

11-30-2020

Shoemaking in a Central Philippine City: A Disappearing Tradition?

Marjury Estillero Dino

University of San Carlos, marjury.dino@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://archium.ateneo.edu/socialtransformations>

Recommended Citation

Dino, Marjury Estillero (2020) "Shoemaking in a Central Philippine City: A Disappearing Tradition?," *Social Transformations Journal of the Global South*: Vol. 8: Iss. 2, Article 10.

Available at: <https://archium.ateneo.edu/socialtransformations/vol8/iss2/10>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Ateneo Journals at Archium Ateneo. It has been accepted for inclusion in Social Transformations Journal of the Global South by an authorized editor of Archium Ateneo.

Shoemaking in a Central Philippine City

A Disappearing Tradition?

Shoemaking in Carcar City, Cebu is an integral part of the locals' identity as it has been dubbed as the shoemaking capital of Cebu province and the southern Philippines for decades. More than a source of livelihood, it is a tradition that has been passed down for generations. This paper describes the current situation of the shoemaking industry in Carcar. Particularly, it looks into the shoemakers' narratives and the locals' stories or opinions about the business and why it is becoming less popular as a means of livelihood. Through these, the paper explores the factors that have led to the decline of the industry and whether knowledge and skills in shoemaking are still being passed on to the younger generation. Qualitative research methods were employed namely, participant observation and semi-structured interviews with a total of thirteen key informants. Findings showed that the changes in the country's trading policies, favoring trade liberalization, have caused the decline of the local shoe industry as it has paved the way for the unabated entries of imported shoes. Many micro, cottage, or small-scale manufacturing businesses have closed, and only a few independent players are left to compete in the domestic market. The economic changes in the community have led to changes in some socio-cultural practices, changes that are unfavorable for the local shoe industry. With the younger generation showing little interest in learning the craft of shoemaking, this tradition and its socio-cultural practices are on the brink of extinction; thus, the need for interventions and support to revitalize and strengthen the local shoe industry.

KEYWORDS: Carcar City, economy, neoliberalism, shoe industry, shoemaking, social exclusion, trade liberalization

INTRODUCTION

Carcar City is considered the shoemaking capital of the province of Cebu and the southern Philippines. As mentioned in the official website of Carcar City, the shoemaking industry started in Barangay Liburon in the late nineteenth century with the first local shoe factory established in 1913 (Alfafara 2014). It became a source of livelihood for several locals. The successes from the business resulted in Carcar's reputation as the "shoe capital of Cebu."

Located approximately 40.5 kilometers southeast of Cebu City, it is bounded in the south by the municipality of Sibonga, in the north by the municipality of San Fernando, in the east by the Cebu Strait, and in the west by the municipalities of Aloguinsan and Barili. It is considered as Cebu's heritage town and one of the oldest Spanish settlements in the Philippines with heritage structures built during the Spanish and American colonial period (Alfafara 2014). It has a population of 119,664 (PSA 2016) and is comprised of 15 barangays. Two of the 15 barangays are notably known for shoe manufacturing, namely Liburon and Valladolid. Most of the shoe stalls can be found along the Cebu South Highway in Tangasan, Barangay Valladolid.

Shoe manufacturing in the city is mostly a family-owned enterprise that has been passed down from the previous generation. It is labor-intensive and requires a certain level of craftsmanship in each phase of the production process, following a traditional production method. Just like any other footwear industry in the country, the local shoe industry in Carcar can be characterized as mainly micro to small-scale industries (Pearl2Project 2003). It was reported in 1986 that even if about 70 percent of the total footwear products are from Marikina, Cebu was considered then as one of the major production areas of shoes (Lamberte and Jose 1988).

In the 1970s, the footwear industry was recognized as one of the country's growth sectors as was evident in the proliferation of small and medium sized shoe firms. During its peak, local footwear was coveted by even the most discriminating consumers in major fashion cities around the world. It was a time when footwear workshops and craftsmen would be very busy churning out seemingly endless pairs of footwear, which would be known for outstanding quality and design (Beerepoot 2008), and when the local shoe industry had "strong local and international demand" (Andaquir 2005).

In the early 1980s, the Philippine government implemented trade policy reforms in response to what was needed in "a competitive

market environment” (Aldaba 2013). This is part of the conditions imposed by the World Bank in the adjustment loans it granted to the Philippine government, which is marked by the liberalization of imported goods through tariff reductions and the relaxation of quantitative restrictions on imported goods (Medalla et al. 1996). According to Walden Bello (2009, 10), this first started “in the form of structural adjustment program [*sic*] imposed by the World Bank in the early 1980s, in the latter’s effort to strengthen the economy’s capacity to service its massive external debt.”

To understand the situation of the local shoe industry in Carcar, the paper explores the concepts of social exclusion and neoliberalism. Social exclusion as a concept was first mentioned in French literature in the mid-1960s. In the 1970s, social exclusion was used to challenge the intensifying crises of industrial capitalism in the context of the welfare state. As explained by Guha (2007), it was also used to counter the prevailing “narrow money and income oriented economic approach” in dealing with the burgeoning unemployment in the industrialized countries in Western Europe who were excluded from the “normal activities in the society.” Evident in various studies conducted in the sixties and seventies, exclusion was used to describe the position of the disadvantaged groups, primarily those who do not profit from the economic growth or those living on the margins of industrial societies who do not share the benefits of economic progress (Keller 2014). Specifically, social exclusion was utilized to refer to those excluded from the advantages of the welfare state in developed capitalist countries due to escalating labor instability and joblessness (Teichman 2016). Though there are numerous literatures on social exclusion, this research uses a critical perspective in understanding the concept.

Critical anthropology looked at social inclusion or exclusion as the contradictory outcome of historical and endogenic processes. Such understanding is shared by other researchers in gender studies and political economy who noted that “large, institutionally-driven development initiatives were controlled by elites and did not trickle down to reach those on the margins” (Bakker and Nooteboom 2017, 64). On the other hand, Teichman (2016) highlighted how economic globalization has resulted to social exclusion because “any discussion of social exclusion needs to incorporate a consideration of the impact of economic globalization, the restrictions and opportunities it offers for countries, and the way in which it shapes economic opportunities.” He further explained that “the fact that countries do not equally share

the benefits of globalization means that those most disadvantaged are likely to face more difficult challenges in addressing exclusion and differential inclusion.” Similarly, Levitas (2005) pointed out that social exclusion is the manifestation of inequality and essentially a peripheral problem existing at the boundary of society.”

Following the critical perspective approach, it can be said that neoliberalism is a driver of social exclusion that became entrenched in the common-sense way of people. As explained by Walden Bello (2004), neoliberalism revolves around “liberating the market via accelerated privatization, deregulation and trade liberalization.” At its core, it gives free rein to market forces and the removal of barriers on transnational firms by labor, the state, and society. Finance Secretary Isidro Camacho, Jr. mentioned in 2003 the two decades of liberalization indicating that “[t]here’s an uneven implementation of trade liberalization, which was to our disadvantage.” Tariff reform may be beneficial to the consumers, but it has “killed so many local industries” (Boras 2003 quoted in Bello 2009, 15).

Trade liberalization through the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) has lowered the barrier for trade in goods (Kahler 1995; Ritzer 2011). The decline of the national footwear industry became apparent because of this, resulting in the rapid shift in market conditions (Beerepoot 2008; Cruz 2004). During this time, the footwear manufacturing industry downsized with the decrease of sales volume due to the high cost of imported raw materials, poor quality control with only 15 percent of the entire production process being mechanized, limited financial resources, and weak market penetration strategies. These have resulted in poor competition with other shoe exporters such as Korea, Taiwan, Spain, and Italy (Lamberte and Jose 1988). Due to less restrictions on imports, there was unabated entry of cheap goods from China, Korea, Taiwan, and other countries (Cruz 2004). Shoe imports rose sharply, affecting the local shoe industry in the Philippines.

In other countries like Greece, the leather shoe manufacturers were not exempted from the effect of the increasing entry of imported shoes. The abolishment of the protective measures in the importation of goods and the particularly low production costs in Eastern European and Asian countries encouraged firms to import footwear. In the European Union, China was the main importer of shoes (Voyiatzis, n.d.). In the Philippines, the reduction of the protection rate for manufacturing (from 44 percent to 20 percent within a period of two decades) has led to bankruptcies of local

industries as locally produced goods suffer from unfair competition by cheap imports. Among the industries severely affected were “paper products, textiles, ceramics, rubber products, furniture and fixtures, petrochemicals, beverage, wood, shoes, petroleum oils, clothing accessories, and leather goods” (Lindio-McGovern 2007, 4).

Based on the Philippine Board of Investments’ (2011) report on the country’s footwear industry profile, there was a 14 percent decline in employment in the footwear industry from 2005 to 2009 and a 7 percent decline in establishments. In Cebu, the number of individuals employed in the footwear drastically decreased from 2,635 persons in 2005 to 1,000 in just four years. Membership of the associations for the footwear industry has also declined. In the same report, China was identified as the top exporter in the world, explaining the large volume of imported Chinese footwear.

In Scott’s (2005, 76) study of the shoe industry in Marikina City, he mentioned that failures of the “industrial cluster and commodity chains” in the city “can be directly related to liberalization of the Filipino economy, and the concomitant increase in Chinese-made shoes on [*sic*] domestic markets.” The local shoe industry in Carcar has faced the same predicament brought about by the “free flow of goods” as the shoemakers and shoe manufacturers struggle to compete with the entry of “cheaper, mostly Chinese-made footwear products in the local market.” Trade liberalization paved the way for the influx of imported shoes from countries like China, Korea, and other nations. As pointed out by its mayor at that time, “there are now barely 50 players in the footwear sector in Carcar. This is much lower compared to 500 small entrepreneurs who were engaged in shoemaking business years back [*sic*]” (Lorenciana 2014). These surviving small entrepreneurs are the ones facing very stiff competition in the market. The cheap raw materials and the relatively low production cost of footwear manufacturing in other countries made their products more affordable compared to locally-made footwear.

As shared by a member of Carcar United Footwear and Manufacturing Association, Inc. (CUFMAI) in another local paper, struggling shoe players merely rely on caravans in other municipalities, especially during fiestas or trade fairs for the sales of their product (*SunStar* 2014). Those who own or rent stalls depend on walk-in customers who are usually tourists. Accounts in the local papers were only part of many stories continuously shared and reminisced by some of the former shoe manufacturers and shoemakers in Carcar City.

This paper aims to describe the current situation of the shoemaking industry in Carcar City. Particularly, it looks into the shoemakers' narratives and the locals' stories or opinions about the business and why it is becoming less popular as a means of livelihood. It attempts to identify the factors that have led to the decline of the shoemaking industry. Attempts were also made to determine whether knowledge and skills in shoemaking are being passed on to the younger generation as a way of maintaining the integrity of Carcar as the "shoe capital of Cebu."

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative research methods were utilized to get the emic perspective—the insider's point of view of the participants. It follows a holistic approach to gain a deeper understanding of the individual participants, including their opinions and perspectives (Nassaji 2015). Fieldwork commenced from September 2016 to March 2018.

Unstructured and semi-structured interviews were employed in the collection of data. As Kvale (1996) would say, interviews allow people to convey to others a situation from their own perspective and in their own words. It also contextualizes what the researcher usually sees and experiences during fieldwork (Fetterman 1998). In an unstructured interview, the interviewer is made aware of the interview beforehand and the researcher prepares topic guides but merely as an "aid to memory" (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011). With this type of interview, there is limited control over the participants' responses to freely express their thoughts at their own pace and using their own words. A semi-structured interview, on the other hand, is conducted through an interview guide, a list of open-ended questions and topics to be asked, in which informants can freely answer based on their experiences (Bernard 2011).

Participant observation, an identifying characteristic of most ethnographic research, was also utilized for this research. Through this method, the researcher participates in the lives of people being studied but maintains a professional distance that allows adequate observation and recording of the data (Fetterman 1998). Key informants were selected based on their knowledge and involvement (direct or indirect) in the shoe industry in Carcar. Direct involvement means that the informant is involved either as *entradista* (those

who make or assemble the upper part of the footwear), *manglagdok* (cobbler), *biyahidor* (shoe marketers), shoe-stall owner and/or attendant, or owner/previous owner of a shoe manufacturing enterprise. On the other hand, indirect involvement means that the informant is none of the previously mentioned but is familiar with and possesses knowledge of the business because of their parents' or relatives' direct involvement in the shoemaking industry, or as a member of the local government unit (LGU), or as a government employee who handles concerns regarding local livelihood.

The interviews were transcribed and manually coded based on recurring patterns, concepts, and relevant themes (e.g., challenges encountered in shoemaking). Fieldnotes and a diary were also referenced to substantiate and compare with the data gathered from interviews. Analysis of qualitative data is largely descriptive in nature and confined to the categories identified from the data obtained throughout the study.

THE CARCAR SHOEMAKING ENTERPRISE

Shoe production involves various processes that begin with a design. A designer would sketch the detailed drawing of the type of shoes to be made. In Carcar, designing means drawing by hand and transferring it on cardboard to serve as a *padron* (template) for the *entradista* (sewer). Designing requires creativity, precision, and different skill sets, thus having such expertise is highly recognized in the local shoe industry. Aside from preparing the template, designers also prepare samples of the new design of footwear that *manglagdok* reproduce and what shoe manufacturers use as samples for marketing.

In some cases, designers copy and modify the style of shoes that are considered a fad at a particular season or period. An informant shared that she used to work as an *entradista* but trained under the shoe factory owner to design shoes. She and the owner would visit malls in Cebu City and look for varying designs of shoes displayed in many boutiques and shoe stalls. Not having owned a camera then, she just tried to commit to memory the designs and styles of shoes that she found interesting. Once home, she would outline the shoe designs she remembered. As expected, she would only remember a few and so when asked by the owner to hand down her designs, she would say, "*upat ra jud ako mahidumduman!*" (I only remembered four designs).

During fieldwork, the researcher observed how the shoemakers make doll shoes—from designing, sewing, and assembling the upper to the outsole. First, a sketch of a particular design of shoes is prepared. The design is sketched and redrawn on cardboard following the actual shoe size. Then the outline is cut using scissors and made into a pattern or *padron* that will be traced by the *entradista* on the cloth that will be used for the lining and on another type of fabric that will be used for the upper part of the shoes (see fig. 1 to fig. 3).

After tracing the design on the upper's cloth using chalk or a pen, the *entradista* cuts the outline using scissors, leaving approximately a five-centimeter margin from the traced line. The same thing is done with the lining. Margins are left for stitching and to keep the upper part from getting deformed once it is formed on the lasts and attached to the insole. After preparing the lining, the adhesive is applied. How long the adhesive stays on the lining depends on the type of adhesive used. After some time, the lining is individually attached to the cloth, adding thickness to the upper part of the shoe. It provides comfort and adds durability to the shoes. Once the lining is attached to the cloth, the *entradista* stitches the edges. It is the *entradista* who does the tracing, cutting, and sewing of the fabrics for the upper of the shoes. Most of the *entradistas* use treadle sewing machines (see fig. 4 and fig. 5).



Figure 1. Cardboard patterns in different sizes



Figure 2. Tracing patterns on the fabric



Figure 3. Cutting the traced patterns



Figure 4. An old Singer treadle sewing machine



Figure 5. Fabric being sewn together

For the *suwelas* or insole, the shoemakers have ready-made cardboard patterns prepared for different shoe sizes. The patterns are traced on the cardboard and then cut exactly following the traced outline. After cutting the sole-shaped cardboard, it is attached to the rubber using an adhesive. The rubber is then cut tracing the sole-shaped cardboard attached to it. Patterns are also traced on a piece of fabric that will be used to cover the latter. Each pattern on the fabric is approximately cut with a one-centimeter margin from the traced line. Using adhesive, the cloth is then attached to the rubber and cardboard previously joined, completely covering the rubber leaving the cardboard part visible. The extra cloth (the margin) is

folded following the shape of the material (see fig. 6 to fig. 8). For the outer sole, the same cardboard pattern is used for tracing. The pattern is then traced on a much thicker piece of rubber. The rubber is then cut with at least a three-centimeter margin. Once cut, its edges are smoothed using sandpaper or a grinder (see fig. 9).

The upper is then slipped into the last with the insole tacked to it (see fig. 10). The lower edge of the upper is tightly pulled over a wooden form (see fig. 11) using an *istirador* or pincers until it could be temporarily fastened with nails. Once the desired form is reached with the upper showing no creases, the shoe tacks and/or nails are removed. Since creases are normally formed at the bottom part of the lasted upper, a shoemaker uses a *sipol*, a curved-like knife, to remove the creases. Sometimes the grinder is used to remove the creases. Once the bottom part of the lasted upper is smooth, the outer sole is attached to it using adhesives. With the upper already attached to the sole still fitted in the last, it is then put into the heater together with another pair of shoes that undergoes the same process. After approximately two hours, the shoes are removed from the heater. The quality is checked and visible adhesives are removed. Additional designs may be added to the upper.

The heater is where the shoes undergo the heating process to bind the upper part of the shoe with the lower part. It is made of concrete and is usually powered by charcoal (see fig. 12). Heating is used to make sure that the outer sole is fully attached to the upper and to harden the outer sole, ensuring the durability and the quality of the shoes. In the area of study, some participants no longer use the heater. One of the informants explained that the heater is no longer used to lower down the costs of production so that they can sell their shoes at a much cheaper price. Another informant shared that they only use rugby and that the heater limits the number of shoes made in one day.

Wa na may heater ron di pareha sa una nga heateron. Kadtong amoa madala ra man to ug rugby, pero ang ila Senti nga buhat, mogamit gyud sila ana tuskig kaayo oy. Amoa rugby ra amo gigamit. . . . kuan dugay hinay ang iyang production (kung mogamit og heater). Gamay ra ug maagi (rason sa dili paggamit og heater). Pwede ra kung upat ka trabahante, upat kadosena ang imong isulod sa heateran kada adlaw. [The heater is no longer being used, unlike before. For our shoes, we only use rugby, but for

Senti's shoes, he is still using the heater and (the shoes) are really stiffened (by the process). We are only using rugby . . . also, the production is slowed down (if you are using a heater). You can only make a few pairs. It is fine if you have four cobblers that can make four dozen shoes per day, which you can put in the heater.]

The upper of the shoes is normally done by the *entradista*. Whereas the *manglagdok* or cobblers handle the fitting of the upper to the last, smoothening the outer sole, and attaching the upper to the outsole. An *entradista* is paid PhP 200 per dozen for the *entrada* and the *manglagdok* is paid PhP 220 per dozen for their work. At present, to lower down the operation costs and because of the limited number of workers engaged in shoemaking, the *manglagdok* does the tracing, cutting of the textiles, and other tasks normally done by the *entradista*. Except for sewing, most of the work is done by a *manglagdok*. Because of this, it is not surprising to see a *trabahuan*, the place where the shoemakers work, with only one shoemaker arduously working.

Shoemaking, following the traditional method, entails certain skills that cannot be learned in just a short period of time. Every pair of shoes is a reflection of the expertise, hard work, and passion of the *entradista* and *manglagdok* for their craft.



Figure 6. Adhesive used to bind shoe materials transferred to a glass



Figure 7. Putting adhesive on the sole-shaped cardboard before attaching the rubber (for the insole)

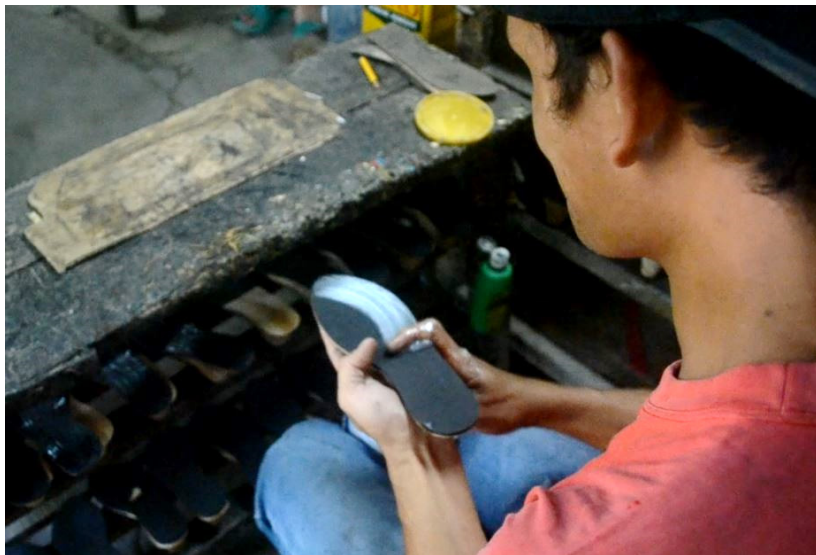


Figure 8. Putting adhesive on the rubber before it is covered with textiles



Figure 9. Preparing the outer sole to be smoothed using the grinder (found on the right side of the shoemaker)



Figure 10. Fitting the upper part of the shoe to the shoe last



Figure 11. Wooden shoe lasts that have been repaired for the new types of shoes being made



Figure 12. The heater used to bind the upper and lower part of the shoes



Figure 13. Shoe samples

THE RISE AND FALL OF DEMAND FOR LOCAL SHOES

At the peak of the local shoe industry, Carcar-made shoes were marketed not just in Cebu province but also in other parts of Visayas and Mindanao. The people who advertise and sell the shoes in the provinces are called *biyahidor*. The *biyahidor* usually get different samples of shoes from various factories in Carcar, which they bring along when they travel to other provinces showing these to their target buyers. When they return, the *biyahidor* orders or gets stocks of the shoes from the factory. One informant described her relationship with the *biyahidor*, “*sila ang moduol diri. Permiro gagmay-gagmay lang usa dayon magkadako-magkadako*” (they are the ones who would approach us. At first, they’ll only get a few stocks, until demand increases). The *biyahidor* buys or loans the stocks from the shoe manufacturers, and payment is mostly made through postdated checks. There were instances that the stocks were paid on a staggered basis. As described by an informant, “*utang, kuhaon unya magdala siya pila kadosena, by dozen man ang iyang ibiyaye sa laing probinsya. Pagbalik ana, silbing datahan man la gud, di man na matabu nga full payment kay ang iyang ibayad depende man gud sa iyang makoleksyon didto*” (they loan the stocks because they usually travel to other provinces with several dozens of shoes. Upon their return, they pay a partial amount of the credit depending on the amount they have collected).

“Shoe Capital of Cebu” is one of the brands associated with Carcar. It encapsulates the period when the demand for local shoes was at its peak and when shoemakers could enjoy the fruit of their hardships and carried their brands with so much pride. An informant said that this brand still holds true to this day, albeit, dying. The informants’ narratives of how everything was in the past paints the opposite picture of the local shoe industry’s present situation.

As recalled by the informants, a lot of Brgy. Liburon’s households were employed in shoemaking. During those times, the local shoe industry started from a cottage-based industry and grew into a micro and small-scale one. A sixty-three-year old informant remembered that when she was fifteen years old, she worked in a small shoe manufacturing company with 24 workers, 12 *entradista* and 12 *manglagdok*. Due to the high production of local shoes, cobblers would even accept apprentices—those who can assist them while being trained with the intricacies of doing the *lagdok*. There were shoemakers who decided to establish their own shoe manufacturing business after seeing its potential. When the same informant decided to have her own “factory,” she hired 14 shoemakers and had a *kamarin*, a structure used as a workstation of shoemakers, built beside her house. In one week they used to produce 50 dozen shoes (600 pairs) of one kind or sometimes a combination of shoes, sandals, and slippers. This was the biggest number of workers she ever employed because the business eventually started to dwindle.

Shoemaking was a promising enterprise during its heyday. Anyone can work in local shoe manufacturing regardless of educational background as long as they knew the basics in shoemaking and are willing to be trained. It was a source of livelihood for many families in the community, ensuring their income. There were those who earned a college degree and who did not find it necessary to work in other industries so they decided to invest in the local shoe enterprise, which they found to be profitable. The continuous flow of capital allowed them to stay afloat.



Figure 14. A photo taken inside the *kamarin* or *trabahuan* in the early 1990s



Figure 15. Different shoe designs typically shown to clients in 1992

Most parents who were engaged in shoe manufacturing could send their children to college. A seventy-nine-year old informant shared, “*nakapatiwas jud ko skwela sa akong upat ka anak nga babaye sa college tungod sa akong sapatusan. Dili man to lisod sa una. Kon karon, lisod na jud*” (I was able to have my four daughters graduate from college because of my shoe factory. It was not really difficult before, unlike now). They find it necessary for their children to finish their studies, saying, “*dili ko ganahan nga maparehas sila nako nga wala nakahuman og iskwela*” (I don’t want them to be like me who didn’t get to finish school).

An informant whose late father had a small shoe factory before recalled that they used to have twenty-seven workers. They filled orders of shoes from malls and boutiques such as Metro Gaisano, Best Buy, and Loalde. They also have three biyahidor who supply shoes to different stalls, stores, and small boutiques in the Visayas and Mindanao areas. Their father earned well from the business and was able to send him and his two siblings to private school. His father even asked his mother to resign from her job to help with the business. To cover the orders from different stores, the shoe factory would produce at least a hundred dozen shoes a week.

As can be seen through these narratives, the shoe enterprise brought stable income to the manufacturers and shoemakers. Because of this, there was always a reason to celebrate and to prepare food for simple parties.

Oo, kay kuan jud to, ako mahinumduman kay kusog kaayu to, pag sabado ana sa gabii, ang trabahante ana kay overtime jud na, overtime ana, ang tag-iya sa factory ana, pakaon, painom, so inig ka dominggo ana, maghikay gyud na permanente kanang naay mga factory. Mao jud na naandan, ako nahinumduman mao jud na ang trend sa mga factory nga kada dominggo, pahalipay nimo sa imong mga trabahante . . . imo jud na pakauon og paimnon . . . (Yes. I remember that there was really a high production of shoes. So every Saturday shoemakers worked overtime, and the owners prepared food and drinks for them. On Sundays, every factory will have a feast. That is what I remembered as the usual practice in every factory during Sundays as a way of giving thanks to workers . . . food and drinks are prepared for them.)

If there are special occasions like Christmas, shoe factory owners would give parties and *putos* or giveaways to the workers and their children. During fiestas or any other occasion in the community, it was not difficult to get the locals' participation and cooperation. For example, most shoe manufacturers would sponsor a *kalingawan* (events or activities for people's enjoyment) such as a basketball tournament with the special participation of some known basketball varsities and celebrities, variety shows, beauty contests, among others.

The biyahidor, as the marketing and/or sales agent, also benefited a lot during that period. According to an informant, her late husband got to earn extra income from his trips by engaging in a buy and sell business. He buys other products that are sold where he had the shoes delivered. For example, in Bantayan, Cebu, her husband buys dried fish and sells them upon his return. The regular income of her husband paved way for them to have their own factory for slippers. As what other informants said, most biyahidor in those days were able to establish their own shoe factory using the money they saved from their travels.

Everything changed when the demand for local shoes started to dwindle. This became noticeable when shoe factories started laying off workers until they eventually closed down. A father who has been involved in the shoe industry since his teenage years found himself slowly losing his regular clients. Local shoes were no longer sought after in the market so clients looked for other goods that they could sell in their stores. A son witnessed how the business built by his father started to collapse until there was nothing left but stories from their former shoemakers about how they once worked for his father. In one interview given by the city mayor for a *SunStar* news article in 2014, he said that there were 500 shoe manufacturers in Carcar in the 1980s. Unfortunately, there are now only 50 manufacturers left including the mayor himself.

What triggered such change? Informants shared, "*karon kay kompetensiya nimo ang China*" [now, you compete against China (products)]. With the unabated entry of imported shoes, the local shoe industry was unable to compete in the market. Imported shoes according to the informants are cheaper and aesthetically appealing so people opted to buy them, lowering the demand for local shoes. As what the informant said:

. . . pagkakaran nga nanulod na (ang gikan sa gawas),
wala na, di na mi kakuan (kakompetensya). Moadto gani
mi didto sa Progress, palit naman lang gani tig taga ka

piyesa. Tig durha . . . oo, kanang ana ba. Lahi na bitaw ang kompra, di na kabulto ba. Di na kadaghan kompra tungod sa nihit kaayu ang order, di na kaayu daghan. [now that there are imported shoes, we can't compete in the market. If we go to Progress (store), we only buy one or two *piyesa* (parts) for each material. It's really different now. You can't buy bulk materials anymore because the orders are very minimal.]

For years, shoemaking was a popular source of livelihood for a number of people, but the popularity has wavered due to the decreasing demand of local footwear. To quote what one of the informants shared,

murag halos patay naman ang sapatusan karo . . . dili na maoy main nga panginabuhian ron. Siguro naay pipila nga tiguwang-tiguwang na nagfactory, mao ang naandan nga panginabuhì pero nagsalig ra pud na sa mga anak [the shoe industry is almost gone now . . . it is no longer the main source of livelihood. There might be some older people who still operate a factory because it is what they are used to, but they still rely on their children (for financial support)].

Before the influx of imported footwear, shoe manufacturers usually bought materials for shoemaking in bulk from Carcar's Progress Home and Office Furnishing store (more commonly referred to as Progress). The official website of the store mentioned that it has been selling raw materials for the upholstery and shoe industry since 1948. In the 1980s, they expanded into home, office, and restaurant furniture as well as other interior and home improvement products (Progress Home & Office Furnishing 2011). Shoe manufacturers in Carcar used to buy or loan materials from Progress by issuing a post-dated check. They get materials in bulk such as fabrics, *banhay* or outsoles, adhesives, etc. Nowadays, Progress no longer offers trade credit to small shoe manufacturers because when the demand for Carcar footwear fell in the 1990s and early 2000s several shoe manufacturers failed to pay their debts. There were still several shoe-manufacturers in Carcar who had unsettled payments with some stores and private individuals. They were unable to earn enough money to pay for their debts and obligations since their income from their main source of livelihood (shoe manufacturing, shoemaking,

or marketing) has waned with the unpaid debts of their former customers and the decreased demand for local shoes.

The decline of demand resulted in the layoff of many workers and the closing down of several shoe manufacturing enterprises. As shared by an informant, “*nagbinay-binay man to katangtang hangtod nigamay nalang ang trabahante ana, nigamay, nigamay hangtod nga nigamay jud sila, padulong siya nga wala na jud. Mao nakaingon ko nga nibinay na jud to. Nibinay na jud to siya kay nigamay naman.*” (the number of workers slowly went down until only few were left. I could say that at that time the business was already slow.)

Biyahidor went to their *suki* (usual customers) in different parts of Visayas and Mindanao only to be disappointed by the lack of orders and the small collection from the store owner’s payables. As recalled by an informant:

Unya moana man nuon nga “ahhh, hinay kaayu ang halin, aw dalha nalang ninyo balik ang stocks.” Moana. Unsaon pa man na nimo, dalhon na pud nimo balik? Mogastos na sad ka sa travel. Mao jud to akong naobserbaran nga nakasulay ko og kuyog sa mga biyahidor. Nahibung ko nga . . . ihatod ni ninyo nga stocks, dala ka 5 kadosena ana, unya ihatag ning listahan o, naa didto ang mga balances ba. Ihatag. Usa ka tindaan, mohatag nimo 300, naay 500 unya ang utang ana tig 50 thousand, 30 [mil] . . . so wala na jud siyay lami ba. (But they would say, “We have very low sales. You can just get your stocks back.” That leaves the biyahidor with no choice. You can’t get the stocks back because that means additional travel cost. That was what I observed when I went with the biyahidor. I was surprised when we delivered five dozen shoes to the store and received only a list where the amount of balances was recorded. Another store owner only paid PhP 300 or PhP 500 for his/her PhP 30,000 to 50,000 debt. It was unmotivating.)

The amount collected by the biyahidor increasingly decreased. It was also observed that most stocks they brought during their prior travels were not sold and stocks just kept piling up. Even if some stocks might have been sold, the store owners were not really keen on paying them. Due to the poor collection, the biyahidor were unable to pay the shoe manufacturers what they owed, which then hindered the latter from paying their debts to the stores where they got their raw materials. Eventually, the local suppliers of raw materials like

Progress Home and Office Furnishing stopped offering trade credits to the manufacturers; and if they do, they only offered it to those who they think can really pay (usually those who have more capital). The shoe manufacturers did not get the return on their investments. With no capital to start anew, production slowed down.

Although there were still some *biyahidor* who would buy and sell shoes from the micro and cottage-based shoe manufacturer, the vitality of business was no longer present. As shared by an informant,

Naay pipila nga namiyahe gihapon pero sa akong kuan sa dagan ani, lahi jud sa una og sa karon. Kay kuan man, tungod sa human sa gawas nga nisulod bitaw diri. Daghan na kaayu. Sa Marikina lagi, naa man akong igsuon nga nanrabaho didto sa una. Nanira ang uban oi. Wala na siya didto. Uli na diri ka wala naman didto. Nanira na tungod aning human sa gawas nga barato pa sa ato unya masustentar man ilaha. Molutaw-lutaw man sa tubig ilang human. Kaning mga ing ani ba (goma) . . . (there are still those who travel to market the shoes, but from what I see, it is really different from before because of the entries of imported shoes. They're just so many. Even in Marikina, where my brother used to work, some factories closed down. He is no longer working there because the shoe manufacturing industry closed down due to the continuous entry of cheap shoes, like this one that I'm wearing, a rubber that floats in water).

The stores that previously displayed local shoes started selling imported or China-made shoes. Even in Carcar, stalls displayed imported shoes. An informant who owns a stall in the local market admitted that aside from local shoes, she also sells Taiwan-made footwear since the latter requires less capital and is more in-demand, like those made up of plastics and rubber.

There was a time when local shoemakers and manufacturers in Brgy. Liburon formed the Carcar Shoemakers Cooperative. The cooperative used to buy in bulk and sell the footwear made by its members—a buy and sell scheme that was supposed to help its members in marketing their products. However, it did not take long before the cooperative went bankrupt as their stocks started piling up due to limited sales. One of the reasons identified by the informant for the failure of their cooperative is the lack of support and patronage from its members. Some of its members sold their footwear to outside buyers at a much lower price compared to that

of the cooperative despite the price ceiling. Another cooperative for shoe manufacturers has been established in Carcar City: the Carcar United Footwear Manufacturers Association, Inc. (CUFMAI). However, this cooperative only comprises 20 percent of the existing footwear manufacturers in the city (Alfafara 2014).

In an interview with a staff member¹ from the City Cooperative Office of Carcar, it was mentioned that the office assists small entrepreneurs who want to form cooperatives. Assistance is coursed through the cooperative. The City Cooperative Office also provides assistance to the indigent beneficiaries through the Department of Social Welfare and Development, but they don't have livelihood projects for shoe manufacturers whose business is on the verge of closing down or whose businesses have already closed down.



Figure 16. Carcar United Footwear Manufacturers Association, Inc. Display Center along Sitio Tangasan, Brgy. Valladolid, Carcar City, Cebu

In 2015, the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) VII gave CUFMAI equipment worth PhP 1.7 million that was supposed to help both the members and non-members of the cooperative. The equipment was inclusive of a hydraulic sole press, a hydraulic bench type cutting machine that cuts molds of soles, a heavy-duty stitching machine, and an insole stitching machine to sew the materials together. The equipment was expected to hasten shoe manufacturing and improve the quality of footwear produced (Vestille and Lim 2015). According to an informant from the LGU, some manufacturers who tried the stitching equipment complained that its

stitches easily loosened. The informants of the study who are still into manufacturing are unaware of the equipment given to CUFMAI. According to them, even if they did know about this assistance, they do not receive enough orders for bulk production and hence, would be unable to maximize its use. More importantly, they don't have the capital for the materials needed to produce dozens of shoes.

Almost a decade prior to the awarding of equipment to CUFMAI and in an aim to help the local shoemakers, DTI assisted the cooperative in bulk-buying raw materials from the Bulacan-based leather tannery Eastern Corporation. The raw materials were then bought by its members and nonmembers. During this time, DTI also mentioned the various challenges affecting Carcar's shoe industry. One of these is the inability of the local manufacturers to compete with the pricing of other shoe manufacturers due to the high cost of raw materials. Thus, the bulk buying of the cooperative appeared to be a good solution for local manufacturers who usually bought their materials in small quantities. Other problems identified through the benchmark survey conducted by DTI in 1998 were the exorbitant interests charged by usurers to the local shoe manufacturers, the absence of technology sharing among shoemakers, and the lack of support from the local government (*PhilStar* 2006). The problems identified in the 1998 DTI survey (*PhilStar* 2006) are the same problems that the shoemakers and manufacturers are facing today but in a much worse state. As shared by an informant, bulk buying of materials was not sustained. Additionally, the leather from Bulacan was not as good as the leather used in imported shoes. There was even a time when they would buy leather scraps probably from garment or apparel factories in Mactan Export Processing Zone (MEPZ) at Lapu-Lapu City, Cebu because of its good quality.

TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE IN SHOEMAKING

At a young age, the manglagdok and entradista acquired shoemaking knowledge from those who have been in the shoe industry for years. Based on the accounts of the informants who are still engaged in the shoe enterprise, they started working in the shoe factory when they were very young. One informant said, "*sa nanrabaho ko 13 akong edad*" (I was thirteen years old when I started working), while another was only fourteen years old when he started as an apprentice. A fifty-one-

year old informant remembered when she would help her mother in doing the entrada:

kadtong nagsugod ko og kat-on, 14 akong edad. Sa una gud puydi lang ta magtabang-tabang sa atong mama gud, kanang magtahi-tahi, hangtod pabulleton ta, manukdok . . . kadugayan makat-on jud ka. (I was fourteen years old when I started to learn *pangentrada*. Before, you can just help your mother in sewing. Then you are asked to apply adhesives and do the hammering, so you'll learn eventually.)

The women worked as entradistas and the men started as apprentices of the manglagdok. As an apprentice, they had similar jobs with the entradista, except that they do not sew. Apprentices cut the materials and apply the adhesives to the materials, trace the patterns to the fabrics, and other tasks assigned to them by the manglagdok.

In those days, shoemaking was the bread and butter of most families in the barangays. As shared by a fifty-eight-year-old informant:

Ang akong amahan in ani jud trabahua, hangtud nga ang iyang anak nga babaye kahibaw maghimo ani. Nanrabaho ing ani, unya angganang man ni entradista. Unya, kaning lalaki nga igsuon nako, manglagdok, ana. Mao ni ang trabaho sa among ginikanan sa una. [My father used to work as a manglagdok, until my sister learned how to do the work of the entradista (*pangentrada*). Her work involved sewing together the pieces of fabrics. My brother was also a manglagdok. This is what my parents worked as before.]

The youth got involved in the shoe industry usually because their parents were also shoemakers who encouraged them to be in the same enterprise. Most of the informants learned primarily from their parents and eventually developed their skills when they started working in a shoe factory at a very young age. When teenagers stopped schooling due to financial reasons, shoemaking had become their consolation. It provided them with opportunities that are no longer feasible in the current times. Even at a young age, they were able to provide for the needs of their family.

At present, children of the shoemakers or micro and cottage shoe manufacturers are no longer interested in learning the craft or in continuing the business that their parents had started. The hardships encountered by shoemakers and the shoe factory owners themselves discouraged them from motivating the young generation to embark in the same business. As what the informant shared:

Wala koy nagkuan sa akong mga anak nga ing ani kay nagkuan ko nga ang ako grado . . . nga dili bitaw nga magpareha nako. Bisan haykul graduate makatrabaho naman. [I did not have them learn shoemaking because I don't want them to be like me (pertaining to his lack of formal education). Nowadays, even a high school graduate can be employed].

The business is no longer as promising as it was before, thus, the younger generation is not keen on working even in the business established by their parents. One informant lamented that her son did not show any interest in shoemaking despite telling him that he will earn something from it—admittedly, it would not be a substantial amount. Instead of helping his parents, he chose to work as a *habal-habal* driver.

When asked about what happened to the children of shoemakers who previously worked in their shoe factory, an informant answered:

ang uban, ang nakahuman og iskwela, nakatrabaho, ang uban niabroad, ang uban modrive og habal-habal, ana. Depende ra sa pagkuan, pero wala gyuy ingon nga nisunod jud sa ginikanan sa sapatusan. Murag naa man siguro pipila pero dili na ko kahinumdom nga naa pa. Sa ako ra mga kaedad siguro murag wala nay nanatrabaho. Wala na. Abroad, nakatrabaho og mga kuan, nag-iswela og welding ana, aircon, pero wala nay sapatusan (others were able to finish their studies and worked, while others went abroad, some were habal-habal drivers. It depends . . . but no one followed their shoemaker parents. Maybe there were some, but as far as I can remember there was none. Others who are the same age as me are no longer into shoemaking. There was really none. They worked abroad or studied welding or air conditioning but not shoemaking).

An informant from the LGU observed that the young manglagdok are no longer interested in continuing with their work. They prefer to work as habal-habal or motorcycle drivers because it is easier now to get a motorcycle with only a minimal down payment. Because of this, shoe manufacturers simply rely on their old cobblers as they don't have new recruits that have the vigor of the youth. Currently, the average age of cobblers in Carcar is between forty-five to fifty-five years old.

To further illustrate the youth's dwindling interest in shoemaking, the kinship diagram illustrates the transmission of shoemaking knowledge from the parents to the offspring in the family of one of the informants. In their family, only her son tried to learn the craft. However, she does not expect him to continue the work she and her husband had started since their son is vying to become a policeman. Although most of the siblings of the informant and of her husband learned shoemaking from their parents, at present, out of five living siblings on the informant's side and four living siblings on her husband's side of the family, only she and her husband are still into shoemaking.

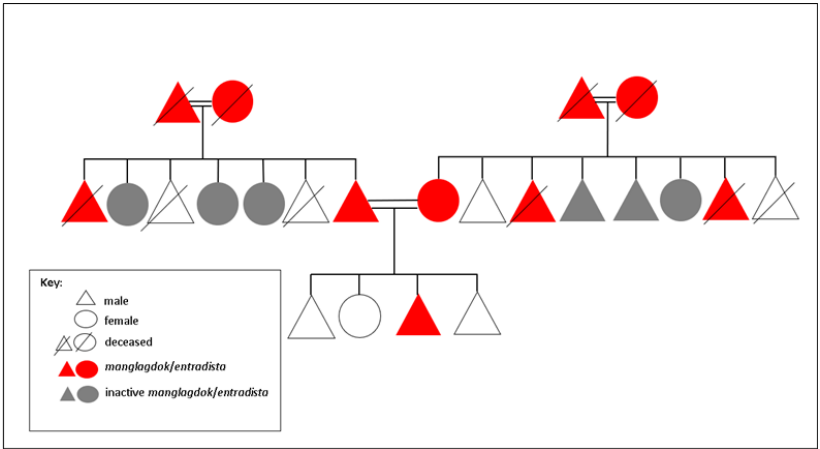


Diagram 1. Kinship chart for the transmission of shoemaking knowledge from the first to the third generation (based on one of the informant's kin)

COPING STRATEGIES OF LOCAL SHOEMAKERS AND MANUFACTURERS

Shoemakers and micro shoe manufacturers have tried various ways to continue their business and craft even though it is no longer considered promising and profitable. They make do with what resources they have in making and selling shoes. Nowadays, most micro shoe manufacturers only produce shoes that are preordered by their customers, “*ang among buhaton kay depende ra gyud sa kung unsay order sa amoa. Di mi kabuhat kay wa man mi puhunan nga pondo*” (we only make shoes based on the client’s order because we don’t have enough funds). When their meager capital runs out, they borrow money from banks, cooperatives, institutions, or private individuals for funds to buy raw materials and pay for the labor costs. This contrasts with other shoe manufacturers who can still afford to produce dozens of shoes for display and as stocks in their shoe stalls (rented or owned).

They accept orders from other local shoe manufacturers with much bigger capital or from biyahidor who provide them with trade credits by supplying the raw materials like fabrics and adhesives used for making their orders. The clients also pay for the labor cost. Once completed, they only pay the balance of the costs of materials and labor that is usually PhP 300 to 400 per dozen. The shoe label depends on the clients’ requests as others would specify that their label be used instead of that of the shoe manufacturer. Because of this set-up, two of the informants quipped, “*mura-murag trabahante ra mi sa among kaugalingong factory*” (we are like workers in our own shoe factory). They cannot even control their outputs—from the number of pairs to be made to its design and label. Nevertheless, this is better than being drowned in debt (“*malubog sa utang*”). Aside from not worrying about the needed materials, they also do not need to spend more money to market their shoes. If given an option, they would prefer to have their clients provide them with all the materials for footwear production in advance. The manglagdok also benefits from such an arrangement since payment for their labor is ensured with the advance payment from the client.

Others have opted to work under an employer instead of applying for loans or accepting trade credits. An informant and her husband have accepted the offer to work as shoemakers for a certain businessman from Cebu City who happens to own a boutique. Previously, their income relied on seasonal orders of footwear, but with their employer, they each get paid with a fixed salary of PhP 2,000 to 2,100 per week whether or not orders were made. They specialized in making made-to-order high-heeled shoes and so their employer is usually commissioned by the event organizer and participants in beauty pageants. Their employer provides the materials, which they pick-up in Cebu City and bring to their *bubatan* or work area in Carcar. As an informant said, through the work from home arrangement their two children get separate payments by their employer when they assist in fulfilling rush orders. Since they are employed, they are discouraged from accepting outside orders. However, they occasionally accept outside orders without their employer's knowledge to supplement their income.



Figure 17. Made-to-order footwear commissioned for beauty pageants made by the husband of one of the informants

Aside from the financial aspect, one of the most pressing concerns for micro shoe manufacturers who have managed to stay in business is marketing. Most of them, if not all, do not have the space to display their products. If they happen to make extra pairs aside from the preordered ones, they contact their previous buyers or *suki* if they are interested in purchasing them. If they do not make a sale, they keep those pairs as stocks at home and wait for any interested

buyers. Some used social media to sell their stocks online where additional fees for shipping are shouldered by the buyer. With so many online sellers in social media and various online stores offering cheap products, they prefer their usual simple marketing strategies. Instead of selling online, they just take orders from those who sell items through social media platforms. As shared by an informant, “*naay moorder namo diri pangasa nga mamaligya sa Facebook*” (we sometimes get orders from someone who sells items on Facebook).

CONCLUSION

The decline of demand for local footwear due to the influx of imported ones has resulted in the closure of many shoe manufacturing industries. This has led to the loss of livelihood of manglagdok, entradista, and shoe manufacturers. The micro, cottage, and small shoe manufacturers are mostly affected by the changes in the country’s trade policies, exacerbating inequality and exclusion among those who have more capital and those who have less.

It can be said that trade liberalization directly affected the current situation of the local shoe industry in Carcar. This industry does not have any competitive advantage in the market considering the edge that other global players have in terms of capital, production, marketing, and distribution. The influx of imported and cheaper goods has highlighted the vulnerability of the local economy. The shoemakers and manufacturers can make quality footwear, but as they said in the interviews, they can only make do with what they have—meager capital, available raw materials, and traditional technology. It is important to have good materials to make good quality footwear. Unfortunately, there are limited raw materials available in Cebu. Materials of good quality available for purchase in the market are mostly imported from China, the number one importer of footwear in the country. As what one informant quipped, “*kadtong salin-salin ra sa China*” (these raw materials are just left over from China), clearly showing the disproportionate competitive difference between the local and global players.

The situation of the local shoe industry in Carcar is not merely a picture of how globalization, through trade liberalization, has impacted the local economy but also how it has affected the tangible and intangible heritage embodied in the shoemaking craftsmanship.

With the economic changes in the community, some socio-cultural practices changed as well. Since the local shoe industry has been an unprofitable enterprise, the younger generation has shown little interest in learning the craft of shoemaking. Shoemaking has lost its luster, and learning the craft is no longer seen as significant and a necessity. The younger generation are now choosing a different career path, which for them would ensure a better income and better opportunities. Discouraged by the difficulties they have encountered, the shoemakers and manufacturers do not have the impetus to share the business or the craft to their children or grandchildren. In this context, the outside forces are reinforced with the unwillingness of the younger generation to continue the craft that has been transmitted from generation to generation, one of the constraints encountered in other developing countries in handicraft conservation (Yang et al. 2018). This is coupled with the hesitation of some parents in letting their children engage in shoemaking.

Gone are the times when parents and children work alongside each other in the confines of their household or in the *kamarin*, carefully tracing and cutting patterns, sewing and assembling the different parts of footwear. Small banquets organized after long hours of work in the factory and during shoemakers' days-off are now rare occasions. With only a few people continuing the longstanding practice of shoemaking, this tradition and other socio-cultural practices associated with it are on the brink of being lost.

Some mitigating measures may help in reviving the disappearing industry and shoemaking craftsmanship through the participation of stakeholders in the planning and implementation process. The national government can provide assistance to the local shoemakers and manufacturers through technology and knowledge transfer to compete with the international players in the domestic and international market. The LGU together with appropriate government agencies may provide concrete and need-specific programs and interventions for the local shoemakers and manufacturers. It may even be done through the provision of credit for the needed capital in the business operations. Support may be given to non-members and members of the cooperative. For marketing purposes, a display center (aside from the display center for CUFMAI members) should be provided to shoe manufacturers at minimal rent. They can also organize events specifically for the promotion of local footwear and subsidize training and workshops to ensure the knowledge transfer

of shoemaking to the younger generations. Other training can be initiated for the manufacturers and shoemakers to introduce them to new processes in shoemaking that they might be able to apply for more profitable and efficient manufacturing of footwear. Such training can also cover the introduction of new skills to the participants like designing footwear. They can also create partnerships with different institutions for assistance in carrying out the training.

For the academe, community extension trainings should include helping the shoemakers and manufacturers with the product design, branding, innovation, and marketing of their products to equip them with new knowledge they can incorporate in their craft and enterprise. In Carcar City's secondary schools, trainings in shoemaking can be incorporated in the senior high school curriculum, particularly in the Technical-Vocational-Livelihood (TVL) track, to expose and engage students in the craft of shoemaking and to capture their interests to continue the shoemaking tradition. These suggestions will not make the local industry at par with the global players in shoe production. However, it may bring back some of the economic vigor that the locals need to remain hopeful and may lead to the younger generation's re-valuing of the shoemaking tradition.

NOTE

- 1 Interview conducted by the researcher with one of the staff of the City Cooperative Office of Carcar last October 9, 2017 at Carcar City Hall.

PHOTOGRAPHS

- 1 Photograph taken by author
- 2 Photograph taken by author
- 3 Photograph taken by author
- 4 Photograph taken by author
- 5 Photograph taken by author
- 6 Photograph taken by author
- 7 Photograph taken by author
- 8 Photograph taken by author
- 9 Photograph taken by author

- 10 Photograph taken by author
- 11 Photograph taken by author
- 12 Photograph taken by author
- 13 Photographs taken by author
- 14 Photograph courtesy of an informant
- 15 Photographs courtesy of an informant
- 16 Photograph taken by author
- 17 Photographs taken by author

REFERENCES

- Aldaba, Rafaelite M. 2013. "Twenty Years after Philippine Trade Liberalization and Industrialization: What has Happened and where do We go from Here." PIDS Discussion Paper Series, No. 2013-21. Makati City: Philippine Institute for Development Studies (PIDS). <https://dirp4.pids.gov.ph/ris/dps/pidsdps1321.pdf>.
- Alfara, Jerry Martin Noel. 2014. *The History of Carcar City, Cebu, Philippines*. Vol. 3, *Cebu Provincial History Series*. Cebu City: Provincial Government of Cebu.
- Andaguig, JP. 2005. "Trade Liberalization and the Demise of the Local Shoe Industry." *Bulatlat*, December 1, 2005. <https://www.bulatlat.com/2005/12/16/trade-liberalization-and-the-demise-of-the-local-shoe-industry/>.
- Bakker, Laurens, and Gerben Nooteboom. 2017. "Anthropology and Inclusive Development." *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability* 24 (February): 63–7. DOI: 10.1016/j.cosust.2017.02.007.
- Beerepoot, Niels. 2008. "Local Outcomes of Globalization: Manufacturing Decline and Labor Response in the Philippine Garment and Shoe Industries." *Philippine Journal of Labor and Industrial Relations* 28 (1-2): 26–44.
- Bello, Walden. 2004. *Deglobalization: Ideas for a New World Economy*. Bangladesh: The University Press Ltd.
- . 2009. "Neoliberalism as Hegemonic Ideology in the Philippines: Rise, Apogee, and Crisis." *Philippine Sociological Review* 57 (1-4): 9–19.
- Bernard, H. Russell. 2011. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. United Kingdom: AltaMira Press.

- Boras, Eric. 2003. "Government Loses P120 Billion to Tariff Cuts." *Business World*, October 20.
- City of Carcar: The Heritage City of Cebu. "History of Carcar." Accessed July 21, 2017. http://www.cityofcarcar.gov.ph/?page_id=222.
- Cruz, Ma. Gichelle. 2004. "Gender, Trade, and the Philippine Footwear Industry." *State of the Sector Report in Philippine Footwear*. https://editorialexpress.com/cgi-bin/conference/download.cgi?db_name=IAFFE2009&paper_id=62.
- DeWalt, Kathleen M., and Billie R. DeWalt. 2011. *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers*. United Kingdom: AltaMira Press.
- Fetterman, David M. 1998. *Ethnography: Step-by-Step*. United Kingdom: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Guha, Abhijit. 2007. "Social Exclusion: A Skeptical View." *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Society* 42: 287-92.
- Kahler, Miles. 1995. *International Institutions and the Political Economy of Integration*. Washington, D.C.: R. R. Donnelly and Sons Co.
- Keller, Jan. 2014. *Exclusion as a Social Problem and a Methodological Issue*. Czech Republic: University of Ostrava, Faculty of Social Studies.
- Kvale, Steinar. 1996. *InterViews: An introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Lamberte, Mario B., and Anita Abad Jose. 1988. "The Manufacturing Sector and the Informal Credit Markets: The Case of Trade Credits in the Footwear Industry." Working Paper Series No. 88-07, May 1988. Philippine Institute of Developmental Study. <http://dirp4.pids.gov.ph/ris/wp/pidswp8807.pdf>.
- Philippine Board of Investments. 2011. "Footwear Industry Profile (As of 04 April 2011)." April 4, 2011. <http://www.boi.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Footware.pdf>.
- Levitas, Ruth. 2005. *The Inclusive Society?: Social Exclusion and New Labour*. US: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lindio-McGovern, L. 2007. "Neoliberal Globalization in the Philippines: Its Impact on Filipino Women and their Forms of Resistance." *Journal of Developing Societies* 23 (1-2): 15-35. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0169796X0602300202>.
- Lorenciana, Carlos S. 2014. "Cebu's Shoe Capital: Facing the Sunset?" *The Freeman*, October 6, 2014. <http://www.philstar.com/cebu-business/2014/10/06/1377087>.
- Medalla, Erlinda M., Gwendolyn R. Tecson, Romeo M. Bautista, John Power. 1996. *Catching Up with Asia's Tigers*. Vol. 1. Makati: Philippine Institute for Development Studies.

- Nassaji, H. 2015. "Qualitative and Descriptive Research: Data Type versus Data Analysis." *Language Teaching Research* 19 (2): 129–32. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1362168815572747>.
- Pearl2Project. 2003. "The State of the Sector Report — Philippine Footwear." Makati City: Pearl2Project. https://www.academia.edu/25986215/STATE_OF_THE_SECTOR_REPORT_PHILIPPINE_FOOTWEAR.
- (PSA) Philippine Statistics Authority. 2016. "Population of Region VII – Central Visayas (Based on the 2015 Census of Population)." Accessed November 7, 2018. <https://psa.gov.ph/content/population-region-vii-central-visayas-based-2015-census-population>.
- PhilStar*. July 5, 2006. "Bulk Buying to Benefit Shoemakers in Carcar." July 5, 2006. <https://www.philstar.com/cebu-news/2006/07/05/345617>.
- Progress Home & Office Furnishing. 2011. "About Us." Accessed August 11, 2017. <http://www.progress.com.ph/About%20Us>.
- Ritzer, George. 2011. *Globalization: The Essentials*. United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Scott, Allen J. 2005. "The Shoe Industry of Marikina City, Philippines: A Developing-Country Cluster in Crisis." *Kasarinlan: Philippine Journal of Third World Studies* 20(2): 76–99.
- Silver, Hilary. 2007. "The Process of Social Exclusion: The Dynamics of an Evolving Concept." CPRC (Chronic Poverty Research Center) Working Paper No. 95.
- . 2015. "The Contexts of Social Inclusion." United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) Working Paper No. 144. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2879940.
- SunStar* Philippines. 2014. "Carcar Shoemakers to Receive P1.7M Set." October 14, 2014. <https://www.sunstar.com.ph/article/372195>.
- Teichman, Judith A. 2016. *The Politics of Inclusive Development: Policy, State Capacity, and Coalition Building*. US: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Vestil, Justin K., and Cherry Ann Lim. 2015. "Carcar's Shoemakers Get a Leg Up." *SunStar Philippines*, August 30, 2015. <https://www.sunstar.com.ph/article/28609>.
- Voyiatzis, Costas. n.d. "The Development of Clusters of Small and Medium Size Enterprises in Greek Shoemaking Industry from a Theoretical and Empirical Aspect." Accessed September 25, 2020. <http://mibes.teithessaly.gr/proceedings/2006/poster/Voyiatzis.pdf>.
- Yang, Yongzhong Mohsin Shafi, Xiaoting Song, and Ruo Yang. 2018. "Preservation of Cultural Heritage Embodied in Traditional Crafts in the Developing Countries: A Case Study of Pakistani Handicraft Industry." *Sustainability* 10(5): 1–18. doi:10.3390/su10051336.

MARJURY ESTILLERO DINO is a graduate of Masters of Anthropology from the University of San Carlos and is currently teaching at the tertiary level in the same university. Her research interests include anthropology of development, globalization, peasant studies, community development, and indigenous knowledge. <marjury.dino@gmail.com>