

Co-designing Digital Platforms for Volunteer-led Migrant Community Welfare Support

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ABSTRACT

Community-based migrant organizations play a vital role in the provision of welfare services to temporary migrant workers, international students, and refugees whose access to government support services are limited. Through a co-design based inquiry, we explored the potential to utilize mainstream digital platforms to support the welfare agenda of an Australia-based Filipino migrant organization. We discuss the advantages and disadvantages of implementing such technology-mediated workflows within the community-based organization and the essential practices that they may undermine. Drawing on this case study, we present a provisional set of reflections for design practitioners working in the space of migrant communities and other marginalized community groups. These include the importance of designing for the community's long-term and holistic development, leveraging volunteers' digital literacy, and a call for more malleable platforms that allow community groups to reflect their core values and needs directly onto the platform configurations.

CCS CONCEPTS

• **Human-centered computing** → *Empirical studies in collaborative and social computing*;

KEYWORDS

Migrants, Welfare Provision, Digital Platforms, Co-design

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1 INTRODUCTION

There are nearly 300 million migrants around the world who are subject to a range of socioeconomic pressures and difficulties [35], including cultural and language barriers [15, 30, 41, 45], poverty [72], unemployment [34, 72], labor exploitation [11, 58, 75], as well as domestic abuse [9, 28]. Despite this, most services in their host countries that are designed to address such needs are only accessible to citizens or to a small number of migrant groups, such as those on permanent residency visas, or those eligible for limited humanitarian assistance [72]. In response to gaps in the service provision by state and mainstream non-profit organizations (NPOs), members of diasporas establish community-based migrant organizations (CBMOs) where they provide informal forms of support to their "compatriots" in need of assistance.

CBMOs represent a vital component of the social support sector in countries with considerable migrant population, such as the United States, Canada, and Australia [6, 22, 55, 60, 67]. They are part of the wider non-profit sector, but they are different in that they are often small, informal, volunteer-led, and operate within significant financial and human resource constraints [6, 24, 55, 67]. Given the vital role that they play in the provision of migrant settlement and welfare services, it is important to have a clear understanding of how these organizations operate and how they can be supported. As Lee described in their work on migrant-supporting organizations in the United States, these groups may be the "first and only organization to provide non-citizens with services and resources in times of uncertainty" (p.271) [55]. In particular, migrants of precarious visa status rely on these informal services because of their fear of being deported or having their citizenship applications rejected when they engage with programs that are operated by state agencies [55]. However, despite the importance of CBMOs, scholars often miss out on their nuanced needs and the opportunities in working with such smaller grassroots collectives [22, 42, 52]. A generous portion of work at the intersection of immigration and technology has mainly focused on organizations that benefit from some degree of institutional recognition such as state-sponsored refugee camps, government agencies, or mainstream NPOs [3, 5, 15, 41, 43]. As such, little is known of CBMOs' internal workings, let alone of the potential of digital technologies to support their activities.

In this paper, we report on our work with a specific community-based migrant organization in Melbourne, Australia that supports Filipino temporary visa holders. The leaders of this organization

enlisted the first author's help to explore the potential use of mainstream digital platforms to support the 'scaling up' of their community service provision. We conducted our exploration in the form of a co-design based inquiry that utilized a combination of workshops, interviews, and group discussions to foreground members' needs, capabilities, and values. Our analysis highlights members' key concerns and considerations regarding technology-mediated activities, particularly the essential organizational practices that they conflict with. Our work provides design practitioners and migrant support workers practical insights on appropriating existing platforms for migrant community welfare. We contribute to the growing literature on migrant communities and other marginalized community groups by identifying: (i) the benefits and limitations of designing socio-technical practices centered on existing tools, (ii) an application of capability-focused design in the context of migrant community welfare; and, (iii) a preliminary set of reflections for design practitioners working in the space of migrant communities and other marginalized community groups.

2 RELATED WORK

2.1 Community-based migrant organizations and welfare service provision

To support CBMOs and their welfare services, we need to understand how their nuanced ways of working. Scholars generally classify CBMOs as distinct from other voluntary organizations because they exhibit the characteristics of both a welfare service provider and a close-knit migrant community. According to Cordero-Guzmán, unlike mainstream service providers, CBMOs "incorporate cultural components, and a consciousness of ethnic or national-origin identity, into their mission, practices, services, and programs" (p.894) [24]. This means that beyond the typical activities of a typical NPO, CBMOs also play a civic role in supporting a migrant's transnational identity and socio-economic interests. Unlike NPOs that mostly specialize in one or two welfare activities, CBMOs often provide multiple forms of welfare support, including assistance in language, housing, employment, health, education, family life, and legal matters [6, 22, 55]. Aside from these practical forms of support, scholars have also highlighted the role of CBMOs in building community networks, managing cultural events, and promoting advocacy campaigns [6, 58, 82].

In understanding CBMOs, it is important to note that their characteristics are different and are dynamically changing based on different factors, including the characteristics of the migrant community, the organization's strategic focus, and the specific socio-political conditions of their host country. There are some CBMOs that are contracted by state and mainstream service providers to act as cultural mediators between hard-to-reach groups [10, 30, 67, 83]. While there are organizations that refuse to collaborate with government agencies or receive external funding from corporate institutions to maintain their organization's autonomy. In Australia, for example, a group of community volunteers banded together to respond to the needs of a local Sudanese community, while they actively advocated for the local council to provide formal settlement services for newly-arrived refugees [10]. This led to eventual formation of state-led programs initially provided by the local council, but consequently contracted to community-based organizations.

Another factor to consider in supporting CBMOs is the nature of welfare service provision. Ferguson described the role and responsibilities of welfare workers as 'liquid' in the sense that they are often dynamic, unstructured, and interconnected [32]. Welfare workers need to be highly familiar with different skills and processes as the nature of the work requires them to flick back and forth between different tasks and clients, and perform various types of support [39]. French suggests that the capabilities required of welfare workers are mostly reliant on tacit knowledge and skills that take time to develop and master [38]. However, the high turnover among volunteers that is common among community organizations poses a considerable barrier to acquiring and transferring such capabilities. These constraints, coupled with the complexity of the activities and practices of community welfare provision, significantly impact the capability of CBMOs to develop their membership and scale up their programs.

2.2 Digital Platforms and Migrant Communities

In recent years, interest in digital services tailored for diaspora communities have been significantly growing [3, 5, 41, 43]. In HCI particularly, much of the attention has been paid to translation and information support. Hirsch and Liu designed a telephone-based interpretation system to support the non-English speaking Chinese community in Boston, United States [46]. Similarly, Brown and Grinter developed an IVR translation system powered by volunteer interpreters that mediate between the non-English speaking refugees and their local mentors [15]. Bock et al. classified these migrant-supporting tools, which they collectively refer to as *ICTs for Refugees and Migrants (ICT4RM)* into eight welfare domains: "asylum processing; information gathering and dissemination; reunification; accessing government services; education, language training and skill development; health; cash assistance, livelihoods and business creation, and; integration" (p.4) [8]. Despite the growth of migrant-supporting platforms, the majority of these tools were designed to support migrants as service recipients. Community volunteers who are on the front line of welfare provision with specific organizational needs have been largely neglected by design practitioners and HCI researchers. Even though there are available web-based volunteer management systems that help streamline organizations' recruitment, training, and database management (e.g. *Everyaction*, *VolunteerHub*, and *Volaby*), these tools are often costly and are primarily designed for larger organizations with formal structures and work practices.

Given the resource constraints of many community organizations, their use of technology is often limited to free and readily accessible tools, such as personal computing software (e.g. Microsoft Word, Excel, Email) and paper-based instruments [17, 81, 85]. The pervasiveness of social media platforms has also led to it being a staple of online civic engagement, particularly in crisis management [31, 64] and social advocacy [12, 27, 48].

While the use of free and commonly used platforms for community engagement has been shown to promote participation [18, 53, 59, 65], a number of trade-offs have become apparent. Wiggins reports that "tools that are 'free as in puppies' [come] with hidden costs in the form of poor usability and lack of appropriate

functionality” (p.1478) [85]. We see this in the case study of Volda et al., who found that the use of Microsoft Office tools as an information management system, which is common among many CBMOs, hinders collaborative practices and entails heavy reliance on manual data entry and information sharing [81]. The use of *Facebook* to organize and facilitate communal activities was also found to have specific challenges. For instance, participants of a co-design study conducted in a Facebook group reported their difficulties in using the platform to categorize information and locate files as they would have to do additional manual work such as adding hashtags or relevant annotations [20]. In a similar vein, hosts of *Hoffice*, a self-organized co-working network, also found it restrictive to rely on Facebook to manage co-working sessions due to their inability to customize user capabilities in accordance with the program’s specific structure and rules (e.g. disabling user interactions during silent working hours) [66].

However, Alhadlaq et al. argued that these trade-offs are “highly context-dependent in the sense that they vary according to the nature of the participants, modes and levels of engagement anticipated, and the goals (of the program)” (p.1138) [1]. This implies the need for a case-to-case exploration of such use of existing platforms in the context of migrant welfare service provision to determine whether it brings more harm than good. Kaun and Uldam raised one important consideration [48]. They said that, when it comes to using social media in migrant welfare provision, it is crucial to bear in mind that such platforms are run by corporate entities whose business models are hinged on selling people’s data, an important fact that can potentially put migrants groups, especially those with precarious legal status and employment conditions, at risk of breach of privacy or unsolicited surveillance [9, 44]. To avoid such events, migrant rights workers and advocates have been observed to avoid as much as they can to use social media platforms for critical interactions with migrants such as when organizing relief operations and conducting information drives [40, 48]. Although there are known risks to the use of such platforms, many migrant-supporting organizations still rely heavily on these tools for information dissemination purposes, cultural mediation, and organizational activities [77]. It is therefore important to understand how these technologies can be particularly tailored for community welfare without exposing the migrants to more risks.

3 CONTEXT

Our work focuses on *Filo XYZ*, a Filipino migrant community organization based in Melbourne, Australia with local chapters across the city. CBMOs such as *Filo XYZ* are common in Australia—a country with almost one-third of its population born overseas [4]. According to Australia’s Department of Social Services, community organizations including religious and ethnic-based groups have been the biggest source of support among newly-arrived refugees and asylum seekers [60]. International students and temporary short-skilled workers in Australia rely heavily on these informal sources of assistance, especially at the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic when they were excluded from accessing government support programs [7]. Despite the gaps in the welfare service provision, Australia is relatively one of the most conducive host countries to migrate in according to Migrant Integration Policy Index 2020 [72]. We highlight this information particularly to point out that our

findings may not be relevant to other settings where CBMOs or international migration, in general, are not well supported. Another element worth noting is that our case study was done on a group of migrants who are relatively skilled in the use of digital platforms. According to the Digital 2022 report, Filipinos tend to be heavy users of digital platforms, particularly social media applications with 1.5x higher active users than the world’s average [29].

We started our engagement with *Filo XYZ* when the leaders of the organization enlisted the first author’s help to explore the potential of using digital platforms to “scale up” the organization’s welfare service provision. The first author, in addition to being part of the research team, is an active member of this organization who volunteers as a digital communications officer. For over ten years, *Filo XYZ* provided voluntary welfare services to Filipino migrants, particularly those with precarious visa and employment conditions such as temporary migrant workers, women on partner visas, and international students. They support these migrant groups in navigating mainstream support services by providing paralegal support and conducting regular educational seminars called “*Kapihan*” (coffee session) where legal experts provide insights to the changes in Australia’s immigration policies, work rights, and other relevant topics. On top of these programs, *Filo XYZ* also organizes emergency relief drives, language seminars, socio-cultural events and advocacy campaigns (e.g. protests, online awareness campaigns) to promote the rights and long-term interests of the Filipino community in Australia and in other countries. Given the range of activities that the organization does, members of the organization are spread thinly across different tasks, hindering them from responding to the increasing number of migrants requesting for assistance. More recently, the organization has also started to receive funds from the state government to finance their welfare initiatives during the COVID-19 pandemic. However, this funding scheme has introduced additional administrative work, including the regular submission of audit reports that further stretched the already limited capacity of the volunteers. To make the most of their scant resources, the leaders of *Filo XYZ* thought of leveraging digital platforms to augment their service provision workflows. This was also motivated by the urgent need to shift to online coordination due to the COVID-19 lockdown restrictions.

4 STUDY DESIGN

Following previous works on migrants and refugees [2, 14], we used a co-design based inquiry to explore an organizational workflow that is supported by mainstream digital platforms. Our co-design process consisted of four synchronous and asynchronous workshops that were spread across 10 weeks. We started by foregrounding the organization’s informal workflows and identifying the essential capabilities that allow members to participate in these organizational activities through the first two activities. After these, we engaged the participants in an interactive whiteboard discussion to explore different ways mainstream digital platforms can be adapted to support the organizational capabilities we identified. Based on the outcomes of this activity, our research team developed a prototype to elicit more concrete discussions and reflections on technology-mediated workflows. We also conducted additional interviews and discussions outside of our workshops to supplement our co-design activities.

Our co-design workshops, interviews, and discussions were conducted in Filipino and English, facilitated by the first author who is a native speaker of both languages, and were all performed using a combination of online tools that are familiar to all participants. At the beginning of our engagement, we invited Filo XYZ members who consented to participate in our study to join a private *Facebook* group where they were to be instructed to accomplish asynchronous activities and engage in group discussions similar to other qualitative studies conducted on Facebook [20, 51, 56]. For activities that require real-time discussions, we used *Zoom* as our video conferencing tool and, together with it, *Google Slides* for activities involving screen interaction. Lastly, we used *Facebook Messenger* as our main communication hub for all our discussions and announcements related to our work. This is also where we directly messaged individual participants for clarifications or discussions outside of our group activities.

4.1 Reflections on Positionality

Playing a central role in our co-design based inquiry was the first author who, in addition to being a researcher, is also a member of Filo XYZ. Ever since he migrated to Australia as an international student in 2019, he has been volunteering his digital expertise in managing the organization's social media channels and, in different instances, he also became a recipient of the organization's welfare initiatives. In our work, he facilitated all the co-design workshops and conducted interviews in the vernacular language of the participants. He also led our analysis by expounding on the participants' reflections with his knowledge of the organization's internal dynamics and shared principles.

We adopted this insider-researcher approach used in the growing number of organizational studies [23, 33]. Having someone embedded in the organization permitted a nuanced understanding of the organization's workflows and internal dynamics. However, having direct access to such privileged information also presented ethical dilemmas. To ensure that we did not include information that can put the organization's reputation and security at risk, we shared our initial findings with the participants after each workshop where we asked them to omit the details that they do not want to be shared. We also gave the leaders a copy of our initial manuscript, which they reviewed and approved for publishing. This filtering of information is particularly crucial especially in the case of Filo XYZ as they often take a critical stance against institutions and government policies that they deem to be exploitative and unjust.

As has been widely discussed, *insiderness* of a researcher is fluid that it changes depending on which identity or role is more important in a given context [16, 23]. On this point, we report that, although the first author is an insider to the organization in the sense that he is both a Filipino migrant and an active volunteer, he has limited involvement in the organization's welfare activities, making him a relative outsider in this specific aspect of the organization's operation. Given this, as a way to supplement our unfamiliarity with the current workflow, we began our work by interviewing Filo XYZ members in relation to their volunteering experiences. The first author also participated in some of the organization's relief operations during the course of the study to gain first-hand experience in welfare provision.

4.2 Recruitment Process

Upon the approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee of the university where the researchers are based, we asked Filo XYZ's vice-chairperson to send out an email to the team leaders and volunteers of different local chapters of the organization to invite them to participate in a series of online co-designing activities. This email invitation contained the study's explanatory statement, which outlined the research aims and the participant's expected involvement, and a consent form, which the members would have to sign and send back to the researcher to confirm their participation in the study.

We recruited a total of 12 participants (See Table 1) composed of an equal mix of "leaders" and "junior volunteers". This was intentional on our part to make sure that we surface the different needs of members and their contrasting views towards the digitization of their current workflows. The leaders (n=6) who participated in this study were members who have held a chairperson position within the organization at any point in time. This position is an elected role, usually held by members who have a high commitment to the organization's causes and a deep political understanding of its advocacy campaigns. Although it is not a mandatory condition for holding a leadership position, it is worth noting that all of the leaders thus far were either permanent residents or Australian citizens. Conversely, most Filo XYZ junior volunteers (n=6) have only migrated to Australia within the last 3 years through temporary visa schemes. These volunteers were either newly recruited members or members who have never taken any leadership positions. Relative to the leaders, these members have little to no prior experience in welfare service provision and are often accompanied by their team leaders when they volunteer.

4.3 Co-design Process

4.3.1 Activity 1: Process Mapping (Role-playing activity). We began our work by engaging selected members of Filo XYZ in a series of unstructured online discussions centered around the organization's strategic aims and past experiences in welfare work. These discussions gave us an overview of the range of services that the organization provides and the extent to which they provide support to migrants. Because many of these volunteering activities are informally done and each local chapter has its own way of operating, most members do not have a notion of organizational workflows. To explore how digital platforms can map onto the organization's welfare work, we found it necessary for the participants to have a collective understanding of the different welfare-related activities within the organization in order for us to have a common ground for our subsequent activities and discussions.

We invited participants to join a Zoom role-playing activity to identify the different volunteering tasks within the organization as a group. Typically, role-playing activities are used for usability testing or feedback gathering [73]. In our work, however, we utilized this activity to surface the informal volunteering practices within the organization known mostly among those who practice professional social work. In a Zoom meeting, we divided the participants (n=8) into three groups. Each group was provided with a different type of welfare case to discuss and re-enact. Every member of the group played a different role in the scenario (i.e., team

Table 1: Participant information

Participant	Role	Occupation	Sex
L1	Team Leader	Social worker	F
L2	Team Leader	Retail worker	F
L3	Team Leader	Tradesman	M
L4	Team Leader	Artist (retired)	M
L5	Team Leader	Nurse	F
V1	Junior Volunteer	Tradesman	M
V2	Junior Volunteer	Student	F
V3	Junior Volunteer	Artist	M
V4	Junior Volunteer	Accountant	F
V5	Junior Volunteer	Social worker	M
V6	Junior Volunteer	Undisclosed	F
V7	Junior Volunteer	Undisclosed	F

leader, junior volunteer, service recipient). The scenarios in this activity were based on the most common inquiries received by the organization's Facebook page, which include: (1) international students seeking food assistance, (2) international students faced with a predatory education provider, and (3) temporary migrant worker experiencing wage theft. The groups took turns to present their re-enactments of how Filo XYZ would typically respond to each scenario. While this was happening, other participants who were not part of the presenting group named and identified the tasks being portrayed using Zoom's chat function. After the presentations, we collected the participant responses and grouped them. The participants were asked to identify the individuals within Filo XYZ who usually perform these tasks. Although the delineation of tasks is not as clear-cut in actual practice, the simplified task groupings helped us initiate discussions around the different roles within the organization and the activities that they perform.

4.3.2 Activity 2: Process Reflection (*I like, I wish, what if?*) For every volunteering task that we identified in our role-playing activity, we asked the participants to articulate what they liked about its current workflow and suggest ways they might improve the process. We conducted this process reflection activity in our private Facebook group. To help the participants remember the outcomes of our role-playing activity, we uploaded the video recording of their re-enactment, which we cut into smaller chunks based on the volunteering task portrayed (average video length = 52 seconds). For each video post, we instructed the participants (n=10) to add their comments containing their reflections on the task being depicted. Bearing in mind the power imbalance between leaders and junior volunteers, we told the participants to write their comments using the *I like, I wish, What if* feedback format to promote a more open exchange of ideas and suggestions within the co-design team [26, 37]. Encouraging an open discussion allowed the participants to give their candid suggestions while also acknowledging the efforts of the volunteers who, despite the challenges brought by the pandemic, have been able to keep up with the increasing demand for welfare assistance. By asking the participants to articulate what they liked about the current process and how they wish it to be done in the future, we were able to identify the essential capabilities that members of the organization require to participate in

the organization's welfare work more effectively (e.g., ability to share record and share information and files, access to training and resources) (see Table 2).

4.3.3 Activity 3: Platform Mapping. We shared the organizational capabilities we identified in Activity 2 and asked the participants to discuss among themselves how they might leverage mainstream digital platforms to support the following capabilities. In a whiteboard activity using Zoom and Google Slides, we divided the participants into two groups (Leaders and Junior Volunteers) and provided them with a list of the identified organizational capabilities. To scaffold their creative thinking, we gave them a "digital toolkit" containing icons of online applications that they commonly use for their personal endeavors (e.g., Facebook, Zoom, Google sheets, Google drive). Generative toolkits such as this are often used in HCI research and design activities to help participants, especially non-designers, imagine and express their ideas in more concrete terms [2, 14, 69, 86]. But unlike common toolkits, which utilize tangible materials (e.g. pictures, wires, buttons, papers), our kit contained digital platforms that are familiar to the participants of the workshop.

In our whiteboard activity, we asked the participants to select and rank three (3) digital platforms in the digital toolkit that they deemed appropriate for each organizational capability provided to them (see Figure 1). After this group activity, we asked them to present their outputs to the bigger group and share the rationale behind their platform choices. This group presentation gave us the opportunity to probe deeper into why particular platforms and their functionalities were deemed essential to particular capabilities. During our discussions, we also explored how they might reconfigure these platforms to suit the organization's work practices.

4.3.4 Activity 4: Prototype Discussion. To help crystallize the participants' insights on technology-mediated workflows, our research team created a prototype reflecting the participants' inputs from the previous activities. We used this prototype as a technology probe to elicit more concrete discussions from the participants. Technology probes are variants of cultural probes that seek to capture design considerations through critique or analysis of actual implementations [47]. In our work, we developed a prototype of an online

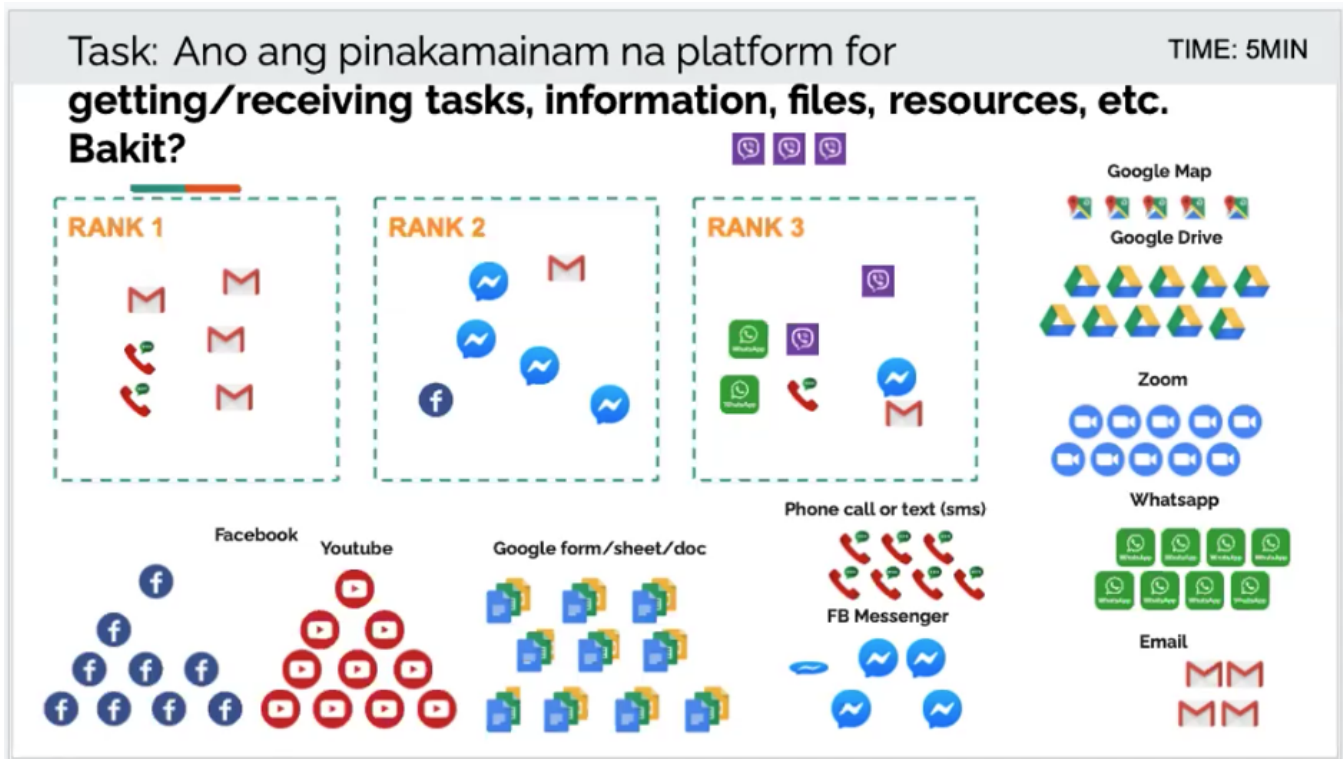


Figure 1: "Digital toolkit" containing icons of online applications used in the Platform Mapping activity

volunteering toolkit using a combination of existing platforms suggested by the participants in the platform mapping activity (see Table 2). We presented this prototype by uploading a video presentation into our private Facebook group. However, despite the initial interest in asynchronous activities, only 2 participants watched and gave their feedback through comments. To get the feedback from other participants, we conducted another prototype presentation, but this time, it was through a real-time Zoom discussion. In this call, all the participants were present to share their reflections on the prototype and its implications on the organization's existing practices. A week after this, we invited two additional participants [V6, V7] to use the prototype in their upcoming volunteering engagement in order to gather their fresh perspectives on the use of the tool in actual practice.

4.4 Data Collection and Analysis

Our analysis was based on the different forms of qualitative data from our co-design workshops, interviews, and group discussions. These activities were conducted through a combination of digital platforms including Facebook, Facebook Messenger, Zoom, and Google Slides, in which we collected our data in the form of video recordings, posts, comments, and messages. In total, we analyzed 454 minutes of video recordings, 228 Facebook group posts and comments, and 460 individual messages sent through Facebook Messenger. We transcribed and translated these data, which were mostly in the Filipino language, into English with the help of a

professional translator. The outputs of our co-design workshops, together with data from our supplementary interviews and discussions outside of our group activities, formed the foundations of this paper's preliminary design reflections.

Following other exploratory studies, we used an inductive thematic analysis approach [2, 13, 14, 78]. Our team conducted three rounds of thematic coding using *Google Sheets* where we stored copies of our translated transcripts. The first author initiated the coding process. His initial set of codes and themes were further refined through multiple rounds of discussions with other members of the research team. In our analysis, we took note of the participant's role within the organization (J = Junior member, L = Leader) to help provide context to their specific design reflections that may be reflective of their role's priorities and values.

5 FINDINGS

In this section, we report on our analysis of our co-design based inquiry where we highlight discussions around the benefits of using mainstream digital platforms for migrant community welfare and the tensions that stem from the digitization of the organization's workflows. To provide context to our findings, we first describe how we arrived at creating a prototype of a volunteering kit based on the outcomes of our co-design activities and discussions. We used this prototype as a technology probe and discussions of which are outlined in sections 5.2 up to 5.5.

5.1 Outcomes of our Co-design Activities

Filo XYZ's particular approach to welfare as portrayed in the role-playing activity and subsequently discussed in the *I like, I wish, What if* exercise, is a holistic model that includes welfare domains that mainstream services often neglect. In our first workshop (role-playing activity), we identified twelve (12) welfare-related tasks that are typically performed by both leaders and volunteers (see Table 2). These include activities such as assessing migrants' needs, recording their case details and engagements with the organization, coordinating with other volunteers, and organizing advocacy campaigns and training. According to L1, these activities only cover what she referred to as "preliminary welfare tasks" where junior volunteers are commonly involved. However, beyond these activities, she mentioned that the organization also engages in complex legal procedures, lobbying work, and network-building activities. In our subsequent co-design activities, to gather inputs from both leaders and volunteers, we focused on the 12 preliminary tasks as these are the activities that are familiar to both participant groups. Based on these tasks, three broad organizational capabilities emerged from our second activity (process reflection activity), including access to a) the collective knowledge of the organization on welfare provision, b) case notes, and c) members' capacity and organizational development.

To aid the discussion, we developed a prototype of a volunteering kit that served as a technology probe to gather more concrete reflections on technology-mediated workflows within the community organization. This idea of creating a volunteering kit was directly drawn from the junior volunteers' suggestions in the process reflection activity where they mentioned that creating such a tool would open up participation in welfare initiatives [V5, V3, V1]. As envisaged by the participants, we designed this kit to be an online repository of informational resources and training materials related to welfare provision. In our efforts to reflect the organization's holistic approach to welfare, we added a checklist of the common issues that Filipino migrants experience in Australia and the potential assistance that they may require as a guide for junior volunteers. In the prototype, we included issues related to visas, employment, education, food, housing, and health. Moreover, to address the need to support the record-keeping and information sharing processes of the organization as mentioned in the process reflection activity, we also added a functionality within the toolkit that allows volunteers to record and share information, including the service recipient's personal information, their case details, and their engagement with the organization.

Based on the outcomes of our platform mapping activity, we used a combination of Google Forms, Google Sheets, and Gmail to create a prototype of a volunteering tool kit (See Figure 2). According to the participants, among their current repertoire of digital platforms, they find Google Forms to be the most suitable tool to accommodate how they envisage the volunteering kit's capabilities to be based on their previous experience of using this platform. They explained that the way information is represented in a linear and sequential manner in Google Forms resembles the procedural structure of an onboarding process [V4, V5]. Without prior knowledge of its multimedia functionalities, some participants also speculated about adding images and videos into the form to visualize training

resources [V4], which we did not anticipate given our rigid conceptualization of the platform being commonly used for data collection purposes only. Nonetheless, we decided to explore their speculation further by examining the platform's existing functionalities, which, as we discovered, has the capabilities that allow it to store multimedia content. In addition, we also found that its multiple-choice options and other conditional questions could also be repurposed as navigational elements, which are necessary to make the platform an effective online training tool (See Figure 3).

Leveraging the seamless integration between Google Forms and Google Sheets, we directly stored the information collected through the form into a linked Google Sheets spreadsheet. This served as a stand-in database for the organization's welfare work, which contain information related to the service providers and volunteers. To streamline the case monitoring and information sharing processes, which are essential capabilities according to participants, we built custom functions within Google Sheets that enable volunteers to query and relay information from the spreadsheet to another volunteer through emails.

5.2 Collaboration instead of Delegation

One of the sources of tension that was made visible by our prototyping activity revolves around the contrasting views on volunteer participation. On one hand, the junior volunteers want to be involved more in engaging service recipients as reflected by their volunteering kit suggestion. As a way of opening the volunteering work to more volunteers, V3 suggested documenting the organization's existing practices, known only by the leaders, so that these experiences could be used to onboard new volunteers:

"I always get inspired by the stories about the experiences of [the leaders] of the organization. However, these stories are mostly shared through oral tradition. Maybe now is the right time to document these experiences in order to share this knowledge to new members of the organization..With this, the leaders do not have to do everything. The tasks can be delegated more" [V3].

On the other hand, even though most leaders are already at full capacity, many of them were reluctant to delegate responsibilities to junior volunteers given their inadequate experiences in doing welfare work on their own [L1, L2, L4]. According to L1, one of the main factors that hinder them from simply delegating tasks to volunteers is the sensitive nature of the cases that the organization usually handles. She mentioned that, from her experience, migrants do not generally seek help until they reach a point when they are about to lose their jobs or they are about to be deported. Given that most of the cases are often in crisis mode, she argued that higher-level skills are required, and these skills are usually intangible and often only learned through years of experience. This consequently leads to the concentration of work to a handful of leaders who are already overburdened with their other responsibilities in the organization, such as fundraising, network building, recruitment, and advocacy work.

Confronted with the need to entrust more of their responsibilities to other members, while ensuring essential safety mechanisms are in place, the leaders proposed a collaborative approach using a

Table 2: Welfare activities and organizational capabilities identified in co-design activities 1 and 2

Preliminary welfare activities	Capabilities identified	Platforms suggested
Assessing client situation	Access to organizational knowledge	Google Forms
Building trust and setting expectations		
Introducing the organization and its services		
Asking other welfare needs or issues		
Providing possible solutions and action steps		
Delegating tasks to other volunteers	Shared access to records	Google Sheets and Email
Sharing files or information to other volunteers		
Recording / updating client information		
Recording / updating case details		
Monitoring case details and engagement outcomes	View of volunteers' capacity and development	Google Sheets
Monitoring volunteers' skills and availabilities		
Training and promoting advocacy campaigns		

“buddy system”, wherein leaders or “veteran” volunteers are paired with junior volunteers [L1, L4]. In this arrangement, the service recipients or “cases” are assigned to a pair of volunteers with the intention of exposing junior volunteers to welfare work with close guidance from their experienced counterparts.

According to L1 and V5, whom both have a professional background in social work, this collaborative approach to welfare provision is crucial. Many of the essential skills in this domain, as they know from experience, are best learned through practice. For instance, V5 stressed the importance of learning soft skills such as giving reassurances and showing empathy in giving migrants the courage to push forward with their cases, not only for their own benefits but also for their fellow migrants experiencing the same circumstances. However, despite advocating for a practice-based approach to training volunteers, they are at the same cautious about letting junior volunteers perform welfare provision on their own given the sensitive nature of the cases they handle:

“It is really important to have experience in handling sensitive cases. I agree that the process should be documented so other volunteers would have a reference, but I also agree with the suggestion of [L1 and V5] to have a buddy system to provide [junior volunteers] close guidance.” [L4]

“We really need to guide our volunteers and members so they can explain the services the migrants might need. . . For example, what is the difference of a social worker from an ordinary individual? . . . We could always read the answers but we have to know how to explain what a social worker does, the services they cover and the kind of support [they provide]. Drafting a list is easy but being able to educate our members of the limitations and explanations of the services are another thing.” [L1]

In addition to its benefits to training and welfare delivery, employing this collaborative approach, along with the frequent coordination that comes with it, also enables leaders to develop deeper relationships with specific junior volunteers [V2]. In this process, L1 also said that they get to raise the member’s political awareness by talking about relevant advocacy issues during informal conversations that happen before and after their welfare work:

“We must always balance our engagement with our members based on our AOM framework [Arouse, Organize, Mobilize]... that is why I like the buddy system because we can educate them, do forums. . . gauge their politics, while we upskill our general membership.” [L1]

5.3 Privacy, Practice, and Protocol

One area that the junior volunteers want to be involved in is the data collection aspect of the welfare work, such as recording the service recipient’s personal information and their cases [V2, V3]. Currently, only the leaders get to do this type of work [L1, L4]. To encourage more involvement, one of the junior volunteers suggested using collaborative online tools: “I wish we can have a central file or document containing all data gathered on our clients, which can be accessed by team leaders online and offline...what if we use Google Drive or other synchronization service software to access and update details as we work?” [V2]. L1 and L4 agreed that having a centralized database would be beneficial given that the information that they gather is currently stored in various local spreadsheets, making it difficult for members to access and monitor:

“I appreciate the efforts of the members to ask clients to sign our recipient logbook, but the majority of the [data gathering] happens during informal conversations. Most of the time these are not being documented properly. Perhaps it’s best if we can have a uniform documentation or spreadsheet so we can easily see the outcome of our investigation for quick assessments.” [L5]

As the participants reflected on the prototype, the leaders became more aware of the potential risks of giving junior volunteers access to such tools. While they agreed that providing access to resources helps enable more people to be involved in welfare work, the leaders felt safety measures, at a certain level, must be kept in place to ensure that the migrants are safe and properly guided. One suggestion from L1 is to implement administrative protocols:

“This is why I always instruct volunteers to call me or [V5] or other leaders... I would be the one to talk to [external service providers] and introduce myself as a social worker.” [L1]

Filo XYZ Volunteering Kit

Volunteering Kit
Hello, kasama! Welcome to our online Damayan Toolkit! Ang Google Form na ito ay nagsisilbing one-stop shop for our welfare support initiatives in Victoria. You can use this form to (1) learn the basics of volunteering (2) access important info/resources (3) record new migrant info (4) record new case update (5) sign up new volunteer. Kung ikaw ay isang bagong advocate o volunteer, mainam na ikaw ay magsimula sa training module (👉).

Draft restored

The name and photo associated with your Google account will be recorded when you upload files and submit this form. Your email is not part of your response.

*** Required**

Ano ang kailangan mong gawin? Choose from the options and click NEXT BELOW: *

- Learn the Basics 🌟
- Add a new Client Record
- Create/Update a Case
- Add a new Volunteer Record

Step 1: Pagkumusta at pagtanong sa kalagayan

[WATCH] Panuorin ang isang example ng mainam na pagkumusta at pagtanong sa kalagayan ng isang kababayan.

Training Vid...

Sa video na ito, iyong mapapanood kung papaano nina Lisa ([redacted] Volunteer) at Tess ([redacted] Team Leader) kinamusta at tinulungan si George (na isang Temporary Migrant Worker) over Zoom. Si George ay isang mechanic sa Dandenong na inirefer sa [redacted] dahil sa kaniyang problema sa trabaho at visa. Malapit nang mag-expire ang kaniyang visa.

Quick tips on how to best engage our service recipients

- Hayaang sila ang magsalita mas madalas, ang ating primary duty is to listen
- Magtanong ng follow-up questions
- Magpakita ng verbal at visual cues (e.g. nodding, "i understand", "mmm")
- Magpasalamat ang migrant for sharing his or her story
- Magbigay ng validations, encouragement, or reassurances
- Magbanggit ng mga available support na maaaring ibigay ng Migrante o ibang ahensya
- Mangalap ng available na supporting details or documents
- Magtanong kung saan pa makakatulong ang Migrante (see possible questions below)
- Mag-set ng susunod na meeting

Next **Clear form**

Figure 2: Prototype of a volunteering kit made using Google Forms

The leaders fear that by allowing junior volunteers to access a shared database containing the service recipients’ personal data and case details, they might accidentally delete essential records or leak this information to unauthorized individuals. L1 recounted one incident when an online petition against a local education provider reached the school’s management team, thereby exposing the identities of the signatories, putting them at risk of expulsion and potential deportation. L1 and L5 said that they ensured they restricted the access to the Google sheet document only to their potential signatories. However, they were unaware at the time that restricting access does not hinder users from downloading a local

copy of the file, which could be shared separately without their knowledge.

Because the leaders could not strictly enforce which functionalities are enabled or disabled at a more granular level, they resort to manually erecting boundaries. An example of this is restricting access to such platforms only to the leadership team to mitigate the risk of leaking sensitive information [L1, L5]. However, when this was mentioned in the co-design workshops, other participants contested it, saying that such a practice would overburden the same set of people and limit the opportunities for junior volunteers to

participate in the organization's welfare work [V5]. As a compromise, V3 recommended drafting an internal policy outlining the criteria on who can have access to the organization's database: "For example, if a volunteer is still on probationary or on their third month, they are not allowed to use nor access the database. If they become a regular member who pays their monthly dues, then that will be the only time they can use this" [V3]. In addition to this, L1 and L5 mentioned the importance of incorporating the sub-groups and local governing bodies into the processes:

"It is very critical to factor in the chapter formations... In other chapters, some members help out in the updating of records, not just the team leader." [L1]

"I wish we can simplify the communication flow by having one central source of information i.e. Facebook page which would then be delegated to different chapters." [L5]

During our platform mapping activity when we asked the participants to reflect on the potential impact of using digital platforms for welfare work, we also noticed that they have a general skepticism towards tools developed by "Big tech companies", especially with regard to their handling of personal information [L2, V5, V1]:

"Viber and WhatsApp or other similar apps somehow have encryption... well this is something contentious. We don't know how sure the encryption or security is... I believe if we will be relying on [these tools], they should further be investigated. I'm not sure how big tech companies handle data but if there would be issues, we should have safeguards in place." [V5]

However, despite the platforms' potential risks, the participants said they would continue to use such tools as these are the tools the members and the migrants their support are already familiar with: "We have to follow where OFWs are (Overseas Filipino Workers)...even if we have to learn new platforms" [V5]. But when it comes to relaying sensitive information, the participants said that they would use direct calls as a safety mechanism. V4 and V5 mentioned that they usually do this when engaging with service recipients to avoid leaving a written record online about their issues which could potentially put them at risk.

5.4 Maintaining boundaries

Some participants felt that adopting the prototype would somehow introduce structures and formality, making the organization's workflow similar to the operation of mainstream service providers. They see this type of standardization as unnecessary and potentially counterproductive to the organization's community orientation: "We are not like mainstream services that need too much focus on documentation" [L1]. Although, the participants acknowledged that the prototype, along with its formalizing effect, would be beneficial in the future as they start engaging more external funders to scale up the organization's welfare services, as if implying that this is the natural trajectory of community-based organizations:

"This is good in the context of institutional welfare services [or paid organizations]... but we are not there yet. As of now, I think this will make things too formal

for us...I do agree with L1 that we should maintain the community aspect of our organization." [V5]

The leaders would like to keep the interactions fluid and personal as much as possible. For example, when it comes to delegating tasks, they said that they prefer calling other members using Zoom or Facebook Messenger. This allows the leaders to contextualize tasks more efficiently, clarify potential questions, and have informal chats in between [L3, L4]. L1 also added that personally messaging junior volunteers shows accountability and trust. The same is true for welfare delivery. The participants said that they also prefer engaging service recipients through personal calls because they can build rapport with them and gain their trust: "With our voice, we can convey more genuine emotions and express moral support to the people reaching out to us" [V2], "With a direct approach, our sincerity is felt so the other party feels like you are genuine in helping them" [V1]. V4 argued that people do not usually open up about their personal issues over email or Facebook Messenger. One factor involves the difficulty of putting their experiences into writing. Participants mentioned that, from their experience, people would rather share their story verbally instead of sending a long email or message about it.

We also noted the impacts of the emotional work associated with providing welfare support [87]. In some cases, as we found, this blurring of boundaries between organizational and personal communications leads to members' frustration and stress, especially when these two types of engagements happen on the same platform. As a way of creating distance, we noticed that members compartmentalize their online interactions by preferring email for work-related discussions and Facebook for more personal conversations. According to V1 and V4, they associate email with work which is why they also prefer to use it when relaying information related to their volunteering tasks. V5 further added:

"Email shows professionalism. The conversations are structured and formal as well, so it's easier to see the flow, and you can also attach documents for more information".

We also observed this manual compartmentalization during our co-design engagements with the participants. Some of them had a hard time responding to us through social media and said they rather discuss over Zoom or Email: "Facebook is a personal distraction for me, for my productivity and mental health, especially during this pandemic, so I am trying to reduce my usage. The downside of this is I cannot fully coordinate with the organization." [V5]

Another way of facilitating better communication, as suggested by L5, is by setting up clear ground rules and communication objectives:

"Creating several chat groups or Facebook groups is detrimental. Instead of helping with the communication flow, it makes things confusing and inefficient... What if we define the objective of each group that we create and not add a lot of members. These should only be tactical channels with limited scope and time duration."

5.5 Balancing advocacy work and welfare work

A key issue arising from our discussions was the apparent disconnect between the organization's welfare and advocacy work based on the prototype design. For several participants, it is crucial to link advocacy work with welfare work as these are not mutually exclusive activities, and both feed into the organization's long-term agendas. V5 argued that the advocacy component is what sets the organization apart from mainstream services. He added that, aside from providing temporary relief, the "ultimate goal" of the organization is to create lasting changes in the lives of Filipinos abroad. According to him, this entails the mobilization of migrants to participate in calling for structural changes. In line with this, he suggested incorporating additional capabilities that scaffold the organization's lobbying work and the political education of its members:

"[We should] improve our welfare approach while simultaneously raising the politicization of our members, volunteers, and service recipients... One of the possible features of this Tech Platform (referring to the prototype) is to speed up the pace of identifying issues for policy analysis and lobbying work...perhaps we could also give our members a list of our events which they can get involved in including educational forums, petitions, and our protests." [V5]

As we observed, discussions around the volunteering kit seemed to put welfare work on a pedestal, prompting some participants to question its hierarchy in the organization's overall priorities. V5 argued that the organization should be known more for its advocacy and political campaigns than its services. He cautioned that involving more members in the organization's welfare services may steer it away from its political agenda. V3, however, disagreed:

"Yes, these tools will not solve all our problems in community organizing. But they will improve how we do our welfare services... it might be better to frame this community development work as a short-term to mid-term goal for [Filo XYZ]. Welfare work will be our short-term goal and will be our immediate response to those in need of assistance including migrants, volunteers, and organized sectors. Mid-term goal will be the involvement of more people in this endeavor...but our long-term vision of course is for them to advocate for social justice." [V3]

On a related note, L1 also believed that recruiting new members and raising their political consciousness is key to scaling up the organization's welfare services:

"I wish we can increase our membership so we can have enough pool of people who can handle different cases... Political education is key to their high level of commitment." [L1]

6 DISCUSSION

6.1 Designing for capability

A factor that emerged in several co-design activities was the differences in how participants conceive the organization's ethos and how they envisage its trajectory into the future. In particular, the professionalization of informal volunteering roles and workflows,

and the impact of external funding on the collective attitude toward their work. Professionalization is characterized by the centrality of paid staff who are often trained in the traditional management domains that emphasize economic efficiency and accountability [21]. This has been a dominant trend in the non-profit sector for over the past 20 years as seen in the dramatic increase in the use of managerial terminology within the academic literature on this topic [57].

Although more prevalent among mainstream NPOs, professionalization among CBMOs is becoming a common practice. This is happening as CBMOs strive for operational efficiencies and comply with the bureaucratic procedures imposed by funding agencies, such as the need to collect data and provide reports that show the proper and efficient use of funds [38]. This demand for structured, goal-driven procedures is, as scholars have pointed out, a reflection of the neo-liberal and economic rationalist framework, which runs in conflict with the community organization's socio-political characteristics [36, 62, 63].

Naturally, engaging in these additional bureaucracies stretches the already limited capacity of community volunteers. Volunteers then have less time to build long-term care relationships [63] and to engage in advocacy work and civic reforms [49]. Chahim and Prakash critiqued that this depoliticization of the community sector reduces its role to mere service contractors, losing its focus on community-building and political orientation [19]. We see this in Vlachokyriakos et al.'s work on solidarity clinics [79]. They observed that, while the introduction of business practices significantly improved the clinic's success, it resulted in more rigid and less personal work dynamics that conflicted with the organization's social movement nature.

These issues were particularly apparent during our prototyping activity when we automated some aspects of the organization's task delegation, training, and information-sharing practices using a combination of digital platforms. As discussed in section 5.4, this asynchronous process took away the personal connection that is critical in scaffolding the narrative-based nature of welfare work and the relationship-building mechanisms, which lay the groundwork for the organization's broader socio-political agenda. The participants said that by minimizing the unstructured face-to-face interactions, we run the risk of constricting the free-flowing conversations within the organization. As we have seen, these conversations are essential in building rapport with service recipients and in sharing tacit organizational knowledge with new volunteers. Moreover, frequent personal interactions, provide the leaders with multiple opportunities to raise the political consciousness of both members and service recipients by talking about the systemic issues linked with the welfare work during informal conversations. Instead of minimizing these close and regular interactions between leaders and junior volunteers, in section 5.2, our participants proposed a form of "buddy system" as an alternative design to facilitate task delegation and volunteer training. Through this collaborative and relational approach, the leaders believe that they will be able to deepen their relationships with the volunteers and broaden their political awareness.

There are many implications for this insight, but we focus on the method of designing for CBMOs and other service-oriented groups.

It is tempting to focus on efficiency as the sole design goal in engaging these types of organizations. However, as we discovered, this neglects the value of fostering and sustaining social capital intimately tied to the organization's seemingly inefficient administrative and relational practices. As we delved into the participant's reflections, we saw that the discourse leaned more towards the development of intangible long-term capabilities of the community, such as their social capital and political consciousness, rather than focusing solely on the transactional provision of temporary relief.

This broad conceptualization of welfare support resembles Amartya Sen's capability approach that puts emphasis on the capability of an individual to live a life of value and the multidimensional nature of human development [70]. Adopting a capability-focused design method allows researchers and practitioners to engage in an open-ended exploration of an organization's welfare practices, taking into account not only the transactional services but also the socio-political endeavors that are often neglected in the design process. This approach offers an alternative to the efficiency-driven model that shapes most technology designs by shifting the focus of inquiry to the technology's role in the long-term and holistic development of organization members and the individuals they support. According to Oosterlaken [61], the key to adopting such an approach is knowing which capabilities matter and how these capabilities are best supported. Underlying this process, as we discovered, is the foregrounding of the sometimes-hidden values embedded within the practices in the organization and ensuring that these values are not neglected during the design process so as not to perturb essential practices. In a more practical sense, this approach entails drawing a line between CBMO practices that can be automated and those that must be retained to maintain its community-centric values and political aspirations, such as the frequent informal conversations among members.

6.2 Leveraging digital literacy

Drawing on previous work on NPOs [54, 80, 81, 85] and digital platforms [18, 53, 59, 65], the use of mainstream digital platforms to support a CBMO's welfare work was a deliberate act on our behalf. As we discussed in section 5.1, the existing collaborative features of Google Forms and Google Sheets allowed for broader access to essential organizational resources related to welfare service provision, including training materials, databases, useful links, and contact details. Having access to these resources supposedly resolves the organization's challenges related to membership training and task delegation, which impede the expansion of the welfare initiatives of the organization. However, in our efforts to use these platforms as organizational tools, we found several subtle consequences. These include concerns related to data security, inflexibility of privacy configuration, and lack of boundaries between personal and work activities, which are limitations that reflect the findings of previous case studies [1, 18, 20, 53, 59, 65]. However, what we found differently in our case study is the utility of these platforms in the design process.

The prospect of using familiar platforms as organizational tools, as we discovered, led to discourses that foreground the member's collective values and the important considerations to the design. As we discussed in section 5.4, reflecting on email as the primary communication channel for volunteering-related topics led to discussions around the value of community building and the member's

desire to set boundaries between their work and social engagements. On the other hand, using Google Sheets as a shared database and social media applications as communication channels highlighted the participants' concerns about their privacy policies and their possible consequences on the migrant's security. From our experience with working with other groups and as observed by Shilton in her work on *value levers* [71], institutional issues such as privacy, shared access, and governance mechanisms are quite vague and intangible concepts for people to discern. However, as we saw from our design engagements, leveraging the participant's knowledge of platforms that are familiar to them opened up the discussions around institutional issues, which would not be otherwise discussed without applying their digital literacy. Take, for example, data privacy in section 5.3. This need was only brought up when the participants were asked about the use of social media to communicate with members and service recipients during our design activities.

A direct implication of these findings is the use of mainstream platforms as value elicitation tools, such as what we did in our platform mapping activity where we used these technologies as design probes. Similar to other studies that used probes to engage migrants in collaborative design [2, 14], our approach allowed us to have a deeper understanding of our participant's needs and challenges based on their discussions around the use of existing platforms. There are also additional benefits to this approach. First is the immediate implementation of participants' needs into a working prototype using the platforms' built-in capabilities. Drawing on participant's platform knowledge, our method of using these tools as design probes also enabled the identification of potential constraints in the wide-scale implementation of these platforms, and in line with this, the generation of design to address or work around these constraints as we noted in section 5.3.

Lastly, as we have seen in the participant's speculative appropriation of Google Forms as an online volunteering kit, leveraging their digital literacy paves the way to conceptualize new means of utilizing existing platforms. From a commonsensical point of view, as Salovaara et al. suggest, limited understanding of a tool poses a huge barrier for users to explore novel ways of using it [68]. However, from what we observed in our case study, this view is not always applicable. As we discovered, by providing the participants a clear set of constraints in the form of organizational capabilities (e.g. access to organizational knowledge, sharing information and files) and a list of platforms they could use, the participant's vague and incomplete knowledge of each platform's functionalities gave them the freedom to be speculative and creative in how they could use these technologies to reflect their needs and aspirations.

6.3 The need for platform malleability

Permeating many aspects of our findings are needs and aspirations that speak to the relational work and advocacy work undertaken by CBMOs. We covered in section 5.5 the view that these two aspects are interconnected based on the notion that relationships are the foundations of effective advocacy work. This emphasis on relationship building aligns with Cottam's relational model for public and community services, which she recently crystallized under the banner of a social revolution she calls "welfare 5.0" [25]. In this model, she reframes service recipients, not as mere consumers of services, but as active agents of change. At the heart of this

social revolution, according to Cottam, are the formation of new networks and deep ties within the community, which often take time to flourish.

Digital platforms are primarily built to support the creation and maintenance of social networks at scale, and as seen in popular social movements, many community organizers have leveraged these tools in mobilizing networks of online users for political actions. Some notable examples include the *Occupy Wall Street* movement, *Gezi Park* movement in Turkey, *Black Lives Matter* uprising and the *Umbrella Movement* in Hong Kong. However, the discourses around these platform-mediated social movements, tend to focus on the sensational activities that easily catch the media's attention such as the popular hashtag campaigns and the protests happening on the ground. Tufekci, in her book *Twitter and Tear Gas*, argues that more focus should be given to the underlying work happening in the background of these protests [76]:

“What gets lost in [these] popular accounts is the meticulous and lengthy organizing work sustained over a long period that was essential for every protest action...[Although] technology can help movements coordinate and organize, but if corresponding network internalities are neglected, technology can lead to movements that scale up while missing essential pillars of support.” (p.232)

Citing the Gezi protests as an example, she points out that its drastic growth and decline were due to the failure of the organizers to build what she refers to as network internalities or the community's “collective capabilities attained during the process of forming durable networks” (p.229) [76]. In the same way that popular media focus on these easily recognizable activities, many HCI studies also concentrate on the use of social media for advocacy campaigns and political discourse [27, 84]. Kow et al.'s work on the *Umbrella Movement*, however, is one of the few exceptions [50]. In their study, they focused on the activists' use of digital platforms, such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Telegram, and Google Docs, to mediate underlying administrative tasks and coordination work that support their aboveground activities. We see this nuanced form of digital activism similar to the workflow participants described in our case study, which highlights the importance of the long and everyday process of community organizing. How they envisage deepening the social ties, community involvement and political awareness among members using digital platforms reflects Tufekci's notion of building network internalities.

However, in seeking to leverage the ubiquity and familiarity of these free-to-use platforms, we were confronted with a significant barrier. We found that volunteers, being aware of the risks of using such tools, often employ manual workarounds when incorporating mainstream technologies in their community welfare work. As we discussed in section 5.3, volunteers would often avoid using social media when communicating with service recipients given their precarious circumstances. In these cases, they said that they prefer calling these individuals directly to reduce the risk of privacy breaches, among other reasons. In section 5.4, we also noted a common behavior among volunteers of compartmentalizing their work and social communications into different platforms, which provides manual boundaries and additional security according to

the participants. These workarounds, however, hinder members from participating in key welfare or advocacy tasks, which consequently reduce opportunities for leaders to develop their social and political capabilities, which, as L1 said in section 5.2, often happen during welfare engagements and regular conversations.

We noticed that a key reason members employ these manual interventions is because of how most digital platforms are currently set up. In most cases, users have limited ability to configure the platforms' governance mechanisms, including, for instance, the ability to enable and disable granular functionalities based on the organization's specific protocols or the user's personal needs. Zhang et al. [88] directly addressed the inflexibility of governance mechanisms in mainstream platforms through *PolicyKit*, a tool they developed to enable users to implement highly customized community guidelines and governance procedures into social media platforms such as *Reddit*, *Discord*, and *Slack*. However, despite the liberating value of such innovation, it is still largely restricted by the set of functionalities exposed in the platforms' web APIs. For instance, Zhang et al. [88] found that Facebook's API did not have existing capabilities that allow configuration on group moderation, such as deleting group posts and comments. Tchernavskij, in his dissertation on designing and programming malleable software, critiqued such reliance on third-party interface extensions (i.e., web APIs and plugins) as they often result in “brittle interactions” between systems (p.84), rendering platform customization inoperative [74]. In lieu of this, he proposed a programming model called *Entanglers*, which enable configuration of software interfaces by developing a programming environment where interactive elements (e.g., group post) are decoupled from their characteristics or states (e.g., color, size, visibility). Although this solution presents a sturdier and more seamless configuration, it requires advanced programming knowledge most community-based organizations do not have. To support the configuration of existing platforms within CBMOs, we reiterate our second discussion point. It is vital to meet the members of the organization at their level of digital literacy by building or expanding the means for configuration within the platforms themselves.

We call on technology providers to prioritize the needs of these community-based organizations by making their platforms more malleable for users to set their own governance models. This is not only beneficial in the context of supporting migrant community welfare and advocacy work, but also in other cases that require additional safety mechanisms, such as the use of social media platforms for online learning or mental health support programs. Echoing Amartya Sen [70], as freedom lies at the heart of the capability-focus approach, giving users the freedom to mold the platforms they use according to their specific needs and aspirations is key in enabling CBMOs to fully utilize these tools to transform their community members into active agents of change.

7 CONCLUSION

In this paper, we report on our engagement with a Filipino community-based migrant organization where we presented a potential use of mainstream digital platforms to scale up their community welfare activities. Our work highlights the members' discussions around the benefits of using existing tools and the tensions that stem from the digitization of their current work practices. More

than the application in service provision, we also explored a design method that leverages the ubiquity of digital platforms as design probes. We found this to be an effective way to elicit participants' needs, capabilities, and values based on their current understanding and creative speculations of digital platforms. Based on our case study, we provide a broad conceptualization of community welfare work that recognizes individuals' overall capability development beyond their immediate service needs. Along with this insight, we propose a capability-focused design method that we found to be appropriate for migrant community welfare. It shifts the design focus away from transactional and efficiency-driven goals to the long-term and holistic development of the organization members and the individuals they support. To facilitate this capability-focused approach using existing technologies, we conclude our paper with a call for more malleable platforms that allow community groups to configure these tools to reflect their core values and capability needs.

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We honor the Filipino community organization we worked with in this study and other community organizations continuously serving migrant communities around the world.

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