child support as a form of economic abuse has been distinctly undertheorized (Natalier 2018). Little is available in academic or grey literature that explains the inclusion of deprivation of financial support as a form of economic abuse and how it acknowledges women's subjectivities in post-separation contexts. Natalier's (2018) study on state-facilitated economic abuse in Australia is the most recent research closest to my topic, which I intend to explore her findings. Natalier's (2018) study focused on the women's lived experiences when accessing child support and dealing with government workers from the Department of Human Services-Child Support Agency. On the other hand, my study is limited to the data sets obtained from the case notes of social workers during intake interviews and compromise/support agreements of women and their former partners. While both our studies draw from similar theories on gendered patterns and relations when accessing service at a government's welfare agency, I intend to further explore how the existing policies and case management practices in Makati City, Philippines constitute 'women' and 'men' as gendered, social welfare clients, and how these may be participating in and perpetuating gendered power disparities.

Philippine Social Welfare Policies and Practices

There is a lack of research on financial support in the Philippines and it is only in the government policies and media reports that child support issues indeed exist. An initial review of the grey literature and family policies reveal that the deprivation of child support is an issue stemming from a violation of family laws and children's rights to assistance (Official Gazette 1987, 1997; Senate of the Philippines 2018; Congress of the Philippines 2018). It is more of a policy concerned with obligating 'irresponsible parents' to perform their parental roles as financial providers or carers of children. Over the years, the non-payment of financial support mostly by men/ fathers became a social issue of women/ mothers and their children. As one of the policy responses, the national policymakers included the non-payment of financial support as a form of economic abuse and Violence against Women and their Children under the Anti-VAWC Act of 2004 that is punishable by incarceration.

National Policies on Financial Support

1987 Family Code of the Philippines or Executive Order 209

A dominant theme in Filipino culture reflected in the Philippine family laws is its emphasis on familial expectations of interdependence and the obligations to support the children (Alampay 2013; Official Gazette 1987; Gloria 2007; Lee 2004; Serquina-Ramiro et al. 2004). The discourse on 'Support' has been legitimated in the Family Code of the Philippines since 1987 as "everything indispensable for sustenance, dwelling, education, in keeping with the financial capacity of the family" (Official Gazette 1987, p. 47). It is reflected in the opening statement of the state's policy to strengthen the marriage and the family as basic social institutions, and to promote equality between men and women (Official Gazette 1987, p. 1). It underscores the family relations as "governed by law and no custom, practice or agreement destructive of the family shall be recognized or given effect" (Article 149, Title V). The Family Code

of the Philippines of 1987 provides a measure of relief from wife battery within marriage through legal separation grounds. It is also the first law that recognised the gender equality of men and women in the country (Gloria 2007).

The Family Code remains the only law that governs non-Muslim Filipino marriages regardless of ethnic membership, upholds the Filipino culture of a family remaining intact, and commits to support each other willingly (Gloria 2007, p. 28). The Philippines as a predominantly Catholic country, promotes monogamous marriage which allows legal separation but not divorce (Serquina-Ramiro et al. 2004). This family law obliges the legal wife and husband to support each other and their legitimate and illegitimate children. In cases of marital dissolution, the amount of support extended should be in proportion to the resources and means of the non-custodial parent and is reduced or increased according to the necessities of the recipients (Articles 201-208). The Code emphasises that children under the age of 18 have the 'right' to receive assistance from their parents, hence support is one of the 'child's rights'.

Family Courts Act of 1997 or Republic Act 8369

Filipino marriages or cohabitation suffering from high conflict or domestic violence are not exempted from separation or abandonment despite the absence of formal divorce (Gloria 2007, p. 25; Estrellado 2007, p. 28). A law was promulgated to address and resolve family disputes, including financial support cases through the establishment of family courts in every municipality/ city by virtue of the Family Courts Act of 1997 or Republic Act 8369 (Official Gazette 1997). The importance of family is specified in the state's duty "to protect and strengthen the family as a basic autonomous social institution" (Official Gazette 1997). Hence, family courts should "preserve the solidarity of the family and provide procedures for the reconciliation of spouses and the amicable settlement of family controversy" (Official Gazette 1997). Aside from the establishment of family court, this law engages helping professionals such as social workers, to carry out the duties of "intake assessment, social case

studies, casework and counselling, and other social services” (Official Gazette 1997). This Act delineates the tasks on family cases and social services, which are placed on the family court’s social workers or in situations where there is case overload, the social workers from the local government unit is mandated to carry out their roles.

Pending Child Support Bills

The child’s rights or the ‘best interest of the child’ is further promoted in the current policy proposals on Child Support Bills (Senate of the Philippines 2007, 2010; Congress of the Philippines 2016a, 2016b). Currently, there are four policy proposals that aim to “deter irresponsible parents from evading their financial responsibility to their children hence, imposing a penalty or imprisonment for such evasion” (Senate of the Philippines 2007, 2010; Congress of the Philippines 2016b). Senate Bill 281 of 2007 and SB 1515 of 2010 are policy proposals that aim to punish the wilful failure to pay child support (Senate of the Philippines 2007, 2010). Under Senate Bill 1515, legal child support is defined as the “amount determined by a court order or under a parenting agreement approved in court, to be remitted to the parent who has legal custody or parental authority” (Senate of the Philippines 2010). The House of Representatives’ HB 3925 and HB 387 were introduced in 2016 with similar intentions of penalising parents who wilfully fail to pay child support (Congress of the Philippines 2016a, 2016b). As of this writing, there are no other enacted laws specifically on child support apart from these four major proposals cited.

National Policy on Economic Abuse

Anti-VAWC Law of 2004

The conscientious efforts of women’s movements and a coalition of non-government organizations in the Philippines during the Martial Law era in 1972 have brought out significant developments on the elimination of various forms of human rights violations against women by the state (Sobritchea 2005, p. 68). Beginning in

early 1986, stemming from the social unrest in politics and the unequal status of women in labour markets, the women's movements gradually diffused their energy to call for policies that addressed women's abuse committed by intimate partners (WWTSVAW 2009, p. 2). Back then, domestic violence was classified under cases of physical injury, mutilation, and homicide, wherein abusive partners were charged under the Penal Code (NCRFW 1980, p. 10; de la Cruz and Domingo 2014, p. 63). Apart from the human rights policies, family law, and women's movements, these initiatives were also reinforced by the developments in the United Nations. The Philippines has been a state party of the UN since the early 1980s (Sobritchea 2005, p. 76). Sobritchea (2005, p. 76) argues that the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has strengthened the assurance of equal rights for women to resources and to reform laws that are disadvantageous to women in the country.

Despite the Penal Code that was supposed to incarcerate abusive partners, the crimes were only limited to physical abuse, hence wives could not file cases for emotional, psychological or economic abuse such as deprivation of support (de la Cruz and Domingo 2014, p. 63). Without a clear definition of domestic violence, it became difficult for the legal professionals and judges to file charges against husbands (de la Cruz and Domingo 2014, p. 63). Police enforcers and local officials viewed this as a private matter and women themselves would dismiss their complaints with the ultimate reason being because they were economically dependent on their partners (de la Cruz and Domingo 2014, p. 63). It has taken over a decade of lobbying to policymakers by women's movements and the coalition of non-government and government agencies to gain success through the passing of the Republic Act 9262 or the Anti-VAWC Law in 2004.

The Anti-VAWC Law is grounded on the principle that men and women are equal in rights and it provides protection and services for the women and sanctions against the perpetrators of violence (PCW 2004). The government values the "dignity of

women and children and guarantees full respect for human rights” (PCW 2004, p. 29). This law is divided into 50 sections. The parental responsibility in post-separation is implicit in the meaning of VAWC where it acknowledges the abuse by a man against his ‘former wife’ with whom they had a common child (PCW 2004, p. 30). Violence Against Women and their Children (VAWC) refers to

Any act or a series of acts committed by any person against a woman who is his wife, former wife, or against a woman with whom the person has or had a sexual or dating relationship, or with whom he has a common child... within or without the family abode, which results or is likely to result in physical, sexual psychological harm or suffering, or economic abuse (PCW 2004, p. 31).

Section 5 defines Economic Abuse as “acts that make or attempt to make a woman financially dependent such as withdrawal of financial support and deprivation or threat of deprivation of financial resources” (PCW 2004, p. 32). The crime of VAWC is committed through the following activities with the purpose or effect of controlling or restricting the woman’s or her child’s movement of conduct:

Depriving or threatening to deprive the woman or her children of financial support legally due to her or her family, or deliberately providing the woman’s children insufficient amount of support (PCW 2004, p. 35).

Penalties for Section 5E is cited in Section 6(C): acts shall be punishable by *prision correccional* (6 months to 6 years) with penalties ranging from One hundred thousand pesos to Three hundred thousand pesos (USD 2,000-6,000). The ‘perpetrator’ shall undergo mandatory psychological counselling or psychiatric treatment and report compliance to the court (PCW 2004, p. 7). Section (8G) directs the respondent (perpetrator) to provide support to the woman and/or her child if entitled to legal support as specified in the Family Code of the Philippines (PCW 2004, p. 9). The court shall determine the percentage of the respondent’s income or salary to be withheld regularly by the respondent’s employer and/or automatically remitted directly to the woman (PCW 2004, p. 9). Failure to do so without justifiable cause shall render

the respondent or his employer liable for indirect contempt of court (PCW 2004, p. 9). Translated into actual service-provision for VAWC clients, the Makati Social Welfare Department adopted specific measures in helping a woman who has been deprived of financial support by her former partner.

MSWD Case Management Protocol

The general information of the current MSWD case management protocol (see Table 1) on economic abuse is written and disseminated in the Makati Citizens Guidebook (Makati City Government 2019, pp. 5-7) and can be accessed through the Makati City website, www.makati.gov.ph. The procedures of handling ‘women in especially difficult circumstances’ or the clients of the Women’s Welfare Section is categorised according to Non-VAWC and VAWC cases. I utilised the VAWC case management. For walk-in or referred clients, Procedure 1 of the case management process instructs the woman to register at the assistance desk, wherein the person-in-charge has to ask basic information questions to identify the possible sector who will handle her case. Then she is referred to the appropriate social worker and section in the department.

Table 1. Case Management of ‘WEDC clients’ in MSWD

Requirements for walk-in and referred clients
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Referral Letter from referring agency or local village/ <i>barangay</i>* 2. <i>Barangay</i>/ LGU Clearance (residency) 3. Commission on Election Certification/ Voter’s ID 4. Birth Certificate 5. Marriage Certificate (if married) 6. Medico-legal Certificate (for physical and sexual abuse)

Procedures:

1. Proceed to MSWD and register at the client's service assistance desk at the entrance of MSWD. The assistant will conduct a preliminary interview to determine the nature of the case and refer to the appropriate social worker/ caseworker who will facilitate the case.
2. Intake interview of the social worker/ case worker and present the needed requirements such as Marriage Contract and Birth Certificates of children (marital conflict) or medico-legal certificate (for victims of VAWC).
3. Counselling of the social worker/ caseworker and issuance of summon to the responding party for a case conference (for the issue of marital conflict, child custody, and support).
4. Proceed to Makati Women's and Children's Desk at Makati City Police Department for filing of the case and to the barangay where the client resides for the issuance of Barangay Protection Order (victims of physical abuse).
5. Interview with respondent party and case conference.
6. If both parties agree to an amicable settlement, their agreement must be notarised at the Legal Department (18th floor of Makati City Hall Building 1).
7. If both parties fail to agree to an amicable settlement, they will be referred to the Public Attorney's Office (PAO).

* Makati City Government Citizens Guidebook (2019, pp. 6-7)

Procedure 2 entails the intake interview wherein the social worker and 'WEDC client' establish their helping relationship. It is expected that the 'WEDC client' will bring with her a copy of her Birth Certificate and Marriage Contract, but for a 'WEDC client' who was physically abused, she needs an additional document, which is the Medico-legal Certificate. Under this step, a registered social worker administers the Intake Form (Appendix A) as a guide for the interview. During the interview, social workers get the client's basic information including her former partner's (respondents) income, employer, and address.

Procedure 3 includes conducting counselling and issuance of a summon or invitation letter to the 'respondent' for a case conference (Makati City Government 2019, p. 7). In between these procedures, the social worker orients the 'client' about

their rights and the existing Anti-VAWC Law. They extend counselling sessions and give protective options to the 'client', if necessary.

The outcome of the intake and decision of the 'WEDC client' is reflected in Procedure 4. If she has been found to be physically abused, she is referred to the village/ barangay and to the Women and Children's Protection Desk to secure a Barangay Protection Order. If the 'WEDC client' is not physically abused and decides to settle the dispute at the social welfare agency, the social worker prepares an invitation letter or summon for a case conference. The 'WEDC client' sets the date and time of the case conference. It is a requirement for her that she is knowledgeable about the respondent's current address so that any letters can be delivered promptly. There are three ways to send the letter: through the VAW Desk Officers in the village/ barangay, the 'WEDC client' can personally give the letter to the former male partner/ 'respondent' if safe doing so, or mail is posted and paid for by the 'WEDC client' to the respondent if he is not residing in Makati City. Upon receipt of the invitation letter, a case conference will be subsequently conducted in the department according to the set schedule of the 'WEDC client'.

In Procedure 5, the social worker has to interview the 'respondent' during the case conference. The 'WEDC client' has to calculate and list the needs of her children. If they are legally married, she can include the payment rentals and household needs. The social worker alternately interviews the 'respondent' and 'WEDC client' during compromise agreements. The respondent is oriented about the VAWC law and the legal services available to him. Both of them are subsequently asked about their decision to agree on the amount to be paid, the frequency and mode of payment.

Procedure 6 suggests that decisions of the former couple to compromise are motioned through their notarised agreement prepared by the social worker (Makati City Government 2019, p. 7). After the Compromise/Support Agreement has been prepared, both the 'WEDC client' and 'respondent' have to appear in the Makati Legal

Department to notarize the document. The last step is to give a copy of the notarized support agreement to the social worker back at MSWD.

Procedure 7 is for cases where the client and respondent failed to agree, the social worker then refers them to the Public Attorney's Office (PAO) for further case management and free legal assistance. For returning clients, women have to go through the same process of interview, counselling, case conference and amicable settlement. This case management protocol is disseminated on the official website of the Makati City Government.

Research Context

Makati City

Makati is a highly urbanised city in the Philippines, located in the National Capital Region. It has a night-time population of 529, 039 and a daytime population between 3.2 and 4.2 million in the 2010 census (Makati City Government 2018). The night-time population comprises the actual number of residents living in the city. The daytime population on ordinary weekday comprises the total number of residents and non-resident individuals who transact, work, and transit or visit the city (Makati City Government 2018). The recorded labour force participation in 2007 was 60% (227, 068) of the resident's working-age between 15 years old and over. Of this number, 105, 291 (46%) females and 121,777 (54%) males were either working within or outside the city. The literacy rate is 98.93% (496,169) and the highest educational attainment by the majority of the population is High School, which is mostly attained by women compared to men (Makati City Government 2018). Makati City is the financial capital hub of the country where the largest concentration of commercial activities resides, such as international business establishments, banks, real estate, hotels and restaurants, foreign embassies and others (Makati City Government 2018). Its mission is to be the "model for world-class local governance that provides for the well-being of its people through the delivery of the highest level of basic, social and economic

services utilizing advanced technologies, sustainable financing, and responsible and professional civil servants” (Makati City Government 2018). The institutionalisation of the Local Government Code of 1991 or Republic Act 7160 legitimized the decentralization of basic services for its constituents, including social welfare services at the local level.

Makati Social Welfare Department

Makati City caters to the needs of the disadvantaged sector through its local social welfare office, the Makati Social Welfare Department (MSWD). It is mandated to “care, protect, and rehabilitate the segment of society which has the least in life in terms of physical, mental, and social well-being” (MSWD 2012). The department applies a sector-clientele system, a compartmentalized style of service for the elderly, children and youth, person-with-disability, family and men, and women (MSWD 2012).

The Women’s Welfare Section of MSWD serves women who are generally termed as ‘women in especially difficult circumstances’ (WEDC), which includes women seeking financial support from their former spouse/partners. Social workers use a case management method with activities including but not limited to intake interviews, counselling, case conferencing, preparation of compromise/support agreements and/ or referral for legal services, if there are disagreements (Makati City Government 2019). Women with financial support cases receive services as specified in the case management procedure. This management of cases and service-provision are my units of analysis in this study.

Since 2013, there have been increasing reports about the withholding of financial support legally due to women and children in MSWD. As an example, in 2013, a total of 118 women were assisted by MSWD for spousal maintenance/child support claims. This was followed by a new set of 121 women in 2014, 136 women in 2016, and

203 women in 2017, without any record of returning clients, according to their Annual Outcome Evaluation Report (MSWD 2018). As a program supervisor in the MSWD's Women's Welfare Section in 2017, I used to view our case management procedure as an effective solution for women's problems on financial support. In some ways, however, I still find it deficient because the outcomes of our intervention say otherwise. In the same Evaluation Report 2013-2017, more women's cases were left for case conferencing procedures compared to those who had compromise/support agreements with their former partners. More women were unable to schedule case conferences because they needed to provide the location of their former partners and often did not know their whereabouts (MSWD 2018). In addition, women relinquish their decision to file a case of economic abuse against their former partners if the latter has agreed to extend financial support through amicable settlements in the MSWD.

Accordingly, men who deliberately withhold financial support face punishments such as penalties or imprisonment for not less than 6 years under Section 6c of the Anti-Violence Against Women and their Children Act of 2004 (PCW 2004). Philippine governance has increasingly adopted the incarceration of perpetrators as a solution to VAWC (Chew 2017, p. 51). The Annual Comparative Statistics on VAWC reported to the Philippine National Police from 2004-2016 reveals that physical abuse or wife battering is the highest reported case with 34,819 in 2016 alone (PCW 2019), but seldom economic abuse cases. The rate of men's imprisonment is not revealed in their data as of this writing. On the other hand, it could be inferred that women's desire for financial support is outweighed by the decision to proceed with a case whereby their former partners may be imprisoned. This could create confusion on the part of service providers or the social workers; whether to advocate for women's protection or to remain passive on a woman's decision to receive financial support even at the expense of their safety.

Bacchi and Eveline (2010, p.120) argue that policies and practices “play a significant role in producing and reinforcing the categories of ‘women’ and ‘men’ in ways that have significant impacts on people and their lives”. They suggest that policy practices have *gendering*, *heteronorming*, *classing*, *(dis)abling* and *racializing* effects on their subjects (Bacchi & Eveline 2010, p.120). By understanding and analysing how ‘deprivation of financial support’ as an economic abuse is represented in policies and social welfare practices, this study hopes to explore the subjectivities and effects reproduced by this problem representation. This paper argues that the traditional gender performativity (Butler 1990) of women’s dependencies on men is reproduced in the compromise agreements adopted and practiced in the local social welfare agencies.

Research Questions

This exploratory study considers how the social welfare practices and policies constitute ‘deprivation of financial support’ as ‘economic abuse’ in Makati City, Philippines. In doing so, the Anti-VAWC Law of 2004 and MSWD’s case management practices are problematized and its effects on women/mothers and men/fathers as gendered, social welfare clients are analysed. This policy interrogation is guided by ‘What’s the Problem Represented to be?’ (WPR) Approach, a policy and gender analysis tool to assist with problematizing the discursive effects on a particular subject (Bacchi 2009; Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, p. 20; Bacchi and Eveline 2010). This study seeks to answer the following sub-research questions:

1. What is the problem of ‘financial support’ represented to be in the national Anti-VAWC policy when translated into the MSWD case management practices?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions are constituted by these problem representations on ‘women’ and ‘men’ as gendered clients in the MSWD’s case management practices?

3. What is left unproblematic in this representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be conceptualised differently?
4. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?

My Role as a Researcher

In this section, I will reflect on my role as a social worker and gender and development (GAD) advocate in Makati City. My experience in monitoring and evaluation of our local programs and services for social workers and women-clients influenced my choices, views, and interest in this research topic. Self-reflexivity is an important part of any qualitative research, which serves as a 'validity procedure' towards sincerity in research (Tracy 2010, p. 849). Though Bacchi mentioned reflexivity in the 'last step' of her six-problematizing questions (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, p. 24), I intend to discuss my own positionings in this section.

The increasing reports on the deprivation of financial support of women in my organization, the Makati Social Welfare Department, motivated me to study this complex social problem for the following purposes. Firstly, I wanted to critically analyse how this 'financial support' was framed as an economic abuse problem in the Anti-VAWC Act and case management practices. As an implementer of policy through our programs and services, I tended to accept the policy as the 'best solution' for a problem, hence for me, the knowledge surrounding policy is an 'incontestable truth' (Bacchi 2017, p. 21). However, there was also a growing discontent whenever I found our programs 'ineffective'. On the specific topic of financial support, I became aware that it does not simply work for couples to settle and agree to levels of support during their first case conference.

When we reported that more former couples did not agree on the amount of financial support compared to those who had an agreement, I found myself questioning our services and goals. My first question was whether our goal was to make them

compromise or to protect them from becoming financially dependent wives/ partners? When a case about financial support in the Women's Welfare Section was instigated, the social worker would immediately categorise the woman as an 'economically abused' client, which limits our intervention to amicable settlements with former couples. A second question that bothered me during those times was, "If it is a form of 'abuse', then why do we need to resolve the dispute?" Thirdly, "Why is our case management limited on counselling and interview as the very highlight of our intervention?" Our department is not yet engaged in documenting the case processes; hence we do not have a manual of operations as a guide to practice, rather the outcome reports serve as our starting point for planning and evaluation.

Social workers, who are handling financial support cases, including myself as the program supervisor, find our actions are validated when we 'solve' our client's problems through amicable settlements. I became concerned, however whether our clients were indeed happy with their decision to settle through agreements. With my women's studies degree, I realised that questioning the policies and practices on how social problems are 'framed' and 'solved' (Bacchi 2012, p. 23; 2009, p. 3) is critical if I want to evaluate or suggest for improvements in our programs and services. I became interested in applying Bacchi's policy analysis tool for my research problem. Through this reflection, I shifted my focus from 'solving' the problem, to start 'problematizing' how the issue of 'deprivation of financial support' became a problem of economic abuse in the Anti-VAWC Act of 2004 and MSWD case management practice. The findings in this study suggest that 'deprivation of financial support' in the MSWD case management practices is constituted as a problem of 'post-relationship disagreements' that can be 'fixed' through amicable settlement and compromise agreements. The 'fixing' of the 'problem' reproduces gendered norms through the use of discursive texts that implicitly play out in the agency framework that guides case management. However, this appeared contradictory to the protection of women from further abuse, which is the goal of the Philippine policies.

Significance of the Study

This research contributes original knowledge to debates around how to improve support to women who continue to experience IPV post-separation, with specific attention on the economic abuse of women with children. This is in consideration of the sample case and the agency case management protocols under study. While it is also important to acknowledge the deleterious effects of IPV also on both women and children, for the purposes of manageability, the focus of this thesis is concentrated on the issue of women's stigmatization in post-separation economic abuse.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters. In Chapter One, I provide an overview of the whole study by first discussing the problem area and research gaps, which is 'financial support' as a form of economic abuse. This is not to be confused with the problematization of the policy frameworks, which are subject to Bacchi's WPR analysis. In this chapter, I also include a detailed discussion on the relevant social welfare policies and practices, the research context, which is at the Makati City's Social Welfare Department, Philippines. My research question and sub-questions, reflections on my roles and motivations for this study, the significance of the study, and the structure of the thesis are also discussed in Chapter One.

Chapter Two articulates the framework and processes in scoping of the literature relevant to the current study. Specifically, the literature review offers an understanding of the framing of financial support in the policies and service-provisions of studies from other countries. The review also includes literature on the forms of economic abuse in cohabiting and post-separation relationships. This chapter provides an in-depth understanding of 'deprivation of financial support' as a form of women's oppression and gender inequality.

Chapter Three discusses the theoretical framework drawing on notions of gender norms and performativity by Butler (1990). I applied this theory to explain and analyse the performing of gender and the regulation of this through gender norms legitimated in policies and practices. This chapter also presents the policy and gender analysis tool or the WPR Approach proposed by Carol Bacchi (Bacchi 2009), who likewise utilises post-structuralist feminist interpretations of Foucauldian discourse and power theory. I also outline the processes for the gathering of secondary data, analytical techniques, ethical considerations, and the limitations of the study. Chapter Four includes the application of the WPR approach on the policy with thematic analysis from examinations of the secondary data. I discuss my analysis of case findings and conclude my study in Chapter Five.

Summary:

In Chapter One, I gave an overview of the study by discussing the problem area and the research context. The main research problem is the ‘economic abuse’ or the issues of financial support being withheld by former male partners as experienced by women-clients who were assisted at the MSWD. The intent of this paper was also discussed, followed by the framing of the research questions, my role as a researcher, the significance of this study, and lastly, the structure of my thesis. The next chapter discusses my review of the related literature.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter Two discusses the framework and process of scoping proposed by Arksey and O'Malley (2005). I examine the literature on economic abuse as a category of IPV both in cohabiting and post-relationship contexts. I also assess the previous studies on financial support and its dominant discourses in the literature, particularly research from Western countries like Australia, Canada, United Kingdom, Sweden, and America. Lastly, I discuss the framing of financial support as a post-separation economic abuse in the Philippines through a review of the grey literature. This research topic was predominantly drawn from policy and gender studies.

Scoping Framework

This study operates through a methodological framework of literature review called 'scoping studies' by Arksey and O'Malley (2005). Scoping studies "aim to map *rapidly* the key concepts underpinning a research area and the main sources ... especially when there are very limited, comprehensive reviews in a particular field of study" (Mays, Roberts, & Popay 2001, p. 194; cited in Arksey & O'Malley 2005, p. 21; Levac et al. 2010, p.2). This study utilises peer-reviewed journal articles and books accessed online and textbooks in the Flinders Library from January- March 2019. Other evidence-based publications from the Philippines were also incorporated in the collection of literature for review.

Scoping the literature offers an overview of the body of knowledge relevant to the study. This paper adopts two of the four reasons for undertaking scoping studies. First, scoping studies help to 'examine the extent, range and nature of the research activity in a given field' (Arksey and O' Malley 2005, p. 21). Hence, for my study, I focused on searching for literature reporting on feminist research and policy lenses regardless of study design (Arksey and O' Malley 2005, p. 22). The second reason for using this scoping studies framework meant I could identify gaps in evidence-based practice

where there is a need for further in-depth research. On one hand, Levac et al. (2010, p. 4) for example, recommend that when identifying relevant studies and limiting the scope, it is always best to justify and acknowledge the decision of limiting the scope. Hence, at every stage, I mention the limitations of my methodologies. Ideally, scoping studies are conducted by a research team, but for my study, an outside person such as my supervisor was consulted for feedback. In this chapter, I considered the definition and context of economic abuse and child support as the major topics of my study. The first framework stage in scoping studies is the identification of the literature review question (Arksey and O' Malley 2005, p. 23). My question that informed scoping of literature was:

How is 'deprivation of financial support' constituted as an 'economic abuse' problem in the literature?

The second and third stages pertain to the identification of relevant studies and study selection (Arksey and O' Malley 2005, pp. 23-25). Given that my study is in the context of an Asian country, the Philippines, I initially searched for peer-reviewed journal articles from the Asian Journal of Women's Studies covering volumes from 2010-2019. I included articles with themes related to my topic, which generated 32 peer-reviewed articles and 2 books. Upon further reading of each abstract, only one article mentioned women in post-separation relationships and the settling of family disputes, which is a comparative study between Malaysia and Bangladesh. Furthermore, I accessed the electronic journal of the University of the Philippines-Center for Women's and Gender Studies and the digital publications from the Philippine Commission on Women (PCW) for specific research in the Philippine context. As of this writing, there were no specific publications that discretely classified 'deprivation of financial support' as economic abuse. However, I have considered assessing the digital publications of the PCW to trace how VAWC as a national concern came into policy. The Anti- VAWC Act of 2004 is the only policy in the country

that has included the 'deprivation of financial support' as a category of economic abuse. Hence, to support my research topic, I have drawn on the existing research from Western countries, particularly Australia, UK, and America as these countries have existing policies and have conducted several studies on child support.

Given that my main source of electronic journal did not generate a succinct number of peer-reviewed articles on spousal maintenance and economic abuse, the next step I did was exploring databases such as Informit Research, JSTOR, Science Direct, Taylor & Francis Online, ProQuest, the first 50 pages in Google Scholar and Sage Journals with publications covering from 1989 to 2019. My keywords were: '(Philippines OR government OR local government) AND (divorce OR post-separation OR separated OR break-up) AND (financial support OR spousal maintenance OR alimony AND (economic abuse OR oppression or violence) AND (women OR woman OR female OR wife OR mother) AND (case management OR social welfare OR social service)).

Stage four and five of scoping studies methods require a rigorous assessment of peer-reviewed articles with steps emphasising decisions about inclusion and exclusion, charting, collating, summarising and reporting the results in the search for literature (Arksey and O'Malley 2005). I applied the inclusion and exclusion criteria by assessing the titles and the abstracts. I also checked the bibliographies of peer-reviewed journals then searched these on databases. From this activity, I have generated a total of 2,232 peer-reviewed articles that inform topics around IPV, economic abuse, child custody, child support, divorce or separation. Out of this number, twenty peer-reviewed articles were related to child support and one piece of research was conducted on financial support as a state-facilitated form of economic abuse (Natalier 2018), which has a similar context to my proposed study. In reporting the literature review results, I organized them according to the dominant discourses surrounding financial support

literature. Consequently, I identified themes related to my topic to ascertain how deprivation of financial support constitutes economic abuse in the literature.

It is worth mentioning here that scoping studies do not provide a succinct summary of all the research findings but can provide 'narrative or descriptive accounts of available research' (Arksey and O' Malley 2005, p. 30). Hence, this review reports the findings of the available literature, which has contributed to the framing of the deprivation of financial support as a form of post-separation economic abuse.

Economic Abuse

Scholars have predominantly researched economic abuse in current relationships, wherein like other forms of IPV, women are the most common victims. Men use financially controlling behaviours to maintain economic power and control over women (Adams et al. 2008; Voth Schrag et al. 2018). These are tactics that limit women's self-sufficiency and harm their economic efficacy by means of employment sabotage, economic exploitation and economic control (Voth Schrag et al. 2018; Postmus et al. 2012; Adams et al. 2008). Showalter's (2016) systematic literature review focuses on men's sabotage of women's employment through disrupting their jobs, which results in declining productivity and performance, causing mental health problems and eventually losing time in their paid work. Men's financial control of women was evident in Anitha's (2019) study on migrant women. She cited several forms of economic abuse such as men's control of conjugal assets, men preventing their partners from accessing education and going out to work.

On the other hand, economic exploitation takes the form of creating costs, stealing women's money and limiting their purchasing power (Usta et al. 2013; Adams et al. 2008). These distinct experiences of abuse have caught the attention of researchers, media, policymakers and service providers; however, there is still a need to use a consistent and universal definition for this abuse. In this, language and cultural

differences present a great challenge (Stylianou et al. 2013; Postmus et al. 2018). In order to help define the problem, Adams et al. (2008) introduced a 28-item questionnaire that aimed to measure the extent and impact of economic abuse. It is called a Scale of Economic Abuse (SEA) which includes indicators such as the stealing of property, demands for women to quit their jobs, making all decisions about how money is spent, keeping women from accessing bank accounts, gambling with the family's money, and many others (Adams et al. 2008, p. 583). However, their proposed questionnaire is concentrated within current relationship status; hence the 'deprivation of financial support' by former partners is not included.

Economic abuse in relationships is often hidden or even invisible because it overlaps with other forms of intimate partner violence (Postmus et al. 2018; Anderberg and Rainer 2013; Antai et al 2014; Showalter 2016; Anitha 2019). For instance, economically controlling tactics were categorised as emotional violence in the Philippines' 2017 National Demographic and Health Survey (PSA 2017). This survey is a representative sample with 30, 832 women aged 15-49 years old interviewed, from both urban and rural areas in all 17 regions of the country. The result of the survey covered only three forms of abuse: physical, sexual and emotional. Emotional violence includes disallowing the woman to engage in any legitimate work or practice her profession; being forced to work or having her income controlled if she is working (PSA 2017, pp. 260-267). There were no specific questions and statistics for women with problems on child support. Hence, economic abuse could still remain invisible if not being treated as a detrimental social and economic problem. It could also mean that the deprivation of financial support by their former husbands/ partners may not be considered as a form of abuse by women themselves. There is still a dearth of evidence-based research that defines and measures economic abuse in post-separation relationships.

On the contrary, the Duluth Model's Power and Control Wheel (2013) acknowledges withholding of financial support as one tactic of former partners to economically control women, however, it did not give any defined example. This problem of financial support is embedded in socio-legal studies on child custody and divorce proceedings (Watson and Ancis 2013; Kurz 1996; Holt 2017). It is also discussed in relation to policy solutions for solo parents (Burgoyne and Millar 1994; Edin 1995; Ellis 2001). There is a gap in evidence-based research and argument on how financial deprivation of support constitutes economic abuse, although they are interrelated. On the other hand, there is an implied relationship between economic abuse and financial support issues when using the definition of economic control in the form of deprivation of support (Patrick et al 2008). This study is, therefore, an attempt to explore how the 'deprivation of financial support' constitutes a form of economic abuse.

Financial support

Financial support is more commonly termed as 'child support' in the literature. Meaning, it is the money transferred from the non-custodial or non-residential parent to the custodial parent, who assumes the primary responsibility of raising the children in post-separation situations (Cook et al 2015b p. 513; Cozzolino and Williams 2017, p. 229). The 'best interest of the child' is the premise for financial support, including custody, especially in western countries (Robila 2014, p. 99; Elizabeth et al 2012, p. 460). But in a developing country like Malaysia, financial support is aimed at compensating for the economic burden and suffering of women and children after divorce (Abdullah et al 2015, p. 368). Both purposes regarding child support are interrelated, but the manner of framing the problems and the target beneficiaries, usually women, shape each country's policies and services.

The framing of 'child support' thus remains a personal and policy challenge across all regions, but has not yet been significantly attempted across research, decision-making and practices (Cook et al. 2015, p. 57). Literature in this field usually tackles issues around legal and political representations of child support in policies and services, and post-separation, gendered parenting (Diduck 1995; Cozzolino and Williams 2017; Cook et al. 2015; Fehlberg and Maclean 2009; Natalier 2018). Research has mostly been located in western countries like Australia, United States, and the United Kingdom because they have welfare payment schemes for solo parents, unlike in developing countries where no such welfare system exists (Cook et al 2015b, p. 514). My literature review is thus guided by developing four themes on the 'problem-policy' framing of financial support. First, I framed financial support as a gender inequality issue among separated families, second as a woman's issue with government institutions. Lastly, I outlined the literature on financial support as a policy-solution to solo parenthood problems.

Financial support as a concern of gender inequality in separated families

Research on child support involves discussions and questioning of parenting roles as fathers and mothers (Cook and Natalier 2013; Cozzolino and Williams 2017; Diduck 1995; Ellis 2001). The literature makes us revisit what constitutes a 'family'. Gilding (1997) defined family in three ways: (1) in reference to the biology, marital status and living arrangements, (2) fulfilling social roles and functioning, and (3) the personal meanings attached to them (cited in Cook 2014, p. 2). Here, I contextualised the post-separation 'family' according to these three definitions.

The first definition reinforces the presence of the 'unmodified family', which is 'natural, inevitable, and necessary to the current social order' (Diduck 1995, p.531). While we could assume that biology remains a significant connection of the father to his children after divorce, this is not the case in the Philippines. Apart from the

biological connection, the legal marital status still binds a father with his ex-wife and children because of the absence of an opportunity to divorce and where both women and men are not allowed to remarry (Serquina-Ramiro et al. 2004, p. 115). In child support arrangements, the paternal authority brought about by marriage and biology is said to have extended his gendered identity as the 'financial provider' and the responsibilities that go with this, despite separation.

The hegemonic masculinity is established when men display their commitment to giving financial support (Natalier and Hewitt 2014, p. 920). Child support reinforces the privileging of men's economic authority in such a way that it sustains their presence in the lives of women and children, but a risk of economic control or economic abuse could also arise (Cook and Natalier 2013, p.47; Natalier 2018). It can also be resented in a way that their payments might blur their fathering identities on children (Natalier 2018, p. 137). Controlling and retaining the gender order is done by men through criticising women on how they spend the money (Cozzolino and Williams 2017, p. 230; Natalier and Hewitt 2014, p. 922). Economic control occurs in child support payments when men want to execute the payment solely for children's needs, which is believed to be equivalent to the mother's share in child maintenance (Cozzolino and Williams 2017, p. 230). Therefore, the notion of economic control is challenged by a 'normal' family discourse where the father 'traditionally' decides how to spend the money while the mother abides where it is spent.

Secondly, the 'family' discourses on the 'caring' and 'providing' functioning of both fathers and mothers are challenged in post-separation. Women as mothers are expected to live up to the norms of femininity. They are particularly positioned by being 'caregivers' but are also pressured to 'provide' for their children after separation (Malacrida 2009, p. 99; Burgoyne and Millar 1994, p. 95; Cozzolino and Williams 2017, p. 228). Much of the works by feminists have attempted to 'denaturalise' maternal responsibility as normative, however the 'women as nurturers' discourse have been continuously reproduced across the lifespan both in practice and in expectations/

representations in most societies (Malacrida 2009, p. 99). Butler (2004) argues that femininity is constructed as 'fragile' and that it is, therefore, necessary for women to constantly perform the acts that reinforce such feminine ideologies. When women successfully perform and reproduce femininity by being mothers, they acquire a sense of their own 'natural' gendered subjectivity (Butler 2004). On the other hand, the 'caring' roles of fathers are differentiated due to economic status. There is a difference in the expectation of the 'emotional labour' or 'care' that fathers provide for children in post-separation relationships. For middle-income fathers, it is a 'compliment' to their financial provision while for poor fathers; it is a 'substitute' because he is not a breadwinner due to unemployment (Cozzolino and Williams 2017, p. 230). These are the in-kind resources considered in support negotiations, but in-kind support is not very helpful for women of low-income status (Cook et al 2015, p. 60). Elizabeth et al (2012, p.462) argue that while non-monetary support of the father increases, such as the amount of time spent with their children, the amount of money becomes negligible. Hence, separation has resulted in the shifting of parenting roles and has put financial pressure on women and emotional expectations on men.

Third, the personal meanings attached to the 'family' are shaped by the resources extended by the gendered subject. Financing or material resources have always been a father's domain and identity in a normative family which could be maintained by child support payments (Cook and Natalier 2013, p. 31). Child support payments are both a financial and relational resource and a question of what 'appropriate' fathering and mothering is (Cook et al 2015, p. 58). As a material resource, it is the amount being paid with the expected level of authority attached to the money, and if given to the women, would render their presence and paternal identity invisible (Cook et al 2015, p. 60). When the question of a 'right' amount of support is calculated, the challenges, frustrations, and expectations of reciprocity experienced by women, far exceeds the 'right' amount to be collected from their former partners (Cook et al 2015, p. 68). Therefore, questioning the costs is challenged if the non-material,

valuable weight of caring for children is accounted for, however, in reality, as Natalier and Hewitt (2010, p. 490) suggest, it still depends on men's income and employment status.

Financial support as a gender inequality concern with welfare institutions

Research also tackles the lived experiences of women interacting within a triumvirate relationship: with men and government workers (Cook and Natalier 2016; Cook 2014, Natalier 2017, 2018; Natalier et al. 2016). Gender inequality in child support also arises in the mediation and collection process in the welfare agencies. In the study conducted by Cook and Natalier (2013, p. 28), men's argument is that the existing calculation-based policies were too unfair for those who do not have sufficient means to cover their personal expenses, including child support. Collier (cited in Diduck 1995, p.539) argues that it is the father who is actually victimized in the administrative process of child support because he has to be frequently reminded of his responsibility to provide. For Ellis (2001, p. 490), fathers must also make-up for the financial losses by giving quality time to their children.

The women's difficulty in obtaining support from the former partners is also aggravated by their interactions with government workers. Natalier's study (2017, p. 623) called these micro-aggressions that are discriminating and undermining women's engagement with child support services. There are expressions of discouragement and giving false hope to clients (Natalier 2018, p. 134). Micro-aggressions create a feeling of devaluation, and humiliation and silences are invalidated. The women sense that they are a 'problematic case' and not a legitimate client who is in need (Natalier 2017, p. 627). When women deal with government workers, it shapes how they view themselves as solo parents, mothers and welfare clients (Natalier et al. 2016). The presence of a reassuring mediator or agency to facilitate the child support neutralises the emotional stresses brought by child support arrangements. For women who had a distressful separation and failed negotiation with partners, a supportive and

encouraging government worker could ease her child management concerns. On the contrary, Natalier et al.'s (2016, p. 39) study argues that a government worker who is often unavailable, lacking empathy and unintelligibility on services would likely make women feel disempowered, vulnerable and stressed when managing a difficult relationship and system.

Policymakers should be informed of the lived experiences of women in the gendered and highly political process of child support systems if genuine reform is to be achieved (Cook 2014; Cook and Natalier 2016), especially on the tactics used by men in avoiding child support payments. For instance, by hiding wages from the child support agency, men are enjoying their own financial discretion and minimising the presence of the government's intervention in their lives (Natalier 2018, p. 132). There is a dominant discourse that women claiming financial supports are welfare clients while men are financially autonomous, hence there exists a social hierarchy and power differential (Natalier 2017, p. 623). On the contrary, Natalier (2018) argues that withholding child support is not at all punishable especially when the men involved come from a poor family. Hence, with gender theories, Natalier (2018, p. 137) posits that it would help us understand and untangle the structures and institutions that are facilitating instead of preventing further abuse.

Financial support as a policy-solution to solo parenthood problems

In western countries, the origin of child support policies comes from a response to the 'welfare dependency' of solo parents and the state's 'increasing public expenditures' on them (Burgoyne and Millar 1994, p. 103; Cook et al. 2015b, p. 513; Edin 1995, p. 203; Fehlberg and Maclean 2009). In Australia, obligating former partners to give support was a part of the solution to the increasing number of family breakdowns, increasing child poverty rates, domestic violence, and solo parents relying on social security benefits (Millar and Whiteford 1993, pp. 60-63; Patrick et al 2008, p. 750). In the United Kingdom, it is the attitude of most women's 'dependency' on welfare

support that urged the government to return the parental authority to the non-custodial parents (Millar and Whiteford 1993, p. 60). It is bound by the argument that if more women/ mothers received support from their former partners, then their 'dependency' and attitude about social benefits would be reduced. In return, it would also increase the responsibility of the fathers to support their children.

In the United States Child Support Act of 1991, this legislation aims to promote and honour parents' "moral and legal responsibility" on children from the first family while balancing it with any second family (Diduck 1995, p. 530). The US policymakers argued that child support enforcement could reduce the welfare dependency of single mothers (Edin 1995; Ellis 2001, p. 490). In Sweden, children's rights are upheld by promoting the 'best interest of the child', therefore all aspects such as living arrangements and needs are provided for by the state including when there is joint custody (Robila 2014, p. 99). In these western countries, waivers and 'good cause' exemptions are also considered when solo parents are at risk of repeated domestic violence. The laws exempt them from seeking support from their partners (Patrick et al 2008, p. 753). Burgoyne and Millar (1994, p. 95) and Cook et al. (2015, p. 57) suggest that the normative view of parenting responsibilities compelled the government to enforce rules on gendered roles, which resulted in greater policy challenges.

Summary:

Chapter Two discussed the scoping studies by Arksey and O'Malley (2005) as the research methodology used for the literature review. Here, I also presented the concepts of financial support as a form of post-separation economic abuse by first, defining economic abuse in both cohabiting and post-separation relationships. I presented my literature review on financial support in three forms: as a gender inequality concern within separated families and within welfare institutions, then as a policy solution to social problems of 'solo parenthood'. The next chapter provides the methodology of the current study.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter gives a detailed discussion about the theory and gender analysis tool, data sets and analytical techniques used to answer the research question. This study is informed by problematizing policies and gender through the interpretations by contemporary feminist thinkers like Judith Butler, in her work 'Gender Performativity' (1990, 2009) and through Carol Bacchi's six-question problematization (2009), who have cited the post-structuralist works of Foucault on discourse and power theories. The ethical considerations and limitations of this study are discussed in the last part of this thesis.

Gender Norms and Performativity

Since the early 1970s, gender, both shaped and produced by humans, has been understood as the social construction and classification of the 'biological' male into masculine and female into feminine (West and Zimmerman 1987, March et al. 1999, Gayle Rubin in Moya 2007). Judith Butler, a contemporary feminist, argues that if gender is socially constructed, how might it be constructed differently? How and where does such 'construction' take place? (Butler 1990, p. 7). To counter this, Butler (1990) has offered a different understanding of gender as a 'construction' that is performative, rather than a fixed category of sex. She contends that 'gender' itself, reiterates and complies with certain genders within the binary system in unexpected or new ways but always relates to the norms that precede gender (Joy et al. 2015). Norms are understood as the standards and expectations to which gender conforms at a specific point in time in a particular society (EIGE 2019), but for Butler (2004, p. 48), the gender norm itself is a form of social power that produces intelligible subjects and establishes the gender binary system. It is also embedded within the living subject and only persists when it is acted out in social practices and daily acts. Gender as performative entails that women and men 'do' gender, which involves a complex of socially guided

interactional activities (West and Zimmerman 1987, p. 26). Hence, performativity is a process of acting repetitive norms complicated with obligations and desires within individuals/subjects.

The way gendered subjects act also means that the norms are unconsciously expressed, though how the norms have acted upon them is not fully understood (Butler 2009, p. xii). When there is resistance to performing such acts, it is not because of a conscious and independent subject, but it is due to historical combinations of norms within the embodied personhood, which opens up the possibility for action (Butler 2009, p. xi). We are compelled to enact the gender norms and compelled to repeat them or else we become unintelligible or risk not being accepted or worst, punished (Loisidou 2008, p. 161). For Butler (2009), the performativity of gender conflates with the primary importance of living beings. In line with this framing of gender performativity, Geinger (2014, p. 490) posits that parenting becomes part of gender 'norms' that require a repetitive 'doing', thus individuals are 'becoming' intelligible subjects as fathers and mothers.

Butler (1990, p. 140) argues that specific genders become intelligible when they use disciplinary powers to maintain certain stability and continuity between genders, sexualities, sex, and desires, while those who fail to 'do' gender right are punished, disciplined or regulated. The regulation or subjection of gender is also further legitimized within the processes of the institutionalisation of laws, rules, and policies (Butler 2004, p. 40). Here, Butler (2004) derived some of her notions of regulatory power from Foucauldian scholarship: Firstly, that "regulatory power has its productive effect which acts upon, shapes and forms the pre-existing subject"; and secondly, "to become subject to a regulation is also to be brought into being as a subject" (Butler 2004, p. 41). She further contends that regulation makes persons 'regular', through discipline and surveillance as a modern form of power. Regulation can take legal forms and are compelled within the processes of normalization (Butler 2004). For instance, the 'regulation' by state governments on its welfare clients is actively producing the

norms of its target beneficiaries. It does not only regulate, but it also reinforces an idea of what subjects should be and restricts and limits how subjects act. Butler (2004, p. 56) argues that norms are not the same as laws or rules but have the same regulating powers over their subjects. In this study, we understand public policies created by governments as 'reproducing' gender norms that have potential *gendering*, *heteronorming*, and *classing* effects (Bacchi 2010) on the political subjects that are being 'regulated'.

Problematizing Gender in Public Policies

Public policies have been the function of the government's 'solutions' to social problems. By bringing 'problems' to the table for analysis, it is assumed that the policy options or the so-called 'solutions' are reacting to the 'problems', and therefore, favourable changes are expected to reflect on target beneficiaries (Bacchi 2012, 2017). However, such notions are challenged by Bacchi's (2009) *What's the Problem Represented to Be?* approach to policy analysis, contending that policies are active in producing implicit representations of 'problems' and 'political subjects' (Bacchi 2009, p. 1; Bacchi 2012, p. 21). Her tool is derived from Michel Foucault's theory who suggested that by unpacking problematizations and practices, the thought behind 'problems' can be revealed. It includes indirect influences that shape how we are governed and can open possibilities for new ways of thinking about a problem (Bacchi and Eveline 2010). The policy proposals that have been disseminated might have established fixed meaning for subjects or problems within the paradigm, but there may be other presuppositions or taken-for-granted problems that were silenced (Bacchi and Eveline 2010), hence this approach.

The problem representations could create difficulties for the target beneficiaries of the policy proposal and benefits, so the effects have to be weighed and critically scrutinized (Bacchi 2009, p. 15). The effects that have to be examined are: The

discursive effects-which are the conceptual logics that are explicit, with limitations or devastating effects for some people, which constrain the production of social analysis (Bacchi 2009, p. 16); the **subjectification effects** or biases based from our perceptions and origins, which would affect how we see women- these affect how we problematize the problem; and lastly, is the **lived effects**- asking the people who were subjected in the discourse and how this actually felt (Bacchi 2009, p. 18; Bacchi 2017, p. 28; Bacchi and Ronnblom 2014, p. 175;). The term 'discourse' is cited from Foucauldian theory, which implies that subjects have been formed and constituted through 'discourse' or 'knowledge' and accepted as truth (Bacchi 2017, p. 21; Bacchi and Ronnblom 2014, p. 175). It is more than language; it is the 'talking about ideas' among policy-makers, and the complex and differentiated practices that could be analysed (Bacchi and Ronnblom 2014, p. 174). Using quotation marks are signs that concepts are subject to political debate (Bacchi 1996; Butler 1992 cited in Bacchi 2017, p. 20). Concerning the 'subject', Bacchi & Eveline (2010, p.120) also suggest that policy practices have '*gendering*', '*heteronorming*' (Annfelt 2008) and '*classing*' effects.

Gendering Effects

When gender as a noun, is constituted as a verb like '*gendering*', it indicates that 'gender' is active and continuously constitutes women and men as unequal subjects in the policies (Bacchi 2017, p. 20). *Gendering* is when we analyse a policy to assess how it is supporting the production of the attributes of the traditional gendered categories of 'men' and 'women' (Bacchi 2017, p. 20). As a practice, it is considered as subordination concerning inequality, making men and women come to be. If it is an active but incomplete process of subordination, it also comes with *heteronorming* and *classing* effects. Making this a verb form changes our focus on the active and on 'doing' inequality and draws attention to the practices of subordination (Bacchi 2017, p. 22). *Gendering* has the purpose of bringing awareness of gender to a certain topic or an active process of inequality constituted in women and men (Bacchi 2017, p. 23). In

this paper, the existing Anti-VAWC Act of 2004 classifies women as one being 'abused' or one who has 'survived' violence. Hence, the policy aims at protecting them from further violence through the services available for them. More specifically, women who were deprived of financial support by their former partners are categorized being the 'caregiver' of their children, while 'men' are the 'financial provider'. The gendering effect of the national policy is further extended in the case management practices at the local level where it emphasises the couple's 'fathering' and 'mothering' roles.

Heteronorming Effects

Policies are supporting the gendered subjects to act in acceptable and expected ways according to the heterosexual framing, such as men to 'fathering' and women to 'mothering' roles, hence policies are reproducing a two-sex model or binary of social relations (Honkanen 2008 in Bacchi 2017, p. 29; Bacchi and Eveline 2010, p. 112). These policies are also reinforcing traditional social arrangements that could harm specific individuals while benefitting others. The gendered norms expected of men and women as parents are analysed in this paper. The existing national policy and local practices reinforce the heteronormative roles of parenting by requiring men to perform their 'financial provider' roles, while women do the 'caring' roles of children under their custody. On the other hand, a social issue comes in when the expected heteronormative roles and norms are not performed by one gender. In the problem of financial support, it is the father who fails to be the 'provider', hence he is compelled by the policy and case management to perform, otherwise, he would be incarcerated or punished.

Classing Effects

Classing means policies can only benefit certain groups; hence they could also be reinforcing traditional social arrangements that harm certain individuals and groups by privileging others (Bacchi 2017, p. 30). While the Anti-VAWC Act of 2004 protects all

Filipino women regardless of socio-economic status and religion and have experienced violence from their partners, this paper argues that it has the potential classing effects of the gendered subjects once translated into the local case management practices. This paper is an attempt to analyse what case files were able to proceed to compromise agreements and how women's socio-economic status influences their decision to agree and dismiss their option to incarcerate their partners.

Theoretical underpinnings of WPR Approach

Bacchi (2009) sourced four theories or traditions that, when understood together, constitute the perspectives for WPR problem-questioning. The key elements of these theories are discussed under each concept:

Social Construction Theory

This theory highlights the need to examine the social construction of 'knowledge' and taken-for-granted ways including our problem representations that are embedded in discourse (Bacchi and Eveline 2010, p. 117). Bacchi (2009, p. 5) used this theory which examines the 'presuppositions' or 'assumptions' (either epistemological or ontological) as background 'knowledge' that is taken for granted when identifying problem-representations. WPR argues that policy-makers play a significant role in producing and legitimizing particular understandings of 'problems' by their position and status in governing populations (Bacchi 2009). This paper dwells on the underlying assumptions on men and women as heterosexual, gendered subjects. This theory is utilised to understand how the policymakers of the Anti-VAWC Act of 2004 and how the local social workers view their gendered subjects through the discursive texts disseminated in the national policy and the written case management protocol and intake forms.

Poststructuralist discourse/thinking

The focus of WPR is on the meanings of contested key terms such as ‘gender’, ‘women’, or ‘men’, which, according to poststructuralism, are key terms in categories that have no essential or transhistorical implications but are part of discourse formations (Bacchi and Eveline 2010, p. 118). WPR works from the premise that the discursive framing of problem representation produces particular types of political subjects through eliciting certain ‘subject positions’. The ‘women’ and ‘men’ as political subjects do not have a fixed essence and are in contrast with the conceptions about humans. This means that our assumptions about ourselves as specific subjects are a reflection of the social practices that we are a part of, including the policy practices that guide our societal actions. Through the processes of subjectification and reproduction of problem representations, some groups of people are stigmatized, sexed, and racialized, and therefore become unequal to the other subjects (Bacchi and Eveline 2010, p. 118). The poststructuralist theory is used as another lens in this study by examining how policymakers and practitioners reproduce men and women as gendered, social welfare clients in the policy and social case management practices.

Feminist Body Theory

Using this theory to inform WPR, ensures that we are also looking into the ‘real’ situations on women’s experiences of problem representations and policy proposals. The WPR approach directs attention to “the shaping influence of non-discursive factors, such as the differential social locations of women and men, on one’s embodied experience” (Bacchi 2009, p. 43). The WEDC clients in this study are women who have been interviewed by social workers when they sought help at the MSWD. Their version of ‘economic abuse’ is written in their case notes. The case notes are the existing record of women’s ‘real situations’ that this paper has utilised. The feminist body theory compels this paper to examine and assess the different experiences of women through

their case notes. This thesis wishes to discover how their differences in terms of their situations, income, and educational attainment were utilised by social workers during the amicable settlements or compromise agreements. However, as the source of data is limited to the intake forms, this paper recommends that primary data collection would bring more in-depth study regarding women's lived experiences.

Governmentality

Government is understood as the institutions and knowledge that structure and regulate social behaviour. Bacchi and Eveline (2010, p. 120) contend that WPR acknowledges the public administrators or policymakers who are involved in the production of problem-representations, how they influence concepts and shape people's lived experiences, and how they reinforce the fixed categories of 'women' and 'men'. This paper examines the government's policies and practices in solving the problem of deprivation of financial support committed by former partners. This study draws on the theory of governmentality that as governments address certain issues through policies, the 'problem' is understood as a 'particular sort of a problem'. Deprivation of financial support in the national policy (Anti-VAWC Act of 2004) is understood as a form of economic abuse that warrants incarceration of non-paying partners. To further explore this policy-solution, this thesis studies how the policy-solution is translated into the local case management practice of handling financial support issues.

The abovementioned theoretical frameworks and theoretical approaches guided my understanding of gendering policies and practices. I have applied these theories to the following sets of data.

Data Sets

I centred my analysis on the following secondary data sourced from the Philippine Commission on Women (PCW) website and the Makati Social Welfare Department (MSWD). These key documents were accessed from March to June 2019:

1. Anti-VAWC Act of 2004;
2. MSWD Case Management Protocol on Economic Abuse;
3. 25 Compromise Agreement, a notarized document of former couple's agreement;
4. 50 Intake Forms, a structured survey administered to 'WEDC' clients.

The Anti-VAWC Law of 2004 is the only current Philippine law that defines 'deprivation of financial support' as an economic abuse among former couples (PCW 2004). This national policy is operationalized through the case management procedures/ practices at the local social welfare agencies. Professional social workers use case management as a "procedure or method of providing services wherein they assess the needs of the client and family", (National Association of Social Workers 2002 cited in DSWD 2012). Currently, the MSWD lacks departmental guidelines and the VAW Referral System on Economic Abuse is the only written protocol for serving economic abuse 'WEDC clients' in the agency, which gives basic instructions for how to assist women with problems of financial support.

The compromise/support agreements used in this study were written in Filipino, but I translated them into English before analysis. This notarized document details information about the arrangements of child custody, visiting schedules, amount of financial support, frequency and mode of payment of financial support, repealing and effectivity clauses. Intake Forms (Appendix A) are used to establish the client-worker relationship and are a way to explore the client's problem. Matarese and Caswell (2018) argue that such standard forms limit the conversations and inhibit the

exploration of the problem between the client and social worker because of the highly structured, 'paperwork' practices. However, despite the limitations, the information from the Intake Forms has been relevant to my study. Intake Forms are specifically used for 'Women in Especially Difficult Circumstances (WEDC)' clients at the Women's Welfare Section of the MSWD, during their initial meetings with the social worker. I utilised the written case notes of the social workers in the intake forms as my source for thematic analysis. I accessed 50 Intake Forms and 25 compromise/support agreements of women with cases filed from 2017-2018. All case notes were written in English. The narratives in this section were used as part of the 'texts' for analysis. To contextualise 'WEDC clients' used in this study, I will describe the profiles of the women below.

Profile of WEDC clients

Table 2 shows the 50 case files of WEDC clients in this study. The intake forms of these women were categorised according to their presented problem when they sought assistance at the MSWD between calendar year 2017 and 2018. These Presented Problems are Failure to Give Support with 36 total cases while the Insufficient Amount of Support was a presented problem of 14 WEDC clients. The background profile of 'WEDC clients' reveals that more women were cohabiting with their former partners than those who were legally married prior to their separation. The average age of women ranges from 30-39 years old (28). More women have attained at least some college or associate degree (14) and bachelor's degree (19). However, despite their educational background, almost half of the women's profiles cited that they are homemakers (21) who are not gainfully employed at the time of their visit at the MSWD. On the other hand, majority have at least 2 children under their custody.

It is also evident in their profile that aside from their 'economic abuse' concern, 24 intake forms show that women have experienced intimate partner violence while in the relationship. It was divulged in their intake forms that 6 women experienced physical abuse while 18 women confided to the social workers that they were

emotionally abused because of their partner's infidelity (13), and verbal assault (5). Furthermore, the cases also showed that out of 50 cases, 19 men/ fathers who have not extended financial support to WEDC clients have not reached any level of compromise. On the other hand, 17 men/fathers agreed to start supporting their children after an amicable settlement between the two estranged couple.

Table 2. Profile of WEDC Clients

Profile of WEDC Clients	Failure to Give Support	Insufficient Amount of Support	Total
	n=36	n=14	N= 50
<i>Civil Status</i>			
Married	14	9	23
Never Married	22	5	27
<i>Age</i>			
18-29 years old	8	4	12
30-39 years old	21	7	28
40-69 years old	7	3	10
<i>Educational Attainment</i>			
Less than High School	2	2	4
High School Graduate	10	3	13
Some College or Associate Degree	11	3	14
Bachelor's degree or Higher	13	6	19
<i>Major Occupation Groups</i>			
Professionals	5	1	6
Technician and Assoc. Professionals	5	2	7
Service, Shop and Market Workers	9	3	12
Traders and Related Workers	3	1	4
Homemaker	14	7	21
<i>Number of children</i>			
1-2 children	31	10	41
3-4 children	5	4	9
<i>Other Presented Problem</i>			
Experienced other forms of IPV	18	6	24
Marital Conflict	17	5	22
Did not disclose	1	3	4
<i>Compromise Agreement</i>			
With Compromise Agreement	17	8	25
Did not reached a Compromise	19	6	25

The written case notes of these women in their Intake Forms were used to gain understanding on the effects of subjectification of policies and practices on 'women'. In the analysis part of this paper, I will consider the interweaving characteristics of the WEDC client's profiles with their former partners to identify how their subjective differences were approached or utilised by the local social workers in managing the individual cases.

Analytical Techniques

The main analytical method used in this study is the WPR Approach, which emphasises a contextual understanding of policy creation (Bacchi 1999). Bacchi (2012, p. 22) suggests that the starting point of analysis is to identify pieces of legislation or policy announcements which may reveal underlying assumptions about what is problematic and what needs to change. Bacchi (2009, p. 20) suggests that we need a succinct understanding of the background issues by reading and describing the web of policies both historical and contemporary. Bacchi (2009) proposed six inter-related questions (Appendix B) and directions to apply these questions to one's problem representations. The purpose is to analyse how these representations sustain or challenge the hierarchical power relations and counter the assumptions of genders as unequal subjects (Bacchi and Eveline 2010, p. 115).

1. What's the 'problem' (e.g. of 'problem gamblers', drug use/ abuse', or 'domestic violence') represented to be in a specific policy?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the 'problem'?
3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?
6. How/ where has this representation of the 'problem' been reproduced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?

I translated Bacchi and Eveline's (2010) six-question problematization was translated into the following sub-research questions:

1. What is the problem of 'financial support' represented to be in the national Anti-VAWC policy when translated into the MSWD case management practices?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions are constituted by these problem representations on 'women' and 'men' as gendered clients in the MSWD's case management practices?
3. What is left unproblematic in this representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be conceptualised differently?
4. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?

I intentionally applied four out of six problem-representations: Questions 1, 2, 4, and 5 in this study because these are more feasible for exploring my data sets. First, I applied a text selection approach (Bacchi 2009) on the Anti-VAWC Act of 2004 and MSWD's case management protocols. As my contemporary policy, I used the Anti-VAWC Act of 2004 and the MSWD's written case management protocols on economic abuse to answer research questions 1 and 2, which also corresponds to the WPR 1 and 2 sets that interrogate the problem representation and its assumptions.

My second step corresponded to research questions 4 and 5 where I analysed the case notes and relevant texts from the Intake Forms and Compromise/Support Agreements using text selection and thematic analysis. Thematic analysis (TA) is "a method for identifying, analysing, and interpreting patterns of meaning (themes) within qualitative data (Clark and Braun 2017, p. 297). TA was used on the written case notes of social workers, which are translations of the service experiences of women/ clients relative to the policies under study. I identified and described the emerging thematic categories based on my understanding of the 'subjects', reproduced in the policy and practice instruments.

Ethical Considerations

This study involves a collection of secondary data such as national policies and MSWD case management procedures accessed online. The 50 Intake Forms and 25

Compromise/support agreements are confidential documents with identifiable information about women seeking service at the MSWD. For this reason, I submitted an Application for a Low or Negligible Risk Ethics Approval with the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (SBREC) in February 2019. Requirements such as Permission Requests (Appendix C) and Correspondence granting permission (Appendix D) were also prepared and attached to the application. The application aims to manage any possible conflict of interest between the clients, any third parties, and myself as the researcher. Conflicts of interest may come in the form of service-biases in the future or communications with the clients and social workers to get further information based from the initial data set. The SBREC Ethics Approval Notice with Project Number 8286 was granted on the 4th of March 2019. To manage the risk and conflict of interest, upon the receipt of all required secondary data, no follow-up questions or any communication regarding the entries were initiated throughout the research. The social workers obscured the names, contact details, and addresses of clients and authorities in the intake forms and compromise/support agreements as these contained information that may risk the re-identification of the clients. Moreover, I will present the results of my research to the Makati Social Welfare Department's General Staff Meeting and Gender and Development Council Meeting upon completion of my study.

Limitations of the Study

The findings in this study do not generalise the cases of all women experiencing economic abuse since this research only focuses on one of its forms, which is the deprivation of financial support by former male partners. The data sets are randomly selected secondary data from the MSWD, which is a representative of women who have accessed services from the department within the period 2017-2018. This study is limited to the case management protocols for financial support cases in Makati City. Thus, the findings may not reflect the situations in other local social welfare agencies.

There are also very limited studies on financial support cases in the Philippine context which constrained my ability to generate comparisons of studies within the country. With all these limitations, it is important to conduct further research using primary data collection methods and a larger sampling of the population across Philippine cities and municipalities. It is also thought to be important to conduct further studies on the relationship between economic abuse and geographical locations i.e. whether in rural or urban areas.

Summary:

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework and the policy analysis tools informing my study. I utilised Judith Butler's Gender Performativity and Gender Regulation theories to understand how certain genders were subjected to government surveillance and discipline. I chose the WPR Approach proposed by Carol Bacchi (2009) as my analytical tool to examine how the Anti-VAWC Act of 2004 when translated into MSWD case management practice, is potentially *gendering*, *heteronorming* and *classing* its target political subjects, the 'men' and 'women'. I also described the data sets I used in my study and the analytical methods such as the WPR policy analysis technique, the text selection approach and thematic analysis. I also included a discussion of the ethical considerations and limitations of my study. The subsequent chapter is the application of my theories and research methodologies.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS OF POLICY ANALYSIS

This chapter discusses the results of my policy analysis using four of the six-question problematizations of Bacchi's What's the Problem Represented to Be? Approach (2009, 2012) which also serve as my research questions. The data sets in the previous chapter are analysed and categorised according to the WPR questions: the problem representations, presuppositions and assumptions, unproblematized silences, and the effects of problem representation. Samples of case notes are also presented in this chapter.

Findings of the WPR Analysis

Problem Representations

Bacchi (2012, p. 23) argues that by working backwards, and focusing on the policy proposals or options, we can uncover how the issue is problematized as a particular 'sort' of problem. In problematizing 'deprivation of financial support', findings showed that the Anti-VAWC Act of 2004 chiefly proposes incarceration of men as perpetrators of violence against women. This includes men who failed to give 'sufficient' financial support to their former wives/ partners. The policy option of incarceration suggests that the 'problem' is framed as an 'economic controlling' of men, on the contrary, an 'economic victimization' of women; hence it is represented as 'deviant' acts of men that warrant 'incarceration' and 'protection' of women. This problem representation is particularly emphasised in their 'solutions' of imprisonment for men and protection orders made available for women (PCW 2004). As a form of economic abuse, this 'problem' is described as men's 'control' over women's financial mobility. However, when translated into practice, this policy option of 'incarceration' becomes a 'settlement' of financial disputes in the social welfare department through

an 'agreement' hence, the problem representation becomes a problem of 'financial disagreements' between former partners.

In the Makati Social Welfare Department's case management practice, this 'social' problem is explicitly 'fixed' through an amicable settlement. The 'problem' among former couples, characterises women as those who are 'demanding' financial support from their former partners, while men are 'conforming' to a support agreement. In the MSWD, the problem is assisted through counselling, orientation about the Anti-VAWC law, and case conferencing with the former couples. The amicable settlement is the local social welfare agency's strategy to 'fix' the financial disagreement issues with compromise/support arrangements as their 'output'. Hence, the problem has an implied mandate of 'sorting out' financial arrangements in the welfare agencies.

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Text removed due to confidentiality.

Text removed due to confidentiality.

The abovementioned cases failed to reach a compromise with their former partners. In case of disagreements or non-compliance of former partners, WEDC clients have the option to elevate their concern to the Public Attorney's Office to formally file an economic abuse case against their former partners. Thus, the Anti-VAWC Act of 2004 policy is applied that warrants former partners for imprisonment. On the other hand, the existing national policy gives women an 'option' to demand or 'threaten' the 'financial controlling' strategies of former partners.

Presuppositions and Assumptions

Bacchi (2009) proposes that when interrogating the target beneficiaries within policies, we have to look at both men's and women's subjectification and analyse which group were more privileged or more disadvantaged compared to the other. The task is to identify how the meanings attached to these binaries could potentially limit or restrict our understanding about a particular problem (Bacchi 2009, p. 7). Concerning the Anti-VAWC policy, women who were deprived of financial support are the 'victims' whose financial mobility to meet the needs of their children has been restricted. On the other hand, men are the 'perpetrators' who deliberately control such women's mobility. This 'victim-perpetrator' binary attached to gendered men and women with financial support issues suggest that this 'problem' needs an urgent response because the connotation of 'abuse' could mean it is serious and life-threatening, hence women have to be protected while men have to be punished. Conversely, this presupposition of urgency does not reflect in the policy's application to practice.

In practice, women are ascribed with the status of 'social welfare' clients when seeking agency interventions to address her 'problem'. In the Intake Forms, they are categorised as 'Women in Especially Difficult Circumstances clients' (WEDC) while men are neutrally classified as 'respondents'. Hence, men as 'respondents' obtain a neutral category as people who 'respond' to interrogations, while women are constituted as women 'in need' and 'welfare' clients who need assistance from the government. Upon intake interview, women obtain a 'WEDC client' status at the MSWD after submitting requirements such as Marriage Contracts if legally married, and Birth Certificates for children to establish their identities as mothers. Having this 'mother' presumption, women are assumed as the 'carers' of her children, as custody is bestowed upon her after separation (PCW 2004). There is also an assumption that she has limited or no source of income hence, she could not 'sufficiently' provide for the needs of her children.

In the sample intake forms, both monthly income of WEDC clients and respondents/ former partners were differentiated. Table 3 shows that 19 women are earning less than their former partner, 15 women are not aware of their former partner's income during the interview, while 12 women have earnings more than their former partner's. Hence, WEDC clients who are seeking for social service intervention are not at all dependent on their former partner's income to meet the basic needs of their children, though the 'sufficient' amount of support is still their main concern.

Table 3. Earning Difference of WED clients and their former partner

Earning Difference	With Compromise Agreement	Did not reach a Compromise	Total
WEDC client earns less than respondent's income	9	10	19
WEDC client earns same as respondent's income	2	2	4
WEDC client earns more than respondent's income	8	4	12
Respondent's income is unknown to the WEDC client	6	9	15
Total	25	25	50

Categorising women as ‘carers’ and men as ‘earners’ plays out in the case management practices, intake forms and support agreements. During case conferences, there is also an assumption that a woman would prioritise her children’s needs while men/ fathers are assumed to be ‘rational’ and capable of ‘decisions’ for family’s finances. This ‘carer-earner’ binary is evident in the following case notes of a 33-year-old married woman with 2 children to her former partner.

Text removed due to confidentiality.

The MSWD’s case management practice asks the WEDC clients on the employment status of their former partner by providing information of their employment addresses and their monthly salaries. Men in this ‘financial disagreement’ problem representation are assumed to be ‘employed’ and ‘earning’ fathers. The intake forms revealed that majority of the WEDC clients knew their former partner’s occupation at the time they had an interview with the social worker. Table 4 shows that thirty-nine (39) respondents are working as professionals, technician and associate professionals and service and shop workers. These jobs are either employed or self-employed. As ‘providers’, they are expected to have a stable income, given that the policy requires a percentage from this income to be deducted by their employer.

Table 4. Respondent's Occupation as known by the WEDC client

Respondent’s Occupation	Failure to Give Support	Insufficient Amount of Support	Total
Professionals	9	7	16
Technician and Associate Professionals	6	1	7
Service workers and shop and market workers	11	5	16
Unemployed	3	0	3
Occupation is unknown to the WEDC client	7	1	8
Total	36	14	50

Table 4 also reveals that three (3) WEDC clients sought help from the MSWD despite their knowledge of their former partner's unemployment. Upon reviewing their intake forms, the three respondents were able to reach at a compromise agreement

Text removed due to confidentiality.

While there is an assumption that men are 'earners' or 'providers' in both national policy and local case management practice, in the situations presented above, not all men have stable jobs, however, women would still demand for their children's right to be financially supported despite their former partner's income status. Hence, the silences around 'sufficient' amount of support is not problematized in the policies and local case management practice.

Unproblematized Silences

When problem representations have been identified, there are other concepts or problems, limitations and inadequacies within the identified problem-representations (Bacchi 2009, p. 13), which are not discussed. It was explicit in the policy and practices that men who deliberately deprive their former wives and children of 'sufficient' amounts of support are to be either 'punished' or undergo methods of 'fixing' these through agreements. What is left unproblematized here is the 'knowledge' around what a 'sufficient' amount of support should be. Both policies and practice apply the Family Code of the Philippines' provisions, which states that the economic capacity and needs of children should be weighed when calculating the amount of support (Official Gazette 1987). However, this becomes problematic if the 'number of children' is not considered

in the calculation of a 'sufficient' amount of support. In our case samples, only 3 out of 50 'WEDC clients' with 3 or more children were able to 'agree' on the amount of support provided by former partners.

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average family income and expenditure, a family of five members should have at a minimum USD30 per member per month to meet their basic needs (PSA 2019). Because there is no calculation of financial support, the case management practice is tolerant on the decision made by women to 'settle' and 'agree' on the capacity of her former partner to provide for their children. The amount was mutually agreed by the former couple, hence, no VAWC case was filed against him, and she was provided with financial support, but the 'sufficient' amount of financial support extended to her four children remained unchallenged. In addition, her 'financial mobility' to purchase other necessities becomes limited, which is assumed, but is left unproblematized in both policy and practice.

Other findings on the 'silences' during intake interviews is when 'WEDC clients' have to provide the exact address of the 'respondent'. In the sample case files, 8 out of 50 women were not aware of their former partner's address. Their case status was noted as 'pending for case conference, wait for the respondent's address'. The lack of information on her former partner's location could limit her from claiming for financial support. This is consistent with the MSWD's Evaluation Report which revealed that between the years 2013-2017, 30-60% of women's cases have ongoing or pending status for case conferences because they have to 'wait for the respondent's address'

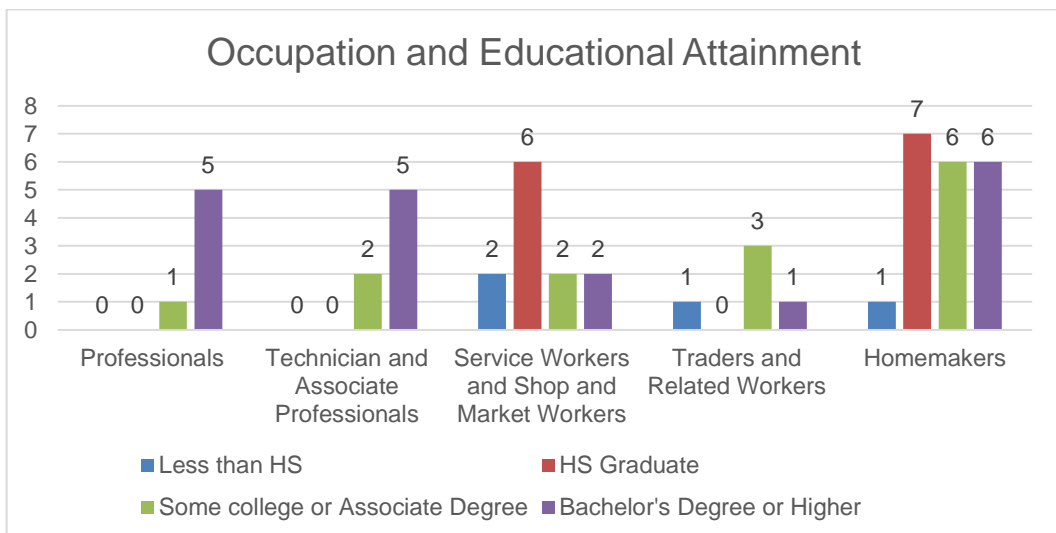
compared to 6-20% of the cases who have 'failed to agree' or 30-40% cases with compromise/support agreements (MSWD 2018). The case file of a 33-year-old married

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address by seeking assistance from other government agencies. Hence, the likelihood of a case conference and amicable settlements are also dependent on women's awareness of her former partner's location.

Other silences/undiscussed problems of these 'financial disagreements' is equating the 'care' labor of women to the 'financial' provision of men during support arrangements. Both policies and practice have not problematized women who have to relinquish their careers and educational attainment to singlehandedly look after their children or women who have taken on many jobs to meet their children's needs. Figure 1 shows the occupation and educational attainment of women.

Figure 1. Occupation and Educational Attainment of 'WEDC clients'



Of the 50 women, 20 reported that they were homemakers. Among them, 12 have attained some college, bachelor's degree or higher. Twelve women are working in the service industries, shops and markets while thirteen women are in the technical and professional fields. The types of jobs they occupy are in the industry sector such as retailing, waitress, and call center jobs. Such jobs earn a minimum wage amounting to \$10 USD (Php 500.00) per day. Women are not at all dependent on men's income, but the pressure to sustain the needs of their children financially while maintaining their 'caring' roles could lead to women's multiple burdens. However, problematizing the multiple burden condition of women with 'irresponsible partners' is minimized when the latter agreed to provide financial support. If the 'financial support problem' could be thought about differently as the multiple burden women face as well as a solo parenting problem, the policy-proposals and practices could have involved interventions that assist women in child-caring arrangements.

The silences in the 'sufficient' amount of support, 'location' of former partners, and the equating of 'care' labor by women to the 'financial' labor of men constitute men's financial discretion and men's autonomous status in post-separation relationships. If the problem could be thought about differently, this 'deprivation of financial support' could be represented as a problem of 'gender inequality' and 'social injustice'. Paradoxically, this is the overall aim of the Anti-VAWC policy and the Family Code of the Philippines, but in practice, 'inequality' is blurred by the decision of women to 'agree' to an 'insufficient' amount of financial support, sacrificing themselves through the multiple burden, and the unequal delegation of 'caring' roles in post-separation relationships.

Effects of Problem Representation

Bacchi & Eveline (2010, p.120) suggest that the policy and practice have potential effects that could be *gendering*, *heteronorming* (Annfelt 2008) and *classing* on their subjects. The findings in this study suggest that women who have ascribed the

status of 'WEDC clients' are subjected to governmental procedures such as intake interviews, attending case conferences, and appearing at legal departments either for notarization of Support Agreements or the filing of cases against their former partners. Her 'failed' relationship is explored by interrogating the reasons for separation whether she went through intimate partner violence as cited in their Intake Forms. On the other hand, their former partners or the 'respondents' in the case management discourse, have to appear only once in the local social welfare agency upon receiving the 'Summon or Invitation Letter'. Only his income and employment background are scrutinized; conversely, he is subjected to fewer interrogations. Hence, women being the 'welfare' clients have to undergo intense scrutiny through a series of questions and have to open up about their past experiences in order to obtain assistance to meet their needs. However, the exploration of services or the 'solutions' offered to her problem are already 'fixed', through the 'amicable settlements' or agreements or financial arrangements.

The problem of 'deprivation of financial support' as a 'social' problem in the context of Philippine policies and local practices is exclusive to heterosexual former couples, who are bound to support their biological children. Since it is exclusive to the heteronormative binary, the current policy and government procedures are inaccessible to new forms of parenting, for example, among lesbians and gays. In addition, because of the sectoral system in the MSWD, walk-in clients who are 'women' are already categorized as a 'WEDC client' of the Women's Welfare Section. Despite the presence of a Family and Men's Welfare Section, who could potentially give counseling to men, in the current case management practices, they are not given referrals to this kind of service. Hence, the problem of support is emphasized and reproduced as a relational, heteronormative problem of former couples, but the burden of being the 'client' and both 'mothering' and 'fathering' roles is placed on women.

The spousal 'deprivation of financial support' is potentially classing clients, especially men since their 'income' plays a vital role in the considerations for

agreements. This is evident in the outcomes of Support Agreements where men who have higher earning capacities would more likely agree on the amounts demanded by women, but men who are unemployed have to compromise and negotiate for minimal

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Moreover, while the social welfare agency's services are accessible to all women regardless of class status, the 'settlement arrangements' are more favorable for women whose former partners have stable incomes, on the other hand, women whose partners are not financially well-off or without stable income still face the difficulties of demanding support. On the contrary, men with lower incomes have to compromise and agree on 'extra' care compared to those who have higher finances, who would simply prefer to agree to the monetary demands of women.

Summary:

In this chapter, I presented my critical analysis of the national policy and case management practice by categorising my four research questions. The discussion of my policy analysis and application of theories and related literature are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the discussion of my policy analysis results and the application of theories and related literature. My research questions centred on how the social welfare practices and policies constitute 'deprivation of financial support' as a form of 'economic abuse' in the context of conjugal separation in Makati City, Philippines. This section also includes a discussion of the implications of social welfare policies and practices on 'women' and 'men' as gendered clients. I conclude my study in the last part of this chapter.

Problematizing 'deprivation of financial support'

I begin my discussion with the discourse around 'financial support'. As described and defined in the literature, financial support is the form of money provided by the non-custodial parent, usually by men/fathers to women/ mothers, who are the custodial parents in a post-separation relationship (Cook et al. 2015; Cozzolino and Williams 2017). This definition is adopted in the Family Code of the Philippines and current Child Support Bills. However, these policies use neutral terms of subjects such as 'spouse', 'parents' or 'guardians', which implies that either men or women could be non-custodial or custodial parents. The policies surrounding financial support in the Philippines do not explicitly respond to the social problems of increasing welfare beneficiaries and public spending on solo parents as occurring in western countries (Burgoyne and Millar 1994, Edin 1995, Fehlberg and Maclean 2009). This is due to the unavailability of child support payment schemes in the Philippines. On the other hand, the Family Code obligates 'parents' to support children regardless of marital setup (Official Gazette 1987).

A previous study on the creation and history of the Anti-VAWC policy revealed that women could not realistically oblige their former partners to support their children in post-separation relationship settings. This had been a problem for legal

professionals because women could not file a case against their 'irresponsible' partners in reference to the Family Code (de la Cruz and Domingo 2014). Hence, before the enactment of the Anti-VAWC Act in the Philippines, financial support was predominantly framed as a 'financial obligation' by parents (Official Gazette 1987), but the emphasis was usually on men as traditional economic providers of families.

It can be inferred that for over a decade, since the inception of the Family Code in 1987 and Anti-VAWC Act in 2004, policymakers may be 'reacting' to problems of 'irresponsible' fathers who wilfully deprive women and their common children of financial support. By categorizing it as an economic abuse strategy under the Anti-VAWC policy, it assumes that 'irresponsible' men would be able to 'provide' financially. Failure to do so would warrant their incarceration as punishment (PCW 2004). This policy treats their actions as 'deviant' to the social order in society. On the contrary, an analysis of problem-representation under the Anti-VAWC policy suggests that when 'deprivation of financial support' is constituted as a form of economic abuse, the focus shifted from 'irresponsible' fathers to 'economically controlling' former partners on women's financial mobility. To expand the problem further, when the Anti-VAWC policy was translated into the social welfare case management for assisting women in 'economic abuse' cases, the problem of 'deprivation of financial support' becomes a problem of 'financial disagreements' between separated couples.

My study argues that the 'financial mobility' of women is assumed in the Anti-VAWC policy but it is left unproblematised in the local social welfare case management procedures. The current practices in MSWD minimises the problem of 'economic abuse' by 'fixing' the 'economic controlling' behaviour of men through amicable settlements and financial arrangements. Implications of such processes are consistent in the study conducted by Natalier (2018) that in child support arrangements, men's financial discretion is regulated, and, I contend, women are not economically protected. Hence, the Anti-VAWC policy does not fully serve its protection purpose for women experiencing economic abuse from their former partners.

Violence Against Women or Violence Against Men?

This exploratory study is an attempt to problematize the ‘deprivation of financial support’ as a form of economic abuse in Philippine social welfare policies and practices. Cases of ‘deprivation of financial support’ have been increasingly reported in the MSWD since 2013 up to the present. The MSWD is mandated to protect women from further abuse and because this problem is categorised as a form of economic violence in post-separation relationships, it warrants attention from the local policymakers and service-providers. The ‘deprivation of financial support’ is a distinct social issue because it is contextualised in a post-separation setting and yet, has remained a personal and policy challenge (Cook et al. 2015). In the Philippines, financial support is a ‘parental responsibility’ in the Family Code but in the ‘Anti-VAWC’ policy, it is the source of economic control in post-separation relationships. Translated into local case management practices, this problem representation has reproduced gendered subjects in the discursive texts such as ‘abusive’, ‘irresponsible’, ‘financially providing’, ‘earning’, and ‘conforming’ respondents. On the other hand, women are implicitly categorised as ‘demanding’, ‘unemployed’, ‘caring’, ‘dependent’, and ‘victims’ or ‘WEDC clients’.

The ‘deprivation of financial support’ in the Anti-VAWC policy constitutes a ‘deviant’ act by men who restrict women’s financial mobility, thus, an economically controlling strategy. The ‘victim-perpetrator’ binary is explicitly expressed in the policy but not in practice. When the policy is translated into the local social welfare case management procedures, economic abuse becomes ‘hidden’ (Postmus et. al 2018), under the guise of ‘financial support’ provisions. This study reveals that its inclusion as a form of economic abuse ‘threatens’ men’s gendered identities through incarceration, hence, it compels some men to provide child maintenance and it has given opportunities for women to demand ‘sufficient’ amounts of support. This ‘threatening’ of men matches with the argument of Collier (cited in Diduck 1995) that it is actually the

father who is victimised in the administrative process because he has to be frequently reminded of his 'financial responsibility' to provide. They also have to compensate for their financial losses with quality time with their children (Ellis 2001). As evidenced in the case notes, men of low-income have to substitute some of their potential financial support into 'care' work. However, this does not translate into the 'victimization of men'.

On the contrary, this study argues that the burden of being the 'client' at the same time assuming both 'mothering' and 'fathering' roles is placed on women, hence a violence against women. It is not only the financial mobility that is controlled, but also the opportunities for women to improve and develop themselves. Because of the financial, physical and psychological burden that women experience in caring for their children alone, they are hampered on meeting both their practical and strategic gender needs. The categories attached to women as 'caring' and 'dependent' mothers have devalued her dual roles or the multiple burdens attached to solo motherhood. The potential career growth vis a vis educational attainment of women as evidenced in the data analysis, are being hampered because of sole parenthood. Also, in post-separation financial agreements, 'care' work does not equate to 'labour' work, which undervalues women's reproductive and productive roles. Multiple burdens are legitimated in reference to men who do not take any share of household work or financial sustenance. If the problem could be thought about differently as a 'gender inequality' problem representation, the 'solutions' might be different. By framing the problem as a 'lack of financial resources' of women, MSWD's case management could link women to economic activities that would not sacrifice her 'mothering roles'. However, future proposals for economic programs by the national and local policies, may be desirable, but may produce another social issue, which is women's multiple burden who would both be 'caring' and 'working' in the absence of the father's child support. On the other hand, this study recommends that policymakers could identify appropriate economic empowerment programs and financial counseling activities for both fathers and mothers after a rigorous socio-economic assessment.

While men are subjected to some government surveillance, it is not as tedious as women's experiences within the procedures of 'amicable settlement'. Findings show that as a 'WEDC client', she has to report at least twice to the office, first for an intake interview, and second for the case conference, or if they have failed to agree, Procedure 7 directs them to the Legal Department to lodge a criminal case against the non-paying partner. As 'welfare' clients, women face interrogations about their past relationships and current financial standing to properly address their needs. Women have to establish the identity of the father through financial support. In this setting, the 'WEDC client' is more amenable to becoming the 'dependent' client who is in need of assistance from men or from the government. When reifying these roles, women more than men have to undergo intense surveillance, and are more subjected to the processes, rules, and procedures advanced by the policy and practices.

Through 'amicable settlements', the law gives the option for men to evade incarceration or heavy sanctions. On the other hand, the fathers have to maintain their role as providers by extending more 'financial' support and some 'caring' support. Amicable settlements are the arena in which gendered roles are normalized and men's financial discretion is regulated. Thus, the Anti-VAWC policy when translated to current case management practices of mediation, compromise, and referral for legal services have taken for granted women's subjective differences and economic consequences of solo parenthood.

This study recommends policy and protocol development that encourage a multi-disciplinary approach in case management. While women are considered as clients in the social welfare agency, men/ fathers could undergo a series of counselling or referral to other services that would help him support their children. Furthermore, an improved referral system of services in the local social welfare agency could help social workers tease out other services that would elevate the current status of solo parents/ WEDC clients.

An abuse or an excuse?

Framing the 'deprivation of financial support' problem as an 'abuse', and a serious social problem assumes that men will be 'forced' to 'provide' financial support in order to escape incarceration. It frames 'financially providing' men as 'intelligible' subjects but the 'financially depriving' acts of men need to be punished (Butler 1990). The assumption around 'financially providing' men is implicit in the Anti-VAWC policy, but this discursive text plays out in the case management practices where former partners negotiate their 'income' to fit into the 'demands' of the 'WEDC client'. Without formal calculation of financial support, the 'financially providing' men can extend an amount that is commensurate to their income, but the discourse around 'sufficient' amount of support was not problematized vis a vis the number of children. Hence, by providing an 'excuse' on the amount of support, he is also 'excused' from being incarcerated. On the other hand, the demand for a higher or 'sufficient' amount of support by women is challenged due to the low-income status of men. Conversely, if and when men of low-income are incarcerated, it would even be more difficult for women to demand financial support.

This study supports the argument of Natalier (2018, p. 137) that punishment is only sanctioning the 'breadwinner' version of masculinity, which is difficult to achieve for many men of low-income status. Their economic status could also be an excuse to a legal case or incarceration. Instead, they could agree on an 'amount' and in-kind support commensurate to their capacity to provide as also postulated by Cook et al. (2015). It could exempt poor men from being incarcerated out of an 'excuse' based on his financial capacity. On the contrary, men who have the capacity to support, but still deliberately withhold 'sufficient' amount are more likely to have their cases alleviated to the court for 'economic abuse'. This is an emerging rationale in one of the Child Support Bills; that men who are financially capable, but who wilfully deny children financial support should be incarcerated (Congress of the Philippines 2016a, 2016b). Hence, this policy-option of incarceration has classing effects, particularly on men's

financial status. Therefore, in middle to high-income families, deprivation of financial support is an 'abuse', while in low-income families; it could be an 'excuse'.

Final Comments

My study makes an original contribution to knowledge in a developing country that does not have formal welfare payment schemes. The Philippines addresses child support following family separation through case management and enforcement of laws that incarcerate perpetrators of economic abuse. I utilised Judith Butler's Gender Performativity and Regulation of Norms as theories in understanding how certain genders were subjected to government surveillance and discipline. I chose the WPR Approach by Carol Bacchi (2009) as my analytical tool to examine how the Anti-VAWC Act of 2004, when translated into MSWD case management practice, is potentially *gendering*, *heteronorming* and *classing* its target political subjects, the 'men' and 'women'.

Without formal child support schemes, the Philippines' family law relies on the conformity of men and women to the expectations accorded to them by the law and norms in society. However, as living and performing subjects, men who failed to 'do' their gender as fathers are 'punished' and 'regulated' while women's dual roles as 'caring' and 'providing' mothers remain 'unnoticed'. The Philippine policies have categorised 'deprivation of child support' as a form of economic abuse and it has subjected both men and women to government surveillance, however, more surveillance is cited on women. Economic abuse becomes more visible after parents' separation, which takes the form of deprivation of financial support or insufficient amount of support 'legally' obligated for children. Women, who are mostly affected are in need of help because they cannot sustain all the needs of their children alone. My study suggests that this could only maintain the traditional gendered roles of fathers as 'economic providers' and mothers as 'carers' of children. The Philippine legislation and

local policies on VAW are designed to be pro-women but are not actually enforced and translated into needs-based programs. This one-size-fits-all approach of the MSWD's local case management practice has regulated men's financial discretion and autonomy, while women are left with dual roles and perpetual hope that their former partners would be 'responsible' for supporting their children when legal actions are not pursued.

The literature review and research findings suggest that there is a need for further research to understand the complexities and challenges of economic abuse on both Filipino men and women's perspectives. At present, women are subjected to more surveillance because they are the 'clients' and 'victims' of abuse. In addition, the heteronorming effects of this current policy tend to exclude lesbian and gay families, which are also emerging family settings in the Philippines. While these cases are not reported in the local social welfare agency, policymakers could start problematizing their needs in the context of post-separation. Furthermore, this study could contribute to the social work practitioners' knowledge, skills and ways in examining a public policy's problem representation, its unproblematized silences, assumptions and its effects on gendered clients. For the local policymakers, there is a need to reassess the current deficient case management practice. For national policymakers, this study suggests an improvement of social services and multidisciplinary referral system for economic abuse cases. Support services to women's economic empowerment could help uplift the solo parenthood condition of women. On the other hand, gender-sensitivity seminars and responsible parenthood seminars for men/ respondents could help them appreciate the caring roles of women.

Problematizing financial support policies in this research has been personally challenging for me. Firstly, there is a lack of evidence-based research on child support within the context of developing countries and in the Philippines. Reading articles from a western feminist perspective has given me a lot of information and knowledge in

looking at social problems through a different lens. I am surprised by how western feminism perceives and interpret the problems of financial support as forms of gender inequality. Before my studies in this area, I viewed this as a 'lack of financial needs' by women, but by using a gender lens, it allowed me to look at the silences brought about by changing gender relations and inequality. I was bound by my belief that 'amicable settlements' stood as the most appropriate 'solution' for this particular problem, in order to help women with their financial needs, not realising that these are dynamic subjects with unique problems, which needed individualised interventions.

Secondly, this research was thought-provoking in such a way that it challenged my values around parenting and family relations. Coming from a Catholic and family-oriented background, I have deep-seated values that were quite hard to give up during the process of understanding the experiences of women. While I acknowledge that family and relationships are dynamic and evolving, my values on family seemed confined within an unmodified, traditional one. With this study and my Women's Studies degree, I came to understand how these values were actually limiting me to understand women and gender and all its components.

Third and lastly, the outcomes of this research may not directly translate into programs and services, but I intend to utilise my skill sets and knowledge in developing or evaluating our programs and services to ensure its gender-responsiveness and sensitivity to the needs of social welfare clients regardless of their sexual orientation. As a returning social worker and practitioner in my organization, the invaluable knowledge and skills I gained from this research would serve as tools that I shall share with my colleagues and fellow constituents. #

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APPENDICES

Appendix A Intake Sheet Format

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Appendix B. WPR Approach Six Questions

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Appendix C Permission Request

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Appendix D Correspondence Granting Approval

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